

prist; but unlike them he assumed the title as well as the power of a king (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 11, §1; 5 *Macc.* xxvii. 1). Aristobulus resided in the Baris (*Ant.* xiii. 11, §2). A passage, dark and subterraneous (*B. J.* i. 3, §3), led from the Baris to the Temple; one part of this passage was called "Strato's tower," and here Antigonus, brother of Aristobulus, was murdered by his order.^f Aristobulus died very tragically immediately after, having reigned but one year. His brother Alexander Jannæus (B.C. 105), who succeeded him, was mainly engaged in wars at a distance from Jerusalem, returning thither however in the intervals (*Ant.* xiii. 12, §3, *ad fin.*). About the year 95 the animosity of the Pharisees and Sadducees came to an alarming explosion. Like his father, Alexander belonged to the Sadducees. The Pharisees had never forgiven Hyrcanus for having deserted them, and at the feast of Tabernacles, as the king was officiating, they invited the people to pelt him with the citrons which they carried in the feast (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13, §5; comp. 10, §5; *Reland.* *Ant.* iv. 5, §9). Alexander retaliated, and six thousand persons were at that time killed by his orders. But the dissensions lasted for six years, and no fewer than 50,000 are said to have lost their lives (*Ant.* xiii. 13, §5; 5 *Macc.* xxix. 2). These severities made him extremely unpopular with both parties, and led to their inviting the aid of Demetrius Eucærus king of Syria, against him. The actions between them were fought at a distance from Jerusalem; but the city did not escape a share in the horrors of war; for when, after some fluctuations, Alexander returned successful, he crucified publicly 800 of his opponents, and had their wives and children butchered before their eyes, while he and his concubines feasted in sight of the whole scene (*Ant.* xiii. 14, §2). Such an iron sway as this was enough to crush all opposition, and Alexander reigned till the year 79 without further disturbances. He died while besieging a fortress called Ragaba, somewhere beyond Jordan. He is commemorated as having at the time of his disputes with the people, erected a wooden screen round the altar and the sanctuary (*ναός*), as far as the parapet of the priests' court, to prevent access to him as he was ministering (*Ant.* xiii. 13, §5). The "monument of king Alexander" was doubtless his tomb. It stood somewhere near, but outside, the north wall of the Temple (*B. J.* v. 7, §3), probably not far from the situation of the tombs of the old kings (see section III. p. 1031). In spite of opposition the Pharisees were now by far the most powerful party in Jerusalem, and Alexander had therefore before his death instructed his queen, Alexandra—who he left to succeed him with two sons—to commit herself to them. She did so, and the consequence was that though the feuds between the two great parties continued at their height, yet the government, being supported by the strongest, was always secure. The elder of the two sons, Hyrcanus, was made high-priest, and Aristobulus had the command of the army. The queen lived till the year 70. On her death, Hyrcanus attempted to take the crown, but was opposed by his brother, to

whom in three months he yielded its possession, Aristobulus becoming king in the year 69. Before Alexandra's death she had imprisoned the family of Aristobulus in the Baris (*B. J.* i. 5, §4). There too Hyrcanus took refuge during the negotiations with his brother about the kingdom, and from thence had attacked and vanquished his opponents who were collected in the Temple (*Ant.* xiv. 1, §2). Josephus here first speaks of it as the Acropolis,^h and as being above the Temple (*ὑπερ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*). After the reconciliation Aristobulus took possession of the royal palace (*τὰ βασιλεία*). This can hardly be other than the "palace of the Asmoneans," of which Josephus gives some notices at a subsequent part of the history (*Ant.* xx. 8, §11; *B. J.* ii. 16, §3). From these it appears that it was situated west of the Temple, on the extreme highest point of the upper city (the modern Zion) immediately facing the south-west angle of the Temple inclosure, and at the west end of the bridge which led from the Temple to the Xystus.

The brothers soon quarrelled again, when Hyrcanus called to his assistance Aretas, king of Damascus. Before this new enemy Aristobulus fled to Jerusalem and took refuge within the fortifications of the Temple. And now was witnessed the strange anomaly of the high-priest in alliance with a heathen king besieging the priests in the Temple. Suddenly a new actor appears on the scene; the siege is interrupted and eventually raised by the interference of Scaurus, one of Pompey's lieutenants, to whom Aristobulus paid 400 talents for the relief. This was in the year 65. Shortly after Pompey himself arrived at Damascus. Both the brothers came before him in person (*Ant.* xiv. 3, §2), and were received with moderation and civility. Aristobulus could not make up his mind to submit, and after a good deal of shuffling betook himself to Jerusalem and prepared for resistance. Pompey advanced by way of Jericho. As he approached Jerusalem, Aristobulus, who found the city too much divided for effectual resistance, met him and offered a large sum of money and surrender. Pompey sent forward Gabinus to take possession of the place; but the bolder party among the adherents of Aristobulus had meantime gained the ascendancy, and he found the gates closed. Pompey on this threw the king into chains and advanced on Jerusalem. Hyrcanus was in possession of the city and received the invader with open arms. The Temple on the other hand was held by the party of Aristobulus, which included the priests (xiv. 4, §3). They cut off the bridges and causeways which connected the Temple with the town on the west and north, and prepared for an obstinate defence. Pompey put a garrison into the palace of the Asmoneans, and into other positions in the upper city, and fortified the houses adjacent to the Temple. The north side was the most practicable, and there he commenced his attack. But even there the hill was entrenched by an artificial ditch in addition to the very deep natural valley, and was defended by lofty towers on the wall of the Temple (*Ant.* xiv. 4, §2 *B. J.* i. 7, §1).

Pompey appears to have stationed some part of

^h Josephus's words are not very clear:—*δρυφάκτον ἐπίλιον περὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὰς ναὸς βαλλόμενος μέχρι τοῦ θριακοῦ, εἰς ὃν μόνος ἐξῆν τοῖς ἱεροῦσιν εἰσιεῖναι.*
ⁱ He also here applies to it the term *ἑρῴδιον* (*Ant.* xiii. 16, §3; *B. J.* i. 5, §4), which he commonly uses for smaller fortresses.

The Jews were now departing from their ancient standards.

^f For the story of his death, and the accomplishment of the prediction that he should die in Strato's Tower—i. e. Caesarea—compare the well-known story of the death of Henry IV. in Jerusalem, i. e. the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

his force on the high ground west of the city (Jos. B. J. v. 12, §2), but he himself commanded in person at the north. The first efforts of his soldiers were devoted to filling up the ditch¹ and the valley, and to constructing the banks on which to place the military engines, for which purpose they cut down all the timber in the environs. These had in the meantime been sent for from Tyre, and as soon as the banks were sufficiently raised the ballistae were set to work to throw stones over the wall into the crowded courts of the Temple; and lofty towers were erected, from which to discharge arrows and other missiles. But these operations were not carried on without great difficulty, for the wall of the Temple was thronged with slingers, who most seriously interfered with the progress of the Romans. Pompey, however, remarked that on the seventh day the Jews regularly desisted from fighting (Ant. xiv. 4, §2; Strab. xvi. p. 763), and this afforded the Romans a great advantage, for it gave them the opportunity of moving the engines and towers nearer the walls, filling up the trenches, adding to the banks, and in other ways making good the damage of the past six days without the slightest molestation. In fact Josephus gives it as his opinion, that but for the opportunity thus afforded, the necessary works never could have been completed. In the Temple itself, however fierce the attack, the daily sacrifices and other ceremonies, down to the minutest detail, were never interrupted, and the priests pursued their duties undeterred, even when men were struck down near them by the stones and arrows of the besiegers. At the end of three months the besiegers had approached so close to the wall that the battering-rams could be worked, and a breach was effected in the largest of the towers, through which the Romans entered, and after an obstinate resistance and loss of life, remained masters of the Temple. Many Jews were killed by their countrymen of Hyrcanus's party who had entered with the Romans; some in their confusion set fire to the houses which abutted on a portion of the Temple walls, and perished in the flames, while others threw themselves over the precipices (B. J. i. 7, §4). The whole number slain is reported by Josephus at 12,000 (Ant. xiv. 4, §4). During the assault the priests maintained the same calm demeanour which they had displayed during the siege, and were actually slain at their duties while pouring their drink-offerings and burning their incense (B. J. i. 7, §4). It should be observed that in the account of this siege the Baris is not once mentioned; the attack was on the Temple alone, instead of on the fortress, as in Titus's siege. The inference is that at this time it was a small and unimportant adjunct to the main fortifications of the Temple.

Pompey and many of his people explored the recesses of the Temple, and the distress of the Jews was greatly aggravated by their holy places being thus exposed to intrusion and profanation (B. J. i. 7, §6). In the sanctuary were found the great golden vessels—the table of shew-bread, the candlestick, the censers, and other articles proper to that place. But what most astonished the intruders, on passing beyond the sanctuary, and exploring the total darkness of the Holy of Holies, was to find in the adytum neither image nor shrine. It evidently caused much

remark ("inde vulgatum"), and was the one fact regarding the Temple which the historian thought worthy of preservation—"nulla intus deum effigie; vacuum sedem et inania arcana" (Tacitus, Hist. v. 9). Pompey's conduct on this occasion does him great credit. He left the treasures thus exposed to his view—even the spices and the money in the treasury—untouched, and his examination over, he ordered the Temple to be cleansed and purified from the bodies of the slain, and the daily worship to be resumed. Hyrcanus was continued in his high-priesthood, but without the title of king (Ant. xx. 10); a tribute was laid upon the city, the walls were entirely demolished (καταρραδαί . . . τὰ τελεχὴ πάλυρα, Strabo, xvi. p. 763), and Pompey took his departure for Rome, carrying with him Aristobulus, his sons Alexander and Antigonus, and his two daughters. The Temple was taken in the year 63, in the 3rd month (Sivan), on the day of a great fast (Ant. xiv. 4, §3); probably that for Jeroboam, which was held on the 23rd of that month.

During the next few years nothing occurred to affect Jerusalem, the struggles which desolated the unhappy Palestine during that time having taken place away from its vicinity. In 56 it was made the seat of one of the five senates or Sanhedrim, in which under the constitution of Gabinus the civil power of the country was for a time committed. Two years afterwards (B.C. 54) the rapacious Crassus visited the city on his way to Parthia, and plundered it not only of the money which Pompey had spared, but of a considerable treasure accumulated from the contributions of Jews throughout the world, in all a sum of 10,000 talents, or about 2,000,000*l.* sterling. The pillage was aggravated by the fact of his having first received from the priest in charge of the treasure a most costly beam of solid gold, on condition that everything else should be spared (Ant. xiv. 7, §1).

During this time Hyrcanus remained at Jerusalem, acting under the advice of Antipater the Idumean, his chief minister. The assistance which he rendered to Mithridates, the ally of Julius Caesar, in the Egyptian campaign of 48-47, induced Caesar to confirm Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood, and to restore him to the civil government under the title of Ethnarch (Ant. xiv. 10). At the same time he rewarded Antipater with the procuratorship of Judaea (Ant. xiv. 8, §5), and allowed the walls of the city to be rebuilt (Ant. xiv. 10, §4). The year 47 is also memorable for the first appearance of Antipater's son Herod in Jerusalem, when, a youth of fifteen (or more probably²⁵), he characteristically overawed the assembled Sanhedrim. In 43 Antipater was murdered in the palace of Hyrcanus by one Malichus, who was very soon after himself slain by Herod (Ant. xiv. 11, §4, 6). The tumults and revolts consequent on these murders kept Jerusalem in commotion for some time (B. J. i. 12). But a more serious danger was at hand. Antigonus, the younger and now the only surviving son of Aristobulus, succeeded in appearing in the country supported by a Parthian army. Many of the Jews of the district about Carmel and Joppa¹ flocked to him, and he instantly made for Jerusalem, giving out that his only object was to pay a visit of devotion to the Temple (3 Macc.

¹ The size of the ditch is given by Strabo as 60 feet deep and 250 wide (xvi. p. 763).

² See the reasons urged by Prideaux, *ad loc.*

¹ At that time, and even as late as the Crusades, called the Woodland or the Forest country (Jos. Ant. xiv. 13, §3).

alix. 5). So sudden was his approach, that he got into the city and reached the palace in the upper market-place—the modern Zion—without resistance. Here however he was met by Hyrcanus and Phasaelus (Herod's brother) with a strong party of soldiers. A fight ensued, which ended in Antigonus being driven over the bridge into the Temple, where he was constantly harassed and annoyed by Hyrcanus and Phasaelus from the city. Pentecost arrived, and the city, and the suburbs between it and the Temple, were crowded with peasants and others who had come up to keep the feast. Herod too arrived, and with a small party had taken charge of the palace. Phasaelus kept the wall.

Antigonus' people seem (though the account is very obscure) to have got out through the Baris into the part north of the Temple. Here Herod and Phasaelus attacked, dispersed, and cut them up. Pacorus, the Parthian general, was lying outside the walls, and at the earnest request of Antigonus, he and 500 horse were admitted, ostensibly to mediate. The result was, that Phasaelus and Hyrcanus were outwitted, and Herod overpowered, and the Parthians got possession of the place. Antigonus was made king, and as Hyrcanus knelt a suppliant before him, the new king—with all the wrongs which his father and himself had suffered full in his mind—bit off the ears of his uncle, so as effectually to incapacitate him from ever again taking the high-priesthood. Phasaelus killed himself in prison. Herod alone escaped (*Ant.* xiv. 13).

Thus did Jerusalem (B.C. 40) find itself in the hands of the Parthians.

In three months Herod returned from Rome king of Judaea, and in the beginning of 39 appeared before Jerusalem with a force of Romans, commanded by Silo, and pitched his camp on the west side of the city (*B. J.* i. 15, §5). Other occurrences, however, called him away from the siege at this time, and for more than two years he was occupied elsewhere. In the mean time Antigonus held the city, and had dismissed his Parthian allies. In 37 Herod appeared again, now driven to fury by the death of his favourite brother Joseph, whose dead body Antigonus had shamefully mutilated (*B. J.* i. 17, §2). He came, as Pompey had done, from Jericho, and, like Pompey, he pitched his camp and made his attack on the north side of the Temple. The general circumstances of the siege seem also very much to have resembled the former, except that there were now two walls north of the Temple, and that the driving of mines was a great feature in the siege operations (*B. J.* i. 18, §1; *Ant.* xiv. 16, §2). The Jews distinguished themselves by the same reckless courage as before; and although it is not expressly said that the services of the Temple were carried on with such minute regularity as when they excited the astonishment of Pompey, yet we may infer it from the fact that, during the hottest of the operations, the besieged desired a short truce in which to bring in animals for sacrifice (*Ant.* xiv. 16, §2). In one respect—the factions which raged among the besieged—this siege somewhat foreshadows that of Titus.

For a short time after the commencement of the operations Herod absented himself for his marriage

at Samaria with Mariamne. On his return he was joined by Sosius, the Roman governor of Syria, with a force of from 50,000 to 60,000 men, and the siege was then resumed in earnest (*Ant.* xiv. 16).

The first of the two walls was taken in forty days, and the second in fifteen more.^m Then the outer court of the Temple, and the lower city—lying in the hollow between the Temple and the modern Zion—was taken, and the Jews were driven into the inner parts of the Temple and to the upper market-place, which communicated therewith by the bridge. At this point some delay seems to have arisen, as the siege is distinctly said to have occupied in all five months (*B. J.* i. 18, §2; see also *Ant.* xiv. 16, §2). At last, losing patience, Herod allowed the place to be stormed; and an indiscriminate massacre ensued, especially in the narrow streets of the lower city, which was only terminated at his urgent and repeated solicitations.ⁿ Herod and his men entered first, and in his anxiety to prevent any plunder and desecration of the Temple, he himself hastened to the entrance of the sanctuary, and there standing with a drawn sword in his hand, threatened to cut down any of the Roman soldiers who attempted to enter.

Through all this time the Baris had remained impregnable: there Antigonus had taken refuge, and thence, when the whole of the city was in the power of the conquerors, he descended, and in an abject manner craved his life from Sosius. It was granted, but only to be taken from him later at the order of Antony.

Antigonus was thus disposed of, but the Asmonean party was still strong both in numbers and influence. Herod's first care was to put it down. The chiefs of the party, including the whole of the Sanhedrim but two,^o were put to death, and their property, with that of others whose lives were spared, was seized. The appointment of the high-priest was the next consideration. Hyrcanus returned from Parthia soon after the conclusion of the siege; but even if his mutilation had not incapacitated him for the office, it would have been unwise to appoint a member of the popular family. Herod therefore bestowed the office (B.C. 36) on one Ananel, a former adherent of his and a Babylonian Jew (*Ant.* xv. 3, §1), a man without interest or influence in the politics of Jerusalem (xv. 2, §4). Ananel was soon displaced through the machinations of Alexandra, mother of Herod's wife Mariamne, who prevailed on him to appoint her son Aristobulus, a youth of sixteen. But the young Asmonean was too warmly received by the people (*B. J.* i. 22, §2) for Herod to allow him to remain. Hardly had he celebrated his first feast before he was murdered at Jericho, and then Ananel resumed the office (*Ant.* xv. 3, §3).

The intrigues and tragedies of the next thirty years are too complicated and too long to be treated of here. A general sketch of the events of Herod's life will be found under his name, and other opportunities will occur for noticing them. Moreover, a great part of these occurrences have no special connexion with Jerusalem, and therefore have no place in a brief notice like the present of those things which more immediately concern the city.

with it even to the ground!" But times had altered since then.

^o These two were Hillel and Shammai, renowned in the Jewish literature as the founders of the two great rival schools of doctrine and practice.

^m These periods probably date from the return of Herod with Sosius, and the resumption of more active hostilities.

ⁿ True he was one of the same race who at a former sack of Jerusalem had cried "Down with it, down

In many respects this period was a repetition of that of the Maccabees and Antiochus Epiphanes. True, Herod was more politic, and more prudent, and also probably had more sympathy with the Jewish character than Antiochus. But the spirit of stern resistance to innovation and of devotion to the law of Jehovah burnt no less fiercely in the breasts of the people than it had done before; and it is curious to remark how every attempt on Herod's part to introduce foreign customs was met by outbreak, and how futile were all the benefits which he conferred both on the temporal and ecclesiastical welfare of the people when these obnoxious intrusions were in question.^p

In the year 34 the city was visited by Cleopatra, who, having accompanied Antony to the Euphrates, was now returning to Egypt through her estates at Jericho (*Ant.* xv. 4, §2).

In the spring of 31, the year of the battle of Actium, Judaea was visited by an earthquake, the effects of which appear to have been indeed tremendous: 10,000 (*Ant.* xv. 5, §2) or, according to another account (*B. J.* i. 19, §3), 20,000 persons were killed by the fall of buildings, and an immense quantity of cattle. The panic at Jerusalem was very severe; but it was calmed by the arguments of Herod, then departing to a campaign on the east of Jordan for the interests of Cleopatra.

The following year was distinguished by the death of Hyrcanus, who, though more than 80 years old, was killed by Herod, ostensibly for a treasonable correspondence with the Arabians, but really to remove the last remnant of the Asmonean race, who, in the fluctuations of the times, and in Herod's absence from his kingdom, might have been dangerous to him. He appears to have resided at Jerusalem since his return; and his accusation was brought before the Sanhedrim (*Ant.* xv. 6, §1-3).

Mariamne was put to death in the year 29, whether in Jerusalem or in the Alexandreion, in which she had been placed with her mother when Herod left for his interview with Octavius, is not certain. But Alexandra was now in Jerusalem again; and in Herod's absence, ill, at Samaria (Sebaste), she began to plot for possession of the Baris, and of another fortress situated in the city. The attempt, however, cost her her life. The same year saw the execution of Costobaras, husband of Herod's sister Salome, and of several other persons of distinction (*Ant.* xv. 7, §8-10).

Herod now began to encourage foreign practices and usages, probably with the view of "counterbalancing by a strong Grecian party the turbulent and exclusive spirit of the Jews." Amongst his acts of this description was the building of a theatre^q at Jerusalem (*Ant.* xv. 8, §1). Of its situation no information is given, nor have any indications yet been discovered. It was ornamented with the names of the victories of Octavius, and with trophies of arms conquered in the wars of Herod. Quinquennial games in honour of Caesar were

^p The principles and results of the whole of this later period are ably summed up in Merivale's *Romans*, iii., chap. 29.

^q The amphitheatre "in the plain" mentioned in this passage is commonly supposed to have been also at Jerusalem (Barclay, *City of Great King*, 174, and others); but this is not a necessary inference. The word *πεδίον* is generally used of the plain of the Jordan near Jericho, where we know there was an amphitheatre (*B. J.* i. 33, §8). From another passage

instituted on the most magnificent scale, with racing, boxing, musical contests, fights of gladiators and wild beasts. The zealous Jews took fire at these innovations, but their wrath was specially excited by the trophies round the theatre at Jerusalem, which they believed to contain figures of groundless, they remained discontented. The spirit of the old Maccabees was still alive, and Herod only narrowly escaped assassination, while his would-be assassins endured torments and death with the greatest heroism. At this time he occupied the old palace of the Asmoneans, which crowned the eastern face of the upper city, and stood adjoining the Xystus at the end of the bridge which formed the communication between the south part of the Temple and the upper city (xv. 8, §5; comp. xx. 8, §11, and *B. J.* ii. 16, §3). This palace was not yet so magnificent as he afterwards made it, but it was already most richly furnished (xv. 9, §3). Herod had now also completed the improvements of the Baris—the fortress built by John Hyrcanus on the foundations of Simon Maccabaeus—which he had enlarged and strengthened at great expense, and named Antonia—after his friend Mark Antony. A description of this celebrated fortress will be given in treating of the TEMPLE, of which, as reconstructed by Herod, it formed an intimate part. It stood at the west end of the north wall of the Temple, and was inaccessible on all sides but that. See section III. p. 1023.

The year 25—the next after the attempt on Herod's life in the theatre—was one of great misfortunes. A long drought, followed by unpropitious seasons, involved Judaea in famine, and its consequence, a dreadful pestilence (*Ant.* xv. 9, §1). Herod took a noble and at the same time a most politic course. He sent to Egypt for corn, sacrificing for the purchase the costly decorations of his palace and his silver and gold plate. He was thus able to make regular distribution of corn and clothing, on an enormous scale, for the present necessities of the people, as well as to supply seed for the next year's crop (*Ant.* xv. 9, §2). The result of this was to remove to a great degree the animosity occasioned by his proceedings in the previous year.

In this year or the next Herod took another wife, the daughter of an obscure priest of Jerusalem named Simon. Shortly before the marriage Simon was made high-priest in the room of Joshua, or Jesus, the son of Phanous, who appears to have succeeded Ananel, and was now deposed to make way for Herod's future father-in-law (*Ant.* xv. 8, §3). It was probably on the occasion of this marriage that he built a new and extensive palace^r immediately adjoining the old wall, at the north-west corner of the upper city (*B. J.* v. 4, §4), about the spot now occupied by the Latin convent, in which, as memorials of his connexion with Cassius and Agrippa, a large apartment—superior in size to the Sanctuary of the Temple—was named after each

(*B. J.* i. 21, 8) it appears there was one at Caesarea. Still the *πεδίον* at Jerusalem is mentioned in *B. J.* ii. 1, §3.)

^r The name was probably not bestowed later than n.c. 34 or 33—the date of Herod's closest relations with Antony; and we may therefore infer that the alterations to the fortress had been at least 7 or 8 years in progress.

^s The old palace of the Asmoneans continued to be known as "the royal palace," *τὸ βασιλικόν* (*Ant.* xv. 8, §11).

(*Ant. ibid.*; *B. J. i. 21, §1*). This palace was very strongly fortified; it communicated with the three great towers on the wall erected shortly after, and it became the citadel, the special fortress (*Ἰδιον ὀρῶσιον*, *B. J. v. 5, §8*) of the upper city. A road led to it from one of the gates—naturally the northern—in the west wall of the Temple in the northern—closure (*Ant. xv. 14, §5*). But all Herod's works in Jerusalem were eclipsed by the rebuilding of the Temple in more than its former extent and magnificence. He announced his intention in the year 19, probably when the people were collected in Jerusalem at the Passover. At first it met with some opposition from the fear that what he had begun he would not be able to finish, and the consequent risk involved in demolishing the old Temple. This he overcame by engaging to make all the necessary preparations before pulling down any part of the existing buildings. Two years appear to have been occupied in these preparations—among which Josephus mentions the teaching of some of the priests and Levites to work as masons and carpenters—and then the work began (*xv. 11, §2*). Both Sanctuary and Cloisters—the latter double in extent and far larger and loftier than before—were built from the very foundations (*B. J. i. 21, §1*; *Ant. xv. 11, §3*). [TEMPLE.] The holy house itself (*ναός*), i. e. the Porch, Sanctuary, and Holy of Holies—was finished in a year and a half (*xv. 11, §6*). Its completion on the anniversary of Herod's inauguration, B.C. 16, was celebrated by lavish sacrifices and a great feast. Immediately after this Herod made a journey to Rome to fetch home his two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus—with whom he returned to Jerusalem, apparently in the spring of 15 (*Ant. xvi. 1, §2*). In the autumn of this year he was visited by his friend Marcus Agrippa, the favourite of Augustus. Agrippa was well received by the people of Jerusalem, whom he propitiated by a sacrifice of a hundred oxen and by a magnificent entertainment (*Ant. xvi. 2, §1*). Herod left again in the beginning of 14 to join Agrippa in the Black Sea. On his return, in the autumn or winter of the same year, he addressed the people assembled at Jerusalem—for the Feast of Tabernacles—and remitted them a fourth of the annual tax (*xv. 2, §4*). Another journey was followed by a similar assembly in the year 11, at which time Herod announced Antipater as his immediate successor (*xvi. 4, §6*; *B. J. i. 23, §4*).

About B.C. 9—eight years from the commencement—the court and cloisters of the Temple were finished (*Ant. xv. 11, §5*), and the bridge between the south cloister and the upper city—demolished by Pompey—was doubtless now rebuilt with that massive masonry of which some remains still survive (see the woodcut, p. 1019). At this time equally magnificent works were being carried on in another part of the city, viz., in the old wall at the north-west corner, contiguous to the palace, where three towers of great size and magnificence were erected on the wall, and one as an outwork at a small distance to the north. The latter was called Paephinus (*B. J. v. 4, §2, 3, 4*), the three former were Hippius, after one of his friends—Phasaelus, after his brother—and Mariamne, after his queen (*Ant. xvi. 5, 2*; *B. J. v. 4, 3*). For their positions see section III, p. 1021. Phasaelus appears to have been erected first of the three (*Ant. xvii. 10, §2*), though it cannot have been begun at the time of Phasaelus's death, as that took place some years before Jerusalem came into Herod's hands.

About this time occurred—if it occurred at all, which seems more than doubtful (*Prideaux, Ann. 134*)—Herod's unsuccessful attempt to plunder the sepulchre of David of the remainder of the treasures left there by Hyrcanus (*Jos. Ant. xvi. 7, §1*).

In or about the year 7 occurred the affair of the Golden Eagle, a parallel to that of the theatre, and, like that, important, as showing how strongly the Maccabean spirit of resistance to innovations on the Jewish law still existed, and how vain were any concessions in the other direction in the presence of such innovations. Herod had fixed a large golden eagle, the symbol of the Roman empire, of which Judaea was now a province, over the entrance to the Sanctuary, probably at the same time that he inscribed the name of Agrippa on the gate (*B. J. i. 21, §8*). As a breach of the 2nd commandment—not as a badge of dependence—this had excited the indignation of the Jews, and especially of two of the chief rabbis, who instigated their disciples to tear it down. A false report of the king's death was made the occasion of doing this in open day, and in the presence of a large number of people. Being taken before Herod the rabbis defended their conduct and were burnt alive. The high-priest Matthias was deposed, and Jezar took his place.

This was the state of things in Jerusalem when Herod died, in the year 4 B.C. of the common chronology (Dionysian era), but really a few months after the birth of Christ (see p. 1072).

The government of Judaea, and therefore of Jerusalem, had by the will of Herod been bequeathed to Archelaus. He lost no time after the burial of his father in presenting himself in the Temple, and addressing the people on the affairs of the kingdom—a display of confidence and moderation, strongly in contrast to the demeanour of the late king. It produced an instant effect on the excited minds of the Jews, still smarting from the failure of the affair of the eagle, and from the chastisement it had brought upon them; and Archelaus was besieged with clamours for the liberation of the numerous persons imprisoned by the late king, and for remission of the taxes. As the people collected for the evening sacrifice the matter became more serious, and assumed the form of a public demonstration, of lamentation for the two martyrs, Judas and Matthias, and indignation against the intruded high-priest. So loud and shrill were the cries of lament that they were heard over the whole city. Archelaus meanwhile temporised and promised redress when his government should be confirmed by Rome. The Passover was close at hand, and the city was fast filling with the multitudes of rustics and of pilgrims (*ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροπίας*), who crowded to the great Feast (*B. J. ii. 1, §3*; *Ant. xvii. 9, §3*). These strangers not being able or willing to find admittance into the houses, pitched their tents (*τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐσκηνακόντας*) on the open ground around the Temple (*Ant. ibid.*). Meanwhile the tumult in the Temple itself was maintained and increased daily; a multitude of fanatics never left the courts, but continued there, incessantly clamouring and imprecating.

Longer delay in dealing with such a state of things would have been madness; a small party of soldiers had already been roughly handled by the mob (*B. J. ii. 1, §3*), and Archelaus at last did what his father would have done at first. He despatched the whole garrison, horse and foot, the foot-soldiers by way of the city to clear the Temple, the horse-soldiers by a detour round the level

ground north of the town, to surprise the pilgrims on the eastern slopes of Moriah, and prevent their rushing to the succour of the fanatics in the Temple. The movement succeeded: 3000 were cut up and the whole concourse dispersed over the country.

During Archelaus' absence at Rome, Jerusalem was in charge of Sabinus, the Roman procurator of the province, and the tumults—ostensibly on the occasion of some exactions of Sabinus, but doubtless with the same real ground as before—were renewed with worse results. At the next feast, Pentecost, the throng of strangers was enormous. They formed regular encampments round the Temple, and on the western hill of the upper city, and besieged Sabinus and his legion, who appear to have been in the Antonia.¹ At last the Romans made a sally and cut their way into the Temple. The struggle was desperate, a great many Jews were killed, the cloisters of the outer court burnt down, and the sacred treasury plundered of immense sums. But no reverses could quell the fury of the insurgents, and matters were not appeased till Varus, the prefect of the province, arrived from the north with a large force and dispersed the strangers. On this quiet was restored.

In the year 3 B.C. Archelaus returned from Rome ethnarch of the southern province. He immediately displaced Joazar, whom his father had made high-priest after the affair of the Eagle, and put Joazar's brother Eleazar in his stead. This is the only event affecting Jerusalem that is recorded in the 10 years between the return of Archelaus and his summary departure to trial at Rome (A.D. 6).

Judaea was now reduced to an ordinary Roman province; the procurator of which resided, not at Jerusalem, but at Caesarea on the coast (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 3, §1). The first appointed was Coponius, who accompanied Quirinus to the country immediately on the disgrace of Archelaus. Quirinus (the CYRENIUS of the N. T.)—now for the second time prefect of Syria—was charged with the unpopular measure of the enrolment or assessment of the inhabitants of Judaea. Notwithstanding the riots which took place elsewhere, at Jerusalem the enrolment was allowed to proceed without resistance, owing to the prudence of Joazar (*Ant.* xviii. 1, §1), again high-priest for a short time. One of the first acts of the new governor had been to take formal possession of the state vestments of the high-priest, worn on the three Festivals and on the Day of Atonement. Since the building of the Baris by the Maccabees these robes had always been kept there, a custom continued since its reconstruction by Herod. But henceforward they were to be put up after use in an underground stone chamber, under the seal of the priests, and in charge of the captain of the guard. Seven days before use they were brought out, to be consigned again to the chamber after the ceremony was over (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4, §3).

¹ The determination of the locality of the legion during this affair is most puzzling. On the one hand the position of the insurgents, who lay completely round the Temple, South, East, North, and West, and who are expressly said thus to have hemmed in the Romans on all sides (*Ant.* xvii. 10, §2), and also the expression used about the sally of the legion, namely, that they "leaped out" into the Temple, seem to point inevitably to the Antonia. On the other hand, Sabinus gave the signal for the attack from the tower Phasaelus (*Ant.* *ibid.*). But Phasaelus was on the old wall, close to Herod's palace, fully half a mile, as the crow flies, from the Temple—a strange distance for a Roman commander to be off from his troops! The only suggestion that occurs to the writer

Two incidents at once most opposite in their character, and in their significance to that age and to ourselves, occurred during the procuratorship of Coponius. First, in the year 8, the finding of Christ in the Temple. Annas had been made high-priest about a year before. The second occurrence must have been a most distressing one to the Jews, unless they had become inured to such things. But of this we cannot so exactly fix the date. It was nothing less than the pollution of the Temple by some Samaritans, who secretly brought human bones and strewed them about the cloisters during the night of the Passover.² Up to this time the Samaritans had been admitted to the Temple; they were henceforth excluded.

In or about A.D. 10, Coponius was succeeded by M. Ambivius, and he by Annus Rufus. In 14 Augustus died, and with Tiberius came a new procurator—Val. Gratus, who held office till 26, when he was replaced by Pontius Pilate. During this period the high-priests had been numerous,³ but it is only necessary here to say that when Pilate arrived at his government the office was held by Joseph Caiaphas, who had been appointed but a few months before. The freedom from disturbance which marks the preceding 20 years at Jerusalem, was probably due to the absence of the Roman troops, who were quartered at Caesarea out of the way of the fierce fanatics of the Temple. But Pilate transferred the winter quarters of the army to Jerusalem (*Ant.* xviii. 3, §1), and the very first day there was a collision. The offence was given by the Roman standards—the images of the emperor and of the eagle—which by former commanders had been kept out of the city. A representation was made to Pilate; and so obstinate was the temper of the Jews on the point, that he yielded, and the standards were withdrawn (*Ant.* *ibid.*). He afterwards, as if to try how far he might go, consecrated some gilt shields—not containing figures, but inscribed simply with the name of the deity and of the donor—and hung them in the palace at Jerusalem. This act again aroused the resistance of the Jews; and on appeal to Tiberius they were removed (Philo, *πρὸς Galov*, Mangey, ii. 589).

Another riot was caused by his appropriation of the Corban—a sacred revenue arising from the redemption of vows—to the cost of an aqueduct which he constructed for bringing water to the city from a distance of 200 (*Ant.* xviii. 3, §2) or 400 (*B. J.* ii. 9, §4) stadia. This aqueduct has been supposed to be that leading from "Solomon's Pools" at Urtas to the Temple hill (Krafft, in Ritter, *Erdbekand.* Pal. 276), but the distance of Urtas is against the identification.

A.D. 29. At the Passover of this year our Lord made His first recorded visit to the city since His boyhood (John ii. 13).

is that Phasaelus was the name not only of the tower on the wall, but of the south-east corner turret of Antonia, which we know to have been 20 cubits higher than the other three (*B. J.* v. 5, §8). This would agree with all the circumstances of the narrative, and with the account that Sabinus was "in the highest tower of the fortress;" the very position occupied by Titus during the assault on the Temple from Antonia. But this suggestion is quite unsupported by any direct evidence.

² The mode of pollution adopted by Josiah towards the idolatrous shrines (see p. 994 b).

³ Their names and succession will be found under HIGH-PRIEST, p. 313. See also ANNAS.

A. D. 33. At the Passover of this year, occurred His crucifixion and resurrection.

In A. D. 37, Pilate having been recalled to Rome, Jerusalem was visited by Vitellius, the prefect of Syria, at the time of the Passover. Vitellius conferred two great benefits on the city. He remitted the duties levied on produce, and he allowed the Jews again to have the free custody of the high-priest's vestments. He removed Caiaphas from the high-priesthood, and gave it to Jonathan son of Annas. He then departed, apparently leaving a Roman officer (*φρουραρχος*) in charge of the Antonia (*Ant.* xviii. 4, §3). Vitellius was again at Jerusalem this year, probably in the autumn, with Herod the tetrarch (xviii. 5, §3); while there he again changed the high-priest, substituting for Jonathan, Theophilus his brother. The news of the death of Tiberius and the accession of Caligula reached Jerusalem at this time. Marcellus was appointed procurator by the new emperor. In the following year Stephen was stoned. The Christians were greatly persecuted, and all, except the Apostles, driven out of Jerusalem (*Acts* viii. 1, xi. 19).

In A. D. 40 Vitellius was superseded by P. Petronius, who arrived in Palestine with an order to place in the Temple a statue of Caligula. This order was ultimately, by the intercession of Agrippa, countermanded, but not until it had roused the whole people as one man (*Ant.* xviii. 8, §2-9; and see the admirable narrative of Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, bk. x.).

With the accession of Claudius in 41 came an edict of toleration to the Jews. Agrippa arrived in Palestine to take possession of his kingdom, and one of his first acts was to visit the Temple, where he offered sacrifice and dedicated the golden chain which the late emperor had presented him after his release from captivity. It was hung over the Treasury (*Ant.* xix. 6, §1). Simon was made high-priest; the house-tax was remitted.

Agrippa resided very much at Jerusalem, and added materially to its prosperity and convenience. The city had for some time been extending itself towards the north, and a large suburb had come into existence on the high ground north of the Temple, and outside of the "second wall" which enclosed the northern part of the great central valley of the city. Hitherto the outer portion of this suburb—which was called Bezetha, or "New town," and had grown up very rapidly—was unprotected by any formal wall, and practically lay open to attack. This defenceless condition attracted the attention of Agrippa, who, like the first Herod, was a great builder, and he commenced enclosing it in so substantial and magnificent a manner as to excite the suspicions of the Prefect, at whose instance it was stopped by Claudius (*Ant.* *ibid.*; *B. J.* ii. 11, §6; v. 4, §2). Subsequently the Jews seem to have purchased permission to complete the work (*Tacit. Hist.* v. 12; *Jos. B. J.* v. 4, §2 *ad fin.*). This new wall, the outermost of the three which enclosed the city on the north, started from the old wall at the Tower Hippicus, near the N.W. corner of the city. It ran northward, bending by a large circuit to the east, and at last returning southward along the western brink of the valley of Kedron till it joined the southern wall of the Temple. Thus it enclosed not only the new suburb, but also the

district immediately north and north-east of the Temple on the brow of the Kedron valley, which up to the present date had lain open to the country. The huge stones which still lie—many of them undisturbed—in the east and south walls of the Haram area, especially the south-east corner under the "Bath and Cradle of Jesus," are parts of this wall.

The year 43 is memorable as that of St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. The year 44 began with the murder of St. James by Agrippa (*Acts* xii. 1), followed at the Passover by the imprisonment and escape of St. Peter. Shortly after Agrippa himself died. Cuspius Fadus arrived from Rome as procurator, and Longinus as prefect of Syria. An attempt was made by the Romans to regain possession of the pontifical robes; but on reference to the emperor the attempt was abandoned. In 45 commenced a severe famine which lasted two years (*Ewald, Gesch.* vi. 409, note). To the people of Jerusalem it was alleviated by the presence of Helena, queen of Adiabene, a convert to the Jewish faith, who visited the city in 46 and imported corn and dried fruit, which she distributed to the poor (*Ant.* xx. 2, §5; 5, §2). During her stay Helena constructed, at a distance of three stadia from the city, a tomb, marked by three pyramids, to which her remains, with those of her son, were afterwards brought (*Ant.* xx. 4, §3). It was situated to the north, and formed one of the points in the course of the new wall (*B. J.* v. 4, §2). At the end of this year St. Paul arrived in Jerusalem for the second time.

A. D. 48. Fadus was succeeded by Ventidius Cumanus. A frightful tumult happened at the Passover of this year, caused, as on former occasions, by the presence of the Roman soldiers in the Antonia and in the courts and cloisters of the Temple during the festival. Ten, or, according to another account, twenty, thousand, are said to have met their deaths, not by the sword, but trodden to death in the crush through the narrow lanes which led from the Temple down into the city (*Ant.* xx. 5, §3; *B. J.* ii. 12, §1). Cumanus was recalled, and FELIX appointed in his room (*Ant.* xx. 7, §1; *B. J.* ii. 12, §8), partly at the instance of Jonathan, the then high-priest (*Ant.* xx. 8, §5). A set of ferocious fanatics, whom Josephus calls *Sicarii*, had lately begun to make their appearance in the city, whose creed it was to rob and murder all whom they judged hostile to Jewish interests. Felix, weary of the remonstrances of Jonathan on his vicious life, employed some of these wretches to assassinate him. He was killed in the Temple, while sacrificing. The murder was never inquired into, and, emboldened by this, the *Sicarii* repeated their horrid act, thus adding, in the eyes of the Jews, the awful crime of sacrilege to that of murder (*B. J.* ii. 13, §3; *Ant.* *ibid.*). The city, too, was filled with impostors pretending to inspiration, but inspired only with hatred to all government and order. Nor was the disorder confined to the lower classes: the chief people of the city, the very high-priests themselves, robbed the threshing-floors of the tithes common to all the priests, and led parties of rioters to open tumult and fighting in the streets (*Ant.* xx. 8, §8). In fact, not only Jerusalem, but the whole country far and wide, was in the most frightful confusion and insecurity.

Bezetha lay quite naked (*B. J.* v. 4, §2), in another that it had some kind of wall (*Ant.* xix. 7, §2).

* The statements of Josephus are not quite reconcilable. In one passage he says distinctly that Bezetha

At length a riot at Caesarea of the most serious description caused the recall of Felix, and in the end of 60 or the beginning of 61, PORCIUS FESTUS succeeded him as procurator. Festus was an able and upright officer (*B. J. ii. 14, §1*), and at the same time conciliatory towards the Jews (*Acts xxv. 9*). In the brief period of his administration he kept down the robbers with a strong hand, and gave the province a short breathing time. His interview with St. Paul (*Acts xxv., xxvi.*) took place, not at Jerusalem, but at Caesarea. On one occasion both Festus and Agrippa came into collision with the Jews at Jerusalem. Agrippa—who had been appointed king by Nero in 52—had added an apartment to the old Asmonean palace on the eastern brow of the upper city, which commanded a full view into the interior of the courts of the Temple. This view the Jews intercepted by building a wall on the west side of the inner quadrangle.⁷ But the wall not only intercepted Agrippa, it also interfered with the view from the outer cloisters in which the Roman guard was stationed during the festivals. Both Agrippa and Festus interfered, and required it to be pulled down; but the Jews pleaded that once built it was a part of the Temple, and entreated to be allowed to appeal to Nero. Nero allowed their plea, but retained as hostages the high-priest and treasurer, who had headed the deputation. Agrippa appointed Joseph, called Cabi, to the vacant priesthood. In 62 (probably) Festus died, and was succeeded by Albinus; and he again very shortly after by Annas or Ananus, son of the Annas before whom Our Lord was taken. In the interval a persecution was commenced against the Christians at the instance of the new high-priest, a rigid Sadducee, and St. James and others were arraigned before the Sanhedrim (*Jos. Ant. xx. 9, §1*). They were “delivered to be stoned,” but St. James at any rate appears not to have been killed till a few years later. The act gave great offence to all, and cost Annas his office after he had held it but three months. Jesus (Joshua), the son of Darnesus, succeeded him. Albinus began his rule by endeavouring to keep down the Sicarii and other disturbers of the peace; and indeed he preserved throughout a show of justice and vigour (*Ant. xx. 11, §1*), though in secret greedy and rapacious. But before his recall he pursued his end more openly, and priests, people, and governors alike seem to have been bent on rapine and bloodshed: rival high-priests headed bodies of rioters, and stoned each other, and in the words of Josephus, “all things grew from worse to worse” (*Ant. xx. 9, §4*). The evils were aggravated by two occurrences—first, the release by Albinus, before his departure, of all the smaller criminals in the prisons (*Ant. xx. 9, §5*); and secondly, the sudden discharge of an immense body of workmen, on the completion of the repairs to the Temple (*xx. 9, §7*). An endeavour was made to remedy the latter by inducing Agrippa to rebuild the eastern cloister; but he refused to undertake a work of such magnitude, though he consented to pave the city with marble. The repairs of a part of the sanctuary that had fallen down, and the renewal of the foundations of

⁷ No one in Jerusalem might build so high that his house could overlook the Temple. It was the subject of a distinct prohibition by the Doctors. See Maimonides, quoted by Otho, *Lex. Rab.* 266. Probably this furnished one reason for so hostile a step to so friendly a person as Agrippa.

some portions were deferred for the present, but the materials were collected and stored in one or

two. Bad as Albinus had been, Gessius Florus, who succeeded him in 65, was worse. In fact, even Tacitus admits that the endurance of the oppressed Jews could last no longer—*duravit patientia Judaeis usque ad Gessium Florum* (*Hist. v. 10*). So great was his rapacity, that whole cities and districts were desolated, and the robbers openly allowed to purchase immunity in plunder. At the Passover, probably in 66, when Cestius Gallus, the prefect of Syria, visited Jerusalem, the whole assembled people^a besought him for redress; but without effect. Florus' next attempt was to obtain some of the treasure from the Temple. He demanded 17 talents in the name of the emperor. The demand produced a frantic disturbance, in the midst of which he approached the city with both cavalry and foot-soldiers. That night Florus took up his quarters in the royal palace—that of Herod at the N.W. corner of the city. On the following morning he took his seat on the Bema, and the high-priest and other principal people being brought before him, he demanded that the leaders of the late riot should be given up. On their refusal he ordered his soldiers to plunder the upper city. This order was but too faithfully carried out; every house was entered and pillaged, and the Jews driven out. In their attempt to get through the narrow streets which lay in the valley between the upper city and the Temple, many were caught and slain, others were brought before Florus, scourged, and then crucified. No grade or class was exempt. Jews who bore the Roman equestrian order were among the victims treated with most indignity. Queen Bernice herself (*B. J. ii. 15, §1*)—residing at that time in the Asmonean palace in the very midst of the slaughter—was so affected by the scene, as to intercede in person and barefoot before Florus, but without avail, and in returning she was herself nearly killed, and only escaped by taking refuge in her palace and calling her guards about her. The further details of this dreadful tumult must be passed over.^a Florus was foiled in his attempt to press through the old city up into the Antonia—whence he would have had nearer access to the treasures—and finding that the Jews had broken down the north and west cloisters where they joined the fortress, so as to cut off the communication, he relinquished the attempt and withdrew to Caesarea (*B. J. ii. 15, §6*).

Cestius Gallus, the prefect, now found it necessary for him to visit the city in person. He sent one of his lieutenants to announce him, but before he himself arrived events had become past remedy. Agrippa had shortly before returned from Alexandria, and had done much to calm the people. At his instance they rebuilt the part of the cloisters which had been demolished, and collected the tributes which had been demerited, and collected the tributes in arrears, but the mere suggestion from him that they should obey Florus until he was replaced, produced such a storm that he was obliged to leave the city (*B. J. ii. 16, §5; 17, §1*). The seditious party in the Temple led by young Eleazar, son of Ananias, rejected

^a Josephus says three millions in number! These millions is very little under the population of London with all its suburbs.

^a The whole tragic story is most forcibly told by Milman (*ii. 219-224*).

The offerings of the Roman emperor, which since the time of Julius Caesar had been regularly made. This, as a direct renunciation of allegiance, was the true beginning of the war with Rome (*B. J.* ii. 17, §2). Such acts were not done without resistance from the older and wiser people. But remonstrance was unavailing, the innovators would listen to no representations. The peace party, therefore, despatched some of their number to Florus and to Agrippa and the latter sent 3000 horse-soldiers to assist in keeping order.

Hostilities at once began. The peace party, headed by the high-priest, and fortified by Agrippa's soldiers, threw themselves into the upper city. The insurgents held the Temple and the lower city. In the Antonia was a small Roman garrison. Fierce contests lasted for seven days, each side endeavoring to take possession of the part held by the other. At last the insurgents, who behaved with the greatest ferocity, and were reinforced by a number of Sicarii, were triumphant. They gained the upper city, driving all before them—the high-priest and other leaders into vaults and sewers, the soldiers into Herod's palace. The Asmonean palace, the high-priest's house, and the repository of the Archives—in Josephus's language, "the nerves of the city" (*B. J.* ii. 17, §6)—were set on fire. Antonia was next attacked, and in two days they had effected an entrance, sabred the garrison, and burnt the fortress. The balistae and catapults found there were preserved for future use (*v.* 6, §3). The soldiers in Herod's palace were next besieged; but so strong were the walls, and so stout the resistance, that it was three weeks before an entrance could be effected. The soldiers were at last forced from the palace into the three great towers on the adjoining wall with great loss; and ultimately were all murdered in the most treacherous manner. The high-priest and his brother were discovered hidden in the aqueduct of the palace; they were instantly put to death. Thus the insurgents were now completely masters of both city and temple. But they were not to remain so long. After the defeat of Cestius Gallus at Bethoron dissensions began to arise, and it soon became known that there was still a large moderate party; and Cestius took advantage of this to advance from Scopus on the city. He made his way through Bezetha, the new suburb north of the Temple,^a and through the wood-market, burning everything as he went (*B. J.* v. 7, §2), and at last encamped opposite the palace at the foot of the second wall. The Jews retired to the upper city and to the Temple. For five days Cestius assaulted the wall without success; on the sixth he resolved to make one more attempt, this time at a different spot—the north wall of the Temple, east of, and behind, the Antonia. The Jews, however, fought with such fury from the top of the cloisters, that he could effect nothing, and when night came he drew off to his camp at Scopus. Thither the insurgents followed him, and in three days gave him one of the most complete defeats that a Roman army had ever undergone. His catapults and balistae were taken from him, and reserved by the Jews for the final siege (*v.* 6, §3).

This occurred on the 8th of Marchesvan (beginning of November), 66.

The war with Rome was now inevitable, and it was evident that the siege of Jerusalem was only a question of time. Ananus, the high-priest, a moderate and prudent man, took the lead; the walls were repaired, arms and warlike instruments and machines of all kinds fabricated, and other preparations made. In this attitude of expectation—with occasional diversions, such as the expedition to Ascalon (*B. J.* iii. 2, §1, 2), and the skirmishes with Simon Bar-Gioras (*ii.* 22, §2)—the city remained while Vespasian was reducing the north of the country, and till the fall of Giscala (Oct. or Nov. 67), when John, the son of Levi, escaped thence to Jerusalem, to become one of the most prominent persons in the future conflict.

From the arrival of John, two years and a half elapsed till Titus appeared before the walls of Jerusalem. The whole of that time was occupied in contests between the moderate party, whose desire was to take such a course as might yet preserve the nationality of the Jews and the existence of the city, and the Zealots or fanatics, the assertors of national independence, who scouted the idea of compromise, and resolved to regain their freedom or perish. The Zealots, being utterly unscrupulous, and resorting to massacre on the least resistance, soon triumphed, and at last reigned paramount, with no resistance but such as sprang from their own internal factions. For the repulsive details of this frightful period of contention and outrage the reader must be referred to other works.^c It will be sufficient to say that at the beginning of 70, when Titus made his appearance, the Zealots themselves were divided into two parties—that of John of Giscala and Eleazar, who held the Temple and its courts and the Antonia—8400 men; that of Simon Bar-Gioras, whose head-quarters were in the tower Phasaelus (*v.* 4, §3), and who held the upper city, from the present Coenaculum to the Latin Convent, the lower city in the valley, and the district where the old Acra had formerly stood, north of the Temple—10,000 men, and 5000 Idumeans (*B. J.* v. 6, §1), in all a force of between 23,000 and 24,000 soldiers trained in the civil encounters of the last two years to great skill and thorough recklessness.^d The numbers of the other inhabitants, swelled, as they were, by the strangers and pilgrims who flocked from the country to the Passover, it is extremely difficult to decide. Tacitus, doubtless from some Roman source, gives the whole at 600,000. Josephus states that 1,100,000 perished during the siege (*B. J.* vi. 9, §3; comp. *v.* 13, 7), and that more than 40,000 were allowed to depart into the country (*vi.* 8, §2), in addition to an "immense number" sold to the army, and who of course form a proportion of the 97,000 "carried captive during the whole war" (*vi.* 9, §3). We may therefore take Josephus's computation of the numbers at about 1,200,000. Reasons are given in the third section of this article for believing that even the smaller of these numbers is very greatly in excess, and that it cannot have exceeded 60,000 or 70,000 (see *p.* 1025).

"the most soul-stirring struggle of all ancient history." Of course the materials for all modern accounts are in Josephus only, excepting the few touches—strong, but not always accurate—in the 5th book of Tacitus's *Histories*.

^d These are the numbers given by Josephus; but it is probable that they are exaggerated.

^a It is remarkable that nothing is said of any resistance to his passage through the great wall of Agrippa, which encircled Bezetha.

^c Dean Milman's *History of the Jews*, Bks. xiv., xv., xvi.; and Merivale's *History of the Romans*, vi. ch. 59. In both of these works the writer begs leave to express his obligations throughout the above meagre sketch of

Titus's force consisted of four legions, and some auxiliaries—at the outside 30,000 men (*B. J.* v. 1, §6). These were disposed on their first arrival in three camps—the 12th and 15th legions on the ridge of Scopus, about a mile north of the city; the 5th a little in the rear; and the 10th on the top of the Mount of Olives (v. 2, §3, 5), to guard the road to the Jordan valley, and to shell the place (if the expression may be allowed) from that commanding position. The army was well furnished with artillery and machines of the latest and most approved invention—"cuncta expugnandis urbibus, reperta apud veteres, aut novis ingenis," says Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 13). The first operation was to clear the ground between Scopus and the north wall of the city—fell the timber, destroy the fences of the gardens which fringed the wall, and level the rocky protuberances. This occupied four days. After it was done the three legions were marched forward from Scopus, and encamped off the north-west corner of the walls, stretching from the Tower Psephinus to opposite Hippicus. The first step was to get possession of the outer wall. The point of attack chosen was in Simon's portion of the city, at a low and comparatively weak place near the monument of John Hyrcanus (v. 6, §2), close to the junction of the three walls, and where the upper city came to a level with the surrounding ground. Round this spot the three legions erected banks, from which they opened batteries, pushing up the rams and other engines of attack to the foot of the wall. One of the rams, more powerful than the rest, went among the Jews by the soubriquet of Nikôn,^e the conqueror. Three large towers, 75 feet high, were also erected, overtopping the wall. Meantime from their camp on the Mount of Olives the 10th legion opened fire on the Temple and the east side of the city. They had the heaviest balistæ, and did great damage. Simon and his men did not suffer these works to go on without molestation. The catapults, both those taken from Cestius, and those found in the Antonia, were set up on the wall, and constant desperate sallies were made. At last the Jews began to tire of their fruitless assaults. They saw that the wall must fall, and, as they had done during Nebuchadnezzar's siege, they left their posts at night, and went home. A breach was made by the redoubtable Nikôn on the 7th Artemisius (cir. April 15); and here the Romans entered, driving the Jews before them to the second wall. A great length of the wall was then broken down; such parts of Bezetha as had escaped destruction by Cestius were levelled, and a new camp was formed, on the spot formerly occupied by the Assyrians, and still known as the "Assyrian camp."^f

This was a great step in advance. Titus now lay with the second wall of the city close to him on his right, while before him at no considerable distance rose Antonia and the Temple, with no obstacle in the interval to his attack. Still, however, he preferred, before advancing, to get possession of the second wall, and the neighbourhood of John's monument was again chosen. Simon was no less reckless in assault, and no less fertile in stratagem, than before; but, notwithstanding all his efforts, in five days a breach was again effected. The district into which the Romans

had now penetrated was the great Valley which lay between the two main hills of the city, occupied then, as it is still, by an intricate mass of narrow and tortuous lanes, and containing the markets of the city—no doubt very like the present markets of Titus's breach was where the wool, cloth, and brass bazaars came up to the wall (v. 8, §1). This district was held by the Jews with the greatest tenacity. Knowing, as they did, every turn of the lanes and alleys, they had an immense advantage over the Romans, and it was only after four days' incessant fighting, much loss, and one thorough repulse, that the Romans were able to make good their position. However, at last, Simon was obliged to retreat, and then Titus demolished the wall. This was the second step in the siege.

Meantime some shots had been interchanged in the direction of the Antonia, but no serious attack was made. Before beginning there in earnest Titus resolved to give his troops a few days' rest, and the Jews a short opportunity for reflection. He therefore called in the 10th legion from the Mount of Olives, and held an inspection of the whole army on the ground north of the Temple—full in view of both the Temple and the upper city, every wall and house in which were crowded with spectators (*B. J.* v. 9, §1). But the opportunity was thrown away upon the Jews, and after four days orders were given to recommence the attack. Hitherto the assault had been almost entirely on the city: it was now to be simultaneous on city and Temple. Accordingly two pairs of large batteries were constructed, the one pair in front of Antonia; the other at the old point of attack—the monument of John Hyrcanus. The first pair was erected by the 5th and 12th legions, and was near the pool Struthius—probably the present *Birket Israil*, by the St. Stephen's gate; the second by the 10th and 15th, at the pool called the Almond pool—possibly that now known as the pool of Heskiah—and near the high-priest's monument (v. 11, §4). These banks seem to have been constructed of timber and fascines, to which the Romans must have been driven by the scarcity of earth. They absorbed the incessant labour of seventeen days, and were completed on the 29th Artemisius (cir. May 7). John in the meantime had not been idle; he had employed the seventeen days' respite in driving mines, through the solid limestone of the hill, from within the fortress (v. xi. §4; vi. 1, §3) to below the banks. The mines were formed with timber roofs and supports. When the banks were quite complete, and the engines placed upon them, the timber of the galleries was fired, the superincumbent ground gave way, and the labour of the Romans was totally destroyed. At the other point Simon had maintained a resistance with all his former intrepidity, and more than his former success. He had now greatly increased the number of his machines, and his people were much more expert in handling them than before, so that he was able to impede materially the progress of the works. And when they were completed, and the battering rams had begun to make a sensible impression on the wall, he made a furious assault on them, and succeeded in firing the rams, seriously damaging the other engines, and destroying the banks (v. 11, §5, 6).

It now became plain to Titus that some other

^e ὁ Νικόων . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ παντὸς νικᾶν (*B. J.* v. 7, §2). A curious question is raised by the occurrence of this and other Greek names in Josephus; so stated as to lead to the inference that Greek was familiarly used

by the Jews indiscriminately with Hebrew. See the catalogues of names in *B. J.* v. 4, §2.

^f Compare Mahaneh-Dan, "camp of Dan" (*Jub.* xviii. 12).

measures for the reduction of the place must be adopted. It would appear that hitherto the southern and western parts of the city had not been invested, and on that side a certain amount of communication was kept up with the country, which, unless stopped, might prolong the siege indefinitely (*B. J.* v. 12, §1; 10, §3; 11, §1; 12, §3). The number who thus escaped is stated by Josephus at more than 500 a day (v. 11, §1). A council of war was therefore held, and it was resolved to encompass the whole place with a wall, and then recommence the assault. The wall began at the Roman camp—a spot probably outside the modern north wall, between the Damascus gate and the N.E. corner. From thence it went to the lower part of Bezetha—about St. Stephen's gate; then across Kedron to the Mount of Olives; thence south, by a rock called the "Pigeon's rock,"—possibly the modern "Tombs of the Prophets"—to the Mount of Offence. It then turned to the west; again dipped into the Kedron, ascended the Mount of Evil Counsel, and so kept on the upper side of the ravine to a village called Beth-Erebinthi, whence it ran outside of Herod's monument to its starting-point at the camp. Its entire length was 39 furlongs,—very near 5 miles; and it contained 13 stations or guard-houses. The whole strength of the army was employed on the work, and it was completed in the short space of three days. The siege was then vigorously pressed. The north attack was relinquished, and the whole force concentrated on the Antonia (12, §4). Four new banks of greater size than before were constructed, and as all the timber in the neighbourhood had been already cut down, the materials had to be procured from a distance of eleven miles (vi. 1, §1). Twenty-one days were occupied in completing the banks. Their position is not specified, but it is evident, from some of the expressions of Josephus, that they were at a considerable distance from the fortress (vi. 1, §3). At length on the 1st Panemus or Tamuz (cir. June 7), the fire from the banks commenced, under cover of which the rams were set to work, and that night a part of the wall fell at a spot where the foundations had been weakened by the mines employed against the former attacks. Still this was but an outwork, and between it and the fortress itself a new wall was discovered, which John had taken the precaution to build. At length, after two desperate attempts, this wall and that of the inner fortress were scaled by a bold surprise, and on the 5th Panemus (June 11) the Antonia was in the hands of the Romans (vi. 1, §7). Another week was occupied in breaking down the outer walls of the fortress for the passage of the machines, and a further delay took place in erecting new banks, on the fresh level, for the bombardment and battery of the Temple. During the whole of this time—the miseries of which are commemorated in the traditional name of *yomin de'eka*, "days of wretchedness," applied by the Jews to the period between the 17th Tamuz and the 9th Ab—the most desperate hand-to-hand encounters took place, some in the passages from the Antonia to the cloisters, some in the cloisters themselves, the Romans endeavouring to force their way in, the Jews preventing them. But the Romans gradually gained ground. First the western, and then the whole of the northern external cloister was burnt

(27th and 28th Pan.), and then the wall enclosing the court of Israel and the holy house itself. In the interval, on the 17th Panemus, the daily sacrifice had failed, owing to the want of officiating priests; a circumstance which had greatly distressed the people, and was taken advantage of by Titus to make a further though fruitless invitation to surrender. At length, on the tenth day of Lous or Ab (July 15), by the wanton act of a soldier, contrary to the intention of Titus, and in spite of every exertion he could make to stop it, the sanctuary itself was fired (vi. 4, §5-7). It was, by one of those rare coincidences that sometimes occur, the very same month and day of the month that the first temple had been burnt by Nebuchadnezzar (vi. 4, §8). John, and such of his party as escaped the flames and the carnage, made their way by the bridge on the south to the upper city. The whole of the cloisters that had hitherto escaped, including the magnificent triple colonnade of Herod on the south of the Temple, the treasury chambers, and the rooms round the outer courts, were now all burnt and demolished. Only the edifice of the sanctuary itself still remained. On its solid masonry the fire had had comparatively little effect, and there were still hidden in its recesses a few faithful priests who had contrived to rescue the most valuable of the utensils, vessels, and spices of the sanctuary (vi. 6, §1; 8, §3).

The Temple was at last gained; but it seemed as if half the work remained to be done. The upper city, higher than Moriah, enclosed by the original wall of David and Solomon, and on all sides precipitous except at the north, where it was defended by the wall and towers of Herod, was still to be taken. Titus first tried a parley—he standing on the east end of the bridge between the Temple and the upper city, and John and Simon on the west end. His terms, however, were rejected, and no alternative was left him but to force on the siege. The whole of the low part of the town—the crowded lanes of which we have so often heard—was burnt, in the teeth of a frantic resistance from the Zealots (vi. 7, §1), together with the council-house, the repository of the records (doubtless occupied by Simon since its former destruction) and the palace of Helena, which were situated in this quarter—the suburb of Ophel under the south wall of the Temple, and the houses as far as Siloam on the lower slopes of the Temple mount.

It took 18 days to erect the necessary works for the siege; the four legions were once more stationed at the west or north-west corner where Herod's palace abutted on the wall, and where the three magnificent and impregnable towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne rose conspicuous (vi. 8, §1, and §4 *ad fin.*) This was the main attack. Opposite the Temple, the precipitous nature of the slopes of the upper city rendered it unlikely that any serious attempt would be made by the Jews, and this part accordingly, between the bridge and the Xystus, was left to the auxiliaries. The attack was commenced on the 7th of Gorpiaeus (cir. Sept. 11), and by the next day a breach was made in the wall, and the Romans at last entered the city. During the attack John and Simon appear to have stationed themselves in the towers just alluded to; and had they remained there they would probably have been

* Josephus contradicts himself about this date, since in vi. 2, §1 he says that the 17th Panemus was the "very day" that Antonia was entered. The date

given in the text agrees best with the narrative. But on the other hand the 17th is the day commemorated in the Jewish Calendar.

able to make terms, as the towers were considered impregnable (vi. 8, §4). But on the first signs of the breach, they took flight, and, traversing the city, descended into the valley of Hinnom below Siloam, and endeavoured to force the wall of circumvallation and so make their escape. On being repulsed there, they took refuge apart in some of the subterranean caverns or sewers of the city. John shortly after surrendered himself; but Simon held out for several weeks, and did not make his appearance until after Titus had quitted the city. They were both reserved for the Triumph at Rome.

The city being taken, such parts as had escaped the former conflagrations were burned, and the whole of both city and Temple was ordered to be demolished, excepting the west wall of the upper city, and Herod's three great towers at the north-west corner, which were left standing as memorials of the massive nature of the fortifications.

Of the Jews, the aged and infirm were killed; the children under seventeen were sold as slaves; the rest were sent, some to the Egyptian mines, some to the provincial amphitheatres, and some to grace the Triumph of the Conqueror.^a Titus then departed, leaving the tenth legion under the command of Terentius Rufus to carry out the work of demolition. Of this Josephus assures us that "the whole¹ was so thoroughly levelled and dug up that no one visiting it would believe it had ever been inhabited" (*B. J.* vii. 1, §1). [G.]

From its destruction by Titus to the present time.

—For more than fifty years after its destruction by Titus Jerusalem disappears from history. During the revolts of the Jews in Cyrenaica, Egypt, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, which disturbed the latter years of Trajan, the recovery of their city was never attempted. There is indeed reason to believe that Lucius, the head of the insurgents in Egypt, led his followers into Palestine, where they were defeated by the Roman general Turbo, but Jerusalem is not once mentioned as the scene of their operations. Of its annals during this period we know nothing. Three towers and part of the western wall alone remained of its strong fortifications to protect the cohorts who occupied the conquered city, and the soldiers' huts were long the only buildings on its site. But in the reign of Hadrian it again emerged from its obscurity, and became the centre of an insurrection, which the best blood of Rome was shed to subdue. In despair of keeping the Jews in subjection by other means, the Emperor had formed a design to restore Jerusalem, and thus prevent it from ever becoming a rallying point for this turbulent race. In furtherance of his plan he had sent thither a colony of veterans, in numbers sufficient for the defence of a position so strong by nature against the then known modes of attack. To this measure Dion Cassius (*lxx. 12*) attributes a renewal of the insurrection, while Eusebius asserts that it was not carried into execution till the outbreak was quelled. Be this as it may, the embers of revolt, long smouldering, burst into a flame soon after Hadrian's departure

from the East in A.D. 132. The contemptuous indifference of the Romans, or the secrecy of their own plans, enabled the Jews to organise a wide-spread conspiracy. Bar Cocheba, their leader, the third, according to Rabbinical writers, of a dynasty of the same name, princes of the captivity, was crowned king at Bether by the Jews who thronged to him, and by the populace was regarded as the Messiah. His armour-bearer, R. Akiba, claimed descent from Sisera, and hated the Romans with the fierce rancour of his adopted nation. All the Jews in Palestine flocked to his standard. At an early period in the revolt they became masters of Jerusalem, and attempted to rebuild the Temple. The exact date of this attempt is uncertain, but the fact is inferred from allusions in Chrysostom (*Or. 3 in Judaeos*), Nicephorus (*H. E.* iii. 24), and George Cedrenus (*Hist. Comp.* 249), and the collateral evidence of a coin of the period. Hadrian, alarmed at the rapid spread of the insurrection, and the ineffectual efforts of his troops to repress it, summoned from Britain Julius Severus, the greatest general of his time, to take the command of the army of Judaea. Two years were spent in a fierce guerilla warfare before Jerusalem was taken, after a desperate defence in which Bar Cocheba perished. The courage of the defenders was shaken by the falling in of the vaults on Mount Zion, and the Romans became masters of the position (Milman, *Hist. of Jews*, iii. 122). But the war did not end with the capture of the city. The Jews in great force had occupied the fortress of Bether, and there maintained a struggle with all the tenacity of despair against the repeated onsets of the Romans. At length, worn out by famine and disease, they yielded on the 9th of the month Ab, A.D. 135, and the grandson of Bar Cocheba was among the slain. The slaughter was frightful. The Romans, say the Rabbinical historians, waded to their horse-bridles in blood, which flowed with the fury of a mountain torrent. The corpses of the slain, according to the same voracious authorities, extended for more than thirteen miles, and remained unburied till the reign of Antoninus. Five hundred and eighty thousand are said to have fallen by the sword, while the number of victims to the attendant calamities of war was countless. On the side of the Romans the loss was enormous, and so dearly bought was their victory, that Hadrian, in his letter to the Senate, announcing the conclusion of the war, did not adopt the usual congratulatory phrase. Bar Cocheba has left traces of his occupation of Jerusalem in coins which were struck during the first two years of the war. Four silver coins, three of them undoubtedly belonging to Trajan, have been discovered, restamped with Samaritan characters. But the rebel-leader, supplied with the precious metals by the contributions of his followers, afterwards coined his own money. The mint was probably during the first two years of the war at Jerusalem; the coins struck during that period bearing the inscription, "to the freedom of Jerusalem," or "Jerusalem the holy." They are mentioned in both Talmuds.

^a The prisoners were collected for this final partition in the Court of the Women. Josephus states that during the process eleven thousand died! It is a good instance of the exaggeration in which he indulges on these matters; for taking the largest estimate of the Court of the Women (Lightfoot's), it contained 35,500 square feet, *i. e.* little more than 3 square feet for each of those who died, not to speak of the living.

¹ The word used by Josephus—*τοῦ ἁγίου τόπου*—may mean either the whole place, or the inclosing walls, or the precinct of the Temple. The statements of the Talmud perhaps imply that the foundations of the Temple only were dug up (see the quotations in Schwarz, 335); and even these seem to have been in existence in the time of Chrysostom (*Ad Judaeos*, iii. 481).

Hadrian's first policy, after the suppression of the revolt, was to obliterate the existence of Jerusalem as a city. The ruins which Titus had left were razed to the ground, and the plough passed over the foundations of the Temple. A colony of Roman citizens occupied the new city which rose from the ashes of Jerusalem, and their number was afterwards augmented by the Emperor's veteran legionaries. A temple to the Capitoline Jupiter was erected on the site of the sacred edifice of the Jews, and among the ornament of the new city were a theatre, two market places (*δημόσια*), a building called *τετραθύμφον*, and another called *κόδρα*. It was divided into seven quarters, each of which had its own warden. Mount Zion lay without the walls (Jerome, *Mic.* iii. 12; *Itin. Hieros.* p. 592, ed. Wesseling). That the northern wall inclosed the so-called sacred places, though asserted by Deyling, is regarded by Münter as a fable of a later date. A temple to Astarte, the Phœnician Venus, on the site afterwards identified with the Sepulchre, appears on coins, with four columns and the inscription C. A. C., *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*, but it is more than doubtful whether it was erected at this time. The worship of Serapis was introduced from Egypt. A statue of the Emperor was raised on the site of the Holy of Holies (Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 24); and it must have been near the same spot that the Bourdeaux pilgrim saw two statues of Hadrian, not far from the "lapis pertusus" which the Jews of his day yearly visited and anointed with oil (*Itin. Hieros.* p. 591).

It was not, however, till the following year, A.D. 136, that Hadrian, on celebrating his Vicennalia, bestowed upon the new city the name of Aelia Capitolina, combining with his own family title the name of Jupiter of the Capitol, the guardian deity of the colony. Christians and pagans alone were allowed to reside. Jews were forbidden to enter on pain of death, and this prohibition remained in force in the time of Tertullian. But the conqueror, though stern, did not descend to wanton mockery. The swine, sculptured by the Emperor's command over the gate leading to Bethlehem (Euseb. *Chron. Hadr. Ann. xx.*), was not intended as an insult to the conquered race to bar their entrance to the city of their fathers, but was one of the *signa militaria* of the Roman army. About the middle of the 4th century the Jews were allowed to visit the neighbourhood, and afterwards, once a year, to enter the city itself, and weep over it on the anniversary of its capture. Jerome (on *Zeph.* i. 15) drawn a vivid picture of the wretched crowds of Jews who in his day assembled at the wailing-place by the west wall of the Temple to bemoan the loss of their ancestral greatness. On the ninth of the month Ab might be seen the aged and decrepit of both sexes, with tattered garments and dishevelled hair, who met to weep over the downfall of Jerusalem, and purchased permission of the soldiery to prolong their lamentations ("et miles mercedem postulat ut illis flere plus liceat").

So completely were all traces of the ancient city obliterated that its very name was in process of time forgotten. It was not till after Constantine built the *Martyrion* on the site of the crucifixion, that its ancient appellation was revived. In the 7th canon of the Council of Nicaea the bishop of Aelia is mentioned; but Macarius, in subscribing to the canons, designated himself bishop of Jerusalem. The name Aelia occurs as late as Adamnanus (A.D. 697), and is even found in Edrîsi and Mejrîdî about 1495.

After the inauguration of the new colony of Aelia the annals of the city again relapse into an obscurity which is only represented in history by a list of twenty-three Christian bishops, who filled up the interval between the election of Marcus, the first of the series, and Macarius in the reign of Constantine. Already in the third century the Holy Places had become objects of enthusiasm, and the pilgrimage of Alexander, a bishop in Cappadocia, and afterwards of Jerusalem, is matter of history. In the following century such pilgrimages became more common. The aged Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, visited Palestine in A.D. 326, and, according to tradition, erected magnificent churches at Bethlehem, and on the Mount of Olives. Her son, fired with the same zeal, swept away the shrine of Astarte, which occupied the site of the resurrection, and founded in its stead a chapel or oratory. On the east of this was a large court, the eastern side being formed by the *Basilica*, erected on the spot where the cross was said to have been found. The latter of these buildings is that known as the *Martyrion*; the former was the church of the *Anastasis*, or Resurrection: their locality will be considered in the following section (p. 1029, &c.). The *Martyrion* was completed A.D. 335, and its dedication celebrated by a great council of bishops, first at Tyre, and afterwards at Jerusalem, at which Eusebius was present. In the reign of Julian (A.D. 362) the Jews, with the permission and at the instigation of the Emperor, made an abortive attempt to lay the foundations of a temple. From whatever motive, Julian had formed the design of restoring the Jewish worship on Mount Moriah to its pristine splendour, and during his absence in the East the execution of his project was entrusted to his favourite, Alypius of Antioch. Materials of every kind were provided at the emperor's expense, and so great was the enthusiasm of the Jews that their women took part in the work, and in the laps of their garments carried off the earth which covered the ruins of the Temple. But a sudden whirlwind and earthquake shattered the stones of the former foundations; the workmen fled for shelter to one of the neighbouring churches (*ἐπί τι τῶν πλῆθους ἱερῶν*, Greg. Naz. *Or.* iv. 111), the doors of which were closed against them by an invisible hand, and a fire issuing from the Temple-mount raged the whole day and consumed their tools. Numbers perished in the flames. Some who escaped took refuge in a portico near at hand, which fell at night and crushed them as they slept (Theodor. *H. E.* iii. 15; Sozomen, v. 21; see also Ambros. *Epist. ad Theodosium*, lib. ii. ep. 17). Whatever may have been the colouring which this story received as it passed through the hands of the ecclesiastical historians, the impartial narrative of Ammianus Marcellinus (cxiii. 1), the friend and companion in arms of the emperor, leaves no reasonable doubt of the truth of the main facts that the work was interrupted by fire, which all attributed to supernatural agency. In the time of Chrysostom the foundations of the Temple still remained, to which the orator could appeal (*ad Judeos*, iii. 431; Paris, 1636). The event was regarded as a judgment of God upon the impious attempt of Julian to falsify the predictions of Christ: a position which Bishop Warburton defends with great skill in his treatise on the subject.

During the fourth and fifth centuries Jerusalem became the centre of attraction for pilgrims from all regions, and its bishops contended with those of

Caesarea for the supremacy; but it was not till after the council of Chacedon (451-453) that it was made an independent patriarchate. In the theological controversies which followed the decision of that council with regard to the two natures of Christ, Jerusalem bore its share with other Oriental churches, and two of its bishops were deposed by Monophysite fanatics. The synod of Jerusalem in A.D. 536 confirmed the decree of the synod of Constantinople against the Monophysites.

In 529 the Emperor Justinian founded at Jerusalem a splendid church in honour of the Virgin, which has been identified by most writers with the building known in modern times as the Mosque el-Aksa, but of which probably no remains now exist (see p. 1033 b). Procopius, the historian, ascribes to the same Emperor the erection of ten or eleven monasteries in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem and Jericho. Eutychius adds that he built a hospital for strangers in Jerusalem, and that the church above-mentioned was begun by the patriarch Elias, and completed by Justinian. Later in the same century Gregory the Great (590-604) sent the abbot Probus to Jerusalem with a large sum of money, and endowed a hospital for pilgrims, which Robinson suggests is the same as that now used by the Muslims for the like purpose, and called by the Arabs *et-Taktyeh*.

For nearly five centuries the city had been free from the horrors of war. The merchants of the Mediterranean sent their ships to the coasts of Syria, and Jerusalem became a centre of trade, as well as of devotion. But this rest was roughly broken by the invading Persian army under Chosroes II., who swept through Syria, drove the imperial troops before them, and, after the capture of Antioch and Damascus, marched upon Jerusalem. A multitude of Jews from Tiberias and Galilee followed in their train. The city was invested, and taken by assault in June, 614; thousands of the monks and clergy were slain; the suburbs were burnt, churches demolished, and that of the Holy Sepulchre injured, if not consumed, by fire. The invading army in their retreat carried with them the patriarch Zacharias, and the wood of the true cross, besides multitudes of captives. During the exile of the patriarch, his vicar Modestus, supplied with money and workmen by the munificent John Eleemon, patriarch of Alexandria, restored the churches of the Resurrection and Calvary, and also that of the Assumption. After a struggle of fourteen years the imperial arms were again victorious, and in 628 Heraclius entered Jerusalem on foot, at the head of a triumphal procession, bearing the true cross on his shoulder. The restoration of the churches is, with greater probability, attributed by William of Tyre to the liberality of the emperor (*Hist.* i. 1).

The dominion of the Christians in the Holy City was now rapidly drawing to a close. After an obstinate defence of four months, in the depth of winter, against the impetuous attacks of the Arabs, the patriarch Sophronius surrendered to the Khalif Omar in person A.D. 637. The valour of the besieged extorted unwilling admiration from the victors, and obtained for them terms unequalled for leniency in the history of Arab conquest. The Khalif, after ratifying the terms of capitulation, which secured to the Christians liberty of worship in the churches which they had, but prohibited the erection of more, entered the city, and was met at the gates by the patriarch. Sophronius received him with the uncourteous exclamation, "Verily this is the

abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place!" and the chronicler does not forget to record the ragged dress and "satanic hypocrisy" of the hardy khalif (Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* 426). Omar then, in company with the patriarch, visited the Church of the Resurrection, and at the Muslim time of prayer knelt down on the eastern steps of the Basilica, refusing to pray within the buildings, in order that the possession of them might be secured to the Christians. Tradition relates that he requested a site whereon to erect a mosque for the Mohammedan worship, and that the patriarch assigned him the spot occupied by the reputed stone of Jacob's vision: over this he is said to have built the mosque afterwards known by his name (Eutychii *Chron.* ii. 285; Ockley, *Hist. of Sar.* 205-214, Bohn), and which still exists in the S.E. corner of the Aksa. Henceforth Jerusalem became for Muslims, as well as Christians, a sacred place, and the Mosque of Omar shared the honours of pilgrimage with the renowned Kaaba of Mecca.

In the reign of Charlemagne (771-814) ambassadors were sent by the Emperor of the West to distribute alms in the Holy City, and on their return were accompanied by envoys from the enlightened Khalif Hārūn er-Rashīd, bearing to Charlemagne the keys of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. But these amenities were not of long continuance. The dissensions which ensued upon the death of the khalif spread to Jerusalem, and churches and convents suffered in the general anarchy. About the same period the feud between the Joktanite and Ishmaelite Arabs assumed an alarming aspect. The former, after devastating the neighbouring region, made an attempt upon Jerusalem, but were repulsed by the signal valour of its garrison. In the reign of the Khalif El Motasem it was held for a time by the rebel chief Tamūn Abu-Hareb.

With the fall of the Aboissides the Holy City passed into the hands of the Fatimite conqueror Muezz, who fixed the seat of his empire at Masr el-Kāhirah, the modern Cairo (A.D. 969). Under the Fatimite dynasty the sufferings of the Christians in Jerusalem reached their height, when El-Hakem, in the third of his line, ascended the throne (A.D. 996). The church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been twice dismantled and burnt within the previous seventy years (Eutych. *Ann.* ii. 529, 530; Cedren. *Hist. Comp.* p. 661), was again demolished (Ademari *Chron.* A.D. 1010), and its successor was not completed till A.D. 1048. A small chapel ("oratoria valde modica," Will. Tyr. viii. 3) supplied the place of the magnificent Basilica of Golgotha.

The pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the 11th century became a source of revenue to the Muslims, who exacted a tax of a byzant from every visitor to the Holy Sepulchre. Among the most remarkable pilgrimages of this century were those of Robert of Normandy (1035), Lietbert of Cambrai (1054), and the German bishops (1065).

In 1077 Jerusalem was pillaged by Asīs the Kharismanian, commander of the army sent by Melek Shah against the Syrian dominions of the khalif. About the year 1084 it was bestowed by Tutush, the brother of Melek Shah, upon Ortok, chief of a Turkman horde under his command. From this time till 1091 Ortok was emir of the city, and on his death it was held as a kind of fief by his sons Ighāzy and Sukmān, whose severity

to the Christians became the proximate cause of the Crusades. Rudhwān, son of Tutush, made an ineffectual attack upon Jerusalem in 1096. The city was ultimately taken, after a siege of forty days, by Aīdal, vizir of the khalif of Egypt, and for eleven months had been governed by the Emir Iftikar ed-Dauleh, when, on the 7th of June, 1099, the crusading army appeared before the walls. After the fall of Antioch in the preceding year the remains of their numerous host marched along between Lebanon and the sea, passing Byblos, Beyrout, and Tyre on their road, and so through Lydda, Ramleh, and the ancient Emmaus, to Jerusalem. The crusaders, 40,000 in number, but with little more than 20,000 effective troops, reconnoitred the city, and determined to attack it on the north. Their camp extended from the gate of St. Stephen to that beneath the tower of David. Godfrey of Lorraine occupied the extreme left (East); next him was Count Robert of Flanders; Robert of Normandy held the third place; and Tancred was posted at the N.W. corner tower, afterwards called by his name. Raymond of Toulouse originally encamped against the west gate, but afterwards withdrew half his force to the part between the city and the church of Zion. At the tidings of their approach the khalif of Egypt gave orders for the repair of the towers and walls; the fountains and wells for five or six miles round (Will. Tyr. vii. 23), with the exception of Siloam, were stopped, as in the days of Hezekiah, when the city was invested by Sennacherib's host of Assyrians. On the fifth day after their arrival the crusaders attacked the city and drove the Saracens from the outworks, but were compelled to suspend their operations till the arrival of the Genoese engineers. Another month was consumed in constructing engines to attack the walls, and meanwhile the besiegers suffered all the horrors of thirst in a burning sun. At length the engines were completed and the day fixed for the assault. On the night of the 13th of July Godfrey had changed his plan of attack, and removed his engines to a weaker part of the wall between the gate of St. Stephen and the corner tower overlooking the valley of Jehoshaphat on the north. At break of day the city was assaulted in three points at once. Tancred and Raymond of Toulouse attacked the walls opposite their own positions. Night only separated the combatants, and was spent by both armies in preparations for the morrow's contest. Next day, after seven hours' hard fighting, the drawbridge from Godfrey's tower was let down. Godfrey was first upon the wall, followed by the Count of Flanders and the Duke of Normandy; the northern gate was thrown open, and at three o'clock on Friday the 15th of July Jerusalem was in the hands of the crusaders. Raymond of Toulouse entered without opposition by the Zion gate. The carnage was terrible: 10,000 Muslims fell within the sacred enclosure. Order was gradually restored, and Godfrey of Bouillon elected king (Will. Tyr. viii.). Churches were established, and for eighty-eight years Jerusalem remained in the hands of the Christians. In 1187 it was retaken by Saladin after a siege of several weeks. Five years afterwards (1192), in anticipation of an attack by Richard of England, the fortifications were strengthened and new walls built, and the supply of water again cut off (Barhebr. Chron. p. 421). During the winter of 1191-2 the work was prosecuted with the utmost vigour. Fifty skilled masons, sent by Alaeddin of Mosul,

rendered able assistance, and two thousand Christian captives were pressed into the service. The Sultan rode round the fortifications each day encouraging the workmen, and even brought them stones on his horse's saddle. His sons, his brother Malek al-Adel, and the Emirs ably seconded his efforts, and within six months the works were completed, solid and durable as a rock (Wilken, *Kreuzzüge*, iv. 457, 458). The walls and towers were demolished by order of the Sultan Melek el Mu'adhdhem of Damascus in 1219, and in this defenceless condition the city was ceded to the Christians by virtue of the treaty with the Emperor Frederick II. An attempt to rebuild the walls in 1289 was frustrated by an assault by David of Kerak, who dismantled the city anew. In 1243 it again came into the hands of the Christians, and in the following year sustained a siege by the wild Kharisimian hordes, who slaughtered the priests and monks who had taken refuge in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and after plundering the city withdrew to Gaza. After their departure Jerusalem again reverted to the Mohammedans, in whose hands it still remains. The defeat of the Christians at Gaza was followed by the occupation of the Holy City by the forces of the Sultan of Egypt.

In 1277 Jerusalem was nominally annexed to the kingdom of Sicily. In 1517 it passed under the sway of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I., whose successor Suliman built the present walls of the city in 1542. Mohammed Aly, the Pasha of Egypt, took possession of it in 1832. In 1834 it was seized and held for a time by the Fellahin during the insurrection, and in 1840, after the bombardment of Acre, was again restored to the Sultan.

Such in brief is a sketch of the chequered fortunes of the Holy City since its destruction by Titus. The details will be found in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*; Prof. Robinson's *Bibl. Res.* i. 365-407; the Rev. G. Williams' *Holy City*, vol. i.; Wilken's *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*; Deyling's *Diss. de Aeliae Capitolinae orig. et historia*; and Bp. Münter's *History of the Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, translated in Robinson's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, pp. 393-455. [W. A. W.]

III. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY.

There is perhaps no city in the ancient world the topography of which ought to be so easily determined as that of Jerusalem. In the first place, the city always was small, and is surrounded by deep valleys, while the form of the ground within its limits is so strongly marked that there never could apparently be any great difficulty in ascertaining its general extent, or in fixing its more prominent features; and on the other hand we have in the works of Josephus a more full and complete topographical description of this city than of almost any other in the ancient world. It is certain that he was intimately acquainted with the localities he describes, and as his copious descriptions can be tested by comparing them with the details of the siege by Titus which he afterwards narrates, there ought to be no difficulty in settling at least all the main points. Nor would there ever have been any, but for the circumstance that for a long period after the destruction of the city by Titus, the place was practically deserted by its original inhabitants, and the continuity of tradition consequently broken in upon; and after this, when it again appears in history, it is as a sacred city, and at a period the most uncritical of any known in

the modern history of the world. During at least ten centuries of what are called most properly the dark ages, it was thought necessary to find a locality for every event mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures which had taken place within or near its walls. These were in most instances fixed arbitrarily, there being no constant tradition to guide the topographer, so that the confusion which has arisen has become perplexing, to a degree that can only be appreciated by those who have attempted to unravel the tangled thread; and now that long centuries of constant tradition have added sanctity to the localities, it is extremely difficult to shake oneself free from its influence, and to investigate the subject in that critical spirit which is necessary to elicit the truth so long buried in obscurity.

It is only by taking up the thread of the narrative from the very beginning, and admitting nothing which cannot be proved, either by direct testimony or by local indications, that we can hope to clear up the mystery; but, with the ample materials that still exist, it only requires that this should be done in order to arrive at a correct determination of at least all the principal points of the topography of this sacred city.

So little has this been done hitherto, that there are at present before the public three distinct views of the topography of Jerusalem, so discrepant from one another in their most essential features, that a disinterested person might fairly feel himself justified in assuming that there existed no real data for the determination of the points at issue, and that the disputed questions must for ever remain in the same unsatisfactory state as at present.

1. The first of these theories is the most obvious, and has at all events the great merit of simplicity. It consists in the belief that all the sacred localities were correctly ascertained in the early ages of Christianity; and, what is still more important, that none have been changed during the dark ages that followed, or in the numerous revolutions to which the city has been exposed. Consequently, inferring that all which the traditions of the middle ages have handed down to us may be implicitly relied upon. The advantages of this theory are so manifest, that it is little wonder that it should be so popular and find so many advocates.

The first person who ventured publicly to express his dissent from this view was Korte, a German printer, who travelled in Palestine about the year 1728. On visiting Jerusalem he was struck with the apparent impossibility of reconciling the site of the present church of the Holy Sepulchre with the exigencies of the Bible narrative, and on his return home published a work denying the authenticity of the so-called sacred localities. His heresies excited very little attention at the time, or for long afterwards; but the spirit of enquiry which has sprung up during the present century has revived the controversy which has so long been dormant, and many pious and earnest men, both Protestant and Catholic, have expressed with more or less distinctness the difficulties they feel in reconciling the assumed localities with the indications in the Bible. The arguments in favour of the present localities being the correct ones, are well summed up by the Rev. George Williams in his work on the Holy City, and with the assistance of Professor Willis all has been said that can be urged in favour of their authenticity. Nothing can exceed the ingenuity of the various hypotheses that are brought forward to explain away the admitted difficulties of the case;

but we lock in vain for any new facts to counterbalance the significance of those so often urged on the other side, while the continued appeals to faith and to personal arguments, do not inspire confidence in the soundness of the data brought forward.

2. Professor Robinson, on the other hand, in his elaborate works on Palestine, has brought together all the arguments which from the time of Korte have been accumulating against the authenticity of the mediæval sites and traditions. He has done this with a power of logic which would probably have been conclusive had he been able to carry the argument to its legitimate conclusion. His want of knowledge of architecture and of the principles of architectural criticism, however, prevented him from perceiving that the present church of the Holy Sepulchre was wholly of an age subsequent to that of the Crusades, and without a trace of the style of Constantine. Nor was he, from the same causes, able to correct in a single instance the erroneous ascriptions given to many other buildings in Jerusalem, whose dates might have afforded a clue to the mystery. When, in consequence, he announced as the result of his researches the melancholy conclusion, that the site of the Holy Sepulchre was now, and must in all probability for ever remain a mystery, the effect was, that those who were opposed to his views clung all the more firmly to those they before entertained, preferring a site and a sepulchre which had been hallowed by the tradition of ages rather than launch forth on the shoreless sea of speculation which Dr. Robinson's negative conclusion opened out before them.

3. The third theory is that put forward by the author of this article in his "Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem." It agrees generally with the views urged by all those from Korte to Robinson, who doubt the authenticity of the present site of the sepulchre; but instead of acquiescing in the desponding view taken by the latter, it goes on to assert, for reasons which will be given hereafter, that the building now known to Christians as the Mosque of Omar, but by Moslems called the Dome of the Rock, is the identical church which Constantine erected over the Rock which contained the Tomb of Christ.

If this view of the topography can be maintained, it at once sets to rest all questions that can possibly arise as to the accordance of the sacred sites with the Bible narrative; for there is no doubt but that at the time of the crucifixion this locality was outside the walls, "near the judgment-seat," and "towards the country;" and it agrees in every respect with the minutest indication of the Scriptures.

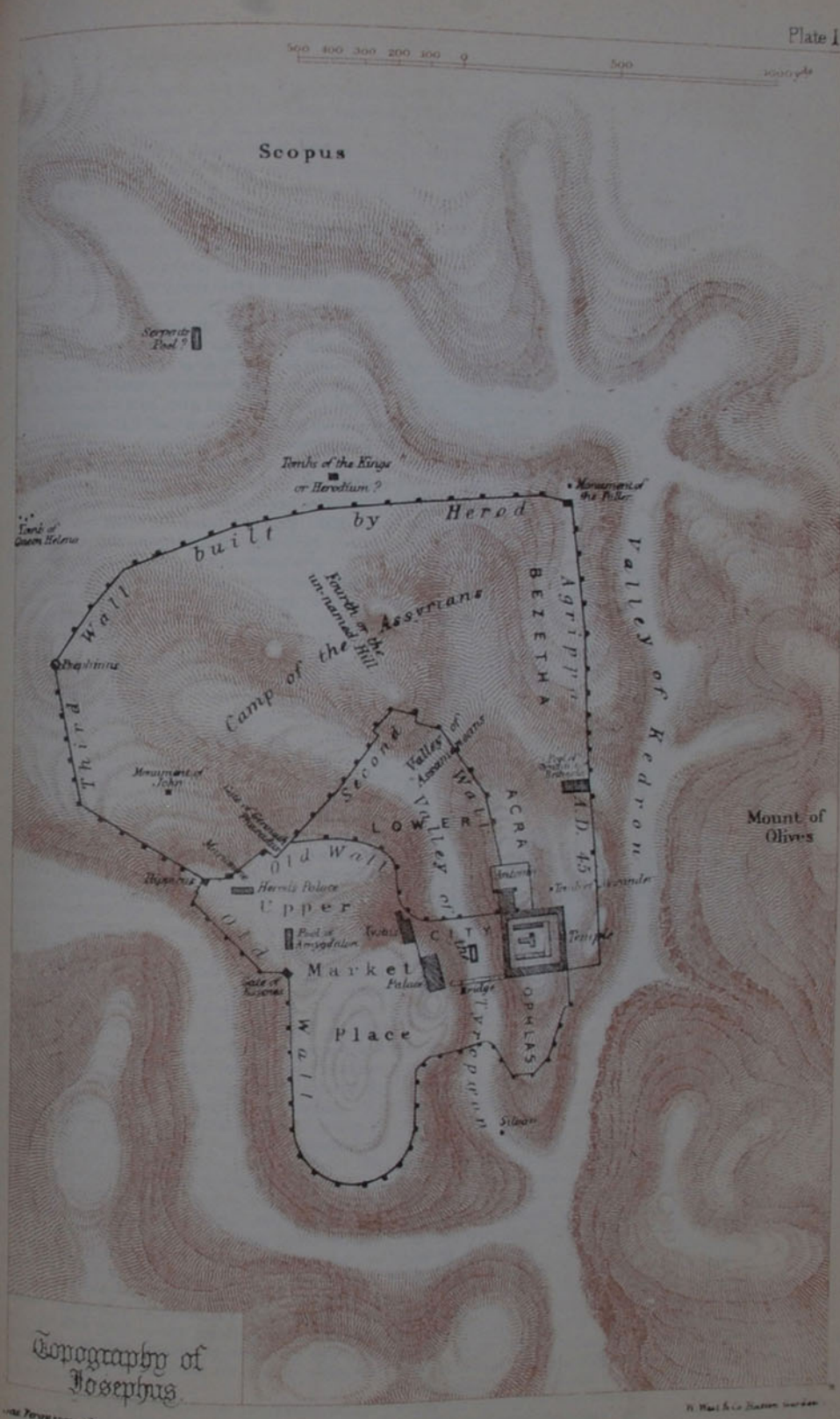
It confirms all that was said by Eusebius, and all Christian and Mohammedan writers before the time of the Crusades, regarding the sacred localities, and brings the Jewish, Christian, and Mohammedan topography into order, and explains all that before was so puzzling.

It substitutes a building which no one doubts was built long before the time of the Crusades, for one which as undoubtedly was erected after that event; and one that now possesses in its centre a mass of living rock with one cave in it exactly as described by Eusebius, for one with only a small tabernacle of marble, where no rock ever was seen by human eyes; and it groups together buildings undoubtedly of the age of Constantine, whose juxtaposition it is otherwise impossible to account for.

A theory offering such advantages as those ought either to be welcomed by all Christian men.



Scopus



Topography of
Josephus

JERUSALEM.

see Pergamon, etc.

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or assailed by earnest reasoning, and not rejected without good and solid objections being brought against it. For it never can be unimportant even to the best established creeds to deprive scoffers of every opportunity for a sneer, and it is always wise to offer to the wavering every testimony which may tend to confirm them in their faith.

The most satisfactory way of investigating the subject will probably be to commence at the time of the greatest prosperity of Jerusalem, immediately before its downfall, which also happens to be the period when we have the greatest amount of knowledge regarding its features. If we can determine what was then its extent, and fix the more important localities at that period, there will be no great difficulty in ascertaining the proper sites for the events which may have happened either before or after. All that now remains of the ancient city of course existed then; and the descriptions of Josephus, in so far as they are to be trusted, apply to the city as he then saw it; so that the evidence is at that period more complete and satisfactory than at any other time, and the city itself being then at its greatest extent, it necessarily included all that existed either before or afterwards.

It will not be necessary here to dwell upon the much disputed point of the veracity of the historian on whose testimony we must principally rely on this matter. It will be sufficient to remark that every new discovery, every improved plan that has been made, has served more and more to confirm the testimony of Josephus, and to give a higher idea of the minute accuracy of his local knowledge. In no one instance has he yet been convicted of any material error in describing localities in *plan*. Many difficulties which were thought at one time to be insuperable have disappeared with a more careful investigation of the data; and now that the city has been carefully mapped and explored, there seems every probability of our being able to reconcile all his descriptions with the appearance of the existing localities. So much indeed is this the case that one cannot help suspecting that the Roman army was provided with surveyors who could map out the localities with very tolerable precision; and that, though writing at Rome, Josephus had before him data which checked and guided him in all he said as to horizontal dimensions. This becomes more probable when we consider how moderate all these are, and how consistent with existing remains, and compare them with his strangely exaggerated statements whenever he speaks of heights or describes the arrangement of buildings which had been destroyed in the siege, and of which it may be supposed no record or correct description then existed. He seems to have felt himself at liberty to indulge his national vanity in respect to these, but to have been checked when speaking of what still existed, and could never be falsified. The consequence is, that in almost all instances we may implicitly rely on anything he says with regard to the *plan* of Jerusalem, and as to anything that existed or could be tested at the time he wrote, but must receive with the greatest caution any assertion with regard to what did not then remain, or respecting which no accurate evidence could be adduced to refute his statement.

In attempting to follow the description of Josephus there are two points which it is necessary should be fixed in order to understand what follows. The first of these is the position and dimensions

of the Temple; the second the position of the Tower Hippicus.

Thanks to modern investigation there now seems to be little difficulty in determining the first, with all the accuracy requisite to our present purposes. The position of the Tower Hippicus cannot be determined with the same absolute certainty, but can be fixed within such limits as to allow no reasonable doubts as to its locality.

1. *Site of the Temple.*—Without any exception, all topographers are now agreed that the Temple stood within the limits of the great area now known as the Haram, though few are agreed as to the portion of that space which it covered; and at least one author places it in the centre, and not at the southern extremity of the enclosure. With this exception all topographers are agreed that the south-western angle of the Haram area was one of the angles of the ancient Jewish Temple. In the first place it is admitted that the Temple was a rectangle, and this happens to be the only right angle of the whole enclosure. In the next place, in his description of the great Stoa Basilica of the Temple, Josephus distinctly states that it stood on the southern wall and overhung the valley (*Ant.* xv. 16, §5). Again, the discovery of the remains of the arch of a bridge, commencing about 40 feet from the S.W. angle in the western wall,



No. 1.—Remains of Arch of Bridge. (S.W. angle of Haram.)

and consequently coinciding with the centre of the great Stoa (as will be shown under the head TEMPLE), so exactly corresponds with the description of Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 4, §2; *B. J.* i. 2, §5, 2, ii. 16, §3, vi. 6, §2, vi. 7, §1) as in itself to be sufficient to decide the question. The size of the stones and the general character of the masonry at the Jews' Wailing-place (woodcut No. 2) in the western wall near its southern extremity have been considered by almost all topographers as a proof that the wall there formed part of the substructures of the Temple; and lastly, the discovery of one of the old gateways which Josephus (*B. J.* vi. 6, §2) mentions as leading from the Temple to Parbar, on this side, mentioned by Ali Bey, ii. 226, and Dr. Barclay (*City of the Great King*, p. 490), besides minor indications, make up such a chain of proof as to leave scarcely a doubt on this point.

The extent of the Temple northwards and eastwards from this point is a question on which there is much less agreement than with regard to the fixation of its south-western angle, though the evidence, both written and local, points inevitably to

the conclusion that Josephus was literally correct when he said that the Temple was an exact square of a stadium, or 600 Greek feet, on each side (*Ant.* xv. 11, §3). This assertion he repeats when describing the great Stoa Basilica, which occupied the whole of the southern side (xv. 11, §9); and again, in describing Solomon's, or the eastern, portico, he says it was 400 cubits, or 600 feet, in extent (xx. 10, §7); and lastly, in narrating the building of the Temple of Solomon (viii. 3, §9), he says he elevated the ground to 4⁷/₁₀ cubits, meaning, as the context explains, on each side. In fact there is no point on which Josephus repeats himself so often, and is throughout so thoroughly consistent.



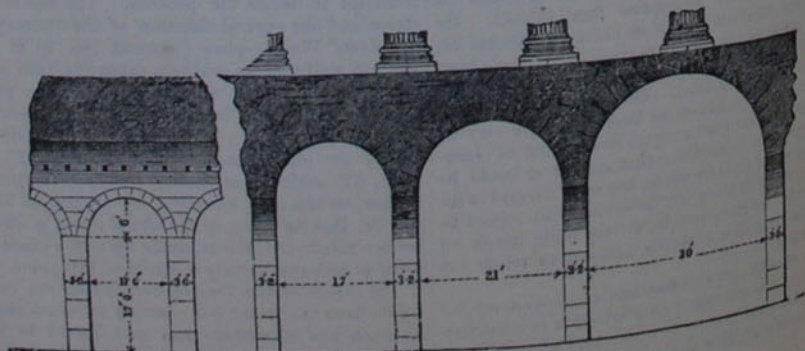
No. 2.—Jews' wailing place.

There is no other written authority on this subject except the Talmud, which asserts that the Temple was a square of 500 cubits each side (*Mishna*, v. 334); but the Rabbis, as if aware that this assertion did not coincide with the localities, immediately correct themselves by explaining that it was the cubit of 15 inches which was meant, which would make the side 625 feet. Their authority, however, is so questionable that it is of the least possible consequence what they said or meant.

The *instantia crucis*, however, is the existing remains, and these confirm the description of Josephus to the fullest possible extent. Proceeding eastward along the southern wall from the south-western angle we find the whole Haram area filled up perfectly solid, with the exception of the great tunnel-like entrance under the mosque El Aksa, until, at the distance of 600 feet from the angle, we arrive at a wall running northwards at right

angles to the southern wall, and bounding the solid space. Beyond this point the Haram area is filled up with a series of light arches supported on square piers (shown in the annexed woodcut, No. 3), the whole being of so slight a construction that it may be affirmed with absolute certainty that neither the Stoa Basilica, nor any of the larger buildings of the Temple, ever stood on them. The proof of this is not difficult. Taking Josephus' account of the great Stoa as we find it, he states that it consisted of four rows of Corinthian pillars, 40 in each row. If they extended along the whole length of the present southern wall they must have been spaced between 23 and 24 feet apart, and this, from our knowledge of the works of the ancients, we may assert to be architecturally impossible. But, far more than this, the piers that support the vaults in question are only about 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 3 inches square, while the pillars which it is assumed they supported were between 5 and 6 feet in diameter (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5), so that, if this were so, the foundations must have been practically about half the area of the columns they supported. Even this is not all: the piers in the vaults are so irregularly spaced, some 17, some 20 or 21, and one even 30 feet apart, that the pillars of the Stoa must have stood in most instances on the crown or sides of the arches, and these are so weak (as may be seen from the roots of the trees above having struck through them), that they could not for one hour have supported the weight. In fact there can be no doubt whatever that the buildings of the Temple never stood on this frail prop, and also that no more solid foundations ever existed here; for the bare rock is everywhere visible, and if ever more solidly built upon, the remains of such constructions could not have disappeared. In so far therefore as the southern wall is concerned, we may rest perfectly satisfied with Josephus' description that the Temple extended east and west 600 feet.

The position of the northern wall is as easily fixed. If the Temple was square it must have commenced at a point 600 feet from the south-west angle, and in fact the southern wall of the platform, which now surrounds the so-called Mosque of Omar runs parallel to the southern wall of the inclosure, at a distance of exactly 600 feet, while westward it is continued in a causeway which crosses the valley just 600 feet from the south-western angle. It may also be mentioned that from this point the western wall of the Haram area no longer follows the same direction, but inclines slightly to the westward, indicating a difference (though perhaps not of much value) in the purpose to which it was applied.



No. 3.—Section of vaults in S. E. angle of Haram.

Moreover the south wall of what is now the platform of the Dome of the Rock runs eastward from the western wall for just 600 feet; which again gives the same dimension for the north wall of the Temple as was found for the southern wall by the imitation of the solid space before the commencement of the vaults. All these points will be now clear by reference to the Plan on the next page (woodcut No. 4), where the dimensions are stated in English feet, according to the best available authorities, not in Greek feet, which alone are used in the text.

The only point in Josephus's description which seems to have misled topographers with regard to these dimensions is his assertion that the Temple extended from one valley to the other (*Ant. xv. 11, §5*). If he had named the valley or identified it in any way with the valley of Kedron this might have been a difficulty; but as it is only a valley it is of less importance, especially as the manner in which the vaults extend northwards immediately beyond the eastern wall of the Temple is sufficient to show that such a depression once existed here as to justify his expression. But, whatever importance may be attached to these indefinite words, they never can be allowed to outweigh the written dimensions and the local indications, which show that the Temple never could have extended more than 600 feet from the western wall.

It has been objected to this conclusion that if the Temple were only 600 feet square, it would be impossible to find space within its walls for all the courts and buildings mentioned by Josephus and in the Talmud. This difficulty, however, has no real foundation in fact, and the mode in which the interior may have been arranged, so as to meet all the exigencies of the case, will be explained in treating of the Temple. But in the meanwhile it seems impossible to escape from the conclusion that the square space indicated by shading in the plan (woodcut No. 4) was the exact area occupied by the Jewish Temple as rebuilt by Herod, and as described by Josephus.

II. *Hippicus*.—Of all the towers that once adorned the city of Jerusalem only one now exists in anything like a state of perfection. Being in the centre of the citadel, on one of the most elevated points of the city, it strikes the traveller's eye whichever way he turns; and from its prominence now, and the importance which Josephus ascribes to the tower Hippicus, it has been somewhat hastily assumed that the two are identical. The reasons, however, against this assumption are too cogent to allow of the identity being admitted. Josephus gives the dimensions of the Hippicus as 25 cubits, or $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, whereas the tower in the citadel is 56 feet 6 inches by 70 feet 3 inches (*Rob. B. R. 1st ed. i. 456*), and, as Josephus never diminishes the size of anything Jewish, this alone should make us pause. Even if we are to assume that it is one of the three great towers built by Herod, as far as its architecture is concerned, it may as well be Phasælus or Mariamne as Hippicus. Indeed its dimensions accord with the first named of these far better than with the last. But the great test is the locality, and unfortunately the tower in the citadel hardly agrees in this respect in one point with the description of Josephus. In the first place he makes it a corner tower, whereas at the time he wrote, the tower in the citadel must have been in a re-entering angle of the wall, as it is now. In the next he says it was "over against Psephinus" (*B. J. v. 4, §3*), which never could be said of this

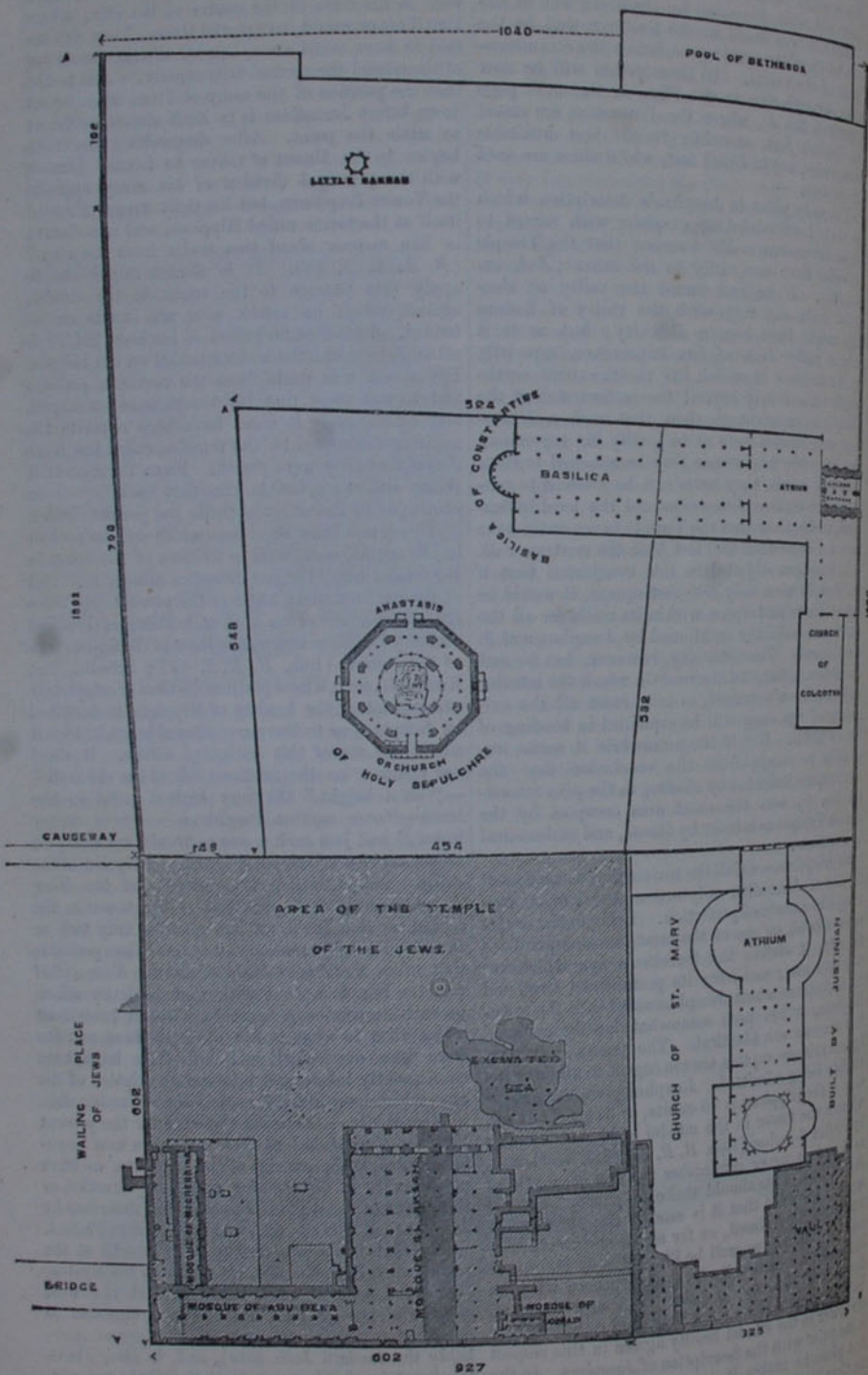
tower. Again, in the same passage, he describes the three towers as standing on the north side of the wall. If this were so, the two others must have been in his time in the centre of the city, where Herod never would have placed them. They also are said to have stood on a height, whereas eastward of the citadel the ground falls rapidly. Add to that the position of the army of Titus when he sat down before Jerusalem is in itself almost sufficient to settle the point. After despatching the 10th Legion to the Mount of Olives he located himself with the principal division of his army opposite the Tower Psephinus, but his right wing "fortified itself at the tower called Hippicus, and was distant in like manner about two stadia from the city" (*B. J. v. 3, §5*). It is almost impossible to apply this passage to the tower in the citadel, against which no attack ever was made or intended. Indeed at no period of the siege did Titus attempt to storm the walls situated on the heights. His attack was made from the northern plateau, and it was there that his troops were encamped, and consequently it must have been opposite the angle now occupied by the remains called the *Kasr Jahud* that they were placed. From the context it seems almost impossible that they could have been encamped in the valley opposite the present citadel.

These, and other objections which will be noticed in the sequel, seem fatal to the idea of the tower in the citadel being the one Josephus alludes to. But at the north-western angle of the present city there are the remains of an ancient building of bevelled masonry and large stones, like those of the foundations of the temple (*Rob. B. R. i. 471; Schultz, 95; Kraft, 37, &c.*), whose position answers so completely every point of the locality of Hippicus as described by Josephus, as to leave no reasonable doubt that it marks the site of this celebrated edifice. It stood and stands "on the northern side of the old wall"—"on a height," the very highest point in the town—"over against Psephinus"—"is a corner tower," and just such a one as would naturally be taken as the starting point for the description of the walls. Indeed, if it had happened that the *Kasr Jahud* were as well preserved as the tower in the citadel, or that the latter had retained only two or three courses of its masonry, it is more than probable that no one would have doubted that the *Kasr Jahud* was the Hippicus; but with that tendency which prevails to ascribe a name to what is prominent rather than to what is less obvious, these remains have been overlooked, and difficulties have been consequently introduced into the description of the city, which have hitherto seemed almost insuperable.

III. *Walls*.—Assuming therefore for the present that the *Kasr Jahud*, as these ruins are now popularly called, is the remains of the Hippicus, we have no difficulty in determining either the direction or the extent of the walls of Jerusalem, as described by Josephus (*B. J. v. 4, §2*), and as shown in Plate I.

The first or old wall began on the north at the tower called Hippicus, and, extending to the Xystus, joined the council house, and ended at the west cloister of the temple. Its southern direction is described as passing the gate of the Essenes (probably the modern Jaffa gate), and, bending above the fountain of Siloam, it reached Ophel, and was joined to the eastern cloister of the temple. The importance of this last indication will be apparent in the sequel when speaking of the third wall.

The second wall began at the gate Genath, in the old wall, probably near the Hippicus, and passed



No. 1.—Plan of Haram Area at Jerusalem.

round the northern quarter of the city, enclosing, as will be shown hereafter, the great valley of the Tyropeon, which leads up to the Damascus gate; and then, proceeding southward, joined the fortress Antonia. Recent discoveries of old bevelled masonry in the immediate proximity of the Damascus gate leave little doubt but that, so far at least, its direction was identical with that of the modern wall; and some part at least of the northern portion of the western wall of the Haram area is probably built on its foundations.

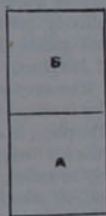
The third wall was not commenced till twelve years after the date of the Crucifixion, when it was undertaken by king Herod Agrippa; and was intended to enclose the suburbs which had grown out on the northern sides of the city, which before this had been left exposed (*B. J. v. 4, §2*). It began at the Hippicus, and reached as far as the tower Psephinus, till it came opposite the monument of Queen Helena of Adiabene; it then passed by the sepulchral monuments of the kings—a well-known locality—and turning south at the monument of the Fuller, joined the old wall at the valley called the valley of Kedron. This last is perhaps the most important point in the description. If the temple had extended the whole width of the modern Haram area, this wall must have joined its northern cloister, or if the whole of the north side of the temple were covered by the tower Antonia it might have been said to have extended to that fortress, but in either of these cases it is quite impossible that it could have passed outside the present Haram wall so as to meet the old wall at the south-eastern angle of the temple, where Josephus in his description makes the old wall end. There does not seem to be any possible solution of the difficulty, except the one pointed out above, that the temple was only 600 feet square; that the space between the temple and the valley of Kedron was not enclosed within the walls till Agrippa's time, and that the present eastern wall of the Haram is the identical wall built by that king—a solution which not only accords with the words of Josephus but with all the local peculiarities of the place.

It may also be added that Josephus's description (*B. J. v. 4, §2*) of the immense stones of which this wall was constructed, fully bears out the appearance of the great stones at the angles, and does away with the necessity of supposing, on account of their magnificence, that they are parts of the substructure of the Temple proper.

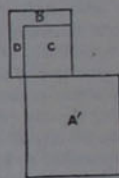
After describing these walls, Josephus adds that the whole circumference of the city was 33 stadia, or nearly four English miles, which is as near as may be the extent indicated by the localities. He then adds (*B. J. v. 4, §3*) that the number of towers in the old wall was 60, the middle wall 40, and the new wall 99. Taking the distance of these towers as 150 feet from centre to centre, which is probably very near the truth on the average, the first and last named walls are as nearly as may be commensurate, but the middle wall is so much too short that either we must assume a mistake somewhere, or, what is more probable, that Josephus enumerated the towers not only to where it ended at the Antonia, but round the Antonia and temple to where it joined the old wall above Siloam. With this addition the 150 feet again is perfectly consistent with the facts of the case and with the localities. Altogether it appears that the extent and direction of the walls is not now a matter admitting of much con-

troversy, and probably would never have been so, but for the difficulties arising from the position of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which will be alluded to hereafter.

IV. *Antonia*.—Before leaving the subject of the walls, it may be well to fix the situation of the *Turris Antonia*, as far as the data at our command will admit. It certainly was attached to the temple buildings, and on the northern side of them, but whether covering the whole space, or only a portion, has been much disputed. After stating that the temple was foursquare, and a stadium on each side, Josephus goes on to say (*B. J. v. 5, §2*), that with Antonia it was six stadia in circumference. The most obvious conclusion from this would be that the Antonia was of the same dimensions as the temple and of the form shown in the diagram (woodcut No. 5), where A marks the Temple, and B Antonia, according to this theory. In other words, it assumes that the Antonia occupied practically the platform on which the so-called Mosque of Omar now stands, and there is nothing in the locality to contradict such an assumption (see *B. J. vi. 5, §4*). On the contrary, the fact of the Sakhra being the highest rock in the immediate neighbourhood would confirm all we are told of the situation of the Jewish citadel. There are, however, certain facts mentioned in the account of the siege which render such a view nearly if not quite untenable.



No. 5.



No. 6.

It is said that when Titus reviewed his army on Bezetha (*B. J. v. 9, §1*), the Jews looked on from the north wall of the temple. If Antonia, on higher ground, and probably with higher walls, had intervened, this could not have been possible; and the expression must have been that they looked on from the walls of Antonia. We have also a passage (*B. J. v. 7, §3*) which makes this even clearer; it is there asserted that "John and his faction defended themselves from the tower Antonia, and from the northern cloisters of the temple, and fought the Romans" (from the context evidently simultaneously) "before the monument of king Alexander." We are therefore forced to adopt the alternative, which the words of Josephus equally justify, that the Antonia was a tower or keep attached to the north-western angle of the temple, as shown in the plan. Indeed, the words of Josephus hardly justify any other interpretation; for he says (*B. J. v. 5, §8*) that "it was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple—of that on the west, and that on the north." Probably it was surrounded by a wall, enclosing courts and other appurtenances of a citadel, and with its enclosing wall at least two stadia in circuit. It may have been two and a half, or even three, as shown in the diagram (woodcut No. 6), where C marks the size and position of the Antonia on the supposition that its entire circumference was two stadia, and D D

the size it would attain if only three of its sides were counted, and if Josephus did not reckon the four stadia of the temple as a fixed quantity, and deducted the part covered by the fortress from the whole sum; but in this instance we have no local indication to guide us. The question has become one of no very great importance, as it is quite certain that, if the Temple was only 600 feet square, it did not occupy the whole of the northern half of the Haram area, and consequently that neither was the "pool of Bethesda," its northern ditch, nor the rock on which the governor's house now stands its rock foundation. With the temple area fixed as above, by no hypothesis could it be made to stretch as far as that; and the object, therefore, which many topographers had in view in extending the dimensions, must now be abandoned.

V. *Hills and Valleys.*—Notwithstanding the very great degree of certainty with which the site of the Temple, the position of the Hippicus, and the direction of the walls may be determined, there are still one or two points within the city, the positions of which have not yet been fixed in so satisfactory a manner. Topographers are still at issue as to the true direction of the upper part of the Tyropoeon valley, and, consequently, as to the position of Acra, and various smaller points dependent on the fixation of these two. Fortunately the determination of these points has no bearing whatever on any of the great historical questions arising out of the topography; and though it would no doubt be satisfactory if they could be definitively settled, they are among the least important points that arise in discussing the descriptions of Josephus.

The difficulty of determining the true course of the upper part of the Tyropoeon valley is caused by our inability to determine whether Josephus, in describing the city (*B. J.* v. 4, §1), limits his description to the city of Jerusalem, properly so called, as circumscribed by the first or old wall, or whether he includes the city of David also, and speaks of the whole city as enclosed by the third or great wall of Agrippa. In the first case the Tyropoeon must have been the depression leading from a spot opposite the north-west angle of the Temple towards the Jaffa gate; in the second it was the great valley leading from the same point northwards towards the Damascus gate.

The principal reason for adopting the first hypothesis arises from the words of Josephus himself, who describes the Tyropoeon as an open space or depression within the city, at "which the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end" (*B. J.* v. 4, §1). This would exactly answer the position of a valley running to the Jaffa gate, and consequently within the old walls, and would apply to such a ravine as might easily have been obliterated by accumulation of rubbish in after times; but it is not so easy to see how it can be made applicable to such a valley as that running towards the Damascus gate, which must have had a wall on either side, and the slope of which is so gradual, that then, as now, the "rows of houses" might—though it by no means follows that they must—have run across it without interruption. We cannot indeed apply the description to this valley, unless we assume that the houses were built close up to the old wall, so as to leave almost no plain space in front of it, or that the formation of the bottom of the valley was originally steeper and narrower than it now is. On the whole, this view presents perhaps less difficulty than the obliteration of the

other valley, which its most zealous advocates are now forced to admit, after the most patient search; carrying the old wall across its gorge, which Josephus would have hinted at had it existed.

The direct evidence seems so nearly balanced, that either hypothesis might be adopted if we were content to fix the position of the hill Acra from that of this valley, as is usually done, instead of from extraneous evidence, as we fortunately are able to do with tolerable certainty in this matter.

In all the transactions mentioned in the 12th and 13th books of the *Antiquities*, Josephus commonly uses the word *Ἀκρά* as the corresponding term to the Hebrew word *Metzudah*, translated stronghold, fortress, and tower in the books of the Maccabees, when speaking of the fortress which adjoined the Temple in the north; and if we might assume that the hill Acra and the tower Acra were one and the same place, the question might be considered as settled.

It is more than probable that this was so, for in describing the "upper market place," which was called the "citadel" by David (*B. J.* v. 4, §1), Josephus uses the word *φρούριον*, which he also applies to the Acra after it was destroyed (*Ant.* xiii. 16, §5), or *Βάρις*, as the old name apparently immediately before it was rebuilt by Herod, and by him called the Antonia (*Ant.* xviii. iv. 3).

It is also only by assuming that the Acra was on the temple hill that we can understand the position of the valley which the Asamoneans filled up. It certainly was not the northern part of the Tyropoeon which is apparent at the present day, nor the other valley to the westward, the filling up of which would not have joined the city to the Temple (*B. J.* v. 4, §1). It could only have been a transverse valley running in the direction of, and nearly in the position of, the Via Dolorosa.

It is true that Josephus describes the citadel or Acra of Jerusalem (*Ant.* xiii. 4, 9) as situated in the "lower city" (*ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει*, xii. 5, §4, *B. J.* i. 1, §4), which would equally apply to either of the assumed sites, were it not that he qualifies it by saying that it was built so high as to dominate the Temple, and at the same time lying close to it (*Ant.* xii. 9, §3), which can only apply to a building situated on the Temple hill. It must also be observed that the whole of the Temple hill is very much lower than the hill on which the city itself was located, and, consequently, that the Temple and its adjuncts may, with great propriety, be called the lower city, as contradistinguished from the upper half, which, from the superior elevation of the plateau on which it stands, is truly the upper city.

If we adopt this view, it will account for the great levelling operations which at one time have been carried on at the north-western angle of the Haram area, and the marks of which have been always a puzzle to antiquaries. These are utterly unmeaning on any hypothesis yet suggested, for so far from contributing to the defence of any work erected here, their effect from their position must have been the very reverse. But if we admit that they were the works which occupied the Jews for three years of incessant labour (*Ant.* xiii. 7, §8) after the destruction of the Acra, their appearance is at once accounted for, and the description of Josephus made plain.

If this view of the matter be correct, the word *ἀμφικύριος* (*B. J.* v. 6, §1), about which so much controversy has been raised, must be translated

"sloping down on either side," a meaning which it will bear equally as well as "gibbous," which is usually affixed to it, and which only could be applied if the hill within the old wall were indicated.

On reviewing the whole question, the great preponderance of evidence seems to be in favour of the assumption that the hill Acra and the citadel Acra were one and the same place. That Acra was situated on the northern side of the Temple, on the same hill, and probably on the same spot, originally occupied by David as the stronghold of Zion (2 Sam. v. 7-9), and near where Baris and Antonia afterwards stood; and consequently that the great northern depression running towards the Damascus gate is the Tyropocon valley, and that the valley of the Asamoneans was a transverse cut, separating the hill Bezetha from the Acra or citadel on the Temple hill.

If this view of the internal topography of the city be granted, the remaining hills and valleys fall into their places easily and as a matter of course. The citadel, or upper market-place of Josephus, was the *modern* Zion, or the city enclosed within the old wall; Acra was the *ancient* Zion, or the hill on which the Temple, the City of David, Baris, Acra, and Antonia, stood. It lay over against the other; and apparently between these two, in the valley, stood the lower city, and the place called Millo. Bezetha was the well-defined hill to the north of the Temple, just beyond the valley in which the Piscina Probatica was situated. The fourth hill which Josephus enumerates, but does not name, must have been the ridge between the last-named valley and that of the Tyropocon, and was separated from the Temple hill by the valley of the Asamoneans. The other minor localities will be pointed out in the sequel as they occur in order.

VI. *Population*—There is no point in which the exaggeration in which Josephus occasionally indulges is more apparent than in speaking of the population of the city. The inhabitants were dead; no record remained; and to magnify the greatness of the city was a compliment to the prowess of the conquerors. Still the assertions that three millions were collected at the Passover (*B. J.* vi. 9, §3); that a million of people perished in the siege; that 100,000 escaped, &c., are so childish, that it is surprising any one could ever have repeated them. Even the more moderate calculation of Tacitus of 600,000 inhabitants, is far beyond the limits of probability.*

Placing the Hippicus on the farthest northern point possible, and consequently extending the walls as far as either authority or local circumstances will admit, still the area within the old walls never could have exceeded 180 acres. Assuming, as is sometimes done, that the site of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre was outside the old walls, this area must be reduced to 120 or 130 acres; but taking it at the larger area, its power of accommodating such a multitude as Josephus describes may be illustrated by reference to a recent example. The great Exhibition Building of 1851 covered 18 acres—just a tenth of this. On three days near its closing 100,000 or 105,000 persons visited it; but it is not assumed that more than from 60,000 to 70,000 were under its roof at the

same moment. Any one who was in the building on these days will recollect how impossible it was to move from one place to another; how frightful in fact the crush was both in the galleries and on the floor, and that in many places even standing room could hardly be obtained; yet if 600,000 or 700,000 people were in Jerusalem after the fall of the outer wall (almost at the beginning of the siege), the crowd there must have been denser than in the Crystal Palace; eating, drinking, sleeping, or fighting, literally impossible; and considering how the site of a town must be encumbered with buildings, 300,000 in Jerusalem would have been more crowded than were the sight-seers at the Crystal Palace in its most crowded moments.

But fortunately we are not left to such vague data as these. No town in the east can be pointed out where each inhabitant has not at least 50 square yards on an average allowed to him. In some of the crowded cities of the west, such as parts of London, Liverpool, Hamburg, &c., the space is reduced to about 30 yards to each inhabitant; but this only applies to the poorest and more crowded places, with houses many stories high, not to cities containing palaces and public buildings. London, on the other hand, averages 200 yards of superficial space for every person living within its precincts. But, on the lowest estimate, the ordinary population of Jerusalem must have stood nearly as follows:—Taking the area of the city enclosed by the two old walls at 750,000 yards, and that enclosed by the wall of Agrippa at 1,500,000, we have 2,250,000 for the whole. Taking the population of the old city at the probable number of one person to 50 yards we have 15,000, and at the extreme limit of 30 yards we should have 25,000 inhabitants for the old city. And at 100 yards to each individual in the new city about 15,000 more; so that the population of Jerusalem, in its days of greatest prosperity, may have amounted to from 30,000 to 45,000 souls, but could hardly ever have reached 50,000; and assuming that in times of festival one-half were added to this amount, which is an extreme estimate, there may have been 60,000 or 70,000 in the city when Titus came up against it. As no one would stay in a beleaguered city who had a home to flee to, it is hardly probable that the men who came up to fight for the defence of the city would equal the number of women and children who would seek refuge elsewhere; so that the probability is that about the usual population of the city were in it at that time.

It may also be mentioned that the army which Titus brought up against Jerusalem did not exceed from 25,000 to 30,000 effective men of all arms, which, taking the probabilities of the case, is about the number that would be required to attack a fortified town defended by from 8000 to 10,000 men capable of bearing arms. Had the garrison been more numerous the siege would have been improbable, but taking the whole incidents of Josephus's narrative, there is nothing to lead us to suppose that the Jews ever could have mustered 10,000 combatants at any period of the siege; half that number is probably nearer the truth. The main interest this question has in a topographical point of view, is the additional argument it affords

province as only 4600, though they seem to have swept off every one who could go, nearly depopulating the place.

* It is instructive to compare these with the moderate figures of Jeremiah (lii. 28-30) where he enumerates the number of persons carried into captivity by Nebuzhadnezzar in three deportations from both city and

for placing Hippicus as far north as it has been placed above, and generally to extend the walls to the greatest extent justifiable, in order to accommodate a population at all worthy of the greatness of the city. It is also interesting as showing the utter impossibility of the argument of those who would except the whole north-west corner of the present city from the old walls, so as to accommodate the Holy Sepulchre with a site outside the walls, in accordance with the Bible narrative.

VII. *Zion*.—One of the great difficulties which has perplexed most authors in examining the ancient topography of Jerusalem, is the correct fixation of the locality of the sacred Mount of Zion. It cannot be disputed that from the time of Constantine downwards to the present day, this name has been applied to the western hill on which the city of Jerusalem now stands, and in fact always stood.

Notwithstanding this it seems equally certain that up to the time of the destruction of the city by Titus, the name was applied exclusively to the eastern hill, or that on which the Temple stood.

Unfortunately the name Zion is not found in the works of Josephus, so that we have not his assistance, which would be invaluable in this case, and there is no passage in the Bible which directly asserts the identity of the hills Moriah and Zion, though many which cannot well be understood without this assumption. The cumulative proof, however, is such as almost perfectly to supply this want.

From the passages in 2 Sam. v. 7, and 1 Chr. xi. 5-8, it is quite clear that Zion and the city of David were identical, for it is there said, "David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David." "And David dwelt in the castle, therefore they called it the city of David. And he built the city round about, even from Millo round about, and Joab repaired the rest of the city." This last expression would seem to separate the city of Jerusalem which was repaired, from that of David which was built, though it is scarcely distinct enough to be relied upon. Besides these, perhaps the most distinct passage is that in the 48th Psalm, verse 2, where it is said, "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great King," which it seems almost impossible to apply to the modern Zion, the most southern extremity of the city. There are also a great many passages in the Bible where Zion is spoken of as a separate city from Jerusalem, as for instance, "For out of Jerusalem shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of Mount Zion" (2 K. xix. 31). "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion; build thou the walls of Jerusalem" (Ps. li. 18). "The Lord shall yet comfort Zion, and shall yet choose Jerusalem" (Zech. i. 17). "For the people shall dwell in Zion at Jerusalem" (Is. xxx. 19). "The Lord shall roar out of Zion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem" (Joel iii. 16; Am. i. 2). There are also numberless passages in which Zion is spoken of as a Holy place in such terms as are never applied to Jerusalem and which can only be understood as applied to the Holy Temple Mount. Such expressions, for instance, as "I set my king on my holy hill of Zion" (Ps. ii. 6)—"The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob" (Ps. lxxvii. 2)—"The Lord has chosen Zion" (Ps. cxxxii. 13)—"The city of the Lord, the Zion of the holy one of Israel" (Is. lx. 14)—"Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion to the Lord"

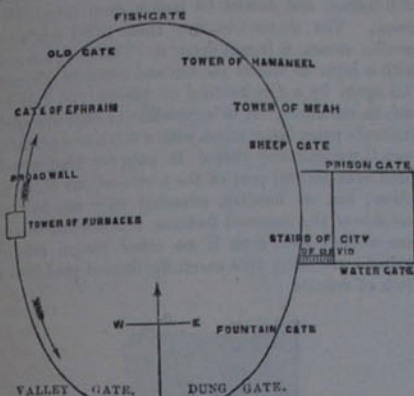
(Jer. xxxi. 6)—"Thus saith the Lord, I am returned to Zion" (Zech. viii. 3)—"I am the Lord" (Joel iii. 17)—"For the Lord dwelleth in Zion" (Joel iii. 21), and many others, which will occur to every one at all familiar with the Scriptures, Temple. Substitute the word Jerusalem for Zion in these passages, and we feel at once how it grades applied to that city; on the contrary, as these are never a curse uttered, or term of disparagement, it is applied to Zion, but always to her unfortunate sister, Jerusalem. It is never said,—The Lord dwelleth in Jerusalem; or, loveth Jerusalem; or any such expression, which surely would have occurred, had Jerusalem and Zion been one and the same place, as they now are, and generally supposed to have been. Though these cannot be taken as absolute proof, they certainly amount to strong presumptive evidence that Zion and the Temple Hill were one and the same place. There is one curious passage, however, which is scarcely intelligible on any other hypothesis than this; it is known that the sepulchres of David and his successors were on Mount Zion, or in the city of David, but the wicked king Ahaz for his crimes was buried in Jerusalem, "in the city," and "not in the sepulchres of the kings" (2 Chr. xxviii. 27). Jehoiachin (2 Chr. xxxi. 20) narrowly escaped the same punishment, and the distinction is so marked that it cannot be overlooked. The modern sepulchre of David (*Nebi David*) is, and always must have been in Jerusalem; not, as the Bible expressly tells us, in the city of the David, as contradistinguished from the city of the Jebusites.

When from the Old Test. we turn to the Books of the Maccabees, we come to some passages written by persons who certainly were acquainted with the localities, which seem to fix the site of Zion with a considerable amount of certainty; as, for instance, "They went up into Mount Zion, and saw the sanctuary desolate and the altar profaned, and the shrubs growing in the courts as a forest" (1 Macc. iv. 37 and 60). "After this went Nicanor up to Mount Zion, and there came out of the sanctuary certain persons" (1 Macc. vii. 33), and several others, which seem to leave no doubt that at that time Zion and the Temple Hill were considered one and the same place. It may also be added that the Rabbis with one accord place the Temple on Mount Zion, and though their authority in matters of doctrine may be valueless, still their traditions ought to have been sufficiently distinct to justify their being considered as authorities on a merely topographical point of this sort. There is also a passage in Nehemiah (iii. 16) which will be alluded to in the next section, and which, added to the above, seems to leave very little doubt that in ancient times the name of Zion was applied to the eastern and not to the western hill of Jerusalem.

VIII. *Topography of the Book of Nehemiah*.—The only description of the ancient city of Jerusalem which exists in the Bible, so extensive in form as to enable us to follow it as a topographical description, is that found in the Book of Nehemiah, and although it is hardly sufficiently distinct to enable us to settle all the moot points, it contains such valuable indications that it is well worthy of the most attentive examination.

The easiest way to arrive at any correct conclu-

sion regarding it, is to take first the description of the Dedication of the Walls in ch. xii. (31-40), and drawing such a diagram as this, we easily get at the main features of the old wall at least.



No. 7.—Diagram of places mentioned in dedication of walls.

The order of procession was that the princes of Judah went up upon the wall at some point as nearly as possible opposite to the Temple, and one half of them, turning to the right, went towards the dung-gate, "and at the fountain-gate, which was over against them" (or, in other words, on the opposite or Temple side of the city), "went up by the stairs of the city of David at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the water-gate eastward." The water-gate therefore was one of the southern gates of the Temple, and the stairs that led up to it are here identified with those of the city of David, and consequently with Zion.

The other party turned to the left, or northwards, and passed from beyond the tower of the furnaces even "unto the broad wall," and passing the gate of Ephraim, the old gate, the fish-gate, the towers of Hananeel and Meah, to the sheep-gate, "stood still in the prison-gate," as the other party had in the water-gate. "So stood the two companies of them that gave thanks in the house of God."

If from this we turn to the third chapter, which gives a description of the repairs of the wall, we have no difficulty in identifying all the places mentioned in the first sixteen verses, with those enumerated in the 12th chapter. The repairs began at the sheep-gate on the north side, and in immediate proximity with the Temple, and all the places named in the dedication are again named, but in the reverse order, till we come to the tower of the furnaces, which if not identical with the tower in the citadel, so often mistaken for the Hippicus, must at least have stood very near to it. Mention is then made, but now in the direct order of the dedication, of "the valley-gate," the "dung-gate," "the fountain-gate;" and lastly, the "stairs that go down from the city of David." Between these last two places we find mention made of the pool of Siloah and the king's garden, so that we have long passed the so-called sepulchre of David on the modern Zion, and are in the immediate proximity of the Temple; most probably in the valley between the city of David and the city of Jerusalem. What follows is most important (verse

16), "After him repaired Nehemiah, the son of Azbuk, the ruler of the half part of Bethzur, unto the place over against the sepulchres of David, and to the pool that was made, and unto the house of the mighty." This passage, when taken with the context, seems in itself quite sufficient to set at rest the question of the position of the city of David, of the sepulchres of the kings, and consequently of Zion, all which could not be mentioned after Siloah if placed where modern tradition has located them.

If the chapter ended with the 16th verse, there would be no difficulty in determining the sites mentioned above, but unfortunately we have, according to this view, retraced our steps very nearly to the point from which we started, and have got through only half the places enumerated. Two hypotheses may be suggested to account for this difficulty; the one that there was then, as in the time of Josephus, a second wall, and that the remaining names refer to it; the other that the first 16 verses refer to the walls of Jerusalem, and the remaining 16 to those of the city of David. An attentive consideration of the subject renders it almost certain that the latter is the true explanation of the case.

In the enumeration of the places repaired, in the last part of the chapter, we have two which we know from the description of the dedication really belonged to the Temple. The prison-court (iii. 25), which must have been connected with the prison-gate, and, as shown by the order of the dedication, to have been on the north side of the Temple, is here also connected with the king's high house; all this clearly referring, as shown above, to the castle of David, which originally occupied the site of the Turrus Antonia. We have on the opposite side the "water-gate," mentioned in the next verse to Ophel, and consequently as clearly identified with the southern gate of the Temple. We have also the horse-gate, that by which Athaliah was taken out of the Temple (2 K. xi. 16; 2 Chr. xxiii. 15), which Josephus states led to the Kedron (*Ant.* ix. 7, § 3), and which is here mentioned as connected with the priests' houses, and probably, therefore, a part of the Temple. Mention is also made of the house of Eliashib, the high-priest, and of the eastern gate, probably that of the Temple. In fact, no place is mentioned in these last verses which cannot be more or less directly identified with the localities on the Temple hill, and not one which can be located in Jerusalem. The whole of the city of David, however, was so completely rebuilt and remodelled by Herod, that there are no local indications to assist us in ascertaining whether the order of description of the places mentioned after verse 16 proceeds along the northern face, and round by Ophel, and up behind the Temple back to the sheep-gate; or whether, after crossing the causeway to the armoury and prison, it does not proceed along the western face of the Temple to Ophel in the south, and then along the eastern face, back along the northern, to the place from which the description started. The latter seems the more probable hypothesis, but the determination of the point is not of very great consequence. It is enough to know that the description in the first 16 verses applies to Jerusalem, and in the last 16 to Zion, or the city of David; as this is sufficient to explain almost all the difficult passages in the Old Testament which refer to the ancient topography of the city.

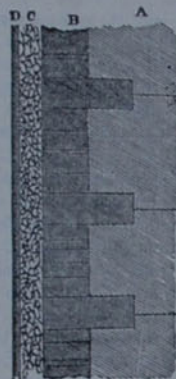
IX. *Waters of Jerusalem.*—The above detemi

nation explains most of the difficulties in understanding what is said in the Bible with regard to the water-supply of the city. Like Mecca, Jerusalem seems to have been in all ages remarkable for some secret source of water, from which it was copiously supplied during even the worst periods of siege and famine, and which never appears to have failed during any period of its history. The principal source of this supply seems to have been situated to the north; either on the spot known as the "camp of the Assyrians," or in the valley to the northward of it. The earliest distinct mention of these springs is in 2 Chr. xxxii. 4, 30, where Hezekiah, fearing an attack from the Assyrians, "stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David;"—and again "he fortified the city, and brought in water into the midst thereof, and digged the rock with iron, and made wells for water" (Eclus. xviii. 17), in other words, he brought the waters under ground down the valley leading from the Damascus gate, whence they have been traced at the present day "to a pool which he made" between "the two walls," viz., those of the cities of David and Jerusalem. Thanks to the researches of Drs. Robinson and Barclay, we know how correct the description of Tacitus is, when he describes the city as containing, "fons perennis aquae et cavati sub terra montes," &c., for great rock-cut reservoirs have been found under the Temple area, and channels connecting them with the fountain of the Virgin, and that again with the pool of Siloam; and many others may probably yet be discovered.

It would appear that originally the overflow from the great reservoir under the Temple area must have been by some underground channels, probably alongside of the great tunnel under the Mosque El Aksah. This may at least be inferred from the form of the ground, as well as from the fact of the southern gate of the Temple being called the Water-gate. This is further confirmed by the fact that when the Caliph Omar was searching for the Sakrah or holy Rock, which was then covered with filth by the Christians (*Jelal Addin*, p. 174), he was impeded by the water which "ran down the steps of the gate, so that the greater part of the steps were under water;" a circumstance which might very well occur if these channels were obstructed or destroyed by the ruins of the Temple. Of course, if it is attempted to apply this tradition to the Sakrah under the "Dome of the Rock," it is simply absurd; as, that being the highest point in the neighbourhood, no water could lie around it; but applying it to the real Sakrah under the Aksa, it is not only consistent with facts, but enables us to understand one more circumstance with regard to the waters of Jerusalem. It will require, however, a more critical examination than even that of Dr. Barclay before we can feel quite certain by which channel the underground waters were collected into the great "excavated sea" (woodcut No. 4) under the Temple, or by what exact means the overflow was managed.

A considerable portion of these waters was at one time diverted to the eastward to the great reservoir known sometimes as the pool of Bethesda, but, from its probable proximity to the sheep-gate, as shown above, more properly the "piscina probatica," and which, from the curiously elaborate character of its hydraulic masonry, must always have been intended as a reservoir of water, and never could have been the ditch of a fortification. From

the woodcut No. 8 it will be perceived that the masonry consists first of large blocks of stone, 16 or 20 inches square, marked A. The joints between their courses have been hollowed out to the depth of 8 inches, and blocks 16 inches deep inserted in them. The interstices are then filled up with smaller stones, 8 inches deep, B. These are covered with a layer of coarse plaster and concrete (C), and this again by a fine coating of plaster (D) half an inch in thickness. It is impossible to conceive such elaborate pains being taken with a ditch of a fortress, even if we had any reason to suppose that a wet ditch ever formed part of the fortifications of Jerusalem; but its locality, covering only one-half of one side of the assumed fortress, is sufficient to dispose of that idea, even if no other reason existed against converting this carefully formed pool into a ditch of defence.



No. 8.—Section of Masonry lining Pool of Bethesda.
(From Salzmann.)

It seems, however, that even in very ancient times this northern supply was not deemed sufficient, even with all these precautions, for the supply of the city; and consequently large reservoirs were excavated from the rock, at a place near Etham, now known as Solomon's pools, and the water brought from them by a long canal which enters the city above Siloam, and, with the northern supply, seems at all times to have been sufficient for the consumption of its limited population, aided of course by the rain water, which was probably always stored in cisterns all over the town. The tank now known as the pool of Hezekiah, situated near the modern church of the Holy Sepulchre, cannot possibly be the work referred to, as executed by him. It is merely a receptacle within the walls for the surplus rain water drained into the pool now known as the Birket Mamilla, and as no outlet eastwards or towards the Temple has been found, it cannot ever have been of the importance ascribed to the work of Hezekiah, even supposing the objections to the locality did not exist. These, however, cannot possibly be got over.

X. *Site of Holy Sepulchre.*—If the preceding investigations have rendered the topography of the ancient city at all clear, there ought to be no difficulty in determining the localities mentioned in the N. T. as those in which the various scenes of the Passion and Crucifixion of our Lord took place. There would in fact be none, were it not that, as will be shown hereafter, changes were made in the dark ages, which have confused the Christian topography of the city to even a greater extent than the change of the name of Zion from the eastern to the



Camp of the Assyrians

Valley of Gihon

Gareb

City of MILLO
City of the Jebusites
City of DAVID

Valley of Kedron

Mount of Olives

Topography of the Bible.

JERUSALEM

The engraver, etc.

W. Hill, York, Gardner

western hill did that of the Jewish descriptions of the place.

As the question now stands, the fixation of the sites depends mainly on the answers that may be given to two questions:—First, did Constantine and those who acted with him possess sufficient information to enable them to ascertain exactly the precise localities of the crucifixion and burial of Christ? Secondly, is the present church of the Holy Sepulchre that which he built, or does it stand on the same spot?

To the second question a negative answer must be given, if the first can be answered with any reasonable degree of probability. Either the localities could not have been correctly ascertained in the time of Constantine, or it must be that at some subsequent period they were changed. The site of the present church is so obviously at variance with the facts of the Bible narrative, that almost all the best qualified investigators have assumed that the means did not exist for ascertaining the localities correctly when the church was built, without its suggesting itself to them that subsequent change may perhaps contain the true solution of the difficulty. On the other hand everything seems to tend to confirm the probability of the first question being capable of being answered satisfactorily.

In the first place, though the city was destroyed by Titus, and the Jews were at one time prohibited from approaching it, it can almost certainly be proved that there were Christians always present on the spot, and the succession of Christian bishops can be made out with very tolerable certainty and completeness; so that it is more than probable they would retain the memory of the sacred sites in unbroken continuity of tradition. Besides this, it can be shown (Findlay, *On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre*) that the Romans recorded carefully all the principal localities in their conquered provinces, and had maps or plans which would enable them to ascertain any important locality with very tolerable precision. It must also be borne in mind that during the three centuries that elapsed between the crucifixion and the age of Constantine, the Christians were too important a sect, even in the eyes of the Romans, to be neglected, and their proceedings and traditions would certainly attract the attention of at least the Roman governor of Judaea; and some records must certainly have existed in Jerusalem, which ought to have been sufficient to fix the localities. Even if it is argued that this knowledge might not have been sufficient to identify the exact rock-cut sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, it must have been sufficient to determine the site of such a place as Golgotha, and of the Prætorium; and as the scenes of the Passion all lay near one another, materials must have existed for fixing them with at least very tolerable approximate certainty. As the question now lies between two sites which are very far apart, one being in the town, the other on its eastern boundary, it is nearly certain that the authorities had the knowledge sufficient to determine at least which of the two was the most probable.

The account given by Eusebius of the *uncovering* of the rock, expresses no doubt or uncertainty about the matter. In order to insult the Christians, according to his account (*Vita Const.* iii. 26), "impious persons had heaped earth upon it, and erected an idol temple on the site." The earth was removed, and he says (*Theophania*, *Lee's Translation*, p. 199), "it is astonishing to see even

the rock standing out erect and alone on a level land, and having only one cave in it; lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame death might have been obscured;" and as if in order that there might be no mistake as to its position, he continues, "Accordingly on the very spot that witnessed our Saviour's sufferings a new Jerusalem was constructed *over against* the one so celebrated of old, which since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord has experienced the last extremity of desolation. It was *opposite* this city that the Emperor began to rear a monument of our Saviour's victory over death with rich and lavish magnificence" (*Vita Const.* iii. 33). This passage ought of itself to be sufficient to set the question at rest, for it is minutely descriptive of the site of the building now known as the Mosque of Omar, but wholly inapplicable to the site of the present church, which was then, and must certainly in the time of Titus or of Herod have been within the walls of the city of Jerusalem, and neither opposite to nor over against it.

The buildings which Constantine or his mother, Helena, erected, will be more particularly described elsewhere [SEPULCHRE]; in the meanwhile it is sufficient to say that it will be proved by what follows, that two of them now remain—the one the Anastasis, a circular building erected over the tomb itself; the other the "Golden Gateway," which was the propylea described by Eusebius as leading to the atrium of the basilica. He says it opened "ἐπὶ τῆς πλατείας ἀγορᾶς," in other words, that it had a broad market-place in front of it, as all sacred places or places of pilgrimage had, and have, in the East. Beyond this was an atrium leading to the basilica. This was destroyed in the end of the tenth century by El Hakeem, the mad Khalif of Egypt; in the words of William of Tyre (lib. i. c. iv.), "usque ad solum diruta," or as it is more quaintly expressed by Albericus (*Le Quien, Oriens Christiana*, p. 475), "Solo coequare mandavit." Fortunately, however, even the Moslems respected the tomb of Christ, whom they consider one of the seven prophets, inferior only to the Founder of their own religion; and they left the "Dome of the Rock" uninjured as we now see it.

In order to prove these assertions, there are three classes of evidence which may be appealed to, and which must coincide, or the question must remain still in doubt:—

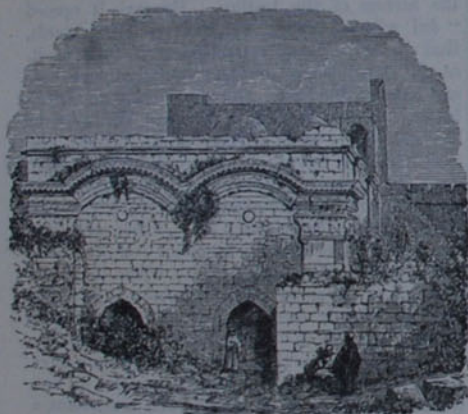
First, it is necessary that the circumstances of the locality should accord with those of the Bible narrative.

Secondly, the incidental notices furnished by those travellers who visited Jerusalem between the time of Constantine and that of the Crusades must be descriptive of these localities; and,

Thirdly, the architectural evidence of the buildings themselves must be that of the age to which they are assigned.

Taking the last first, it is hardly necessary to remark how important this class of evidence has become in all questions of this sort of late years. Before the gradation of styles had been properly investigated nothing could be more wild than the determination of the dates assigned to all the mediæval buildings of Europe. Now that the chronometric scale has been fixed, nothing is either so easy or so certain as to fix the date of any building, or any part of one, and it is admitted by all archaeologists that it is the most sure and conclusive evidence that can be adduced on the subject.

In this country the progression of style is only generally understood as applied to mediæval buildings, but with sufficient knowledge it is equally applicable to Indian, Mohammedan, Classical, or Roman, in fact to all true styles, and no one who is familiar with the gradation of styles that took place between the time of Hadrian and that of Justinian can fail to see that the Golden Gateway and Dome of the Rock are about half-way in the series, and are in fact buildings which must have been erected within the century in which Constantine flourished. With regard to the Golden Gateway, which is practically unaltered, this is undoubted. It is precisely of that style which is found only in the buildings of the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth, century, and accords so completely with those found at Rome, Spalatro, and elsewhere, as to leave no reasonable doubt on the subject. Had it been as early as the time of Hadrian, the bent entablature which covers both the external and internal openings could not have existed, while had it been as late as the age of Justinian, its classical features would have been exchanged for the peculiar incised style of his buildings. It may also be remarked, that, although in the outer wall, it is a festal, not a fortified entrance, and never could have been intended as a city gate, but must have led to some sacred or palatial edifice. It is difficult, indeed, to suggest what that could have been, except the Basilica described by Eusebius.



No. 9.—Interior of Golden Gateway. From a Photograph.

The exterior of the other building (the Anastasis) has been repaired and covered with coloured tiles and inscriptions in more modern times; but the interior is nearly unaltered (vide Plates by Catherwood and Arundale, in Fergusson's *Topography of Ancient Jerusalem*), and even externally, wherever this coating of tiles has peeled off, the old Roman round arch appears in lieu of its pointed substitute. It must also be added that it is essentially a tomb-building, similar in form and arrangement, as it is in detail, to the Tomb of the Emperor Constantine at Rome, or of his daughter Constantia, outside the walls, and indeed more or less like all the tomb-buildings of that age.

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did Constantine or any one in his age erect at Jerusalem, over a mass of the living rock, rising eight or nine feet above the bases of the columns, and extending over the whole central area of the church, with a sacred cave in it, unless it were the church of the Holy Anastasis, described by Eusebius?

Supposing it were possible to put this evidence aside, the most plausible suggestion is to appeal to the presumed historical fact that it was built by Omar, or by the Moslems at all events. There is, however, no proof whatever of this assumption. What Omar did build is the small mosque on the east of the Akshah, overhanging the southern wall, and which still bears his name; and no Mohammedan writer of any sort, anterior to the recovery of the city from the Christians by Saladin, ventures to assert that his countrymen built the Dome of the Rock. On the contrary, while they are most minute in describing the building of the Aksha, they are entirely silent about this building, and only assume that it was theirs after they came into permanent possession of it after the Crusades. It may also be added that, whatever it is, it certainly is not a mosque. The principal and essential feature in all these buildings is the Kibleh, or niche pointing towards Mecca. No mosque in the whole world, of whatever shape or form, is without this; but in the place where it should be in this building is found the principal entrance, so that the worshipper enters with his back to Mecca—a sacrilege which to the Mohammedans, if this were a mosque, would be impossible. Had it been called the Tomb of Omar, this incongruity would not have been apparent, for all the old Moslem and Christian tombs adopt nearly the same ordinance; but no tradition hints that either Omar or any Moslem saint was ever buried within its precincts.

Nor will it answer to assume, as is generally done, that it was built in the first century of the Hegira over the Sacred Rock of the Temple; for from the account of the Moslem and Christian historians of the time it is quite evident that at that time the site and dimensions of the Jewish Temple could be ascertained, and were known. As shown above, this building certainly always was outside the limits of the Temple, so that this could not be the object of its erection. The Mosque of Omar properly so called, the great mosque El Aksha, the mosques of the Mogrebins and of Abu Bekr, are all within the limits of the old Temple, and were meant to be so (see woodcut No. 4). They are so because in all ages the Mohammedans held the Jewish Temple to be a sacred spot, as certainly as the Christians held it to be accursed, and all their sacred buildings stand within its precincts. So far as we now know there was nothing in Jerusalem of a sacred character built by the Mohammedans outside the four walls of the Temple anterior to the recovery of the city by Saladin.

Irrefragable as this evidence appears to be, it would be impossible to maintain it otherwise than by assuming that Constantine blindly adopted a wrong locality, if the sites now assumed to be true were such as did not accord with the details of the Bible narratives: fortunately, however, they agree with them to the minutest detail.

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The Prætorium where Christ was judged was most probably the Antonia, which at that time, as before and afterwards, was the citadel of Jerusalem and the residence of the governors, and the Xystus and Council-house were certainly, as shown above, in this neighbourhood. Leaving these localities the Saviour, bearing his cross, must certainly have gone towards the country, and might well meet Simon or any one coming towards the city; thus every detail of the description is satisfied, and none offended by the locality now assumed.

The third class of evidence is from its nature by no means so clear, but there is nothing whatever in it to contradict, and a great deal that directly confirms the above statements. The earliest of the travellers who visited Jerusalem after the discovery of the Sepulchre by Constantine is one known as the Bordeaux pilgrim; he seems to have visited the place about the year 333. In his Itinerary, after describing the palace of David, the Great Synagogue, and other objects inside the city, he adds, "Inde ut eas foris murum de Sione euntibus ad Portam Neopolitanam ad partem dextram deorsum in valle sunt parietes ubi domus fuit sive palatium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta ubi corpus ejus positum fuit, et tertia die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini Imperatoris Basilica facta est, id est Dominicum mirae pulchritudinis." From this it is evident that passing out of the modern Zion gate he turned round the outside of the walls to the left. Had he gone to the right, past the Jaffa gate, both the ancient and modern Golgotha would have been on his right hand; but passing round the Temple area he may have had the house of Pilate on his right in the valley, where some tradi-

tions placed it. He must have had Golgotha and the Sepulchre on his left, as he describes them. In so far therefore as his testimony goes, it is clear he was not speaking of the modern Golgotha, which is inside the city, while the very expression "foris murum" seems to indicate what the context confirms, that it was a place on the verge of the city, and on the left hand of one passing round the walls, or in other words the place marked on the accompanying map.

Antoninus Martyr is the only other traveller whose works have come down to us, who visited the city before the Mohammedan conquest; his description is not sufficiently distinct for much reliance to be placed on it, though all it does say is more in accordance with the eastern than the western site; but he incidentally supplies one fact. He says, "Juxta ipsum altare est crypta ubi si ponas aurem audies flumen aquarum, et si jactas intus pomum aut quid nature potest et vade ad fontem Siloam et ibi illud suscipies" (*Ant. Mart. Itin.* p. 14). There is every reason to believe, from the researches of Drs. Robinson and Barclay, that the whole of the Haram area is excavated with subterranean water-channels, and that therefore if you place your ear almost anywhere you may hear the flowing of the water; and all these waters can only drain out towards Siloam. We also know that under the cave in the Dome of the Rock there is a well, called the *Bir Arruah*, and that it does communicate with the great excavated sea or cistern in front of the Aksa, and that its overflow is towards Siloam, so that if an apple were dropped into it, in so far as we now know, it would come out there. If we presume that Antoninus was speaking of the present sepulchre the passage is utterly unintelligible. There is no well, and no trace has ever been discovered of any communication with Siloam. As far as our present knowledge goes, this objection is in itself fatal to the modern site.

A third and most important narrative has been preserved to us by Adamnanus, an abbot of Iona, who took it down from the mouth of Arculfus, a French bishop who visited the Holy Land in the end of the seventh century. He not only describes, but gives from memory a plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but without any very precise indication of its locality. He then describes the mosque El Aksa as a square building situated on the site of the Temple of Solomon, and with details that leave no doubt as to its identity; but either he omits all mention of the Dome of the Rock, which certainly was then, as it is now, the most conspicuous and most important building in Jerusalem, or the inference is inevitable, that he has already described it under the designation of the Church of the Sepulchre, which the whole context would lead us to infer was really the case.

Besides these, there are various passages in the writings of the Fathers which are unintelligible if we assume that the present church was the one built by Constantine. Dositheus, for instance (*ii.* 1, §7), says, that owing to the steepness of the ground, or to the hill or valley, to the westward of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it had only its one wall on that side, "Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ ἁγίου

1 "Behold the day is come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner. And the measuring-line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath.

And the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, unto the corner of the horse-gate toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord; it shall not be plucked up nor thrown down any more for ever."

In this country the progression of style is only generally understood as applied to mediæval buildings, but with sufficient knowledge it is equally applicable to Indian, Mohammedan, Classical, or Roman, in fact to all true styles, and no one who is familiar with the gradation of styles that took place between the time of Hadrian and that of Justinian can fail to see that the Golden Gateway and Dome of the Rock are about half-way in the series, and are in fact buildings which must have been erected within the century in which Constantine flourished. With regard to the Golden Gateway, which is practically unaltered, this is undoubted. It is precisely of that style which is found only in the buildings of the end of the third, or beginning of the fourth, century, and accords so completely with those found at Rome, Spalatro, and elsewhere, as to leave no reasonable doubt on the subject. Had it been as early as the time of Hadrian, the bent entablature which covers both the external and internal openings could not have existed, while had it been as late as the age of Justinian, its classical features would have been exchanged for the peculiar incised style of his buildings. It may also be remarked, that, although in the outer wall, it is a festal, not a fortified entrance, and never could have been intended as a city gate, but must have led to some sacred or palatial edifice. It is difficult, indeed, to suggest what that could have been, except the Basilica described by Eusebius.



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It was also a place where certainly tombs did exist. It has been shown above that the sepulchres of David and the other kings of Israel were in this neighbourhood. We know from Josephus (*B. J.* v. 7, §3) that "John and his faction defended themselves from the Tower of Antonia, and from the northern cloister of the Temple, and fought the Romans before the monument of king Alexander;" so that there certainly were tombs hereabouts; and there is a passage in Jeremiah (xxi. 38-40.¹) which apparently describes prophetically the building of the third wall and the enclosure of the northern parts of the city from Gareb—most probably the hill on which Psephinos stood—to Goath, which is mentioned as in immediate juxtaposition to the horse-gate of the Temple, out of which the wicked queen Athaliah was taken to execution; and the description of "the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, and the corner of the horse-gate toward the east," is in itself sufficient to prove that this locality was then, as it is now, the great cemetery of Jerusalem, and as the sepulchre was nigh at hand to the place of execution (John xix. 42), every probability exists to prove that this may have been the scene of the passion.

The Praetorium where Christ was judged was most probably the Antonia, which at that time, as before and afterwards, was the citadel of Jerusalem and the residence of the governors, and the Xystus and Council-house were certainly, as shown above, in this neighbourhood. Leaving these localities the Saviour, bearing his cross, must certainly have gone towards the country, and might well meet Simon or any one coming towards the city; thus every detail of the description is satisfied, and none offended by the locality now assumed.

The third class of evidence is from its nature by no means so clear, but there is nothing whatever in it to contradict, and a great deal that directly confirms the above statements. The earliest of the travellers who visited Jerusalem after the discovery of the Sepulchre by Constantine is one known as the Bordeaux pilgrim; he seems to have visited the place about the year 333. In his Itinerary, after describing the palace of David, the Great Synagogue, and other objects inside the city, he adds, "Inde ut eas foris murum de Sione euntibus ad Portam Neopolitanam ad partem dextram deorsum in valle sunt parietes ubi domus fuit sive palatium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur. A sinistra autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta ubi corpus ejus positum fuit, et tertia die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini Imperatoris Basilica facta est, id est Dominicum mirae pulchritudinis." From this it is evident that passing out of the modern Zion gate he turned round the outside of the walls to the left. Had he gone to the right, past the Jaffa gate, both the ancient and modern Golgotha would have been on his right hand; but passing round the Temple arch he may have had the house of Pilate on his right in the valley, where some tradi-

tions placed it. He must have had Golgotha and the Sepulchre on his left, as he describes them. In so far therefore as his testimony goes, it is clear he was not speaking of the modern Golgotha, which is inside the city, while the very expression "foris murum" seems to indicate what the context confirms, that it was a place on the verge of the city, and on the left hand of one passing round the walls, or in other words the place marked on the accompanying map.

Antoninus Martyr is the only other traveller whose works have come down to us, who visited the city before the Mohammedan conquest; his description is not sufficiently distinct for much reliance to be placed on it, though all it does say is more in accordance with the eastern than the western site; but he incidentally supplies one fact. He says, "Juxta ipsum altare est crypta ubi si ponas aurem audies flumen aquarum, et si jactas intus pumum aut quid natate potest et vade ad fontem Siloam et ibi illud suscipies" (*Ant. Mart. Itin.* p. 14). There is every reason to believe, from the researches of Drs. Robinson and Barclay, that the whole of the Haram area is excavated with subterranean water-channels, and that therefore if you place your ear almost anywhere you may hear the flowing of the water; and all these waters can only drain out towards Siloam. We also know that under the cave in the Dome of the Rock there is a well, called the *Bir Arruah*, and that it does communicate with the great excavated sea or cistern in front of the Aksa, and that its overflow is towards Siloam, so that if an apple were dropped into it, in so far as we now know, it would come out there. If we presume that Antoninus was speaking of the present sepulchre the passage is utterly unintelligible. There is no well, and no trace has ever been discovered of any communication with Siloam. As far as our present knowledge goes, this objection is in itself fatal to the modern site.

A third and most important narrative has been preserved to us by Adamnanus, an abbot of Iona, who took it down from the mouth of Arculfus, a French bishop who visited the Holy Land in the end of the seventh century. He not only describes, but gives from memory a plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but without any very precise indication of its locality. He then describes the mosque El Aksa as a square building situated on the site of the Temple of Solomon, and with details that leave no doubt as to its identity; but either he omits all mention of the Dome of the Rock, which certainly was then, as it is now, the most conspicuous and most important building in Jerusalem, or the inference is inevitable, that he has already described it under the designation of the Church of the Sepulchre, which the whole context would lead us to infer was really the case.

Besides these, there are various passages in the writings of the Fathers which are unintelligible if we assume that the present church was the one built by Constantine. Dositheus, for instance (ii. 1, §7), says, that owing to the steepness of the ground, or to the hill or valley, to the westward of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it had only its one wall on that side, "Ἐκε δὲ πᾶς τοῦ ἁγίου

And the whole valley of the dead bodies and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kidron, unto the corner of the horse-gate toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord; it shall not be plucked up nor thrown down any more for ever."

¹ "Behold the day is come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord, from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner. And the measuring-line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath.

γράφου κατὰ μὲν τῆν δόξαν διὰ τὸ εἶναι ὄρος μόνον τὸν τοῖχον αὐτοῦ. This cannot be applied to the present church, inasmuch as towards the west in that locality there is space for any amount of building; but it is literally correct as applied to the so-called Dome of the Rock, which does stand so near the edge of the valley between the two towns that it would be impossible to erect any considerable building there.

The illuminated Cross, mentioned by St. Cyril (*Epist. ad Const.*) is unintelligible, unless we assume the Sepulchre to have been on the side of the city next to the Mount of Olives. But even more distinct than this is a passage in the writings of St. Epiphanius, writing in the 4th century, who, speaking of Golgotha, says, "It does not occupy an elevated position as compared with other places surrounding it. Over against it, the Mount of Olives is higher. Again, the hill that formerly existed in Zion, but which is now levelled, was once higher than the sacred spot." As we cannot be sure to which hill he applies the name, Zion, no great stress can be laid on that; but no one acquainted with the localities would speak of the modern Golgotha as over against the Mount of Olives. So far therefore as this goes, it is in favour of the proposed view.

The slight notices contained in other works are hardly sufficient to determine the question one way or the other, but the mass of evidence adduced above would probably never have been questioned, were it not that from the time of the Crusades down to the present day (which is the period during which we are really and practically acquainted with the history and topography of Jerusalem), it is certain that the church in the Latin quarter of the city has always been considered as containing the Tomb of Christ, and as being the church which Constantine erected over the sacred cave; and as no record exists—nor indeed is it likely that it should—of a transference of the site, there is a difficulty in persuading others that it really took place. As however there is nothing to contradict, and everything to confirm, the assumption that a transference did take place about this time, it is not important to the argument whether or not we are able to show exactly how it took place, though nothing seems to be more likely or natural under the circumstances.

Architecturally, there is literally no feature or no detail which would induce us to believe that any part of the present church is older than the time of the Crusades. The only things about it of more ancient date are the fragments of an old classical cornice, which are worked in as string courses with the Gothic details of the external façade, and singularly enough this cornice is identical in style with, and certainly belongs to the age of, the Golden Gateway, and Dome of the Rock, and consequently can scarcely be anything else than a fragment of the old basilica, which El Hakeem had destroyed in the previous century, and the remains of which must still have been scattered about when the Crusaders arrived.

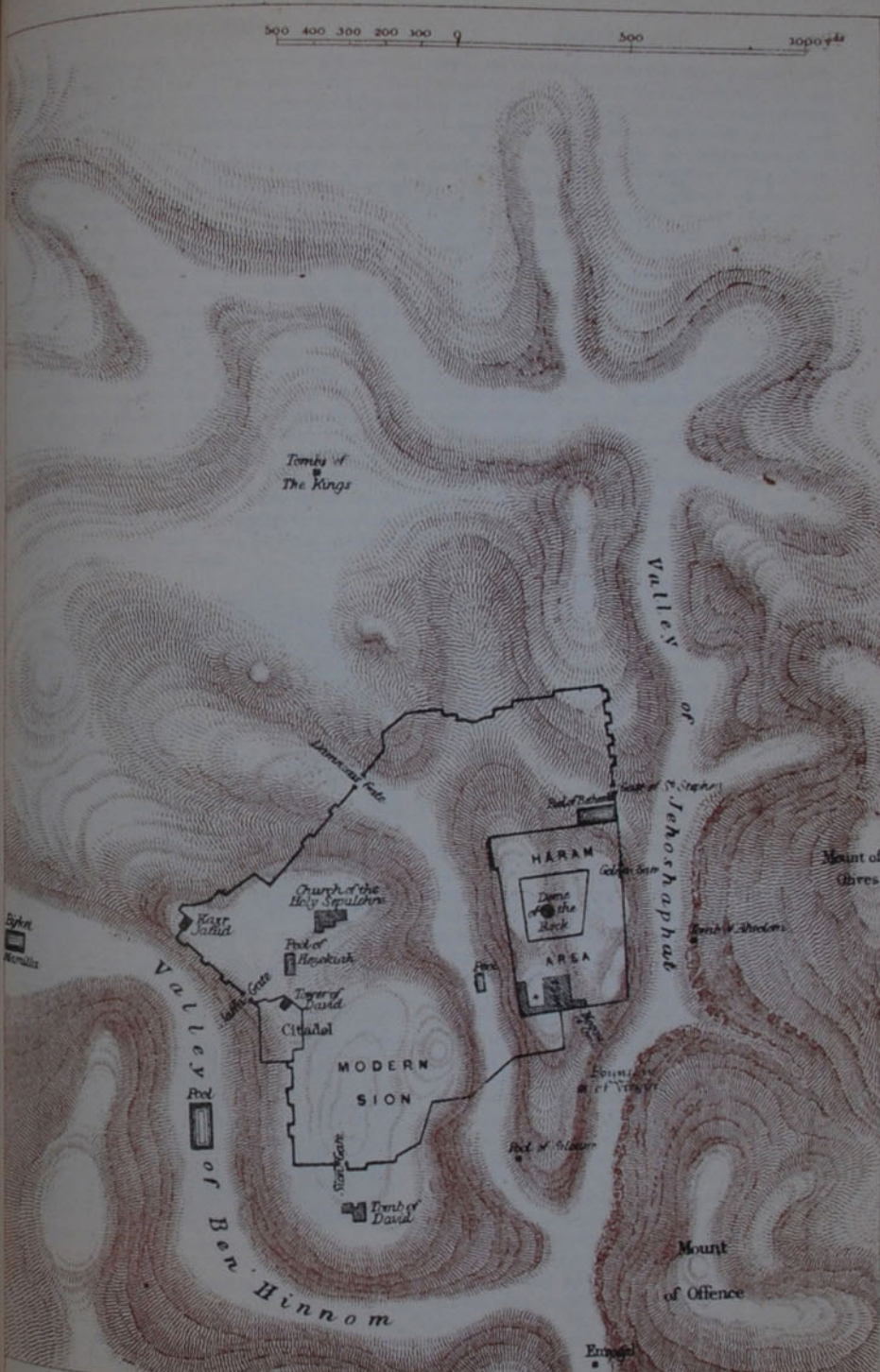
It is well known that a furious persecution of the Christians was carried on, as above-mentioned, at the end of the 10th century. Their great Basilica was destroyed, their Tomb appropriated, they were driven from the city, and dared not approach the holy places under pain of death. As the persecution relaxed a few crept back to their old quarter of the city, and there most naturally built them-

selves a church in which to celebrate the sacred mysteries of Easter. It is not necessary to assume fraud in this proceeding any more than to impute it to those who built sepulchral churches in Italy, Spain, or England. Thousands have prayed and wept in these simulated sepulchres all over the world, and how much more appropriately at Jerusalem! Being in the city, and so near the spot, it was almost impossible but that it should eventually come to be assumed that instead of a simulated, it was the true sepulchre, and it would have required more than human virtue on the part of the priests if they had undeceived the unsuspecting pilgrims, whose faith and liberality were no doubt quickened by the assumption. Had the Christians never recovered the city, the difference would never have been discovered in the dark ages; but when unexpectedly those who had knelt and prayed as pilgrims, came back as armed men, and actually possessed the city, it was either necessary to confess the deception or to persevere in it; and, as was too often the case, the latter course was pursued, and hence all the subsequent confusion.

Nothing, however, can be more remarkable than the different ways in which the Crusaders treated the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque El Aksa. The latter they always called the "Templum seu palatium Solomonis," and treated it with the contempt always applied by Christians to anything Jewish. The Mosque was turned into a stable, the buildings into dwellings for knights, who took the title of Knights Templars, from their residence in the Temple. But the Dome of the Rock they called "Templum Domini." (Jacob de Vitry, c. 62; Sæwulf, *Rel. de Voyage*, iv. 833; Maundeville, *Voyage*, &c., 100, 105; Mar. Sanutus, iii. xiv. 9; Brocardus, vi. 1047.) Priests and a choir were appointed to perform service in it, and during the whole time of the Christian occupation it was held certainly as sacred, if not more so, than the church of the Holy Sepulchre in the town. (Will. of Tyre, viii. 3.) Had they believed or suspected that the rock was that on which the Jewish temple stood it would have been treated as the Aksa was, but they knew that the Dome of the Rock was a Christian building, and sacred to the Saviour; though in the uncritical spirit of the age they never seem exactly to have known either what it was, or by whom it was erected.

XI. *Rebuilding of the Temple by Julian.*—Before leaving the subject, it is necessary to revert to the attempt of Julian the Apostate to rebuild the Temple of the Jews. It was undertaken avowedly as a slight to the Christians, and with the idea of establishing a counterpoise to the influence and position they had attained by the acts of Constantine. It was commenced about six months before his death, and during that period the work seems to have been pushed forward with extraordinary activity under the guidance of his friend Alypius. Not only were large sums of money collected for the purpose, and an enormous concourse of the Jews assembled on the spot, but an immense mass of materials was brought together, and the works of the foundations at least carried vigorously on during this period of excitement, before the miracle occurred, which put a final stop to the undertaking. Even if we have not historical evidence of these facts, the appearance of the south wall of the Haram would lead us to expect that something of the sort had been attempted at this period. As before mentioned, the great tunnel-like vault under the

500 400 300 200 100 0 500 1000 ft



Plan of Site & Walls of Modern City

See page 1000 etc.

Mount of Evil Council

JERUSALEM.

Mosque El Aksa, with its four-domed vestibule, is almost certainly part of the temple of Herod [see TEMPLE], and coeval with his period, but externally to this, certain architectural decorations have been added (woodcut No. 10), and that so slightly, that daylight can be perceived between the old walls and the subsequent decorations, except at the points of attachment.* It is not difficult to ascertain, approximately at least, the age of these adjuncts. From their classical forms they cannot be so late as the time of Justinian; while on the other hand they are slightly more modern in style than the architecture of the Golden Gateway, or than any of the classical details of the Dome of the Rock. They may therefore with very tolerable certainty be ascribed to the age of Julian, while, from the historical accounts, they are just such as we would expect to find them. Above them an inscription bearing the name of Hadrian has been inserted in the wall, but turned upside down; and the whole of the masonry being of that intermediate character between that which we know to be ancient, and that which we easily recognise as the work of the Mohammedans, there can be little doubt but that it belongs to this period.



No. 10.—Frontispiece of Julian in south wall of Haram.

Among the incidents mentioned as occurring at this time is one bearing rather distinctly on the topography of the site. It is said (Gregory Nazianzen, *ad Jud. et Gent.* 7, 1, and confirmed by Sozomen) that when the workmen were driven from their works by the globes of fire that issued from the foundations, they sought refuge in a neighbouring church (*ἐπὶ τῶν πλησίων*

ἱερῶν, or, as Sozomen has it, *εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*)—an expression which would be unintelligible did not the buildings of Constantine exist at that time on the spot; for, except these, there could not be any church or sacred place in the neighbourhood to which the expression could be applied. The principal bearing, however, of Julian's attempt on the topography of Jerusalem consists in the fact of its proving not only that the site of the Jewish temple was perfectly well known at this period—A.D. 362—but that the spot was then, as always, held accursed by the Christians, and as doomed by the denunciation of Christ Himself never to be re-established; and this consequently makes it as absurd to suppose that the Aksa is a building of Justinian as that the Dome of the Rock or the Golden Gateway—if Christian buildings—ever stood within its precincts.

XII. *Church of Justinian.*—Nearly two centuries after the attempt of Julian, Justinian erected a church at Jerusalem; of which, fortunately, we have so full and detailed an account in the works of Procopius (*de Aedificiis Const.*) that we can have little difficulty in fixing its site, though no remains (at least above ground) exist to verify our conjectures. The description given by Procopius is so clear, and the details he gives with regard to the necessity of building up the substructure point so unmistakeably to the spot near to which it must have stood, that almost all topographers have jumped to the conclusion that the mosque El Aksa is the identical church referred to. Apart from the consideration already mentioned, the architecture of that building is alone sufficient to refute any such idea. No seven-aisled basilica was built in that age, and least of all by Justinian, whose favourite plan was a dome on pendentives, which in fact, in his age, had become the type of an Oriental Church. Besides, the Aksa has no apse, and, from its situation, never could have had either that or any of the essential features of a Christian basilica. Its whole architecture is that of the end of the 7th century, and its ordinance is essentially that of a mosque. It is hardly necessary to argue this point, however, as the Aksa stands on a spot which was perfectly known then, and ever afterwards, to be the very centre of the site of Solomon's Temple. Not only is this shown from Julian's attempt, but all the historians, Christian and Mohammedan, who refer to Omar's visit to Jerusalem, relate that the Sakhrah was covered with filth and abhorred by the Christians; and more than this, we have the direct testimony of Eutychius, writing in the 9th century, from Alexandria (*Annales*, ii. 289), "That the Christians had built no church within the area of the Temple on account of the denunciations of the Lord, and had left it in ruins."

Notwithstanding this there is no difficulty in fixing on the site of this church, inasmuch as the vaults that fill up the south-eastern angle of the Haram area are almost certainly of the age of Justinian (woodcuts Nos. 3, 4), and are just such as Procopius describes; so that if it were situated at the northern extremity of the vaults, all the arguments that apply to the Aksa equally apply to this situation.

We have also direct testimony that a church did exist here immediately after Justinian's time in the

* This fact the Writer owes, with many other valuable rectifications, to the observation of his friend Mr. G. Grove. The woodcut, &c., is from a large photograph which, with many others, were taken

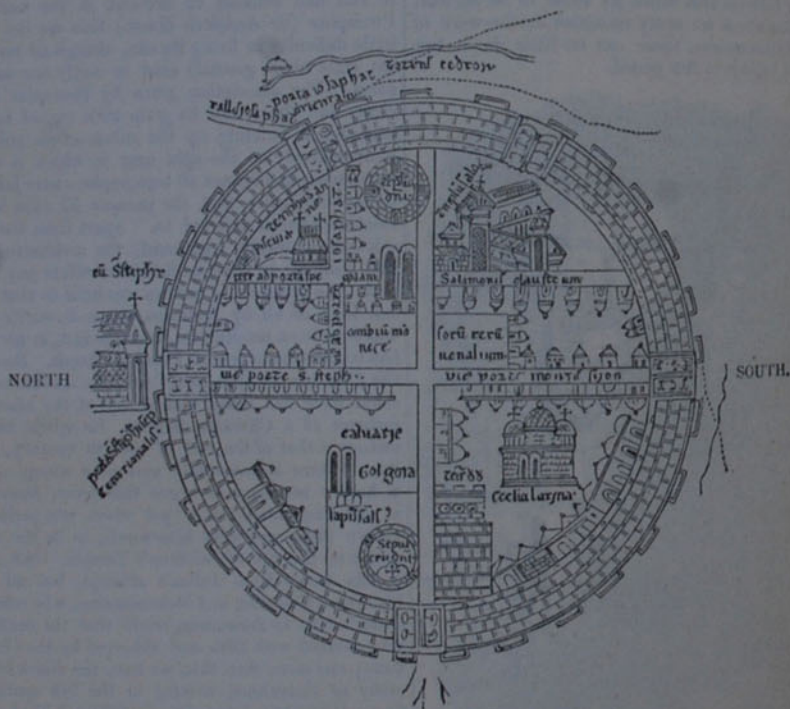
specially for the Writer on the spot, and to which he owes much of the information detailed above, though it has been impossible to refer to it on all occasions.

following words of Ant. Martyr: "Ante ruinas vero templi Solomonis aqua decurrit ad fontem Siloam, secus porticum Solomonis in ecclesia est sedes in qua sedit Pilatus quando audivit Dominum" (*Itin.* p. 16). As the portico of Solomon was the eastern portico of the Temple, this exactly describes the position of the church in question.

But whether we assume the Aksa, or a church outside the Temple, on these vaults, to have been the Mary church of Justinian, how comes it that Justinian chose this remote corner of the city, and so difficult a site, for the erection of his church? Why did he not go to the quarter where—if the modern theory be correct—all the sacred localities of the Christians were grouped together in the middle of the city? The answer seems inevitable: that it was because in those times the Sepulchre and Golgotha were here, and not in the spot to which the Sepulchre with his Mary-church have subsequently been transferred. It may also be added that the fact of Justinian having built a

church in the neighbourhood is in itself almost sufficient to prove that in his age the site and dimensions of the Jewish temple were known, and also that the localities immediately outside the temple were then considered as sacred by the Christians.

XIII. *Conclusion.*—Having now gone through all the principal sites of the Christian edifices, as they stood anterior to the destruction of the churches by El Hakeem, the plan (No. 4) of the area of the Haram will be easily understood. Both Constantine's and Justinian's churches having disappeared, of course the restoration of these is partly conjectural. Nothing now remains in the Haram area but the Mohammedan buildings situated within the area of Solomon's Temple. Of the Christian buildings which once existed there, there remains only the great Anastasis of Constantine—now known as "the Mosque of Omar" and "the Dome of the Rock"—certainly the most interesting, as well as one of the most beautiful Christian buildings in the East, and a small but equally interesting little do-



No. 11.—Plan of Jerusalem in the 12th century

mical building called the Little Sakhrah at the north end of the enclosure, and said to contain a fragment of the rock which the angel sat upon, and which closed the door of the sepulchre (Ali Bey, *ii.* 225). These two buildings are entire. Of Constantine's church we have only the festal entrance, known as the Golden Gateway, and of Justinian's only the substuctions.

It is interesting to compare this with a plan of the city (woodcut No. 11) made during the Crusades, and copied from a manuscript of the twelfth century, in the Library at Brussels. It gives the traditional localities pretty much as they are now; with the exception of St. Stephen's gate, which was the name then applied to that now known as the Damascus Gate. The gate which now bears his name was

then known as that of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The "Temple of Solomon," i.e. the Mosque of el Aksa, is divided by a wide street from that of our Lord; and the Sepulchre is represented as only a smaller copy of its prototype within the Haram area, but very remarkably similar in design, to say the least of it.

Having now gone through the main outlines of the topography of Jerusalem, in so far as the limits of this article would admit, or as seems necessary for the elucidation of the subject, the many details which remain will be given under their separate titles, as TEMPLE, TOMB, PALACE, &c. It only remains, before concluding, to recapitulate here that the great difficulties which seem hitherto to have rendered the subject confused, and in fact inex-

aplicable, were (1) the improper application of the name of Zion to the western hill, and (2) the assumption that the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre was that built by Constantine.

The moment we transfer the name, Zion, from the western to the eastern hill, and the scenes of the Passion from the present site of the Holy Sepulchre to the area of the Haram, all the difficulties disappear; and it only requires a little patience, and perhaps in some instances a little further investigation on the spot, for the topography of Jerusalem to become as well, or better established, than that of any city of the ancient world. [J. F.]

JERUSHA (ירושא): *Ieropśa*; Alex. *Iepous*: *Jerusa*, daughter of Zādāk, queen of Uzziah, and mother of Jotham king of Judah (2 K. xv. 33). In Chronicles the name is given under the altered form of

JERUSAH (ירושא): *Ieropśa*: *Jerusa*, 2 Chr. xxvii. 1. See the preceding article.

JESAT'AH (ישעיה): *Iesias*: *Jeseias*. 1. Son of Hananiah, brother of Pelatiah, and grandson of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 21). But according to the LXX. and the Vulgate, he was the son of Pelatiah. For an explanation of this genealogy, and the difficulties connected with it, see Lord A. Hervey's *Genealogies of our Lord*, ch. iv. §v.

2. (ישעיה, i. e. Jeshiah: *Iesias*; Alex. *Iesōia*: *Isōia*.) A Benjaminite, whose descendants were among those chosen by lot to reside in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 7).

JESHAT'AH. 1. (ישעיה): *Iesias* in 1 Chr. xiv. 3, and *Iesōia* in ver. 15; in the former the Alex. MS. has *Iesōia kal Zemei*, and in the latter *Iesias*: the Vulg. has *Jeseias* and *Jesaias*.) One of the six sons of Jeduthun, set apart for the musical service of the Temple, under the leadership of their father, the inspired minstrel: he was the chief of the eighth division of the singers. The Hebrew name is identical with that of the prophet Isaiah.

2. (*Iesias*; Alex. *Iesōias*: *Isōias*.) A Levite in the reign of David, eldest son of Rehabiah, a descendant of Anram through Moses (1 Chr. xvi. 25). He is called Issiah in 1 Chr. xxiv. 21, in A. V., though the Hebrew is merely the shortened form of the name. Shebuel, one of his ancestors, appears among the Hemanites in 1 Chr. xxv. 4, and is said in Targ. on 1 Chr. xxvi. 24 to be the same with Jonathan the son of Gershom, the priest of the idols of the Danites, who afterwards returned to the fear of Jehovah.

3. (ישעיה): *Iesias*; Alex. *Iesōias*: *Isōias*.) The son of Athaliah and chief of the house of the Bene-Elam who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 7). In 1 Esd. viii. 33 he is called Josias.

4. (*Iesōia*: *Isōias*.) A Merarite, who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 19). He is called Osaias in 1 Esd. viii. 48.

JESHA'NAH (ישנה): *Iesōna*; Alex. *Iesōna*; Alex. *Iesōna*: *Jesana*, a town which, with its dependent villages (Heb. and Alex. LXX. "daughters"), was one of the three taken from Jeroboam by Abijah (2 Chr. xiii. 19). The other two were Bethel and Ephraim, and Jeshanah is named between them. A place of the same name was the scene of an encounter between Herod and Pappus, the genera. of Antigonus' army, related

by Josephus with curious details (*Ant.* xiv. 15, §12), which however convey no indication of its position. It is not mentioned in the *Onomasticon*, unless we accept the conjecture of Reland (*Pal.* 861) that "Jethaba, urbs antiqua Judaeae," is at once a corruption and a translation of the name Jeshana, which signifies "old." Nor has it been identified in modern times, save by Schwarz (158), who places it at "Al-Sunim, a village two miles W. of Bethel," but undiscoverable in any map which the writer has consulted. [G.]

JESHARELAH (ישרהאל): *Iserēhāl*, *Iserēhāl*, Cod. Alex.), head of the seventh of the 24 wards into which the musicians of the Levites were divided (1 Chr. xxv. 14). [HEMAN; JEDUTHUN.] He belonged to the house of Asaph, and had 12 of his house under him. At ver. 2 his name is written Asarelah, with an initial *א* instead of *י*; in the LXX. *Ἐραήλ*. [A. C. H.]

JESHE'BEAB (ישבב): *Iesōbaāl*: *Isbaab*, head of the 14th course of priests (1 Chr. xxiv. 13). [JEOIARIB.] [A. C. H.]

JESHER (ישר): *Iesōp*; Alex. *Iesōp*: *Jasher*, one of the sons of Caleb the son of Hezron by his wife Azubah (1 Chr. ii. 18). In two of Kennicott's MSS. it is written יתיר, *Jether*, from the preceding verse, and in one MS. the two names are combined. The Peshito Syriac has *Oshir*, the same form in which *Jasher* is represented in 2 Sam. i. 18.

JESHIMON (הישמון = the waste: in Num. *hē ērēmos*; in Sam. *hē Iesōaimōs*, and *Iesōemōs*; Alex. *Iesōaimōs*: *desertum, solitudo, Jesimuth*), a name which occurs in Num. xxi. 20 and xxiii. 28, in designating the position of Pisgah and Peor: both described as "facing (על־פני) the Jeshimon." Not knowing more than the general locality of either Peor or Pisgah, this gives us no clue to the situation of Jeshimon. But it is elsewhere used in a similar manner with reference to the position of two places very distant from both the above—the hill of Hachilah, "on the south of," or "facing, the Jeshimon" (1 Sam. xxiii. 19, xvi. 1, 3), and the wilderness of Maon, also south of it (xxiii. 24). Ziph (xxiii. 15) and Maon are known at the present day. They lie a few miles south of Hebron, so that the district strictly north of them is the hill-country of Judah. But a line drawn between Maon and the probable position of Peor—on the high country opposite Jericho—passes over the dreary, barren waste of the hills lying immediately on the west of the Dead Sea. To this district the name, if interpreted as a Hebrew word, would be not inapplicable. It would also suit as to position, as it would be full in view from an elevated point on the highlands of Moab, and not far from north of Maon and Ziph. On the other hand, the use of the word *ha-Arābāh*, in 1 Sam. xxiii. 24, must not be overlooked, meaning, as that elsewhere does, the sunk district of the Jordan and Dead Sea, the modern *Ghor*. Beth-Jeshimoth too, which by its name ought to have some connection with Jeshimon, would appear to have been on the lower level, somewhere near the mouth of the Jordan. [BETH-JESHIMOTH.] Perhaps it is not safe to lay much stress on the Hebrew sense of the name. The passages in which it is first mentioned are indisputably of very early date, and it is quite possible that it is an archaic name found and adopted by the Israelites. [G.]

JESHI'SHAI (יֵשׁוּשַׁי; 'Iesat; Alex. 'Iesōat. *Jesisi*), one of the ancestors of the Gadites who dwelt in Gilead, and whose genealogies were made out in the days of Jotham king of Judah (1 Chr. v. 14). In the Peshito Syriac the latter part of the verse is omitted.

JESHOHA'IAH (יְשׁוּחָיָהוּ; 'Iasoula; *Ishuhā*), a chief of one of the families of that branch of the Simeonites, which was descended from Shimei, and was more numerous than the rest of the tribe (1 Chr. iv. 36). He was concerned in the raid upon the Hamites in the reign of Hezekiah.

JESH'UA (יֵשׁוּעַ; 'Iησοῦς; *Jeshue* and *Joshue*), a later Hebrew contraction for Joshua, or rather Jehoshua. [JEHOSHUA.]

1. Joshua, the son of Nun, is called Jeshua in one passage (Neh. viii. 17). [JOSHUA.]

2. A priest in the reign of David, to whom the ninth course fell by lot (1 Chr. xxiv. 11). He is called Jeshuah in the A. V. One branch of the house, viz. the children of Jedaiah, returned from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 36; but see JEDAIAH).

3. One of the Levites in the reign of Hezekiah, after the reformation of worship, placed in trust in the cities of the priests in their classes, to distribute to their brethren of the offerings of the people (2 Chr. xxxi. 15).

4. Son of Jehozadak, first high-priest of the third series, viz. of those after the Babylonian captivity, and ancestor of the fourteen high-priests his successors down to Joshua or Jason, and Onias or Menelaus, inclusive. [HIGH-PRIEST.] Jeshua, like his contemporary Zerubbabel, was probably born in Babylon, whither his father Jehozadak had been taken captive while young (1 Chr. vi. 15, A. V.). He came up from Babylon in the first of Cyrus with Zerubbabel, and took a leading part with him in the rebuilding of the temple, and the restoration of the Jewish commonwealth. Everything we read of him indicates a man of earnest piety, patriotism, and courage. One of less faith and resolution would never have surmounted all the difficulties and opposition he had to contend with. His first care on arriving at Jerusalem was to rebuild the altar, and restore the daily sacrifice, which had been suspended for some fifty years. He then, in conjunction with Zerubbabel, hastened to collect materials for rebuilding the temple, and was able to lay the foundation of it as early as the second month of the second year of their return to Jerusalem. The services on this occasion were conducted by the priests in their proper apparel, with their trumpets, and by the sons of Asaph, the Levites, with their cymbals, according to the ordinance of king David (Ezr. iii.). However, the progress of the work was hindered by the enmity of the Samaritans, who bribed the counsellors of the kings of Persia so effectually to obstruct it that the Jews were unable to proceed with it till the second year of Darius Hystaspis—an interval of about fourteen years. In that year, B.C. 520, at the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah (Ezr. v. 1, vi. 14; Hagg. i. 1, 12, 14, ii. 1-9; Zech. i.-viii.), the work was resumed by Jeshua and Zerubbabel with redoubled vigour, and was happily completed on the third day of the month Adar (= March), in

the sixth of Darius.* The dedication of the temple, and the celebration of the Passover, in the next month, were kept with great solemnity and rejoicing (Ezr. vi. 15-22), and especially "twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel," were offered as a sin-offering for all Israel. Jeshua's zeal in the work is commended by the Son of Sirach (Ecclus. xlix. 12). Besides the great importance of Jeshua as a historical character, from the critical times in which he lived, and the great work which he accomplished, his name Jesus, his restoration of the temple, his office as high-priest, and especially the two prophecies concerning him in Zech. iii. and vi. 9-15, point him out as an eminent type of Christ. [HIGH-PRIEST.] Nothing is known of Jeshua later than the seventh year of Darius, with which the narrative of Ezr. i.-vi. closes. Josephus, who says the temple was seven years in building, and places the dedication of it in the ninth of Darius, contributes no information whatever concerning him: his history here, with the exception of the 9th sect. of b. xi. ch. iv., being merely a paraphrase of Ezr. and 1 Esdras, especially the latter. [ZERUBBABEL.] Jeshua had probably conversed often with Daniel and Ezekiel, and may or may not have known Jehoiachin at Babylon in his youth. He probably died at Jerusalem. It is written *Jehoshua* or *Joshua* in Zech. iii. 1, 3, &c.; Hagg. i. 1, 12, &c.

5. Head of a Levitical house, one of those which returned from the Babylonian captivity, and took an active part under Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The name is used to designate either the whole family or the successive chiefs of it (Ezr. ii. 40, iii. 9; Neh. iii. 19,^b viii. 7, ix. 4, 5, xii. 8, &c.). Jeshua, and Kadmiel, with whom he is frequently associated, were both "sons of Hodaviah" (called Judah, Ezr. iii. 9), but Jeshua's more immediate ancestor was Azaniah (Neh. x. 9). In Neh. xii. 24 "Jeshua the son of Kadmiel" is a manifest corruption of the text. The LXX. read *καδμυήλ*. It is more likely that ך is an accidental error for י .

6. A branch of the family of Pahath-Moab, one of the chief families, probably, of the tribe of Judah (Neh. x. 14, vii. 11, &c.; Ezr. x. 30). His descendants were the most numerous of all the families which returned with Zerubbabel. The verse is obscure, and might be translated, "The children of Pahath-Moab, for (i. e. representing) the children of Jeshua and Joab;" so that Pahath-Moab would be the head of the family. [A. C. H.]

JESH'UA (יֵשׁוּעַ; 'Iησοῦς; *Jesue*), one of the towns re-inhabited by the people of Judah after the return from captivity (Neh. xi. 26). Being mentioned with Moladah, Beersheba, &c., it was apparently in the extreme south. It does not, however, occur in the original lists of Judah and Simeon (Josh. xv., xix.), nor is there any name in those lists of which this would be probably a corruption. [G.] It is not mentioned elsewhere.

JESH'UAH (יֵשׁוּעָה; 'Iησοῦς; *Jesua*), a priest in the reign of David (1 Chron. xxiv. 11), the same as JESHUA, No. 2.

JESHU'RUN, and once by mistake in A. V. **JESU'RUN**, Is. xlv. 2 (יֵשׁוּרֻן; *δ' ἠγαπημένος*,

* The 7th, after the Babylonian reckoning, according to Prideaux.

^b The connexion with Bani, Hashabiah (or Hash-

abiah), Henadad, and the Levites (17-19), indicates that Jeshua, the father of Ezer, is the same person as in the other passages cited.

ance with the addition of *Ἰσραήλ*, which the Arabic of the Lond. Polyglot adopts to the exclusion of the former; *dilectus, rectissimus*), a symbolical name for Israel in Deut. xxiii. 15, xxiii. 5, 20; Is. xlv. 2, for which various etymologies have been suggested. Of its application to Israel there seems to be no division of opinion. The Targum and Peshito Syriac uniformly render Jeshurun by "Israel." Kimchi (on Is. xlv. 2) derives it from the root *יָשָׁר*, *yāshar*, "to be right or upright," because Israel was "upright among the nations;" as *יְשָׁרִים*, *yeshārīm*, "the upright" (Num. xxiii. 10; Ps. cxi. 1) is a poetical appellation of the chosen people, who did that which was right (*הַיְשָׁר*, *hay-yāshār*) in the eyes of Jehovah, in contradistinction from the idolatrous heathen who did that which was pre-eminently the evil (*הָרָע*, *hā-rā'a*), and worshipped false gods. This seems to have been the view adopted by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotus—who according to the account of their version given by Jerome (on Is. xlv. 2), must have had *eubus* or *eubótratos*—and by the Vulgate in three passages. Malvenda (quoted in Poole's *Synopsis*, Deut. xxxii. 15), taking the same root, applies it ironically to Israel. For the like reason, on the authority of the above mentioned Father, the book of Genesis was called "the book of the just" (*εὐθέων*), as relating to the histories of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel. The termination *י* is either intensive, as the Vulgate takes it, or an affectionate diminutive ("Prömmchen," Hitzig, and Fürst; "Liebling," Hendewerk, and Bunsen). Simonis (*Lex. Hebr. s. v.*, and *Arc. Form. Nom.* p.

582) connects Jeshurun with the Arabic root *يسر*, *yasara*, which in the second conj. signifies "to prosper," and in the 4th "to be wealthy," and is thus cognate with the Hebr. *אִשָּׁר*, *āshar*, which in Pual signifies "to be blessed." With the intensive termination Jeshurun would then denote Israel as supremely happy or prosperous, and to this signification it must be allowed the context in Deut. xxxii. 15, points. Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.*) considers it as a diminutive of Israel, and would read *יִשְׂרָאֵלִין*, *yisrān*, contracted from *יִשְׂרָאֵלִין*, *yisrā'ēlān*. Such too was the opinion of Grotius and Vitringa, and of the author of the Veneto-Gk. version, who renders it *Ἰσραελάσκος*. For this theory, though supported by the weight of Gesenius' authority, it is scarcely necessary to say there is not the smallest foundation, either in analogy or probability. In the application of the name Jeshurun to Israel, we may discover that fondness for a play upon words of which there are so many examples, and which might be allowed to have some influence in the selection of the appellation. But to derive the one from the other is a fancy unworthy of a scholar.

Two other etymologies of the name may be noticed as showing to what lengths conjecture may go when not regulated by any definite principles. The first of these, which is due to Forster (quoted by Glassius, *Phil. Sacr.* lib. iv. tr. 2), connects it with *שׂוֹר*, *shōr*, "an ox," in consequence of the allusion in the context of Deut. xxxii.

15; the other with *שָׁר*, *shār* "to behold," because Israel beheld the presence of God.

[W. A. W.]

JESIAH (יְשִׁיָּהוּ), *i. e.* Yishiyahu: *Ἰησοῦν*. Alex. *Ἰεσιά*: *Jesia*). 1. A Korhite, one of the mighty men, "helpers of the battle," who joined David's standard at Ziklag during his flight from Saul (1 Chr. xii. 6).

2. (יְשִׁיָּה) *Ἰσιά*; Alex. *Ἰεσιά*.) The second son of Uzziel, the son of Kohath (1 Chr. xxiii. 20). He is the same as Jeshiah, whose representative was Zechariah (1 Chr. xxiv. 25); but our translators in the present instance followed the Vulg., as they have too often done in the case of proper names.

JESIMTEL (יְשִׁמְטֵל) *Ἰσιμαήλ*: *Ismiel*, a Simeonite, descended from the prolific family of Shimeī, and a prince of his own branch of the tribe, whom he led against the peaceful Hamites in the reign of Hezekiah (1 Chr. iv. 36).

JESSE (יֵשׁוּ) *i. e.* Ishai: *Ἰεσσαί*; Joseph. *Ἰεσσαίος*: *Isai*: in the margin of 1 Chr. x. 14, our translators have given the Vulgate form), the father of David, and thus the immediate progenitor of the whole line of the kings of Judah, and ultimately of Christ. He is the only one of his name who appears in the sacred records. Jesse was the son of Obed, who again was the fruit of the union of Boaz and the Moabitess Ruth. Nor was Ruth's the only foreign blood that ran in his veins; for his great-grandmother was no less a person than Rahab the Canaanite, of Jericho (Matt. i. 5). Jesse's genealogy^b is twice given in full in the Old Testament, viz., Ruth iv. 18-22, and 1 Chr. ii. 5-12. We there see that long before David had rendered his family illustrious, it belonged to the greatest house of Judah, that of Pharez, through Hezron his eldest son. One of the links in the descent was Nahshon (N. T. Naason), chief man of the tribe at the critical time of the Exodus. In the N. T. the genealogy is also twice given (Matt. i. 3-5; Luke iii. 32-34).

He is commonly designated as "Jesse the Bethlehemite" (1 Sam. xvi. 1, 18). So he is called by his son David, then fresh from home (xvii. 58); but his full title is "the Ephrathite of Bethlehem Judah" (xvii. 12). The double expression and the use of the antique word Ephrathite perhaps imply that he was one of the oldest families in the place. He is an "old man" when we first meet with him (1 Sam. xvii. 12), with eight sons (xvi. 10, xvii. 12), residing at Bethlehem (xvi. 4, 5). It would appear, however, from the terms of xvi. 4, 5, and of Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 8, §1), that Jesse was not one of the "elders" of the town. The few slight glimpses we can catch of him are soon recalled. According to an ancient Jewish tradition, recorded in the Targum on 2 Sam. xxi. 19, he was a weaver of the veils of the sanctuary, but as there is no contradiction, so there is no corroboration of this in the Bible, and it is possible that it was suggested by the occurrence of the word *origin*, "weavers," in connexion with a member of his family. [JAARE-OREGIM.] Jesse's wealth

windows of English churches. One of the finest is at Dorchester, Oxon. The tree springs from Jesse, who is recumbent at the bottom of the window, and contains 25 members of the line, culminating in our Lord.

^a Jerome (*Liber de Nominibus*) gives the strange interpretation of *insulæ libanem*.

^b This genealogy is embodied in the "Jesse tree," not unfrequently to be found in the reredos and east

seems to have consisted of a flock of sheep and goats (JES, A. V. "sheep"), which were under the care of David (xvi. 11, xvii. 34, 35). Of the produce of this flock we find him on two occasions sending the simple presents which in those days the highest persons were wont to accept—slices of milk cheese to the captain of the division of the army in which his sons were serving (xvii. 18), and a kid to Saul (xvi. 20); with the accompaniment in each case of parched corn from the field: of Boaz, loaves of the bread from which Bethlehem took its very name, and wine from the vineyards which still enrich the terraces of the hill below the village.

When David's rupture with Saul had finally driven him from the court, and he was in the cave of Adullam, "his brethren and all his father's house" joined him (xxii. 1). His "brother" (probably Eliab) is mentioned on a former occasion (xx. 29) as taking the lead in the family. This is no more than we should expect from Jesse's great age. David's anxiety at the same period to find a safe refuge for his parents from the probable vengeance of Saul, is also quite in accordance with their helpless condition. He took his father and his mother into the country of Moab, and deposited them with the king, and there they disappear from our view in the records of Scripture. But another old Jewish tradition (Rabboth Seder, נשׁ, 256, col. 2) states that after David had quitted the hold, his parents and brothers were put to death by the king of Moab, so that there remained, besides David, but one brother, who took refuge with Nahash, king of the Bene-Ammon.

Who the wife of Jesse was we are not told. His eight sons will be found displayed under DAVID, p. 401. The family contained in addition two female members, Zeruah and Abigail, but it is uncertain whether these were Jesse's daughters, for though they are called the sisters of his sons (1 Chr. ii. 16), yet Abigail is said to have been the daughter of Nahash (2 Sam. xvii. 25). Of this two explanations have been proposed. (1.) The Jewish—that NAHASH was another name for Jesse (Jerome, *Q. Hebr.* on 2 Sam. xvii. 25^e). (2.) Professor Stanley's—that Jesse's wife had been formerly wife or concubine to Nahash, possibly the king of the Ammonites (DAVID, 401 b.).

An English reader can hardly fail to remark how often Jesse is mentioned long after the name of David had become famous enough to supersede that of his obscure and humble parent. While David was a struggling outlaw, it was natural that to friend and foe—to Saul, Doeg, and Nabal, no less than to the captains of Judah and Benjamin—he should be merely the "son of Jesse" (1 Sam. xxii. 9, 13; comp. xxiv. 16, xxv. 10; 1 Chr. xii. 18); but that Jesse's name should be brought forward in records of so late a date as 1 Chr. xxix. 26, and Ps. lxxii. 20, long after the establishment of David's own house, is certainly worthy of notice. Especially is it to be observed that it is in his name—the "shoot out of the stump of Jesse . . . the root of Jesse which should stand as an ensign to the people" (Is. xi. 1, 10), that Isaiah announces the most

splendid of his promises, intended to rouse and cheer the heart of the nation at the time of its deepest despondency.

JESSUE (Ἰησοῦς; Alex. Ἰησοῦς: *Jesu*), a Levite, the same as Jeshua (1 Esd. v. 26; comp. Ezr. ii. 40).

JESU (Ἰησοῦς: *Jesu*), the same as Jeshua the Levite, the father of Jozabad (1 Esd. viii. 63; see Ezr. viii. 33), also called Jessue, and Jesus.

JESUI (Ἰησοῦς: Ἰεσοῦ; Alex. Ἰεσοῦ: *Jesui*), the son of Asher, whose descendants THE JESUITES were numbered in the plains of Moab at the Jordan of Jericho (Num. xxvi. 44). He is elsewhere called Isui (Gen. xli. 17) and Ishuai (1 Chr. vii. 30).

JESUS (Ἰησοῦς: *Jesu, Jesus, Josue*), the Greek form of the name Joshua or Jeshua, a contraction of Jehoshua (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), that is, "help of Jehovah" or "Saviour" (Numb. xiii. 16). [JEHOSHUA.]

1. Joshua the priest, the son of Jehozadak (1 Esd. v. 5, 8, 24, 48, 56, 68, 70, vi. 2, ix. 19; Ecclus. xlix. 12). Also called Jeshua. [JESHUA, No. 4.]

2. (*Jesu*.) Jeshua the Levite (1 Esd. v. 38, ix. 48).

3. Joshua the son of Nun (2 Esd. vii. 37; Ecclus. xli. 1; 1 Macc. ii. 55; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8). [JOSHUA.]

JESUS THE FATHER OF SIRACH.
[JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH.]

JESUS THE SON OF SIRACH (Ἰησοῦς υἱὸς Σειράχ; *Jesus filius Sirach*) is described in the text of Ecclesiasticus (I. 27) as the author of that book, which in the LXX., and generally, except in the Western Church, is called by his name the *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, or simply the *Wisdom of Sirach* (ECCLESIASTICUS, §1). The same passage speaks of him as a native of Jerusalem (Ecclus. I. c.); and the internal character of the book confirms its Palestinian origin. The name JESUS was of frequent occurrence, and was often represented by the Greek Jason. In the apocryphal list of the LXXII commissioners sent by Eleazar to Ptolemy it occurs twice (Arist. *Hist. ap. Hody, De text.* p. vii.); but there is not the slightest ground for connecting the author of Ecclesiasticus with either of the persons there mentioned. The various conjectures which have been made as to the position of the son of Sirach from the contents of his book; as, for instance, that he was a priest (from vii. 29 ff., xlv., xlix., 1.), or a physician (from xxxviii. 1 ff.), are equally unfounded.

Among the later Jews the "Son of Sirach" was celebrated under the name of Ben Sira as a writer of proverbs, and some of those which have been preserved offer a close resemblance to passages in Ecclesiasticus [ECCLESIASTICUS, §4, n. b.]; but in the course of time a later compilation was substituted for the original work of Ben Sira (Zunz

^e This is given also in the Targum to Ruth iv. 22. "And Obed begat Ishai (Jesse), whose name is Nachash, because there were not found in him iniquity and corruption, that he should be delivered into the hand of the Angel of Death that he should take away his soul from him; and he lived many days until was fulfilled before Jehovah the counsel which the Serpent

gave to Chavvah the wife of Adam, to eat of the tree, of the fruit of which when they did eat they were able to discern between good and evil; and by reason of this counsel all the inhabitants of the earth became guilty of death, and in that iniquity only died Ishai the righteous."

Gottesd. Vortr. d. Julen, 100 ff.), and tradition has preserved no authentic details of his person or his life.

The chronological difficulties which have been raised as to the date of the Son of Sirach have been already noticed [ECCLESIASTICUS, §4], and so not call for further discussion.

According to the first prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus, taken from the *Synopsis* of the Pseudo-Athanasius (iv. p. 377, ed. Migne), the translator of the book bore the same name as the author of it. If this conjecture were true, a genealogy of the following form would result: 1. Sirach. 2. Jesus, son (father) of Sirach (author of the book). 3. Sirach. 4. Jesus, son of Sirach (translator of the book). It is, however, most likely that the last chapter, "The prayer of Jesus the son of Sirach," gave occasion to this conjecture. The prayer was attributed to the translator, and then the table of succession followed necessarily from the title attached to it. [B. F. W.]

JESUS, called JUSTUS, a Christian who was with St. Paul at Rome, and joined him in sending salutations to the Colossians. He was one of the fellow-workers who were a comfort to the Apostle (Col. iv. 11). In the *Acta Sanct. Jun.* iv. 67, he is commemorated as bishop of Eleutheropolis. [W. T. B.]

JESUS CHRIST. The name Jesus (*Ἰησοῦς*) signifies Saviour. Its origin is explained above, and it seems to have been not an uncommon name among the Jews. It is assigned in the New Testament (1.) to our Lord Jesus Christ, who "saves His people from their sins" (Matt. i. 21); also (2.) to Joshua the successor of Moses, who brought the Israelites into the land of promise (Num. xvii. 18; Acts vii. 45; Heb. iv. 8); and (3.) to Jesus surnamed Justus, a converted Jew, associated with St. Paul (Col. iv. 11).

The name of Christ (*Χριστός* from *χρίω*, I anoint) signifies Anointed. Priests were anointed amongst the Jews, as their inauguration to their office (1 Chr. xvi. 22; Ps. cv. 15), and kings also (2 Macc. i. 24; Eccles. xlvi. 19). In the New Testament the name Christ is used as equivalent to Messiah (Greek *Μεσσίας*; Hebrew *מָשִׁיחַ*, John i. 41), the name given to the long promised Prophet and King whom the Jews had been taught by their prophets to expect; and therefore = *δ' ἐρχόμενος* (Acts xix. 4; Matt. xi. 3). The use of this name as applied to the Lord has always a reference to the promises of the Prophets. In Matt. ii. 4, xi. 2, it is assumed that the Christ when He should come would live and act in a certain way, described by the Prophets. So Matt. xxii. 42, xxiii. 10, xiv. 5, 23; Mark xii. 35, xiii. 21; Luke iii. 15, xi. 41; John vii. 27, 31, 41, 42, xii. 34, in all which places there is a reference to the Messiah as delineated by the Prophets. That they had foretold that Christ should suffer appears Luke xxiv. 26, 46. The name of Jesus is the proper name of our Lord, and that of Christ is added to identify Him with the promised Messiah. Other names are sometimes added to the names Jesus Christ, or Christ Jesus; thus "Lord" (frequently) "a King" (added as a kind of explanation of the word Christ, Luke xxiii. 2), "King of Israel" (Mark xv. 32), Son of David (Mark xii. 35; Luke xx. 41), chosen of God (Luke xxiii. 35).

Remarkable are such expressions as "the Christ

of God" (Luke ii. 26, ix. 20; Rev. xi. 15, xii. 10); and the phrase "in Christ," which occurs about 78 times in the Epistles of St. Paul, and is almost peculiar to them. But the germ of it is to be found in the words of our Lord Himself, "Abide in me, and I in you. As the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me" (John xv. 4, also 5, 6, 7, 9, 10). The idea that all Christian life is not merely an imitation and following of the Lord, but a living and constant union with Him, causes the Apostle to use such expressions as "fallen asleep in Christ" (1 Cor. xv. 18), "I knew a man in Christ" (2 Cor. xii. 2), "I speak the truth in Christ" (1 Tim. ii. 7), and many others. (See Schleusner's *Lexicon*; Wahl's *Clavis*; Fritzsche on St. Matthew; De Wette's *Commentary*; Schmidt's *Greek Concordance*, &c.)

The Life, the Person, and the Work of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ occupy the whole of the New Testament. Of this threefold subject the present article includes the first part, namely, the Life and Teaching; the Person of our Lord will be treated under the article SON OF GOD; and His Work will naturally fall under the word SAVIOUR.

Towards the close of the reign of Herod the Great, arrived that "fulness of time" which God in His inscrutable wisdom had appointed for the sending of His Son; and Jesus was born at Bethlehem, to redeem a sinful and ruined world. According to the received chronology, which is in fact that of Dionysius Exiguus in the 6th century, this event occurred in the year of Rome 754. But modern writers, with hardly an exception, believe that this calculation places the nativity some years too late; although they differ as to the amount of error. Herod the Great died, according to Josephus, in the thirty-seventh year after he was appointed king (*Ant.* xvii. 8, §1, *B. J.* i. 33, §8). His elevation coincides with the consulship of Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio, and this determines the date A.U.C. 714 (*Joseph. Ant.* xiv. 14, §5). There is reason to think that in such calculations Josephus reckons the years from the month Nisan to the same month; and also that the death of Herod took place in the beginning of the thirty-seventh year, or just before the Passover (*Joseph. Ant.* xvii. 9, §3); if then thirty-six complete years are added they give the year of Herod's death A.U.C. 750 (see Note on Chronology at the end of this article). As Jesus was born during the life of Herod, it follows from these data that the Nativity took place some time before the month of April 750, and if it took place only a few months before Herod's death, then its date would be four years earlier than the Dionysian reckoning (Wieseler).

Three other chronological data occur in the Gospels, but the arguments founded on them are not conclusive. 1. The Baptism of Jesus was followed by a Passover (John ii. 13), at which certain Jews mention that the restoration of their temple had been in progress for forty-six years (ii. 20), Jesus himself being at this time "about thirty years of age" (Luke iii. 23). As the date of the Temple-restoration can be ascertained, it has been argued from these facts also that the nativity took place at the beginning of A.U.C. 750. But it is sometimes argued that the words that determine our Lord's age are not exact enough to serve as the basis for such a calculation. 2. The ap-

pearance of the star to the wise men has been thought likely, by the aid of astronomy, to determine the date. But the opinion that the star in the East was a remarkable conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign Pisces, is now rejected. Besides the difficulty of reconciling it with the sacred narrative (Matt. ii. 9) it would throw back the birth of our Lord to A.U.C. 747, which is too early. 3. Zacharias was "a priest of the course of Abia" (Luke i. 5), and he was engaged in the duties of his course when the birth of John the Baptist was foretold to him; and it has been thought possible to calculate, from the place which the course of Abia held in the cycle, the precise time of the Saviour's birth. All these data are discussed below (p. 1072).

In treating of the Life of Jesus, a perfect record of the events would be no more than a reproduction of the four Gospels, and a discussion of those events would swell to the compass of a voluminous commentary. Neither of these would be appropriate here, and in the present article a brief sketch only of the Life can be attempted, drawn up with a view to the two remaining articles, on the SON OF GOD and SAVIOUR.

The Man who was to redeem all men and do for the human race what no one could do for his brother, was not born into the world as others are. The salutation addressed by the Angel to Mary His mother, "Hail! Thou that art highly favoured," was the prelude to a new act of divine creation; the first Adam that sinned was not born but created; the second Adam, that restored, was born indeed, but in supernatural fashion. "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke i. 35). Mary received the announcement of a miracle, the full import of which she could not have understood, with the submission of one who knew that the message came from God; and the Angel departed from her. At first, her betrothed husband, when he heard from her what had taken place, doubted her, but a supernatural communication convinced him of her purity, and he took her to be his wife. Not only was the approaching birth of Jesus made the subject of supernatural communications, but that of John the Baptist the forerunner also. Thus before the birth of either had actually taken place, a small knot of persons had been prepared to expect the fulfilment of the divine promises in the Holy One that should be born of Mary (Luke i.).

The prophet Micah had foretold (v. 2) that the future king should be born in Bethlehem of Judaea, the place where the house of David had its origin; but Mary dwelt in Nazareth. Augustus, however, had ordered a general census of the Roman empire, and although Judaea, not being a province of the empire, would not necessarily come under such an order, it was included, probably because the intention was already conceived of reducing it after a time to the condition of a province (see Note on Chronology). That such a census was made we know from Cassiodorus (*Var.* iii. 52). That in its application to Palestine it should be made with reference to Jewish feelings and prejudices, being carried out no doubt by Herod the Jewish king, was quite natural; and so Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem, the city of David, to be taxed. From the well-known and much-canvassed passage in St. Luke (ii. 2) it appears that the taxing was not completed

till the time of Quirinus (Cyrenius), some years later; and how far it was carried now, cannot be determined; all that we learn is that it brought Joseph, who was of the house of David, from his home to Bethlehem, where the Lord was born. As there was no room in the inn, a manger was the cradle in which Christ the Lord was laid. But signs were not wanting of the greatness of the event that seemed so unimportant. Lowly shepherds were the witnesses of the wonder that accompanied the lowly Saviour's birth; an angel proclaimed to them "good tidings of great joy;" and then the exceeding joy that was in heaven amongst the angels about this mystery of love broke through the silence of night with the words—"Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men" (Luke ii. 8-20). We need not suppose that these simple men were cherishing in their hearts the expectation of the Messiah which others had relinquished; they were chosen from the humble, as were our Lord's companions afterwards, in order to show that God "hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty" (1 Cor. i. 26-31), and that the poor and meek could apprehend the message of salvation to which kings and priests could turn a deaf ear.

The subject of the Genealogy of our Lord, as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke, is discussed fully in another article. [See GENEALOGY OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.]

The child Jesus is circumcised in due time, is brought to the temple, and the mother makes the offering for her purification. That offering wanted its peculiar meaning in this case, which was an act of new creation, and not a birth after the common order of our fallen nature. But the seed of the new kingdom was to grow undiscernibly as yet; no exemption was claimed by the "highly favoured" mother, and no portent intervened. She made her humble offering like any other Judæan mother, and would have gone her way unnoticed; but here too God suffered not His beloved Son to be without a witness, and Simeon and Anna, taught from God that the object of their earnest longings was before them, prophesied of His divine work: the one rejoicing that his eyes had seen the salvation of God, and the other speaking of Him "to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem" (Luke ii. 28-38).

Thus recognised amongst His own people, the Saviour was not without witness amongst the heathen. "Wise men from the East"—that is, Persian magi of the Zend religion, in which the idea of a Zoiosh or Redeemer was clearly known—guided miraculously by a star or meteor created for the purpose, came and sought out the Saviour to pay him homage. We have said that in the year 747 occurred a remarkable combination of the planets Jupiter and Saturn, and this is supposed to be the sign by which the wise men knew that the birth of some great one had taken place. But, as has been said, the date does not agree with this view, and the account of the Evangelist describes a single star moving before them and guiding their steps. We must suppose that God saw good to speak to the magi in their own way; they were seeking light from the study of the stars, whence only physical light could be found, and He guided them to the Source of spiritual light, to the cradle of His Son, by a star miraculously made to appear to them, and to speak intelligibly to them through

their preconceptions. The offerings which they brought have been regarded as symbolical: the gold was tribute to a king, the frankincense was for the use of a priest, and the myrrh for a body preparing for the tomb—

"Aurea nascenti fuderunt munera regi,
Thura dedere Deo, myrrham tribuere sepulto,"

(says Sedulius): but in a more general view these were at any rate the offerings made by worshippers, and in that light must the magi be regarded. The events connected with the birth of our Lord are all significant, and here some of the wisest of the heathen kneel before the Redeemer as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, and as a sign that His dominion was to be not merely Jewish, but as wide as the whole world. (See Matt. ii. 1-12; Münter, *Star of the Wise Men*, Copenhagen, 1827; the Commentaries of Alford, Williams, Olshausen, and Heubner, where the opinions as to the nature of the star are discussed.)

A little child made the great Herod quake upon his throne. When he knew that the magi were come to hail their King and Lord, and did not stop at his palace, but passed on to a humbler roof, and when he found that they would not return to betray this child to him, he put to death all the children in Bethlehem that were under two years old. The crime was great; but the number of the victims, in a little place like Bethlehem, was small enough to escape special record amongst the wicked acts of Herod from Josephus and other historians, as it had no political interest. A confused indication of it, however, is found in Macrobius (*Saturn.* ii. 4).

Joseph, warned by a dream, flees to Egypt with the young child, beyond the reach of Herod's arm. This flight of our Lord from His own land to the land of darkness and idolatry—a land associated even to a proverb with all that was hostile to God and His people, impresses on us the reality of His humiliation. Herod's cup was well nigh full; and the doom that soon overtook him could have arrested him then in his bloody attempt; but Jesus, in accepting humanity, accepted all its incidents. He was saved, not by the intervention of God, but by the obedience of Joseph; and from the storms of persecution He had to use the common means of escape (Matt. ii. 13-23; Thomas a Kempis, iii. 15, and Commentaries). After the death of Herod, in less than a year, Jesus returned with His parents to their own land, and went to Nazareth, where they abode.

Except as to one event the Evangelists are silent upon the succeeding years of our Lord's life down to the commencement of His ministry. When He was twelve years old He was found in the temple, hearing the doctors and asking them questions (Luke ii. 40-52). We are shown this one fact that we may know that at the time when the Jews considered childhood to be passing into youth, Jesus was already aware of His mission, and consciously preparing for it, although years elapsed before its actual commencement. This fact at once confirms and illustrates such a general expression as "Jesus increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man" (Luke ii. 52). His public ministry did not begin with a sudden impulse, but was prepared for by his whole life. The consciousness of His divine nature and power grew, and ripened and strengthened until the time of His showing unto Israel.

Thirty years had elapsed from the birth of our Lord to the opening of His ministry. In that time great changes had come over the chosen people. Herod the Great had united under him almost all the original kingdom of David; after the death of that prince it was dismembered for ever. Archelaus succeeded to the kingdom of Judaea, under the title of Ethnarch; Herod Antipas became tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea, and Philip tetrarch of Trachonitis, Gaulonitis, Batanea, and Paneas. The Emperor Augustus promised Archelaus the title of king, if he should prove worthy; but in the tenth year of his reign (u.c. 759) he was deposed in deference to the hostile feelings of the Jews, was banished to Vienne in Gaul, and from that time his dominions passed under the direct power of Rome, being annexed to Syria, and governed by a procurator. No king nor ethnarch held Judaea afterwards, if we except the three years when it was under Agrippa I. Marks are not wanting of the irritation kept up in the minds of the Jews by the sight of a foreigner exercising acts of power over the people whom David once ruled. The publicans (*portitores*) who collected tribute for the Roman empire were everywhere detested; and as a marked class is likely to be a degraded one, the Jews saw everywhere the most despised among the people exacting from them all, and more than all (Luke iii. 13), that the foreign tyrant required. Constant changes were made by the same power in the office of high-priest, perhaps from a necessary policy. Josephus says that there were twenty-eight high-priests from the time of Herod to the burning of the temple (*Ant.* xx. 10). The sect of Judas the Gaulonite, which protested against paying tribute to Caesar, and against bowing the neck to an alien yoke, expressed a conviction which all Jews shared. The sense of oppression and wrong would tend to shape all the hopes of a Messiah, so far as they still existed, to the conception of a warrior who should deliver them from a hateful political bondage.

It was in the fifteenth year of Tiberius the Emperor, reckoning from his joint rule with Augustus (Jan. u.c. 765), and not from his sole rule (Aug. u.c. 767), that John the Baptist began to teach. In this year (u.c. 779) Pontius Pilate was procurator of Judaea, the worldly and time-serving representative of a cruel and imperious master; Herod Antipas and Philip still held the tetrarchies left them by their father. Annas and Caiaphas were both described as holding the office of high-priest; Annas was deposed by Valerius Gratus in this very year, and his son-in-law Joseph, called also Caiaphas, was appointed, after some changes, in his room; but Annas seems to have retained after this time (John xviii. 13) much of the authority of the office, which the two administered together. John the Baptist, of whom a full account is given below under his own name, came to preach in the wilderness. He was the last representative of the prophets of the old covenant; and his work was twofold—to enforce repentance and the terrors of the old law, and to revive the almost forgotten expectation of the Messiah (Matt. iii. 1-10; Mark i. 1-8; Luke iii. 1-18). Both these objects, which are very apparent in his preaching, were connected equally with the coming of Jesus, since the need of a Saviour from sin is not felt but when sin itself is felt to be a bondage and a terror. The career of John seems to have been very short; and it has been asked how such great influence could

have been attained in a short time (Matt. iii. 5). But his was a powerful nature which soon took possession of those who came within its reach; and his success becomes less surprising if we assume with Wieseler that the preaching took place in a sabbatical year (Baumgarten, *Geschichte Jesu*, 40). It is an old controversy whether the baptism of John was a new institution, or an imitation of the baptism of proselytes as practised by the Jews. But at all events there is no record of such a rite, conducted in the name of and with reference to a particular person (Acts xix. 4), before the ministry of John. Jesus came to Jordan with the rest to receive this rite at John's hands; first, in order that the sacrament by which all were hereafter to be admitted into His kingdom might not want His example to justify its use (Matt. iii. 15); next, that John might have an assurance that his course as the herald of Christ was now completed by His appearance (John i. 33); and last, that some public token might be given that He was indeed the Anointed of God (Heb. v. 5). A supposed discrepancy between Matt. iii. 14 and John i. 31, 33, disappears when we remember that from the relationship between the families of John and our Lord (Luke i.), John must have known already something of the power, goodness, and wisdom of Jesus; what he did not know was, that this same Jesus was the very Messiah for whom he had come to prepare the world. Our Lord received the rite of baptism at His servant's hands, and the Father attested Him by the voice of the Spirit, which also was seen descending on Him in a visible shape: "This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased" (Matt. iii. 13-17; Mark i. 9-11; Luke iii. 21, 22).

Immediately after this inauguration of His ministry Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil (Matt. iv. 1-11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1-13). As the baptism of our Lord cannot have been for Him the token of repentance and intended reformation which it was for sinful men, so does our Lord's sinlessness affect the nature of His temptation; for it was the trial of One Who could not possibly have fallen. This makes a complete conception of the temptation impossible for minds wherein temptation is always associated with the possibility of sin. But whilst we must be content with an incomplete conception, we must avoid the wrong conceptions that are often substituted for it. Some suppose the account before us to describe what takes place in a vision or ecstasy of our Lord; so that both the temptation and its answer arise from within. Others think that the temptation was suggested from within, but in a state, not of sleep or ecstasy, but of complete consciousness. Others consider this narrative to have been a parable of our Lord, of which He has made Himself the subject. All these suppositions set aside the historical testimony of the Gospels: the temptation as there described arose not from the sinless mind of the Son of God, where indeed thoughts of evil could not have harboured, but from Satan, the enemy of the human race. Nor can it be supposed that this account is a mere parable, unless we assume that Matthew and Luke have wholly misunderstood their Master's meaning. The story is that of a fact, hard indeed to be understood, but not to be made easier by explanations such as would invalidate the only testimony on which it rests (Heubner's *Practical Commentary on Matthew*).

The three temptations are addressed to the three forms in which the disease of sin makes its appearance on the soul—to the solace of sense, and the love of praise, and the desire of gain (1 John ii. 16). But there is one element common to them all—they are attempts to call up a wilful and wayward spirit in contrast to a patient self-denying one.

In the first temptation the Redeemer is an hungered, and when the devil bids Him, if He be the Son of God, command that the stones may be made bread, there would seem to be no great sin in this use of divine power to overcome the pressing human want. Our Lord's answer is required to show us where the essence of the temptation lay. He takes the words of Moses to the children of Israel (Deut. viii. 3), which mean, not that men must dispense with bread and food only on the study of the divine word, but that our meat and drink, our food and raiment, are all the work of the creating hand of God; and that a sense of dependence on God is the duty of man. He tells the tempter that as the sons of Israel standing in the wilderness were forced to humble themselves and to wait upon the hand of God for the bread from heaven which He gave them, so the Son of Man, fainting in the wilderness from hunger, will be humble and will wait upon His Father in heaven for the word that shall bring Him food, and will not be hasty to deliver Himself from that dependent state, but will wait patiently for the gifts of His goodness. In the second temptation, it is not probable that they left the wilderness; but that Satan was allowed to suggest to our Lord's mind the place, and the marvel that could be wrought there. They stood, as has been suggested, on the lofty porch that overhung the valley of Kedron, where the steep side of the valley was added to the height of the temple (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, §5), and made a depth that the eye could scarcely have borne to look down upon. "Cast thyself down"—perform in the Holy City, in a public place, a wonder that will at once make all men confess that none but the Son of God could perform it. A passage from the 91st Psalm is quoted to give a colour to the argument. Our Lord replies by an allusion to another text that carries us back again to the Israelites wandering in the wilderness: "Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God, as ye tempted Him in Massah" (Deut. vi. 16). Their conduct is more fully described by the Psalmist as a tempting of God: "They tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust; yea, they spake against God: they said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness? Behold he smote the rock that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed. Can He give bread also? Can He provide flesh for His people?" (Ps. lxxviii.). Just parallel was the temptation here. God has protected Thee so far, brought Thee up, put His seal upon Thee by manifest proofs of His favour. Can He do this also? Can He send the angels to buoy Thee up in Thy descent? Can He make the air thick to sustain, and the earth soft to receive Thee? The appropriate answer is, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." In the third temptation it is not asserted that there is any mountain from which the eyes of common men can see the world and its kingdoms at once displayed; it was with the mental vision of One who knew all things that these kingdoms and their glory were seen. And Satan has now begun to discover, if he

knew not from the beginning, that One is here who can become the King over them all. He says, "All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me." In St. Luke the words are fuller: "All this power will I give Thee, and the glory of them, for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it:" but these words are the lie of the tempter, which he uses to mislead. "Thou art come to be great—to be a King on the earth; but I am strong, and will resist Thee. Thy followers shall be imprisoned and slain; some of them shall fall away through fear; others shall forsake Thy cause, loving this present world. Cast in Thy lot with me; let Thy kingdom be an earthly kingdom, only the greatest of all—a kingdom such as the Jews seek to see established on the throne of David. Worship me by living as the children of this world live, and so honouring me in Thy life: then all shall be Thine." The Lord knows that the tempter is right in foretelling such trials to Him; but though clouds and darkness hang over the path of His ministry He must work the work of Him that sent Him, and not another work: He must worship God and none other. "Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve." As regards the order of the temptations, there are internal marks that the account of St. Matthew assigns them their historical order: St. Luke transposes the two last, for which various reasons are suggested by commentators (Matt. iv. 1-11; Mark i. 12, 13; Luke iv. 1-13).

Deserting for a time the historical order, we shall find that the records of this first portion of His ministry, from the temptation to the transfiguration, consist mainly—(1) of miracles, which prove His divine commission; (2) of discourses and parables on the doctrine of "the kingdom of heaven;" (3) of incidents showing the behaviour of various persons when brought into contact with our Lord. The two former may require some general remarks, the last will unfold themselves with the narrative.

1. *The Miracles.*—The power of working miracles was granted to many under the Old Covenant: Moses (Ex. iii. 20, vii.-xi.) delivered the people of Israel from Egypt by means of them; and Joshua, following in his steps, enjoyed the same power for the completion of his work (Josh. iii. 13-16). Samson (Judg. xv. 19), Elijah (1 K. xvii. 10, &c.), and Elisha (2 K. ii.-vi.) possessed the same gift. The prophets foretold that the Messiah, of whom Moses was the type, would show signs and wonders as he had done. Isaiah, in describing His kingdom, says—"Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing" (xxxv. 5, 6). According to the same prophet, the Christ was called "to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners of the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house" (xlii. 7). And all who looked for the coming of the Messiah expected that the power of miracles would be one of the tokens of His commission. When John the Baptist, in his prison, heard of the works of Jesus, he sent his disciples to inquire, "Art Thou He that should come (ὁ ἐρχόμενος = the Messiah), or do we look for another?" Our Lord, in answer to this, only points to His miracles, leaving to John the inference from them, that no one could do such works except the

promised One. When our Lord cured a blind and dumb *δευτικόν*, the people, struck with the miracle, said, "Is not this the Son of David?" (Matt. xii. 23). On another like occasion it was asked, "When Christ cometh will He do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" (John vii. 31). So that the expectation that Messiah would work miracles existed amongst the people, and was founded on the language of prophecy. Our Lord's miracles are described in the New Testament by several names: they are signs (*σημεία*), wonders (*τέρατα*), works (*ἔργα*, most frequently in St. John), and mighty works (*δυνάμεις*), according to the point of view from which they are regarded. They are indeed astonishing works, wrought as signs of the might and presence of God; and they are powers or mighty works because they are such as no power short of the divine could have effected. But if the object had been merely to work wonders, without any other aim than to astonish the minds of the witnesses, the miracles of our Lord would not have been the best means of producing the effect, since many of them were wrought for the good of obscure people, before witnesses chiefly of the humble and uneducated class, and in the course of the ordinary life of our Lord, which lay not amongst those who made it their special business to inquire into the claims of a prophet. When requests were made for a more striking sign than those which He had wrought, for "a sign from heaven" (Luke xi. 16), it was refused. When the tempter suggested that He should cast Himself down from the pinnacle of the temple before all men, the temptation was rejected. The miracles of our Lord were to be, not wonders merely, but signs; and not merely signs of preternatural power, but of the scope and character of His ministry, and of the divine nature of His Person. This will be evident from an examination of those which are more particularly described in the Gospels. Nearly forty cases of this kind appear; but that they are only examples taken out of a very great number, the Evangelists frequently remind us (John ii. 23; Matt. viii. 16 and parall.; iv. 23; xii. 15 and parall.; Luke vi. 19; Matt. xi. 5; xiii. 58; ix. 35; xiv. 14, 36; xv. 30; xix. 2; xxi. 14). These cases might be classified. There are three instances of restoration to life, each under peculiar conditions: the daughter of Jairus was lately dead; the widow's son at Nain was being carried out to the grave; and Lazarus had been four days dead, and was returning to corruption (Matt. ix. 18; Luke vii. 11, 12; John xi. 1, &c.). There are about six cases of demoniac possession, each with its own circumstances: one in the synagogue at Capernaum, where the unclean spirit bore witness to Jesus as "the holy one of God" (Mark i. 24); a second, that of the man who dwelt among the tombs in the country of the Gadarenes, whose state is so forcibly described by St. Mark (v. 2), and who also bore witness to Him as "the Son of the Most High God;" a third, the case of a dumb man (Matt. ix. 32); a fourth, that of a youth who was brought to Him as He came down from the Mount of Transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 15), and whom the disciples had vainly tried to heal; a fifth, that of another dumb man, whom the Jews thought he had healed "through Beezebul the prince of the devils" (Luke xi. 15); and a sixth, that of the Syro-Phœnician girl whose mother's faith was so tenacious (Matt. xv. 22). There are about seventeen recorded cases of the cure of bodily sickness, including fever, leprosy,

palsy, inveterate weakness, the maimed limb, the issue of blood of twelve years' standing, dropsy, blindness, deafness, and dumbness (John iv. 47; Matt. viii. 2, 14, ix. 2; John v. 5; Matt. xii. 10, viii. 5, iz. 20, 27; Mark viii. 22; John ix. 1; Luke xiii. 10, xvii. 11, xviii. 35, xxii. 51). These three groups of miracles all pertain to one class; they all brought help to the suffering or sorrowing, and proclaimed what love the Man that did them bore towards the children of men. There is another class, showing a complete control over the powers of nature; first by acts of creative power, as when in the beginning of His ministry He made the water wine; and when He fed at one time five thousand, and at another four, with bread miraculously provided (John ii. 7, vi. 10; Matt. xv. 32); secondly, by setting aside natural laws and conditions—now in passing unseen through a hostile crowd (Luke iv. 30); now in procuring miraculous draughts of fishes, when the fisher's skill had failed (Luke v. 4; John xxi. 6); now in stilling a tempest (Matt. viii. 26); now in walking to His disciples on the sea (Matt. xiv. 25); now in the transformation of His countenance by a heavenly light and glory (Matt. xvii. 1); and again in seeking and finding the shekel for the customary tribute to the temple in the fish's mouth (Matt. xvii. 27). In a third class of these miracles we find our Lord over-awing the wills of men; as when He twice cleared the temple of the traders (John ii. 13; Matt. xxi. 12); and when His look staggered the officers that came to take Him (John xviii. 6). And in a fourth subdivision will stand one miracle only, where His power was used for destruction—the case of the barren fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 18). The destruction of the herd of swine does not properly rank here; it was a permitted act of the devils which he cast out, and is no more to be laid to the account of the Redeemer than are all the sicknesses and sufferings in the land of the Jews which He permitted to waste and destroy, having, as He showed by His miracles, abundant power to prevent them. All the miracles of this latter class show our Lord to be One who wields the power of God. No one can suspend the laws of nature save Him who made them: when bread is wonderfully multiplied and the fickle sea becomes a firm floor to walk on, the God of the universe is working the change, directly or through His deputy. Very remarkable, as a claim to divine power, is the mode in which Jesus justified acts of healing on the Sabbath—"My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (John v. 17): which means, "As God the Father, even on the Sabbath-day, keeps all the laws of the universe at work, making the planets roll, and the grass grow, and the animal pulses beat, so do I my work; I stand above the law of the Sabbath, as He does."^a

On reviewing all the recorded miracles, we see at once that they are signs of the nature of Christ's Person and mission. None of them are done merely

^a The Saviour's miracles are—

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| I. Of love. | { | In raising the dead. |
| | | In curing mental disease. |
| II. Of power. | { | In healing the body. |
| | | In creating. |
| | | In destroying. |
| | | In setting aside the ordinary laws of being. |
| | | In overawing the opposing wills of men. |

In the account in the text, the miracles that took place after the Transfiguration have been included, for the sake of completeness.

to astonish; and hardly any of them, even of those which prove His power more than His love, but tend directly towards the good of men in some way or other. They show how active and unwearied was His love; they also show the diversity of its operation. Every degree of human need—from Lazarus now returning to dust—through the palsy that has seized on brain and nerves, and is almost death—through the leprosy which, appearing on the skin, was really a subtle poison that had tainted every drop of blood in the veins—up to the injury to the particular limb—received succour from the powerful word of Christ; and to wrest His buried friend from corruption and the worm was neither more nor less difficult than to heal a withered hand or restore to its place an ear that had been cut off. And this intimate connexion of the miracles with the work of Christ will explain the fact that faith was in many cases required as a condition for their performance. According to the common definition of a miracle, any one would seem to be a capable witness of its performance: yet Jesus sometimes refrained from working wonders before the unbelieving (Mark vi. 5, 6), and sometimes did the work that was asked of Him because of the faith of them that asked it (Mark vii. 29). The miracles were intended to attract the witnesses of them to become followers of Jesus and members of the kingdom of heaven. Where faith was already so far fixed on Him as to believe that He could do miracles, there was the fit preparation for a faith in higher and heavenly things. If they knew that He could heal the body, they only required teaching to enlarge their view of Him into that of a healer of the diseased spirit, and a giver of true life to those that are dead in trespasses and sins. On the other hand, where men's minds were in a state of bitterness and antagonism against Him, to display miracles before them would but increase their condemnation. "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen and hated both Me and My Father" (John xv. 24). This result was inevitable: in order to offer salvation to those who are to be saved, the offer must be heard by some of those who will reject it. Miracles then have two purposes—the proximate and subordinate purpose of doing a work of love to them that need it, and the higher purpose of revealing Christ in His own Person and nature as the Son of God and Saviour of men. Hence the rejection of the demand for a sign from heaven—for some great celestial phenomenon which all should see and none could dispute. He refused to give such a sign to the "generation" that asked it: and once He offered them instead the fact that Jonah was a type of Him as to His burial and resurrection, thus refusing them the kind of sign which they required. So again, in answer to a similar demand, He said, "Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up"—alluding to his death and resurrection. It is as though He had said, "All the miracles that I have been working are only intended to call attention to the one great miracle of My presence on earth in the form of a servant. No other kind of miracle will I work. If you wish for a greater sign, I refer you to the great miracle about to be wrought in Me—that of My resurrection." The Lord's words do not mean that there shall be no sign; He is working wonders daily: but that He will not travel out of the place He has proposed for Himself. A sign in the sun

and moon and stars would prove that the power of God was there; but it would not teach men to understand the mission of God Incarnate, of the loving and suffering friend and brother of men. The miracles which He wrought are those best suited to this purpose; and those who had faith, though but in small measure, were the fittest to behold them. They knew Him but a little; but even to think of Him as a Prophet who was able to heal the leprosy was a germ of faith sufficient to make them fit hearers of His doctrine and spectators of His deeds. But those gained nothing from the Divine work who, unable to deny the evidence of their eyes and ears, took refuge in the last argument of malice, "He casteth out devils through Beelzebub the prince of the devils."

What is a miracle? A miracle must be either something done in contravention of all law, or it is a transgression of all the laws known to us, but not of some law which further research may discover for us, or it is a transgression of all natural laws, whether known now or to be known hereafter, on account of some higher law whose operation interferes with them. Only the last of these definitions could apply to the Christian miracles. God having chosen to govern the world by laws, having impressed on the face of nature in characters not to be mistaken the great truth that He rules the universe by law and order, would not adopt in the kingdom of grace a different plan from that which in the kingdom of nature He has pursued. If the seen universe requires a scheme of order, and the spiritual world is governed without a scheme (so to speak) by caprice, then the God of Nature appears to contradict the God of Grace. Spinoza has not failed to make the most of this argument; but he assails not the true Christian idea of a miracle, but one which he substitutes for it (*Tract. Theol. Polit.* 6). Nor can the Christian miracles be regarded as cases in which the wonder depends on the anticipation only of some law that is not now understood, but shall be so hereafter. In the first place many of them go beyond, in the amount of their operation, all the wildest hopes of the scientific discoverer. In the second place, the very conception of a miracle is vitiated by such an explanation. All distinction in kind between the man who is somewhat in advance of his age in physical knowledge, and the worker of miracles, would be taken away; and the miracles of one age, as the steam-engine, the telegraph-wire, become the tools and toys of the next. It remains then that a miracle is to be regarded as the over-ruling of some physical law by some higher law that is brought in. We are invited in the Gospels to regard the miracles not as wonders, but as the wonderful acts of Jesus of Nazareth. They are identified with the work of redemption. There are even cautions against teaching them separately—against severing them from their connexion with His work. Eye-witnesses of His miracles were strictly charged to make no report of them to others (Matt. ix. 30; Mark v. 43, vii. 36). And yet when John the Baptist sent his disciples to ascertain whether the Messiah were indeed come or not, the answer they took back was the very thing which was forbidden to others—a report of miracles. The explanation of this seeming contradiction is that wherever a report of the signs and wonders was likely to be conveyed without a right conception of the Person of Christ and the kind of doctrine which he taught, there He suffered not the report to be carried.

Now had the purpose been to reveal His divine nature only, this caution would not have been needed, nor would faith have been a needful preliminary for the apprehension of miracles, nor would the temptations of Satan in the wilderness have been the cunning snares they were intended to be, nor would it have been necessary to refuse the convincing sign from heaven to the Jews that asked it. But the part of His work to which attention was to be directed in connexion with the miracles, was the mystery of our redemption by One "who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made Himself of no reputation, and took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross" (Phil. ii. 5-8). Very few are the miracles in which divine power is exercised without a manifest reference to the purpose of assisting men. He works for the most part as the Power of God in a state of humiliation for the good of men. Not insignificant here are the cases in which He condescends to use means, wholly inadequate indeed in any other hands than His; but still they are a token that He has descended into the region where means are employed, from that in which even the spoken word can control the subservient agents of nature. He laid His hand upon the patient (Matt. viii. 3, 15, ix. 29, xx. 34; Luke vii. 14; xxii. 51). He anointed the eyes of the blind with clay (John ix. 6). He put His finger into the ear and touched the tongue of the deaf and dumb sufferer in Decapolis (Mark vii. 33, 34). He treated the blind man at Bethsaida in like fashion (Mark viii. 23). Even where He fed the five thousand and the four, He did not create bread out of nothing, which would have been as easy for Him, but much bread out of little; and He looked up to heaven and blessed the meat as a thankful man would do (Matt. xiv. 19; John vi. 11; Matt. xv. 36). At the grave of Lazarus He lifted up His eyes and gave thanks that the Father had heard Him (John xi. 41, 42), and this great miracle is accompanied by tears and groanings, that show how One so mighty to save has truly become a man with human soul and sympathies. The worker of the miracles is God become Man; and as signs of his Person and work are they to be measured. Hence, when the question of the credibility of miracles is discussed, it ought to be preceded by the question, Is redemption from the sin of Adam a probable thing? Is it probable that there are spiritual laws as well as natural, regulating the relations between us and the Father of our spirits? Is it probable that, such laws existing, the needs of men and the goodness of God would lead to an expression of them, complete or partial, by means of revelation? If these questions are all decided in the affirmative, then Hume's argument against miracles is already half overthrown. "No testimony," says Hume, "is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact which it endeavours to establish; and even in that case there is a mutual destruction of arguments, and the superior only gives us an assurance suitable to that degree of force which remains after deducting the inferior" (*Essays*, vol. ii. p. 130). If the Christian miracles are parts of a scheme which bears other marks of a divine origin, they point to the existence of a set of spiritual laws with which Christianity

is connected, and of which it is the expression; and then the difficulty of believing them disappears. They are not "against nature," but above it; they are not the few caprices of Providence breaking in upon ages of order, but they are glimpses of the divine spiritual *cosmos* permitted to be seen amidst the laws of the natural world, of which they take precedence, just as in the physical world one law can supersede another. And as to the testimony for them let Paley speak:—"If twelve men, whose probity and good sense I had long known, should seriously and circumstantially relate to me an account of a miracle wrought before their eyes, and in which it was impossible they should be deceived; if the governor of the country, hearing a rumour of this account, should call those men into his presence, and offer them a short proposal, either to confess the imposture or submit to be tied up to a gibbet; if they should refuse with one voice to acknowledge that there existed any falsehood or imposture in the case; if this threat were communicated to them separately, yet with no different effect; if it was at last executed, if I myself saw them one after another consenting to be racked, burnt or strangled, rather than give up the truth of their account; . . . there exists not a sceptic in the world who would not believe them, or who would defend such incredulity" (*Evidences, Introduction*, p. 6). In the theory of a "mutual destruction" of arguments so that the belief in miracles would represent exactly the balance between the evidence for and against them, Hume contradicts the commonest religious, and indeed worldly, experience; he confounds the state of deliberation and examination with that of conviction. When Thomas the Apostle, who had doubted the great central miracle of the resurrection, was allowed to touch the Saviour's wounded side, and in an access of undoubting faith exclaimed, "My Lord, and my God!" who does not see that at that moment all the former doubts were wiped out, and were as though they had never been? How could he carry about those doubts or any recollection of them, to be a set-off against the complete conviction that had succeeded them? It is so with the Christian life in every case; faith, which is "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," could not continue to weigh and balance evidence for and against the truth; the conviction either rises to a perfect moral certainty, or it continues tainted and worthless as a principle of action.

The lapse of time may somewhat alter the aspect of the evidence for miracles, but it does not weaken it. It is more difficult (so to speak) to cross-examine witnesses who delivered their testimony ages ago; but another kind of evidence has been gathering strength in successive ages. The miracles are all consequences and incidents of one great miracle, the Incarnation; and if the Incarnation is found true, the rest become highly probable. But this very doctrine has been thoroughly proved through all these ages. Nations have adopted it, and they are the greatest nations of the world. Men have lived and died in it, have given up their lives to preach it; have found that it did not disappoint them, but held true under them to the last. The existence of Christianity itself has become an evidence. It is a phenomenon easy to understand if we grant the miracle of the Incarnation, but is an effect without an adequate cause if that be denied.

Miracles then are offered us in the Gospels, not as startling violations of the order of nature, but as

consequences of the revelation of Himself made by Jesus Christ for men's salvation, and as such they are not violations of order at all, but interferences of the spiritual order with the natural. They are abundantly witnessed by earnest and competent men, who did not aim at any earthly reward for their teaching; and they are proofs, together with His pure life and holy doctrine, that Jesus was the Son of God. (See Dean Trench on the *Miracles*, an important work; Baumgarten, *Leben Jesu*; Paley's *Evidences*; Butler's *Analogy*; Hase, *Leben Jesu*; with the various Commentaries on the New Testament.)

2. *The Parables*.—In considering the Lord's teaching we turn first to the parables. In all ages the aid of the imagination has been sought to assist in the teaching of abstract truth, and that in various ways: in the parable, where some story of ordinary doings is made to convey a spiritual meaning, beyond what the narrative itself contains, and without any assertion that the narrative does or does not present an actual occurrence: in the fable, where a story, for the most part an impossible one, of talking beast and reasoning bird, is made the vehicle of some shrewd and prudent lesson of worldly wisdom: in the allegory, which is a story with a moral or spiritual meaning, in which the lesson taught is so prominent as almost wholly to supersede the story that clothes it, and the names and actions are so chosen that no interpreter shall be required for the application: and lastly, in the proverb, which is often only a parable or a fable condensed into a few pithy words [PARABLE] (Ernesti, *Lex. Tech. Græcum*, under *παραβολή*, *λόγος*, *ἀλληγορία*; Trench, *On the Parables*; Alford on Matt. xiii. 1, and other Commentators; Hase, *Leben Jesu*, §67, Ed. iv.; Neander, *Leben Jesu*, 568, foll.). Nearly fifty parables are preserved in the Gospels, and they are only selected from a larger number (Mark iv. 33). Each Evangelist, even St. Mark, has preserved some that are peculiar to himself. St. John never uses the word parable, but that of *proverb* (*παροιμία*), which the other Evangelists nowhere employ. In reference to this mode of teaching, our Lord tells the disciples, "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of God; but to others in parables, that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand" (Luke viii. 10): and some have hastily concluded from this that the parable—the clearest of all modes of teaching—was employed to conceal knowledge from those who were not susceptible of it, and that this was its chief purpose. But it was chosen not for this negative object, but for its positive advantages in the instruction of the disciples. The nature of the kingdom of heaven was not understood even by disciples; hard even to them were the sayings that described it, and the hearing of them caused many to go back and walk no more with Him (John vi. 66). If there was any mode of teaching better suited than another to the purpose of preserving truths for the memory that were not yet accepted by the heart—for keeping the seed safe till the time should arrive for the quickening Spirit to come down and give it growth—that mode would be the best suited to the peculiar position of the disciples. And any means of translating an abstract thought into sensuous language has ever been the object of poet and teacher in all countries. He who can best employ the symbols of the visible world for the deeper acts of thought has been the clearest and

most successful expositor. The parable affords just such an instrument as was required. Who could banish from his mind, when once understood, the image of the house built on the sand, as the symbol of the faithless soul unable to stand by the truth in the day of temptation? To whom does not the parable of the prodigal son bring back the thought of God's merciful kindness towards the erring? But without such striking images it would have been impossible (to use mere human language) to make known to the disciples in their half-enlightened state the mysteries of faith in the Son of God as a principle of life, of repentance from sin, and of an assurance of peace and welcome from the God of mercy. Eastern teachers have made this mode of instruction familiar; the originality of the parables lay not in the method of teaching by stories, but in the profound and new truths which the stories taught so aptly. And Jesus had another purpose in selecting this form of instruction: He foresaw that many would reject Him, and on them He would not lay a heavier burden than they needs must bear. He did not offer them daily and hourly, in their plainest form, the grand truths of sin and atonement, of judgment and heaven and hell, and in so doing multiply occasions of blaspheming. "Those that were without" heard the parable; but it was an aimless story to them if they sought no moral purpose under it, and a dark saying, passing comprehension, if they did so seek. When the Lord gathered round Him those that were willing to be His, and explained to them at length the parable and its application (Matt. xiii. 10-18), then the light thus thrown on it was not easy to extinguish in their memory. And amongst those without there was no doubt a difference; some listened with indifference, and some with unbelieving and resisting minds; and of both minds some remained in their aversion, more or less active, from the Son of God unto the end, and some were converted after He was risen. To these we may suppose that the parables which had rested in their memories as vivid pictures, yet still a dead letter, so far as moral import is concerned, became by the Holy Spirit, whose business it was to teach men all things and to bring all things to their remembrance (John iv. 26), a quick and powerful light of truth, lighting up the dark places with a brightness never again to fade from their eyes. The parable unapplied is a dark saying; the parable explained is the clearest of all teaching. When language is used in Holy Scripture which would seem to treat the parables as means of concealment rather than of instruction, it must be taken to refer to the unexplained parable—to the cypher without the key—the symbol without the interpretation.

Besides the parables, the more direct teaching of our Lord is conveyed in many discourses, dispersed through the Gospels; of which three may be here selected as examples, the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.-vii.), the discourse after the feeding of the five thousand (John vi. 22-65), and the final discourse and prayer which preceded the Passion (John xiv.-xvii.). These are selected principally because they mark three distinct periods in the ministry of Jesus, the opening of it, the principal change in the tone of its teaching, and the solemn close.

Notwithstanding the endeavour to establish that the Sermon on the Mount of St. Matthew is different from the Sermon on the Plain of St. Luke, the

evidence for their being one and the same discourse greatly preponderates. If so, then its historical position must be fixed from St. Luke; and its earlier place in St. Matthew's Gospel must be owing to the Evangelist's wish to commence the account of the ministry of Jesus with a summary of His teaching; an intention further illustrated by the mode in which the Evangelist has wrought in with his report of the discourse several sayings which St. Luke connects with the various facts which on different occasions drew them forth (comp. Luke xiv. 34, xi. 33, xvi. 17, xii. 58, 59, xvi. 18, with places in Matt. v.; also Luke xi. 1-4, xii. 33, 34, xi. 34-36, xvi. 13, xii. 22-31, with places in Matt. vi.; also Luke xi. 9-13, xiii. 24, 25-27, with places in Matt. vii.). Yet this is done without violence to the connexion and structure of the whole discourse. Matthew, to whom Jesus is ever present as the Messiah, the Anointed Prophet of the chosen people, the successor of Moses, sets at the head of His ministry the giving of the Christian law with its bearing on the Jewish. From Luke we learn that Jesus had gone up into a mountain to pray, that on the morning following He made up the number of His twelve Apostles, and solemnly appointed them, and then descending He stood upon a level place (*καταβάς μετ' αὐτῶν ἔστη ἐπὶ τόπου πεδινῷ*, Luke vi. 17), not necessarily at the bottom of the mountain, but where the multitude could stand round and hear; and there he taught them in a solemn address the laws and constitution of His new kingdom, the kingdom of Heaven. He tells them who are meet to be citizens of that heavenly polity, and in so doing rebukes almost every quality on which the world sets a value. The poor in spirit, that is the lowly-minded, the mourners and the meek, those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, the merciful, the pure, and the peacemakers, are all "blessed," are all possessed of the temper which will assort well with that heavenly kingdom, in contrast to the proud, the confident, the great and successful, whom the world honours. (St. Luke adds denunciations of woe to the tempers which are opposed to the Gospel, which St. Matthew omits.) This novel exordium startles all the hearers, for it seems to proclaim a new world, new hopes, and new virtues; and our Lord then proceeds to meet the question that rises up in their minds—"If these dispositions and not a literal obedience to minute precepts constitute a Christian, what then becomes of the law?" Answering this tacit objection, the Lord bids them "think not that I am come to destroy (*καταλῦσαι*, abolish) the law and the prophets, I am not come to destroy but to fulfil" (*πληρῶσαι*, complete, Matt. v. 17). He goes on to tell them that that one point or letter of the Law was written in vain; that what was temporary in it does not fall away till its purpose is answered, what was of permanent obligation shall never be lost. He then shows how far more deep and searching a moral lawgiver He is than was Moses His prototype, who like Him spoke the mind of God. The eternal principles which Moses wrote in broad lines, such as a dull and uninspired people must read, He applies to deeper seated sins and to all the finer shades of evil. Murder was denounced by the Law; but anger and provoking speech are of the same stock. It is not only murder, but hate, that is the root of that poisonous fruit which God abhors. Hate defiles the very offering that a man makes to God; let him leave his gift unoffered.

and get the hate cast out, and not waste his time in an unacceptable sacrifice. Hate will affect the soul for ever, if it goes out of the world to meet its Judge in that defiling garment; "agree with thine adversary quickly, whilst thou art in the way with him" (ver. 25). The act of adultery is deadly, and Moses forbade it. But to permit the thought of lust to rest in the heart, to suffer the desire to linger there without combating it (*βλέπειν πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι*) is of the same nature, and shares the condemnation. The breach of an oath (Lev. xix. 12) was forbidden by the Law; and the rabbinical writers had woven a distinction between oaths that were and oaths that were not binding (Maimonides in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* ii. p. 127). Jesus shows that all oaths, whether they name the Creator or not, are an appeal to Him, and all are on that account equally binding. But the need of an oath "cometh of evil;" the bare asseveration of a Christian should be as solemn and sacred to him as the most binding oath. That this in its simple literal application would go to abolish all swearing is beyond a question; but the Lord is sketching out a perfect Law for a perfect kingdom; and this is not the only part of the sermon on the Mount which in the present state of the world cannot be carried out completely. Men there are on whom a word is less binding than an oath; and in judicial proceedings the highest test must be applied to them to elicit the truth; therefore an oath must still form part of a legal process, and a good man may take what is really kept up to control the wicked. Jesus Himself did not refuse the oath administered to Him in the Sanhedrin (Matt. xxvi. 63). And yet the need of an oath "cometh of evil," for among men who respect the truth it would add nothing to the weight of their evidence. Almost the same would apply to the precepts with which our Lord replaces the much-abused law of retaliation, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" (Ex. xxi. 24). To conquer an enemy by submission where he expected resistance is of the very essence of the Gospel; it is an exact imitation of our Lord's own example, who, when He might have summoned more than twelve legions of Angels to His aid, allowed the Jews to revile and slay Him. And yet it is not possible at once to wipe out from our social arrangements the principle of retribution. The robber who takes a coat must not be encouraged to seize the cloak also; to give to every one that asks all that he asks would be an encouragement to sloth and shameless impunity. But yet the awakened conscience will find out a hundred ways in which the spirit of this precept may be carried out, even in our imperfect social state; and the power of this loving policy will be felt by those who attempt it. Finally, our Lord sums up this portion of His divine law by words full of sublime wisdom. To the cramped and confined love of the Rabbis, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy," He opposes this nobler rule—"Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father: which is in heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust. . . . Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect" (Matt. v. 44, 45, 48). To this part of the sermon, which St. Luke has not preserved, but which St. Matthew, writing as it

were with his face turned towards his Jewish countrymen, could not pretermitt, succeed precepts on almsgiving, on prayer, on forgiveness, on fasting, on trust in God's providence, and on tolerance; all of them tuned to one of two notes; and that it is man's duty to do to others as he would have them do to him. An earnest appeal on the difficulty of a godly life, and the worthlessness of mere profession, cast in the form of a parable, concludes this wonderful discourse. The difference between the reports of the two Evangelists are many. In the former Gospel the sermon occupies one hundred and seven verses; in the latter, thirty. The longer report includes the exposition of the relation of the Gospel to the Law: it also draws together, as we have seen, some passages which St. Luke reports elsewhere and in another connexion; and where the two contain the same matter, that of Luke is somewhat more compressed. But in taking account of this, the purpose of St. Matthew is to be borne in mind: the morality of the Gospel is to be fully set forth at the beginning of our Lord's ministry, and especially in its bearing on the Law as usually received by the Jews, for whose use especially this Gospel was designed. And when this discourse is compared with the later examples to which we shall presently refer, the fact comes out more distinctly, that we have here the Code of the Christian Lawgiver, rather than the whole Gospel; that the standard of Christian duty is here fixed, but the means for raising men to the level where the observance of such a law is at all possible are not yet pointed out. The hearers learned how Christians would act and think, and to what degree of moral purity they would aspire, in the state of salvation; but how that state was to be purchased for them, and conveyed over to them, is not yet pointed out.

The next example of the teaching of Jesus must be taken from a later epoch in His ministry. It is probable that the great discourse in John vi. took place about the time of the Transfiguration, just before which He began to reveal to the disciples the story of His sufferings (Matt. xvi. and parallels), which was the special and frequent theme of His teaching until the end. The effect of His personal work on the disciples now becomes the prominent subject. He had taught them that He was the Christ, and had given them His law, wider and deeper far than that of Moses. But the objection to every law applies more strongly the purer and higher the law is; and "how to perform that which I will" is a question that grows more difficult to answer as the standard of obedience is raised. It is that question which our Lord proceeds to answer here. The feeding of the five thousand had lately taken place; and from this miracle He preaches yet a greater, namely, that all spiritual life is imparted to the disciples from Him, and that they must feed on Him that their souls may live. He can feed them with something more than manna, even with Himself; "for the bread of God is He which cometh down from heaven and giveth life unto the world" (John vi. 26-40). The Jews murmur at this hard doctrine, and He warns them that it is a kind of test of those who have been with Him: "No man can come to Me except the Father which hath sent Me draw him." He repeats that He is the bread of life; and they murmur yet more (vers. 41-52). He presses it on them still more strongly: "Verily, verily I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of

the Son of man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day. For My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed. He that eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him. As the living Father hath sent Me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth Me, even he shall live by Me" (vers. 53-57). After this discourse many of the disciples went back and walked no more with Him. They could not conceive how salvation could depend on a condition so strange, nay, even so revolting. However we may blame them for their want of confidence in their Teacher, it is not to be imputed to them as a fault that they found a doctrine, which in itself is difficult, and here was clothed in dark and obscure expressions, beyond the grasp of their understanding at that time. For that doctrine was, that Christ had taken our fleshly nature, to suffer in it, and to shed His blood in it; and that those to whom the benefits of His atoning death are imparted find it to be their spiritual food and life, and the condition of their resurrection to life everlasting.

Whether this passage refers, and in what degree, to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, is a question on which commentators have been much divided, but two observations should in some degree guide our interpretation: the one, that if the *primary* reference of the discourse had been to the Lord's Supper, it would have been uttered at the institution of that rite, and not before, at a time when the disciples could not possibly make application of it to a sacrament of which they had never even heard; the other, that the form of speech in this discourse comes so near that which is used in instituting the Lord's Supper, that it is impossible to exclude all reference to that Sacrament. The Redeemer alludes here to His death, to the body which shall suffer on the Cross, and to the blood which shall be poured out. This great sacrifice is not only to be looked on, but to be believed; and not only believed, but appropriated to the believer, to become part of his very heart and life. Faith, here as elsewhere, is the means of apprehending it: but when it is once laid hold of, it will be as much a part of the believer as the food that nourishes the body becomes incorporated with the body. In three passages in the other Evangelists, in which our Lord about this very time prepares them for His sufferings, He connects with the announcement a warning to the disciples that all who would come after Him must show the fruit of His death in their lives (Matt. xvi., Mark viii., Luke ix.). And this new principle, infused into them by the life and death of the Redeemer, by His taking our flesh and then suffering in it (for neither of these is excluded), is to believers the seed of eternal life. The believer "hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day" (John vi. 54). Now the words of Jesus in instituting the Lord's Supper come very near to the expressions in this discourse: "This is My body which is given for you (*ὡς ἵνα ὑμῶν*) . . . This cup is the new testament in My blood, which is shed for you" (Luke xxii. 19, 20). That the Lord's Supper is a means of applying to us through faith the fruits of the incarnation and the atonement of Christ, is generally admitted; and if so, the discourse before us will apply to that sacrament, not certainly to the exclusion of other means of appropriating the saving death of Christ, but still with great force, inasmuch as the Lord's Supper is the

most striking symbol of the application to us of the Lord's body. Here in a bold figure the disciples are told that they must eat the flesh of Christ and drink His blood; whilst in the sacrament the same figure becomes an act. Here the language is meant to be general; and there it finds its most striking special application, but not its only one. And the uttering of these words at an epoch that preceded by some months the first celebration of the Lord's Supper was probably intended to preclude that special and limited application of it which would narrow it down to the sacrament only, and out of which much false and even idolatrous teaching has grown. (Compare Commentaries of Alford, Lücke, Meyer, Stier, Heubner, Williams, Tholuck, and others, on this passage.) It will still be asked how we are to account for the startling form in which this most profound Gospel-truth was put before persons to whom it was likely to prove an offence. The answer is not difficult. Many had companied with the Lord during the early part of His ministry, to see His miracles, perhaps to derive some fruit from them, to talk about Him, and to repeat His sayings, who were quite unfit to go on as His followers to the end. There was a wide difference between the two doctrines, that Jesus was the Christ, and that the Christ must hang upon the tree, as to their effects on unregenerate and worldly minds. For the latter they were not prepared: though many of them could possibly accept the former. Now this discourse belongs to the time of transition from the easier to the harder doctrine. And we may suppose that it was meant to sift the disciples, that the good grain might remain in the garner and the chaff be scattered to the wind. Hence the hard and startling form in which it was cast; not indeed that this figure of eating and drinking in reference to spiritual things was wholly unknown to Jewish teachers, for Lightfoot, Schöttgen and Wetstein, have shown the contrary. But hard it doubtless was; and if the condition of discipleship had been that they should then and there understand what they heard, their turning back at this time would have been inevitable. But even on the twelve Jesus imposes no such condition. He only asks them, "Will ye also go away?" If a beloved teacher says something which overturns the previous notions of the taught, and shocks their prejudices, then whether they will continue by his side to hear him explain further what they find difficult, or desert him at once, will depend on the amount of their confidence in him. Many of the disciples went back and walked no more with Jesus, because their conviction that He was the Messiah had no real foundation. The rest remained with Him for the reason so beautifully expressed by Peter: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we believe and are sure that Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God" (John vi. 68, 69). The sin of the faint-hearted followers who now deserted Him was not that they found this difficult; but that finding it difficult they had not confidence enough to wait for light.

The third example of our Lord's discourses which may be selected is that which closes his ministry—"Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him. If God be glorified in Him, God shall also glorify Him in Himself, and shall straightway glorify Him" (John xiii. 31, 32). This great discourse, recorded only by St. John,

extends from the thirteenth to the end of the seventeenth chapter. It hardly admits of analysis. It announces the Saviour's departure in the fulfilment of His mission; it imposes the "new commandment on the disciples of a special love towards each other which should be the outward token to the world of their Christian profession; it consoles them with the promise of the Comforter who should be to them instead of the Saviour; it tells them all that He should do for them, teaching them, reminding them, reproving the world and guiding the disciples into all truth. It offers them, instead of the bodily presence of their beloved Master, free access to the throne of His Father, and spiritual blessings such as they had not known before. Finally, it culminates in that sublime prayer (ch. xvii.) by which the High-priest as it were consecrates Himself the victim; and so doing, prays for those who shall hold fast and keep the benefits of that sacrifice, offered for the whole world, whether His disciples already, or to be brought to Him thereafter by the ministry of Apostles. He wills that they shall be with Him and behold His glory. He recognises the righteousness of the Father in the plan of salvation, and in the result produced to the disciples; in whom that highest and purest love wherewith the Father loved the Son shall be present, and with and in that love the Son Himself shall be present with them. "With this elevated thought," says Olshausen, "the Redeemer concludes His prayer for the disciples, and in them for the Church through all ages. He has compressed into the last moments given Him for intercourse with His own the most sublime and glorious sentiments ever uttered by human lips. Hardly has the sound of the last word died away when Jesus passes with His disciples over the brook Kedron to Gethsemane; and the bitter conflict draws on. The seed of the new world must be sown in death that thence life may spring up."

These three discourses are examples of the Saviour's teaching—of its progressive character from the opening of His ministry to the close. The first exhibits His practical precepts as Lawgiver of His people; the second, an exposition of the need of His sacrifice, but addressed to the world without, and intended to try them rather than to attract; and the third, where Christ, the Lawgiver and the High-priest, stands before God as the Son of God, and speaks to Him of His inmost counsels, as one who had known them from the beginning. They will serve as illustrations of the course of His doctrine; whilst others will be mentioned in the narrative as it proceeds.

The scene of the Lord's ministry.—As to the scene of the ministry of Christ, no less than as to its duration, the three Evangelists seem at first sight to be at variance with the fourth. Matthew, Mark, and Luke record only our Lord's doings in Galilee; if we put aside a few days before the Passion, we find that they never mention His visiting Jerusalem. John, on the other hand, whilst he records some acts in Galilee, devotes the chief part of his Gospel to the transactions in Judaea. But when the supplemental character of John's Gospel is borne in mind there is little difficulty in explaining this. The three Evangelists do not profess to give a chronology of the ministry, but rather a picture of it: notes of time are not frequent in their narrative. And as they chiefly confined themselves to Galilee, where the Redeemer's chief acts were done, they might naturally omit to

mention the feasts, which being passed by our Lord at Jerusalem, added nothing to the materials for His Galilean ministry. John, on the other hand, writing later, and giving an account of the Redeemer's life which is still less complete as a history (for more than one-half of the fourth Gospel is occupied with the last three months of the ministry, and seven chapters out of twenty-one are filled with the account of the few days of the Passion), vindicates his historical claim by supplying several precise notes of time in the occurrences after the baptism of Jesus, days and even hours are specified (i. 29, 35, 39, 43, ii. 1); the first miracle is mentioned, and the time at which it was wrought (ii. 1-11). He mentions not only the Passovers (ii. 13, 23; vi. 4; xiii. 1, and perhaps v. 1), but also the feast of Tabernacles (vii. 2) and of Dedication (x. 22); and thus it is ordered that the Evangelist who goes over the least part of the ground of our Lord's ministry is yet the same who fixes for us its duration, and enables us to arrange the facts of the rest more exactly in their historical places. It is true that the three Gospels record chiefly the occurrences in Galilee; but there is evidence in them that labours were wrought in Judaea. Frequent teaching in Jerusalem is implied in the Lord's lamentation over the lost city (Matt. xxiii. 37). The appearance in Galilee of scribes and pharisees and others from Jerusalem (Matt. iv. 25, xv. 1) would be best explained on the supposition that their enmity had been excited against Him during visits to Jerusalem. The intimacy with the family of Lazarus (Luke x. 38 . . .), and the attachment of Joseph of Arimathea to the Lord (Matt. xxvii. 57), would imply, most probably, frequent visits to Jerusalem. But why was Galilee chosen as the principal scene of the ministry? The question is not easy to answer. The Prophet would resort to the Temple of God; the King of the Jews would go to His own royal city; the Teacher of the chosen people would preach in the midst of them. But their hostility prevented it. The Saviour, who, accepting all the infirmities of "the form of a servant," which He had taken, fled in His childhood to Egypt, betakes Himself to Galilee to avoid Jewish hatred and machinations, and lays the foundations of His church amid a people of impure and despised race. To Jerusalem He comes occasionally, to teach and suffer persecution, and finally to die: "for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem" (Luke xiii. 35). It was upon the first outbreak of persecution against Him that He left Judaea: "When Jesus had heard that John was cast into prison, He departed into Galilee" (Matt. iv. 12). And that this persecution aimed at Him also we gather from St. John: "When therefore the Lord knew how that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and had baptised more disciples than John . . . He left Judaea and departed into Galilee" (iv. 1, 3). If the light of the Sun of Righteousness shone on the Jews henceforward from the far-off shores of the Galilean lake, it was because they had refused and abhorred that light.

Duration of the Ministry.—It is impossible to determine exactly from the Gospels the number of years during which the Redeemer exercised his ministry before the Passion; but the doubt lies between two and three; for the opinion, adopted from an interpretation of Isaiah lxi. 2 by more than one of the ancients, that it lasted only one year, cannot be borne out (Euseb., iii. 24; Clem. Alex.

Spohn, 1; Origen, *Princ.* 4, 5). The data are to be drawn from St. John. This Evangelist mentions six feasts, at five of which Jesus was present; the Passover that followed His baptism (ii. 13); "a feast of the Jews" (ἐορτή) without the article, v. 1) a Passover during which Jesus remained in Galilee (vi. 4); the feast of Tabernacles to which the Lord went up privately (vii. 2); the feast of the Dedication (x. 22); and lastly the feast of Passover, at which He suffered (xii. xiii.). There are certainly three Passovers, and it is possible that "a feast" (v. 1) may be a fourth. Upon this possibility the question turns. Lücke in his Commentary (vol. ii. p. 1), in collecting with great research the various opinions on this place, is unable to arrive at any definite conclusion upon it, and leaves it unsolved. But if this feast is not a Passover, then no Passover is mentioned by John between the first (ii. 13), and that which is spoken of in the sixth chapter; and the time between those two must be assumed to be a single year only. Now, although the record of John of this period contains but few facts, yet when all the Evangelists are compared, the amount of labour compressed into this single year would be too much for its compass. The time during which Jesus was baptizing (by his disciples) near the Jordan was probably considerable, and lasted till John's imprisonment (John iii. 22-36, and see below). The circuit round Galilee, mentioned in Matt. iv. 23-25, was a missionary journey through a country of considerable population, and containing two hundred towns; and this would occupy some time. But another such journey, of the most comprehensive kind, is undertaken in the same year (Luke viii. 1), in which He "went throughout every city and village." And a third circuit of the same kind, and equally general (Matt. ix. 35-38), would close the same year. Is it at all probable that Jesus, after spending a considerable time in Judaea, would be able to make three circuits of Galilee in the remainder of the year, preaching and doing wonders in the various places to which He came? This would be more likely if the journeys were hurried and partial; but all three are spoken of as though they were the very opposite. It is, to say the least, easier to suppose that the "feast" (John v. 1) was a Passover, dividing the time into two, and throwing two of these circuits into the second year of the ministry; provided there be nothing to make this interpretation improbable in itself. The words are, "After this there was a feast of the Jews; and Jesus went up to Jerusalem." These two facts are meant as cause and effect; the feast caused the visit. If so, it was probably one of the three feasts at which the Jews were expected to appear before God at Jerusalem. Was it the Passover, the Pentecost, or the feast of Tabernacles? In the preceding chapter the Passover has been spoken of as "the feast" (ver. 45); and if another feast were meant here the name of it would have been added, as in vii. 2, x. 22. The omission of the article is not decisive, for it occurs in other cases where the Passover is certainly intended (Matt. xxvii. 15; Mark xv. 6); nor is it clear that the Passover was called the feast, as the most eminent, although the feast of Tabernacles was sometimes so described. All that the omission could prove would be that the Evangelist did not think it needful to describe the feast more precisely. The words in John iv. 35, "There are yet four months and then cometh harvest," would agree with this, for the barley harvest began on

the 16th Nisan, and reckoning back four months would bring this conversation to the beginning of December, *i. e.* the middle of Kislev. If it be granted that our Lord is here merely quoting a common form of speech (Alford), still it is more likely that He would use one appropriate to the time at which He was speaking. And if these words were uttered in December, the next of the three great feasts occurring would be the Passover. The shortness of the interval between v. 1 and vi. 4, would afford an objection, if it were not for the scantiness of historical details in the early part of the ministry in St. John; from the other Evangelists it appears that two great journeys might have to be included between these verses. Upon the whole, though there is nothing that amounts to proof, it is probable that there were four Passovers, and consequently that our Lord's ministry lasted somewhat more than three years, the "beginning of miracles" (John ii.) having been wrought before the first passover. On data of calculation that have already been mentioned, the year of the first of these Passovers was u.c. 780, and the Baptism of our Lord took place either in the beginning of that year or the end of the year preceding. The ministry of John the Baptist began in u.c. 779. (See Commentaries on John v. 1, especially Kuinöl and Lücke. Also Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, Art. *Jesus Christ*; Greswell, *Dissertations*, vol. i., Diss. iv. vol. ii., Diss. 22.)

After this sketch of the means, the scene, and the duration of the Saviour's ministry, the historical order of the events may be followed without interruption.

Our Lord has now passed through the ordeal of temptation, and His ministry is begun. At Bethabara, to which He returns, disciples begin to be drawn towards Him; Andrew and another, probably John, the sole narrator of the fact, see Jesus, and hear the Baptist's testimony concerning Him. Andrew brings Simon Peter to see Him also; and He receives from the Lord the name of Cephas. Then Philip and Nathanael are brought into contact with our Lord. All these reappear as Apostles, if Nathanael be, as has often been supposed, the same as Bartholomew; but the time of their calling to that office was not yet. But that their minds, even at this early time, were wrought upon by the expectation of the Messiah appears by the confession of Nathanael: "Thou art the Son of God; Thou art the King of Israel" (John i. 35-51). The two disciples last named saw Him as He was about to set out for Galilee, on the third day of His sojourn at Bethabara. The third day after this interview Jesus is at Cana in Galilee, and works His first miracle, by making the water wine (John i. 29, 35, 43; ii. 1). All these particulars are supplied from the fourth Gospel, and come in between the 11th and 12th verses of the 4th chapter of St. Matthew. They show that our Lord left Galilee expressly to be baptized and to suffer temptation, and returned to his own country when these were accomplished. He now betakes Himself to Capernaum, and after a sojourn thereof "not many days," sets out for Jerusalem to the Passover, which was to be the beginning of His ministry in Judaea (John ii. 12, 13).

The cleansing of the Temple is associated by St. John with this first Passover (ii. 12-22), and a similar cleansing is assigned to the last Passover by the other Evangelists. These two cannot be confounded without throwing discredit on the his-

logical character of one narrative or the other; the notes of time are too precise. But a host of interpreters have pointed out the probability that an action symbolical of the power and authority of Messiah should be twice performed, at the opening of the ministry and at its close. The expulsion of the traders was not likely to produce a permanent effect, and at the end of three years Jesus found the tumult and the traffic defiling the court of the Temple as they had done when He visited it before. Besides the difference of time, the narrative of St. John is by no means identical with those of the others; he mentions that Jesus made a scourge of small cords (*φραγέλλιον ἐκ σχοινίων*, ii. 15) as a symbol—we need not prove that it could be no more—of His power to punish; that here He censured them for making the Temple “a house of merchandise,” whilst at the last cleansing it was pronounced “a den of thieves,” with a distinct reference to the two passages of Isaiah and Jeremiah (Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11). Writers like Strauss would persuade us that “tact and good sense” would prevent the Redeemer from attempting such a violent measure at the beginning of His ministry, before His authority was admitted. The aptness and the greatness of the occasion have no weight with such critics. The usual sacrifices of the law of Jehovah, and the usual half-shekel paid for tribute to the Temple, the very means that were appointed by God to remind them that they were a consecrated people, were made an excuse for secularizing even the Temple; and in its holy precincts all the business of the world went on. It was a time when “the zeal of God’s house” might well supersede the “tact” on which the German philosopher lays stress; and Jesus failed not in the zeal, nor did the accusing consciences of the traders fail to justify it, for at the rebuke of one man they retreated from the scene of their gains. Their hearts told them, even though they had been long immersed in hardening traffic, that the house of God could belong to none other but God; and when a Prophet claimed it for Him, conscience deprived them of the power to resist. Immediately after this, the Jews asked of Him a sign or proof of His right to exercise this authority. He answered them by a promise of a sign by which He would hereafter confirm His mission, “Destroy this Temple and in three days I will raise it up” (John ii. 19), alluding, as the Evangelist explains, to His resurrection. But why is the name of the building before them applied by our Lord so darkly to Himself? There is doubtless a hidden reference to the Temple as a type of the Church, which Christ by His death and resurrection would found and raise up. He who has cleared of buyers and sellers the courts of a perishable Temple made with hands, will prove hereafter that He is the Founder of an eternal Temple made without hands, and your destroying act shall be the cause. The reply was indeed obscure; but it was meant as a refusal of their demand; and to the disciples afterwards it became abundantly clear. At the time of the passion this saying was brought against Him, in a perverted form—“At the last came two false witnesses, and said, This fellow said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and to build it in three days” (Matt. xxvi. 61). They hardly knew perhaps how utterly false a small alteration in the tale had made it. They wanted to hold him up as one who dared to think of the destruction of the Temple; and to change “destroy” into “I can destroy,”

might seem no great violence to do to the truth. But those words contained not a mere circumstance but the very essence of the saying, “you are the destroyers of the temple; you that were polluting it now by turning it into a market-place shall destroy it, and also your city, by staining its stones with my blood.” Jesus came not to destroy the Temple but to widen its foundations; not to destroy the law but to complete it (Matt. v. 17). Two syllables changed their testimony into a lie.

The visit of Nicodemus to Jesus took place about this first passover. It implies that our Lord had done more at Jerusalem than is recorded of Him even by John; since we have here a Master of Israel (John iii. 10), a member of the Sanhedrim (John vii. 50) expressing his belief in Him, although too timid at this time to make an open profession. The object of the visit, though not directly stated, is still clear: he was one of the better Pharisees, who were expecting the kingdom of Messiah, and having seen the miracles that Jesus did, he came to enquire more fully about these signs of its approach. This indicates the connexion between the remark of Nicodemus and the Lord’s reply: “You recognise these miracles as signs of the kingdom of God; verily I say unto you, no one can truly see and know the kingdom of God, unless he be born again (*ἄνωθεν*, from above; see Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. in loc.*, vol. iv.). The visitor boasted the blood of Abraham, and expected to stand high in the new kingdom in virtue of that birthright. He did not wish to surrender it, and set his hopes upon some other birth (comp. Matt. iii. 9); and there is something of wilfulness in the question—“How can a man be born when he is old?” (ver. 4). Our Lord again insists on the necessity of the renewed heart, in him who would be admitted to the kingdom of heaven. The new birth is real though it is unseen, like the wind which blows hither and thither though the eye cannot watch it save in its effects. Even so the Spirit sways the heart towards good, carries it away towards heaven, brings over the soul at one time the cloud, at another the sunny weather. The sound of Him is heard in the soul, now as the eager east wind bringing pain and remorse; now breathing over it the soft breath of consolation. In all this He is as powerful as the wind; and as unseen is the mode of His operations. For the new birth, of water and of the Holy Ghost, without which none can come to God, faith in the Son of God is needed (ver. 18); and as implied in that, the renouncing of those evil desires that blind the eyes to the truth (vers. 19, 20). It has been well said that this discourse contains the whole Gospel in epitome; there is the kingdom of grace into which God will receive those who have offended Him, the new truth which God the Holy Spirit will write in all those who seek the kingdom; and God the Son crucified and slain that all who would be saved may look on Him when He is lifted up, and find health thereby. The three Persons of the Trinity are all before us carrying out the scheme of man’s salvation. If it be asked how Nicodemus, so timid and half-hearted as yet, was allowed to hear thus early in the ministry what our Lord kept back even from His disciples till near the end of it, the answer must be, that wise as it was to keep back from the general body of the hearers the doctrine of the Crucifixion, the Physician of souls would treat each case with the medicine that it most required. Nicodemus was an enquiring spirit, ready to believe all the Gospel.

but for his Jewish prejudices and his social position. He was one whom even the shadow of the Cross would not estrange; and the Lord knew it, and laid open to him all the scheme of salvation. Not in vain. The tradition, indeed, may not be thoroughly certain, which reports his open conversion and his baptism by Peter and John (Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.* 171). But three years after this conversation, when all the disciples have been scattered by the death of Jesus, he comes forward with Joseph of Arimathea, at no little risk, although with a kind of secrecy still, to perform the last offices for the Master to whom his soul cleaves (John xix. 39).

After a sojourn at Jerusalem of uncertain duration, Jesus went to the Jordan with His disciples; and they there baptized in His name. The Baptist was now at Aenon near Salim; and the jealousy of his disciples against Jesus drew from John an avowal of his position, which is remarkable for its humility (John iii. 27-30), "A man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven. Ye yourselves bear me witness, that I said, I am not the Christ, but that I have been sent before Him. He that hath the bride is the bridegroom; but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease." The speaker is one who has hitherto enjoyed the highest honour and popularity, a prophet extolled by all the people. Before the Sun of Righteousness his reflected light is turning pale; it shall soon be extinguished. Yet no word of reluctance, or of attempt to cling to a temporary and departing greatness, escapes him. "He must increase but I must decrease." It had been the same before; when the Sanhedrim sent to enquire about him he claimed to be no more than "the voice of One crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias" (John i. 23); there was one "who coming after me is preferred before me, whose shoe's latchet I am not worthy to unloose" (i. 27). Strauss thinks this height of self-renunciation beautiful, but impossible (*Loben Jesu*, ii. 1, §46); but what divine influence had worked in the Baptist's spirit, adorning that once rugged nature with the grace of humility, we do not admit that Dr. Strauss is in a position to measure.

How long this sojourn in Judaea lasted is uncertain. But in order to reconcile John iv. 1 with Matt. iv. 12, we must suppose that it was much longer than the "twenty-six or twenty-seven" days, to which the learned Mr. Greswell upon mere conjecture would limit it. From the two passages together it would seem that John was after a short time cast into prison (Matt.), and that Jesus, seeing that the enmity directed against the Baptist would now assail Him, because of the increasing success of His ministry (John), resolved to withdraw from its reach.

In the way to Galilee Jesus passed by the shortest route, through Samaria. This country, peopled by men from five districts, whom the king of Assyria had planted there in the time of Hoshea (2 K. xvii. 24, &c.), and by the residue of the ten tribes that was left behind from the captivity, had once abounded in idolatry, though latterly faith in the true God had gained ground. The Samaritans even claimed to share with the people of Judaea the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem, and were repulsed (Ezra iv. 1-3). In the

time of our Lord they were hated by the Jews even more than if they had been Gentiles. Their corrupt worship was a shadow of the true; their temple on Gerizim was a rival to that which adorned the hill of Zion. "He that eats bread from the hand of a Samaritan," says a Jewish writer, "is as one that eats swine's flesh." Yet even in Samaria were souls to be saved; and Jesus would not shake off even that dust from His feet. He came in His journey to Sichem, which the Jews in mockery had changed to Sychar, to indicate that its people were *drunkards* (Lightfoot), or that they followed idols (רצף, Reland, see Hab.

ii. 18). Wearied and athirst He sat on the side of Jacob's well. A woman from the neighbouring town came to draw from the well, and was astonished that a Jew should address her as a neighbour, with a request for water. The conversation that ensued might be taken for an example of the mode in which Christ leads to Himself the souls of men. The awakening of her attention to the privilege she is enjoying in communing with Him (John iv. 10-15); the self-knowledge and self-conviction which He arouses (vers. 15-19), and which whilst it pains does not repel; the complete revelation of Himself, which she cannot but believe (vers. 19-29), are effects that He has wrought in many another case. The woman's lightness and security, until she finds herself in the presence of a Prophet, who knows all her past sins; her readiness afterwards to enter on a religious question, which perhaps had often been revolved in her mind in a worldly and careless way, are so natural that they are almost enough of themselves to establish the historical character of the account.

In this remarkable dialogue are many things to ponder over. The living water which Christ would give; the announcement of a change in the worship of Jew and Samaritan; lastly, the confession that He who speaks is truly the Messiah, are all noteworthy. The open avowal that He is the Messiah, made to the daughter of an abhorred people, is accounted for if we remember that this was the first and last time when He taught personally in Samaria, and that the woman showed a special fitness to receive it, for she expected in the Christ a spiritual teacher not a temporal prince: "When He is come He will tell us all things" (ver. 25). The very absence of national pride, which so beset the Jews, preserved in her a right conception of the Christ. Had she thought—had she said, "When He is come He will restore the kingdom to Israel, and set His followers in high places, on His right and on His left," then He could not have answered, as now, "I that speak unto thee am He." The words would have conveyed a falsehood to her. The Samaritans came out to Him on the report of the woman; they heard Him and believed: "We have heard Him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world" (ver. 42). Was this great grace thrown away upon them? Did it abide by them, or was it lost? In the persecution that arose about Stephen, Philip "went down to a city of Samaria (not "the city," as in the English version), and preached Christ unto them" (Acts viii. 5). We dare not pronounce as certain that this city was Sychar: but the readiness of the Samaritans to believe (viii. 6) recalls the candour and readiness of the men of Sychar, and it is difficult not to connect the two events together.

Jesus now returned to Galilee, and came to Nazareth, His own city. In the Synagogue He expounded to the people a passage from Isaiah (lxi. 1), telling them that its fulfilment was now at hand in His person. The same truth that had filled the Samaritans with gratitude, wrought up to fury the men of Nazareth, who would have destroyed Him if He had not escaped out of their hands (Luke iv. 16-30). He came now to Capernaum. On his way hither, when He had reached Cana, He healed the son of one of the courtiers of Herod Antipas (John iv. 46-54), who "himself believed, and his whole house." This was the second Galilean miracle. At Capernaum He wrought many miracles for them that needed. Here two disciples who had known Him before, namely, Simon Peter and Andrew, were called from their fishing to become "fishers of men" (Matt. iv. 19), and the two sons of Zebedee received the same summons. After healing on the Sabbath a demoniac in the Synagogue, a miracle which was witnessed by many, and was made known everywhere, He returned the same day to Simon's house, and healed the mother-in-law of Simon who was sick of a fever. At sunset, the multitude, now fully aroused by what they had heard, brought their sick to Simon's door to get them healed. He did not refuse His succour, and healed them all (Mark i. 29-34). He now, after showering down on Capernaum so many cures, turned His thoughts to the rest of Galilee, where other "lost sheep" were scattered:—"Let us go into the next towns (*κωμοπόλεις*) that I may preach there also, for therefore came I forth" (Mark i. 38). The journey through Galilee, on which He now entered, must have been a general circuit of that country. His object was to call on the Galileans to repent and believe the Gospel. This could only be done completely by taking such a journey that His teaching might be accessible to all in turn at some point or other. Josephus mentions that there were two hundred and four towns and villages in Galilee (*Vita*, 45): therefore such a circuit as should in any real sense embrace the whole of Galilee would require some months for its performance. "The course of the present circuit," says Mr. Gresswell (*Dissertations*, vol. ii. 293), "we may conjecture, was, upon the whole, as follows:—First, along the western side of the Jordan, northward, which would disseminate the fame of Jesus in Decapolis; secondly, along the confines of the tetrarchy of Philip, westward, which would make Him known throughout Syria; thirdly, by the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, southward; and, lastly, along the verge of Samaria, and the western region of the lake of Galilee—the nearest points to Judaea proper and to Perea—until it returned to Capernaum." In the course of this circuit, besides the works of mercy spoken of by the Evangelists (Matt. iv. 23-25; Mark i. 32-34; Luke iv. 40-44) He had probably called to Him more of His Apostles. Four at least were His companions from the beginning of it. The rest (except perhaps Judas Iscariot) were Galileans, and it is not improbable that they were found by their Master during this circuit. Philip of Bethsaida and Nathanael or Bartholomew were already prepared to become His disciples by an earlier interview. On this circuit occurred the first case of the healing of a leper; it is selected for record by the Evangelists, because of the incurableness of the ailment. So great was the dread of this disorder—so strict the precautions against its infection—that even the

raising of Jairus' daughter from the dead, which probably occurred at Capernaum about the end of this circuit, would hardly impress the beholders more profoundly.

Second year of the Ministry.—Jesus went up to Jerusalem to "a feast of the Jews," which we have shown (p. 1051) to have been probably the Passover. At the pool Bethesda (=house of mercy), which was near the sheep-gate (Neh. iii. 1) on the north-east side of the temple, Jesus saw many infirm persons waiting their turn for the healing virtues of the water. (John v. 1-18. On the genuineness of the fourth verse, see Scholz, *N. T.*; Tischendorf, *N. T.*; and Lücke, *in loc.* It is wanting in three out of the four chief MSS.; it is singularly disturbed with variations in the MSS. that insert it, and it abounds in words which do not occur again in this Gospel. Among them was a man who had had an infirmity thirty-eight years: Jesus made him whole by a word, bidding him take up his bed and walk. The miracle was done on the Sabbath; and the Jews, by which name in St. John's Gospel we are to understand the Jewish authorities, who acted against Jesus, rebuked the man for carrying his bed. It was a labour, and as such forbidden (Jer. xvii. 21). The answer of the man was too logical to be refuted: "He that made me whole, the same said unto me, Take up thy bed and walk" (v. 11). If He had not authority for the latter, whence came His power to do the former? Their anger was now directed against Jesus for healing on the Sabbath, even for well-doing. They sought to put Him to death. In our Lord's justification of Himself, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work" (v. 17), there is an unequivocal claim to the Divine nature. God the Father never rests: if sleep could visit His eyelids for an instant; if His hand could droop for a moment's rest, the universe would collapse in ruin. He rested on the seventh day from the creation of new beings; but from the maintenance of those that exist He never rests. His love streams forth on every day alike; as do the impartial beams from the sun that He has placed in the heavens. The Jews rightly understood the saying: none but God could utter it; none could quote God's example, as setting Him over and above God's law, save One who was God Himself. They sought the more to kill Him. He expounded to them more fully His relation to the Father. He works with the strength of the Father and according to His will. He can do all that the Father does. He can raise men out of bodily and out of spiritual death; and He can judge all men. John bore witness to Him; the works that He does bear even stronger witness. The reason that the Jews do not believe is their want of discernment of the meaning of the Scriptures; and that comes from their worldliness, their desire of honour from one another. Unbelief shall bring condemnation; even out of their Law they can be condemned, since they believe not even Moses, who foretold that Christ should come (John v. 19-47).

Another discussion about the Sabbath arose from the disciples plucking the ears of corn as they went through the fields (Matt. xii. 1-8). The time of this is somewhat uncertain: some would place it a year later, just after the third Passover (Clausen); but its place is much more probably here (Newcome, Robinson, &c.). The needy were permitted by the Law (Deut. xxiii. 25) to pluck the ears of

corn with their hand, even without waiting for the owner's permission. The disciples must have been living a hard and poor life to resort to such means of sustenance. But the Pharisees would not allow that it was lawful on the Sabbath-day. Jesus reminds them that David, whose example they are not likely to challenge, ate the sacred shewbread in the tabernacle, which it was not lawful to eat. The priests might partake of it, but not a stranger (Ex. xxix. 33; Lev. xxiv. 5, 9). David, on the principle that mercy was better than sacrifice (Hos. vi. 6), took it and gave to the young men that were with him that they might not perish for hunger. In order further to show that a literal mechanical observance of the law of the Sabbath would lead to absurdities, Jesus reminds them that this law is perpetually set aside on account of another: "The priests profane the Sabbath and are blameless" (Matt. xii. 5). The work of sacrifice, the placing of the shewbread, go on on the Sabbath, and labour even on that day may be done by priests, and may please God. It was the root of the Pharisees' fault that they thought sacrifice better than mercy, ritual exactness more than love: "If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless. For the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath-day" (Matt. xii. 7, 8). These last words are inseparable from the meaning of our Lord's answer. In pleading the example of David, the king and prophet, and of the priests in the temple, the Lord tacitly implies the greatness of His own position. He is indeed Prophet, Priest, and King; and had He been none of these, the argument would have been not merely incomplete, but misleading. It is undeniable that the law of the Sabbath was very strict. Against labours as small as that of winnowing the corn a severe penalty was set. Our Lord quotes cases where the law is superseded or set aside, because He is One who has power to do the same. And the rise of a new law is implied in those words which St. Mark alone has recorded: "The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath." The law upon the Sabbath was made in love to men, to preserve for them a due measure of rest, to keep room for the worship of God. The Son of Man has power to re-adjust this law, if its work is done, or if men are fit to receive a higher.

This may have taken place on the way from Jerusalem after the Passover. On another Sabbath, probably at Capernaum, to which Jesus had returned, the Pharisees gave a far more striking proof of the way in which their hard and narrow and unloving interpretation would turn the beneficence of the Law into a blighting oppression. Our Lord entered into the synagogue, and found there a man with a withered hand—some poor artisan perhaps whose handiwork was his means of life. Jesus was about to heal him—which would give back life to the sufferer—which would give joy to every beholder who had one touch of pity in his heart. The Pharisees interfere: "Is it lawful to heal on the Sabbath-day?" Their doctors would have allowed them to pull a sheep out of a pit; but they will not have a man rescued from the depth of misery. Rarely is that loving Teacher's wrath, but here His anger, mixed with grief, showed itself: He looked round about upon them "with anger, being grieved at the hardness of their hearts," and answered their cavils by healing the man (Matt. xii. 9-14; Mark iii. 1-6; Luke vi. 6-11).

In placing the ordination or calling of the Twelve Apostles just before the Sermon on the Mount, we are under the guidance of St. Luke (vi. 13, 17). But this more solemn separation for their work by no means marks the time of their first approach to Jesus. Scattered notices prove that some of them at least were drawn gradually to the Lord, so that it would be difficult to identify the moment when they earned the name of disciples. In the case of St. Peter, five degrees or stages might be traced (John i. 41-43; Matt. iv. 19, xvi. 17-19; Luke xxii. 31, 32; John xxi. 15-19), at each of which he came somewhat nearer to his Master. That which takes place here is the appointment of twelve disciples to be a distinct body, under the name of Apostles. They are not sent forth to preach until later in the same year. The number twelve must have reference to the number of the Jewish tribes: it is a number selected on account of its symbolical meaning, for the work confided to them might have been wrought by more or fewer. Twelve is used with the same symbolical reference in many passages of the O. T. Twelve pillars to the altar which Moses erected (Ex. xxiv. 4); twelve stones to commemorate the passing of the ark over Jordan (Josh. iv. 3); twelve precious stones in the breastplate of the priest (Ex. xxviii. 21); twelve oxen bearing up the molten sea in the Temple of Solomon (1 K. vii. 25); twelve officers over Solomon's household (1 K. iv. 7): all these are examples of the perpetual repetition of the Jewish number. Bähr (*Symbolik*, vol. i.) has accumulated passages from various authors to show that twelve, the multiple of four and three, is the type or symbol of the universe, but it is enough here to say that the use of the number in the foundation of the Christian Church has a reference to the tribes of the Jewish nation. Hence the number continues to be used after the addition of Paul and Barnabas had made it inapplicable. The Lord Himself tells them that they "shall sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. xix. 27, 28). When He began His ministry in Galilee, He left His own home at Nazareth, and separated Himself from His kinsmen after the flesh, in order to devote Himself more completely to His prophetic office; and these Twelve were "to be with Him" (Mark), and to be instead of family and friends. But the enmity of the Jews separated Him also from His countrymen. Every day the prospect of the Jews receiving Him as their Messiah, to their own salvation, became more faint; and the privileges of the favoured people passed gradually over to the new Israel, the new Church, the new Jerusalem, of which the Apostles were the foundation. The precise day in which this defection was completed could not be specified. The Sun of Righteousness rose on the world, and set for the Jews, through all the shades of twilight. In the education of the Twelve for their appointed work, we see the superseding of the Jews; in the preservation of the symbolical number we see preserved a recognition of their original right.

In the four lists of the names of the Apostles preserved to us (Matt. x., Mark iii., Luke vi., Acts i.), there is a certain order preserved, amidst variations. The two pairs of brothers, Simon and Andrew, and the sons of Zebedee, are always named the first; and of these Simon Peter ever holds the first place; Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, are always in the next rank; and of them Philip is always the first. In the third rank James the son of Alphaeus is the first, as Judas Iscariot is always

the last, with Simon the Zealot and Thaddaeus between. The principle that governs this arrangement cannot be determined very positively; but as no doubt Simon Peter stands first because of his zeal in his Master's service, and Judas ranks last because of his treason, it is natural to suppose that they are all arranged with some reference at least to their zeal and fitness for the apostolic office. Some of the Apostles were certainly poor and unlearned men; it is probable that the rest were of the same kind. Four of them were fishermen, not indeed the poorest of their class; and a fifth was a "publican," one of the *portitores*, or tax-gatherers, who collected the taxes farmed by Romans of higher rank. Andrew, who is mentioned with Peter, is less conspicuous in the history than he, but he enjoyed free access to his Master, and seems to have been more intimate with him than the rest (John vi. 8, xii. 22, with Mark xiii. 3). But James and John, who are sometimes placed above him in the list, were especially distinguished by Jesus. They were unmarried; and their mother, of whose ambition we have a well-known instance, seems to have had much influence over them. The zeal and fire of their disposition is indicated in the name of Boanerges bestowed upon them. One seems hardly to recognize in the fierce enthusiasts who would have called down fire from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans (Luke ix. 52-56) the Apostle of Love and his brother. It is probable that the Bartholomew of the Twelve is the same as Nathanael (John i.); and the Lebbaeus or Thaddaeus the same as Judas the brother of James. Simon the Zealot was so called probably from his belonging to the sect of Zealots, who, from Num. xxv. 7, 8, took it on themselves to punish crimes against the law. If the name Iscariot (= man of Kerioth = Kerioth) refers the birth of the traitor to Kerioth in Judah (Josh. xv. 25), then it would appear that the traitor alone was of Judaean origin, and the eleven faithful ones were despised Galileans.

From henceforth the education of the twelve Apostles will be one of the principal features of the Lord's ministry. First He instructs them; then He takes them with Him as companions of His wayfaring; then He sends them forth to teach and heal for Him. The *Sermon on the Mount*, although it is meant for all the disciples, seems to have a special reference to the chosen Twelve (Matt. v. 11 . . .). Its principal features have been sketched already; but they will miss their full meaning if it is forgotten that they are the first teaching which the Apostles were called on to listen to after their appointment.

About this time it was that John the Baptist, long a prisoner with little hope of release, sent his disciples to Jesus with the question, "Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" In all the Gospels there is no more touching incident. Those who maintain that it was done solely for the sake of the disciples, and that John himself needed no answer to support his faith, show as little knowledge of the human mind as exactness in explaining the words of the account. The great privilege of John's life was that he was appointed to recognize and bear witness to the Messiah (John i. 31). After languishing a year in a dungeon, after learning that even yet Jesus had made no steps towards the establishment of His kingdom of the Jews, and that His following consisted of only twelve poor Galileans, doubts began to cloud over his spirit. Was the kingdom of Messiah as near as

he had thought? Was Jesus not the Messiah, but some forerunner of that Deliverer, as he himself had been? There is no unbelief; he does not suppose that Jesus has deceived; when the doubts arise, it is to Jesus that he submits them. But it was not without great depression and perplexity that he put the question, "Art thou He that should come?" The scope of the answer given lies in its recalling John to the grounds of his former confidence. The very miracles are being wrought that were to be the signs of the kingdom of heaven; and therefore that kingdom is come (Is. xxxv. 5, xlii. 6, 7). There is more of grave encouragement than of rebuke in the words, "Blessed is he who shall not be offended in me" (Matt. xi. 6). They bid the Forerunner to have a good heart, and to hope and believe to the end. He has allowed sorrow, and the apparent triumph of wickedness, which is a harder trial, to trouble his view of the divine plan; let him remember that it is blessed to attain that state of confidence which these things cannot disturb; and let the signs which Jesus now exhibits suffice him to the end (Matt. xi. 1-6; Luke vii. 18-23).

The testimony to John which our Lord graciously adds is intended to reinstate him in that place in the minds of His own disciples which he had occupied before this mission of doubt. John is not a weak waverer; not a luxurious courtier, attaching himself to the new dispensation from worldly motives; but a prophet, and more than a prophet, for the prophets spoke of Jesus afar off, but John stood before the Messiah, and with his hand pointed Him out. He came in the spirit and power of Elijah (Mal. iii. 1, iv. 5), to prepare for the kingdom of heaven. And yet great as he was, the least of those in the kingdom of heaven when it is completely planted should enjoy a higher degree of religious illumination than he (Matt. xi. 7-11; Luke vii. 24-28).

Now commences the second circuit of Galilee (Luke viii. 1-3), to which belong the parables in Matt. xiii.; the visit of our Lord's mother and brethren (Luke viii. 19-21), and the account of his reception at Nazareth (Mark vi. 1-6).

During this time the twelve have journeyed with Him. But now a third circuit in Galilee is recorded, which probably occurred during the last three months of this year (Matt. ix. 35-38); and during this circuit, after reminding them how great is the harvest and how pressing the need of labourers, He carries the training of the disciples one step further by sending them forth by themselves to teach (Matt. x., xi.). Such a mission is not to be considered as identical in character with the mission of the Apostles after the Resurrection. It was limited to the Jews; the Samaritans and heathen were excluded; but this arose, not from any narrowness in the limits of the kingdom of heaven (Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15), but from the limited knowledge and abilities of the Apostles. They were sent to proclaim to the Jews that "the kingdom of heaven," which their prophets taught them to look for, was at hand (Matt. x. 7); but they were unfit as yet for the task of explaining to Jews the true nature of that kingdom, and still more to Gentiles who had received no preparation for any such doctrine. The preaching of the Apostles whilst Jesus was yet on earth was only ancillary to His and a preparation of the way for Him. It was probably of the simplest character. "As ye go, preach, saying, the kingdom of Heaven is at hand." Power was given them to confirm it by signs and wonders; and the purpose of it was to throw the minds of

those who heard it into an enquiring state, so that they might seek and find the Lord Himself. But whilst their instructions as to the matter of their preaching were thus brief and simple, the cautions, warnings, and encouragements as to their own condition were far more full. They were to do their work without anxiety for their welfare. No provision was to be made for their journey; in the house that first received them in any city they were to abide, not seeking to find the best. Dangers would befall them, for they were sent forth "as sheep in the midst of wolves" (Matt. x. 16); but they were not to allow this to disturb their thoughts. The same God who wrought their miracles for them would protect them; and those who confessed the name of Christ before men would be confessed by Christ before the Father as His disciples. These precepts for the Apostles even went somewhat beyond what their present mission required; it does not appear that they were at this time delivered up to councils, or scourged in synagogues. But in training their feeble wings for their first flight the same rules and cautions were given which would be needed even when they soared the highest in their zeal and devotion to their crucified Master. There is no difficulty here, if we remember that this sending forth was rather a training of the Apostles than a means of converting the Galilean people.

They went forth two and two; and our Lord continued His own circuit (Matt. xi. 1), with what companions does not appear. By this time the leaven of the Lord's teaching had begun powerfully to work among the people. Herod, we read, "was perplexed, because that it was said of some, that John was risen from the dead, and of some that Elijah had appeared; and of others, that one of the old prophets was risen again" (Luke ix. 7, 8). The false apprehensions about the Messiah that he should be a temporal ruler, were so deep-rooted, that whilst all the rumours concurred in assigning a high place to Jesus as a prophet, none went beyond to recognise Him as the King of Israel—the Saviour of His people and the world.

After a journey of perhaps two months' duration the twelve return to Jesus, and give an account of their ministry. The third Passover was now drawing near; but the Lord did not go up to it, because His time was not come for submitting to the malice of the Jews against Him; because His ministry in Galilee was not completed; and especially, because He wished to continue the training of the Apostles for their work, now one of the chief objects of His ministry. He wished to commune with them privately upon their work, and, we may suppose, to add to the instruction they had already received from Him (Mark vi. 30, 31). He therefore went with them from the neighbourhood of Capernaum to a mountain on the eastern shore of the Sea of Tiberias, near Bethsaida Julias, not far from the head of the sea. Great multitudes pursued them; and here the Lord, moved to compassion by the hunger and weariness of the people, wrought for them one of His most remarkable miracles. Out of five barley loaves and two small fishes, He produced food for five thousand men besides women and children. The act was one of creation, and therefore was both an assertion and a proof of divine power; and the discourse which followed it, recorded by John only, was an important step in the training of the Apostles, for it hinted to them for the first time the

unexpected truth that the body and blood of Christ, that is, His passion, must become the means of man's salvation. This view of the doctrine of the kingdom of heaven which they had been preaching, could not have been understood; but it would prepare those who still clung to Jesus to expect the hard facts that were to follow these hard words. The discourse itself has already been examined (p. 1048). After the miracle, but before the comment on it was delivered, the disciples crossed the sea from Bethsaida Julias to Bethsaida of Galilee, and Jesus retired alone to a mountain to commune with the Father. They were toiling at the oar, for the wind was contrary, when, as the night drew towards morning, they saw Jesus walking to them on the sea, having passed the whole night on the mountain. They were amazed and terrified. He came into the ship and the wind ceased. They worshipped Him at this new proof of divine power—"Of a truth thou art the Son of God" (Matt. xiv. 33). The storm had been another trial of their faith (comp. Matt. viii. 23-26), not in a present Master, as on a former occasion, but in an absent one. But the words of St. Mark intimate that even the feeding of the five thousand had not built up their faith in Him—"for they considered not the miracle of the loaves: for their heart was hardened" (vi. 52). Peter, however, as St. Matthew relates, with his usual zeal wishing to show that he really possessed that faith in Jesus, which perhaps in the height of the storm had been somewhat forgotten, requests Jesus to bid him come to Him upon the water. When he made the effort, his faith began to fail, and he cried out for succour. Christ's rebuke, "O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?" does not imply that he had no faith, or that it wholly deserted him now. All the failings of Peter were of the same kind; there was a faith full of zeal and eagerness, but it was not constant. He believed that he could walk on the waters if Jesus bade him; but the roar of the waves appalled him, and he sank from the same cause that made him deny his Lord afterwards.

When they reached the shore of Gennesaret the whole people showed their faith in Him as a Healer of disease (Mark vi. 53-56); and he performed very many miracles on them. Nothing could surpass the eagerness with which they sought Him. Yet on the next day the great discourse just alluded to was uttered, and "from that time many of His disciples went back and walked no more with Him" (John vi. 66).

Third year of the Ministry.—Hearing perhaps that Jesus was not coming to the feast, Scribes and Pharisees from Jerusalem went down to see Him at Capernaum (Matt. xv. 1). They found fault with His disciples for breaking the tradition about purifying, and eating with unwashed hands. It is not necessary to suppose that they came to lie in wait for Jesus. The objection was one which they would naturally take. Our Lord in His answer tries to show them how far external rule, claiming to be religious, may lead men away from the true spirit of the Gospel. "Ye say, whosoever shall say to his father or his mother, it is a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honour not his father or his mother, he shall be obnoxious" (Matt. xv. 5, 6). They admitted the obligation of the fifth commandment, but had introduced a means of evading it, by enabling a son to say to his father and mother who sought his help that he had made his property "a gift" to the

Temple, which took precedence of his obligation. Well might He apply to a people where such a miserable evasion could find place, the words of Isaiah (xxix. 13)—“This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.”

Leaving the neighbourhood of Capernaum our Lord now travels to the north-west of Galilee, to the region of Tyre and Sidon. The time is not strictly determined, but it was probably the early summer of this year. It does not appear that He retired into this heathen country for the purpose of ministering; more probably it was a retreat from the machinations of the Jews. A woman of the country, of Greek education (*Ἑλληνὶς Συροφρονίσκησα*, Mark) came to entreat Him to heal her daughter who was tormented with an evil spirit. The Lord at first repelled her by saying that He was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; but not so was her maternal love to be baffled. She besought Him again and was again repelled; the bread of the children was not to be given to dogs. Still persisting, she besought His help even as one of the dogs so despised: “the dogs eat of the crumbs that fall from the Master’s table.” Faith so sincere was not to be resisted. Her daughter was made whole (Matt. xv. 21-28; Mark vii. 24-30).

Returning thence He passed round by the north of the sea of Galilee to the region of Decapolis on its eastern side (Mark vii. 31-37). In this district He performed many miracles, and especially the restoration of a deaf man who had an impediment in his speech, remarkable for the seeming effort with which He wrought it. To these succeeded the feeding of the four thousand with the seven loaves (Matt. xv. 32). He now crossed the Lake of Magdala, where the Pharisees and Sadducees asked and were refused a “sign;” some great wonder wrought expressly for them to prove that He was the Christ. He answers them as He had answered a similar request before; “the sign of the prophet Jonas” was all that they should have. His resurrection after a death of three days should be the great sign, and yet in another sense no sign should be given them, for they should neither see it nor believe it. The unnatural alliance between Pharisee and Sadducee is worthy of remark. The zealots of tradition, and the political partisans of Herod (for “leaven of the Sadducees, in Matt. xvi. 6 = “leaven of Herod,” Mark viii. 15) joined together for once with a common object of hatred. After they had departed, Jesus crossed the lake with his disciples, and, combining perhaps for the use of the disciples the remembrance of the feeding of the four thousand with that of the conversation they had just heard, warned them to “beware of the leaven of the Pharisees and of the leaven of Herod” (Mark viii. 15). So little however were the disciples prepared for this, that they mistook it for a reproof for having brought only one loaf with them! They had forgotten the five thousand and the four thousand, or they would have known that where He was, natural bread could not fail them. It was needful to explain to them that the leaven of the Pharisees was the doctrine of those who had made the word of God of none effect by traditions which appearing to promote religion really overlaid and destroyed it, and the leaven of the Sadducees was the doctrine of those who, under the show of su-

perior enlightenment, denied the foundations of the fear of God by denying a future state. At Bethsaida Julius, Jesus restored sight to a blind man; and here, as in a former case, the form and preparation which He adopted are to be remarked. As though the human Saviour has to wrestle with and painfully overcome the sufferings of His people, He takes him by the hand, and leads him out of the town, and spits on his eyes and asks him if he sees aught. At first the sense is restored imperfectly; and Jesus lays His hand again upon him and the cure is complete (Mark viii. 22-26).

The ministry in Galilee is now drawing to its close. Through the length and breadth of that country Jesus has proclaimed the kingdom of Christ, and has shown by mighty works that He is the Christ that was to come. He begins to ask the disciples what are the results of all His labour, “Whom say the people that I am?” (Luke ix. 18). It is true that the answer shows that they took Him for a prophet. But we are obliged to admit that the rejection of Jesus by the Galileans had been as complete as His preaching to them had been universal. Here and there a few may have received the seeds that shall afterwards be quickened to their conversion. But the great mass had heard without earnestness the preached word, and forgotten it without regret. “Whereunto shall I liken this generation?” says Christ. “It is like unto children sitting in the market, and calling unto their fellows, and saying, We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented” (Matt. xi. 16, 17). This is a picture of a wayward people without earnest thought. As children, from want of any real purpose, cannot agree in their play, so the Galileans quarrel with every form of religious teaching. The message of John and that of Jesus they did not attend to; but they could discuss the question whether one was right in fasting and the other in eating and drinking. He denounces woe to the cities where He had wrought the most, to Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, for their strange insensibility, using the strongest expressions. “Thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be brought down to hell; for if the mighty works, which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained until this day. But I say unto you that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee” (Matt. xi. 23, 24). Such awful language could only be used to describe a complete rejection of the Lord. And in truth nothing was wanting to aggravate that rejection. The lengthened journeys through the land, the miracles, far more than are recorded in detail, had brought the Gospel home to all the people. Capernaum was the focus of His ministry. Through Chorazin and Bethsaida He had no doubt passed with crowds behind Him, drawn together by wonders that they had seen, and by the hope of others to follow them. Many thousands had actually been benefited by the miracles; and yet of all these there were only twelve that really gave to Him, and one of them was Judas the traitor. With this rejection an epoch of the history is connected. He begins to unfold now the doctrine of His passion more fully. First inquiring whom the people said that He was, He then put the same question to the Apostles themselves. Simon Peter, the ready spokesman of the rest, answers, “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.” It might almost seem that such a manifest inference

from the wonders they had witnessed was too obvious to deserve praise, did not the sight of a whole country which had witnessed the same wonders, and despised them, prove how thoroughly callous the Jewish heart was. "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (Matt. xvi. 16-20). We compare the language applied to Capernaum for its want of faith with that addressed to Peter and the Apostles, and we see how wide is the gulf between those who believe and those who do not. Jesus now in the plainest language tells them what is to be the mode of His departure from the world; "how that He must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and be raised again the third day" (Matt. xvi. 21). Peter, who had spoken as the representative of all the Apostles before, in confessing Jesus as the Christ, now speaks for the rest in offering to our Lord the commonplace consolations of the children of this world to a friend beset by danger. The danger they think will be averted: such an end cannot befall one so great. The Lord, "when he had turned about and looked on His disciples" (Mark), to show that He connected Peter's words with them all, addresses Peter as the tempter—"Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art an offence unto me." These words open up to us the fact that this period of the ministry was a time of special trial and temptation to the sinless Son of God. "Escape from sufferings and death! Do not drink the cup prepared of Thy Father; it is too bitter; it is not deserved." Such was the whisper of the Prince of this World at that time to our Lord; and Peter has been unwittingly taking it into his mouth. The doctrine of a suffering Messiah, so plainly exhibited in the prophets, had receded from sight in the current religion of that time. The announcement of it to the disciples was at once new and shocking. By repelling it, even when offered by the Lord Himself, they fell into a deeper sin than they could have conceived. The chief of them was called "Satan," because he was unconsciously pleading on Satan's side (Matt. xvi. 21-23).

Turning now to the whole body of those who followed Him (Mark, Luke), He published the Christian doctrine of self-denial. The Apostles had just shown that they took the natural view of suffering, that it was an evil to be shunned. They shrank from conflict, and pain, and death, as it is natural men should. But Jesus teaches that, in comparison with the higher life, the life of the soul, the life of the body is valueless. And as the renewed life of the Christian implies his *dying* to his old wishes and desires, suffering, which causes the death of earthly hopes and wishes, may be a good. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for My sake shall find it. For what is a man profited, if he should gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" (Matt. xvi.). From this part of the history to the end we shall not

lose sight of the sufferings of the Lord. The Cross is darkly seen at the end of our path; and we shall ever draw nearer that mysterious implement of human salvation (Matt. xvi. 21-28; Mark viii. 31-38; Luke ix. 22-27).

The Transfiguration, which took place just a week after this conversation, is to be understood in connexion with it. The minds of the twelve were greatly disturbed at what they had heard. The Messiah was to perish by the wrath of men. The Master whom they served was to be taken away from them. Now, if ever, they needed support for their perplexed spirits, and this their loving Master failed not to give them. He takes with Him three chosen disciples, Peter, John, and James, who formed as it were a smaller circle nearer to Jesus than that of the rest, into a high mountain apart by themselves. There are no means of determining the position of the mountain; although Caesarea Philippi was the scene of the former conversations, it does not follow that this occurred on the eastern side of the lake, for the intervening week would have given time enough for a long journey thence. There is no authority for the tradition which identifies this mountain with Mount Tabor, although it *may* be true. The three disciples were taken up with Him, who should afterwards be the three witnesses of His agony in the garden of Gethsemane: those who saw His glory in the holy mount would be sustained by the remembrance of it when they beheld His lowest humiliation. The calmness and exactness of the narrative preclude all doubt as to its historical character. It is no myth, nor vision; but a sober account of a miracle. When Jesus had come up into the mountain He was praying, and as He prayed, a great change came over Him. "His face did shine as the sun (Matt.); and His raiment became shining, exceeding white as snow; so as no fuller on earth can white them" (Mark). Beside Him appeared Moses the great lawgiver, and Elijah, great amongst the prophets; and they spake of His departure, as though it was something recognised both by Law and prophets. The three disciples were at first asleep with weariness; and when they woke they saw the glorious scene. As Moses and Elijah were departing (Luke), Peter, wishing to arrest them, uttered those strange words, "Lord, it is good for us to be here, and let us make three tabernacles, one for Thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elijah." They were the words of one astonished and somewhat afraid, yet of one who felt a strange peace in this explicit testimony from the Father that Jesus was His. It was good for them to be there, he felt, where no Pharisees could set traps for them, where neither Pilate nor Herod could take Jesus by force. Just as he spoke a cloud came over them, and the voice of the Heavenly Father attested once more His Son—"This is my beloved Son; hear Him." There has been much discussion on the purport of this great wonder. But thus much seems highly probable. First, as it was connected with the prayer of Jesus, to which it was no doubt an answer, it is to be regarded as a kind of inauguration of Him in His new office as the High-priest who should make atonement for the sins of the people with His own blood. The mystery of His trials and temptations lies too deep for speculation: but He received strength against human infirmity—against the prospect of sufferings so terrible—in this His glorification. Secondly, as the witnesses of this scene were the same three disciples who were with the

Master in the garden of Gethsemane, it may be assumed that the one was intended to prepare them for the other, and that they were to be borne up under the spectacle of His humiliation by the remembrance that they had been eye-witnesses of His majesty (2 Pet. i. 16-18).

As they came down from the mountain He charged them to keep secret what they had seen till after the Resurrection; which shows that this miracle took place for His use and for theirs, rather than for the rest of the disciples. This led to questions about the meaning of His rising again from the dead, and in the course of it, and arising out of it, occurred the question, "Why then (*ὄν*, which refers to some preceding conversation) say the scribes that Elias must first come?" They had been assured by what they had just seen that the time of the kingdom of God was now come; and the objection brought by the Scribes, that before the Messiah Elijah must re-appear, seemed hard to reconcile with their new conviction. Our Lord answers them that the Scribes have rightly understood the prophecies that Elijah would first come (Mal. iv. 5, 6), but have wanted the discernment to see that this prophecy was already fulfilled. "Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatever they listed." In John the Baptist, who came in the spirit and power of Elijah, were the Scriptures fulfilled (Matt. xvii. 1-13; Mark ix. 2-13; Luke ix. 28-36).

Meantime amongst the multitude below a scene was taking place which formed the strongest contrast to the glory and the peace which they had witnessed, and which seemed to justify Peter's remark, "It is good for us to be here." A poor youth, lunatic and possessed by a devil—for here as elsewhere the possession is superadded to some known form of that bodily and mental evil which came in at first with sin and Satan—was brought to the disciples who were not with Jesus, to be cured. They could not prevail; and when Jesus appeared amongst them the agonized and disappointed father appealed to Him, with a kind of complaint of the impotence of the disciples. "O faithless and perverse generation!" said our Lord; "how long shall I be with you? how long shall I suffer you?" The rebuke is not to the disciples, but to all, the father included; for the weakness of faith that hindered the miracle was in them all. St. Mark's account, the most complete, describes the paroxysm that took place in the lad on our Lord's ordering him to be brought; and also records the remarkable saying, which well described the father's state, "Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief!" What the disciples had failed to do, Jesus did at a word. He then explained to them that their want of faith in their own power to heal, and in His promises to bestow the power upon them, was the cause of their inability (Matt. xvii. 14-21; Mark ix. 14-29; Luke ix. 37-43).

Once more did Jesus foretell His sufferings on their way back to Capernaum; but "they understood not that saying, and were afraid to ask Him" (Mark ix. 30-32).

But a vague impression seems to have been produced on them that His kingdom was now very near. It broke forth in the shape of a dispute amongst them as to which should rank the highest in the kingdom when it should come. Taking a little child, He told them that, in His kingdom, not ambition, but a childlike humility, would entitle to the highest place (Matt. xviii. 1-5; Mark ix. 33-

37; Luk. ix. 46-48). The humility of the Christian is so closely connected with consideration for the souls of others, that the transition to a warning against causing offence (Matt., Mark), which might appear abrupt at first, is most natural. From this Jesus passes naturally to the subject of a tender consideration for "the lost sheep;" thence to the duty of forgiveness of a brother. Both of these last points are illustrated by parables. These, and some other discourses belonging to the same time, are to be regarded as designed to carry on the education of the Apostles, whose views were still crude and unformed, even after all that had been done for them (Matt. xviii.).

From the Feast of Tabernacles, Third Year.—The Feast of Tabernacles was now approaching. For eighteen months the ministry of Jesus had been confined to Galilee; and his brothers, not hostile to Him, yet only half-convinced about His doctrine, urged Him to go into Judaea that His claims might be known and confessed on a more conspicuous field. This kind of request, founded in human motives, was one which our Lord would not assent to; witness His answer to Mary at Cana in Galilee when the first miracle was wrought. He told them that, whilst all times were alike to them, whilst they could always walk among the Jews without danger, His appointed time was not come. They set out for the feast without Him, and He abode in Galilee for a few days longer (John vii. 2-10). Afterwards He set out, taking the more direct but less frequented route by Samaria, that His journey might be "in secret." It was in this journey that James and John conceived the wish—so closely parallel to facts in the Old Covenant, so completely at variance with the spirit of the New, that fire should be commanded to come down from heaven to consume the inhospitable Samaritans (Luke ix. 51-62).

St. Luke alone records, in connexion with this journey, the sending forth of the seventy disciples. This event is to be regarded in a different light from that of the twelve. The seventy had received no special education from our Lord, and their commission was of a temporary kind. The number has reference to the Gentiles, as twelve had to the Jews; and the scene of the work, Samaria, reminds us that this is a movement directed towards the stranger. It takes place six months after the sending forth of the twelve; for the Gospel was to be delivered to the Jew first and afterwards to the Gentile. In both cases probably the preaching was of the simplest kind—"The kingdom of God is come nigh unto you." The instructions given were the same in spirit; but, on comparing them, we see that now the danger was becoming greater and the time for labour shorter (Luke x. 1-16).

After healing the ten lepers in Samaria, He came "about the midst of the feast" to Jerusalem. Here the minds of the people were strongly excited and drawn in different ways concerning Him. The Pharisees and rulers sought to take Him; some of the people, however, believed in Him, but concealed their opinion for fear of the rulers. To this division of opinion we may attribute the failure of the repeated attempts on the part of the Sanhedrim to take One who was openly teaching in the Temple (John vii. 11-53; see esp. ver. 30, 32, 44, 45, 46). The officers were partly afraid to seize in the presence of the people the favourite Teacher; and they themselves were awed and attracted by Him. They came to seize Him, but could not lift their hands

against Him. Notwithstanding the ferment of opinion, and the fixed hatred of those in power, He seems to have taught daily to the end of the feast in the Temple before the people.

The history of the woman taken in adultery belongs to this time. But it must be premised that several MSS. of highest authority omit this passage, and that in those which insert it the text is singularly disturbed (see Lücke, *in loc.*, and Tischendorf, *Gr. Test.*, ed. vii.). The remark of Augustine is perhaps not far from the truth, that this story formed a genuine portion of the apostolic teaching, but that mistaken people excluded it from their copies of the written Gospel, thinking it might be perverted into a license to women to sin (*Ad Pollent.* ii. ch. 7). That it was thus kept apart, without the safeguards which Christian vigilance exercised over the rest of the text, and was only admitted later, would at once account for its absence from the MSS. and for the various forms assumed by the text where it is given. But the history gives no ground for such apprehensions. The law of Moses gave the power to stone women taken in adultery. But Jewish morals were sunk very low, like Jewish faith; and the punishment could not be inflicted on a sinner by those who had sinned in the same kind: "Etenim non est ferendus accusator is qui quod in altero vitium reprehendit, in eo ipso deprehenditur" (Cicero, *c. Verrem*, iii.). Thus the punishment had passed out of use. But they thought, by proposing this case to our Lord, to induce Him either to set the Law formally aside, in which case they might accuse Him of profaneness; or to sentence the guilty wretch to die, and so become obnoxious to the charge of cruelty. From such temptations Jesus was always able to escape. He threw back the decision upon them; He told them that the man who was free from that sin might cast the first stone at her. Conscience told them that this was unanswerable, and one by one they stole away, leaving the guilty woman alone before One who was indeed her Judge. It has been supposed that the words "Neither do I condemn thee" convey an absolute pardon for the sin of which she had just been guilty. But they refer, as has long since been pointed out, to the doom of stoning only. "As they have not punished thee, neither do I; go, and let this danger warn thee to sin no more" (John viii. 1-11).

The conversations (John viii. 12-59) show in a strong light the perversity of the Jews in misunderstanding our Lord's words. They refuse to see any spiritual meaning in them, and drag them as it were by force down to a low and carnal interpretation. Our Lord's remark explains the cause of this, "Why do ye not understand my speech [way of speaking]? Even because ye cannot hear my word" (ver. 43). His mode of expression was strange to them, because they were neither able nor willing to understand the real purport of His teaching. To this place belongs the account, given by John alone, of the healing of one who was born blind, and the consequences of it (John ix. 1-41, x. 1-21). The poor patient was excommunicated for refusing to undervalue the agency of Jesus in restoring him. He believed on Jesus; whilst the Pharisees were only made the worse for what they had witnessed. Well might Jesus exclaim, "For judgment I am come into this world, that they which see not might see; and that they which see might be made blind" (ix. 39). The well-known parable of the

good shepherd is an answer to the calumny of the Pharisees, that He was an impostor and breaker of the law, "This man is not of God, because he keepeth not the Sabbath day" (ix. 16).

We now approach a difficult portion of the sacred history. The note of time given us by John immediately afterwards is the Feast of the Dedication, which was celebrated on the 25th of Kislev, answering nearly to December. According to this Evangelist our Lord does not appear to have returned to Galilee between the Feast of Tabernacles and that of Dedication, but to have passed the time in and near Jerusalem. Matthew and Mark do not allude to the Feast of Tabernacles. Luke appears to do so in ix. 51; but the words there used would imply that this was the last journey to Jerusalem. Now in St. Luke's Gospel a large section, from ix. 51 to xviii. 14, seems to belong to the time preceding the departure from Galilee; and the question is how is this to be arranged, so that it shall harmonize with the narrative of St. John? In most Harmonies a return of our Lord to Galilee has been assumed, in order to find a place for this part of Luke's Gospel. "But the manner," says the English editor of Robinson's *Harmony*, "in which it has been arranged, after all is exceedingly various. Some, as Le Clerc, *Harm. Evang.* p. 264, insert nearly the whole during this supposed journey. Others, as Lightfoot, assign to this journey only what precedes Luke xiii. 23; and refer the remainder to our Lord's sojourn beyond Jordan, John x. 40 (*Chron. Temp.* N. T. Opp. II. p. 37, 39). Greswell (*Dissert.* xvi. vol. ii.) maintains that the transactions in Luke ix. 51-xviii. 14, all belong to the journey from Ephraim (through Samaria, Galilee, and Perea) to Jerusalem, which he dates in the interval of four months, between the Feast of Dedication and our Lord's last passover. Wieseler (*Chron. Synops.* p. 328) makes a somewhat different arrangement, according to which, Luke ix. 51-xiii. 21, relates to the period from Christ's journey from Galilee to the Feast of the Tabernacles, till after the Feast of Dedication (parallel to John vii. 10-x. 42). Luke xiii. 22-xvii. 10, relates to the interval between that time and our Lord's stay at Ephraim (parallel to John xi. 1-54); and Luke xvii. 11-xviii. 14, relates to the journey from Ephraim to Jerusalem, through Samaria, Galilee, and Perea" (Robinson's *Harmony*, English ed. p. 52). If the table of the Harmony of the Gospels given above is referred to [GOSPELS], it will be found that this great division of St. Luke (x. 17-xviii. 14) is inserted entire between John x. 21 and 22; not that this appeared certainly correct, but that there are no points of contact with the other Gospels to assist us in breaking it up. That this division contains partly or chiefly reminiscences of occurrences in Galilee prior to the Feast of Tabernacles, is untenable. A journey of some kind is implied in the course of it (see xiii. 22), and beyond this we shall hardly venture to go. It is quite possible, as Wieseler supposes, that part of it should be placed before, and part after the Feast of Dedication. Notwithstanding the uncertainty, it is as the history of this period of the Redeemer's career that the Gospel of St. Luke possesses its chief distinctive value for us. Some of the most striking parables, preserved only by this Evangelist, belong to this period. The parables of the good Samaritan, the prodigal son, the unjust steward, the rich man and Lazarus, and the Pharisee and publican, all

peculiar to this Gospel, belong to the present section. The instructive account of Mary and Martha, on which so many have taken a wrong view of Martha's conduct, reminds us that there are two ways of serving the truth, that of active exertion, and that of contemplation. The preference is given to Mary's meditation, because Martha's labour belonged to household cares, and was only indirectly religious. The miracle of the ten lepers belongs to this portion of the narrative. Besides these, scattered sayings that occur in St. Matthew are here repeated in a new connexion. Here too belongs the return of the seventy disciples, but we know not precisely where they rejoined the Lord (Luke x. 17-20). They were full of triumph, because they found even the devils subject to them through the weight of Christ's word. In anticipation of the victory which was now begun, against the powers of darkness, Jesus replies, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." He sought however to humble their triumphant spirit, so near akin to spiritual pride; "Notwithstanding, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven."

The account of the bringing of young children to Jesus unites again the three Evangelists. Here, as often, St. Mark gives the most minute account of what occurred. After the announcement that the disposition of little children was the most meet for the kingdom of God, "He took them up in His arms, put His hands upon them and blessed them." The childlike spirit, which in nothing depends upon its own knowledge but seeks to be taught, is in contrast with the haughty pharisaism with its boast of learning and wisdom; and Jesus tells them that the former is the passport to His kingdom (Matt. xix. 13-15; Mark x. 13-16; Luke xviii. 15-17).

The question of the ruler, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" was one conceived wholly in the spirit of Judaism. The man asked not how he should be delivered from sin, but how his will, already free to righteousness, might select the best and most meritorious line of conduct. The words, "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is God," were meant first to draw him down to a humbler view of his own state; the title *good* is easy to give, but hard to justify, except when applied to the One who is all good. Jesus by no means repudiates the title as applied to Himself, but only as applied on any other ground than that of a reference to His true divine nature. Then the Lord opened out to him all the moral law, which in its full and complete sense no man has observed; but the ruler answered, perhaps sincerely, that he had observed it all from his youth up. Duties however there might be which had not come within the range of his thoughts; and as the demand had reference to his own special case, our Lord gives the special advice to sell all his possessions and to give to the poor. Then for the first time did the man discover that his devotion to God and his yearning after the eternal life were not so perfect as he had thought; and he went away sorrowful, unable to bear this sacrifice. And Jesus told the disciples how hard it was for those who had riches to enter the kingdom. Peter, ever the most ready, now contrasts, with somewhat too much emphasis, the mode in which the disciples had left all for Him, with the conduct of this rich ruler. Our Lord, sparing him the rebuke which he might have expected, tells them that those who

have made any sacrifice shall have it richly repaid even in this life in the shape of a consolation and comfort, which even persecutions cannot take away (Mark); and shall have eternal life (Matt. xix. 16-30; Mark x. 17-31; Luke xviii. 18-30). Words of warning close the narrative, "Many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first," lest the disciples should be thinking too much of the sacrifices, not so very great, that they had made. And in St. Matthew only, the well-known parable of the labourers in the vineyard is added to illustrate the same lesson. Whatever else the parable may contain of reference to the calling of Jews and Gentiles, the first lesson Christ was to give was one of caution to the Apostles against thinking too much of their early calling and arduous labours. They would see many, who, in comparison with themselves, were as the labourers called at the eleventh hour, who should be accepted of God as well as they. But not merit, not self-sacrifice, but the pure love of God and His mere bounty, conferred salvation on either of them; "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own?" (Matt. xx. 1-16.)

On the way to Jerusalem through Perea, to the Feast of Dedication, Jesus again puts before the minds of the twelve what they are never now to forget, the sufferings that await Him. They "understood none of these things" (Luke), for they could not reconcile this foreboding of suffering with the signs and announcements of the coming of His kingdom (Matt. xx. 17-19; Mark x. 32-34; Luke xviii. 31-34). In consequence of this new, though dark, intimation of the coming of the kingdom, Salome, with her two sons, James and John, came to bespeak the two places of highest honour in the kingdom. Jesus tells them that they know not what they ask; that the places of honour in the kingdom shall be bestowed, not by Jesus in answer to a chance request, but upon those for whom they are prepared by the Father. As sin ever provokes sin, the ambition of the ten was now aroused, and they began to be much displeased with James and John. Jesus once more recalls the principle that the childlike disposition is that which He approves. "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: Even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many" (Matt. xx. 20-28; Mark x. 35-45).

The healing of the two blind men at Jericho is chiefly remarkable among the miracles from the difficulty which has arisen in harmonizing the accounts. Matthew speaks of two blind men, and of the occasion as the departure from Jericho; Mark of one, whom he names, and of their arrival at Jericho; and Luke agrees with him. This point has received much discussion; but the view of Lightfoot finds favour with many eminent expositors, that there were two blind men, and both were healed under similar circumstances, except that Bartimaeus was on one side of the city, and was healed by Jesus as He entered, and the other was healed on the other side as they departed (see Gresswell, *Diss.* ii. 2; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 332; Matt. xx. 29-34; Mark x. 46-52; Luke xviii. 35-43).

The calling of Zacchæus has more than a mere

personal interest. He was a publican, one of a class hated and despised by the Jews. But he was one who sought to serve God; he gave largely to the poor, and restored fourfold when he had injured any man. Justice and love were the law of his life. From such did Jesus wish to call His disciples, whether they were publicans or not. "This day is salvation come to this house, for that he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke ix. 1-10).

We have reached now the Feast of Dedication; but, as has been said, the exact place of the events in St. Luke about this part of the ministry has not been conclusively determined. After being present at the feast, Jesus returned to Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John had formerly baptised, and abode there. The place which the beginning of His ministry had consecrated, was now to be adorned with His presence as it drew towards its close, and the scene of John's activity was now to witness the presence of the Saviour whom he had so faithfully proclaimed (John x. 22-42). The Lord intended by this choice to recall to the minds of many the good which John had done them, and also, it may be, to prevent an undue exaltation of John in the minds of some who had heard him only. "Many," we read, "resorted to Him, and said John did no miracle: but all things that John spoke of this man were true. And many believed on Him there" (vers. 41, 42).

How long He remained here does not appear. It was probably for some weeks. The sore need of a family in Bethany, who were what men call the intimate friends of our Lord, called Him thence. Lazarus was sick, and his sisters sent word of it to Jesus, whose power they well knew. Jesus answered that the sickness was not unto death, but for the glory of God, and of the Son of God. This had reference to the miracle about to be wrought; even though he died, not his death but his restoration to life was the purpose of the sickness. But it was a trial to the faith of the sisters to find the words of their friend apparently falsified. Jesus abode for two days where He was, and then proposed to the disciples to return. The rage of the Jews against him filled the disciples with alarm; and Thomas, whose mind leant always to the desponding side, and saw nothing in the expedition but certain death to all of them, said, "Let us also go that we may die with Him." It was not till Lazarus had been four days in the grave that the Saviour appeared on the scene. The practical energy of Martha, and the retiring character of Mary, show themselves here, as once before. It was Martha who met Him, and addressed to Him words of sorrowful reproach. Jesus probed her faith deeply, and found that even in this extremity of sorrow it would not fail her. Mary now joined them, summoned by her sister; and she too reproached the Lord for the delay. Jesus does not resist the contagion of their sorrow, and as a Man He weeps true human tears by the side of the grave of a friend. But with the power of God he breaks the fetters of brass in which Lazarus was held by death, and at His word the man on whom corruption had already begun to do its work, came forth alive and whole (John xi. 1-45). It might seem difficult to account for the omission of this, perhaps the most signal of the miracles of Jesus, by the three synoptical evangelists. No doubt it was intentional, and the wish not to direct attention, and perhaps persecution, to Lazarus in his

lifetime may go far to account for it. But it stands well in the pages of John, whose privilege it has been to announce the highest truths connected with the divine nature of Jesus, and who is now also permitted to show him touched with sympathy for a sorrowing family with whom He lived in intimacy.

A miracle so public, for Bethany was close to Jerusalem, and the family of Lazarus well known to many people in the mother-city, could not escape the notice of the Sanhedrim. A meeting of this Council was called without loss of time, and the matter discussed, not without symptoms of alarm, for the members believed that a popular outbreak, with Jesus at its head, was impending, and that it would excite the jealousy of the Romans and lead to the taking away of their "place and nation." Caiaphas the high-priest gave it as his opinion that it was expedient for them that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation should not perish. The Evangelist adds that these words bore a prophetic meaning, of which the speaker was unconscious: "This spake he not of himself, but being high-priest that year he prophesied that Jesus should die for that nation." That a bad and worldly man may prophesy, the case of Balaam proves (Num. xxii.); and the Jews, as Schöttgen shows, believed that prophecy might also be unconscious. But the connexion of the gift of prophecy with the office of the high-priest offers a difficulty. It has been said that, though this gift is never in Scripture assigned to the high-priest as such, yet the popular belief at this time was that he did enjoy it. There is no proof, however, except this passage, of any such belief; and the Evangelist would not appeal to it except it were true, and if it were true, then the O. T. would contain some allusion to it. The endeavours to escape from the difficulty by changes of punctuation are not to be thought of. The meaning of the passage seems to be this:—The Jews were about to commit a crime, the real results of which they did not know, and God overruled the words of one of them to make him declare the reality of the transaction, but unconsciously; and as Caiaphas was the high-priest, the highest minister of God, and therefore the most conspicuous in the sin, it was natural to expect that he and not another would be the channel of the prophecy. The connexion between his office and the prophecy was not a necessary one; but if a prophecy was to be uttered by unwilling lips, it was natural that the high-priest, who offered for the people, should be the person compelled to utter it. The death of Jesus was now resolved on, and He fled to Ephraim for a few days, because his hour was not yet come (John xi. 45-57).

We now approach the final stage of the history, and every word and act tend towards the great act of suffering. The hatred of the Pharisees, now converted into a settled purpose of murder, the vile wickedness of Judas, and the utter fickleness of the people are all displayed before us. Each day is marked by its own events or instructions. Our Lord entered into Bethany on Friday the 8th of Nisan, the eve of the Sabbath, and remained over the Sabbath.

Saturday the 9th of Nisan (April 1st).—As He was at supper in the house of one Simon, surnamed "the leper," a relation of Lazarus, who was at table with Him, Mary, full of gratitude for the wonderful raising of her brother from the dead, took a vessel containing a quantity of pure ointment of spikenard,

and anointed the feet of Jesus, and wiped His feet with her hair, and anointed His head likewise. She thought not of the cost of the precious ointment, in an emotion of love which was willing to part with anything she possessed to do honour to so great a Guest, so mighty a Benefactor. Judas the traitor, and some of the disciples (Matt., Mark), who took their tone from him, began to murmur at the waste: "It might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and have been given to the poor." But Judas cared not for the poor; already he was meditating the sale of his Master's life, and all that he thought of was how he might lay hands on something more, beyond the price of blood. Jesus, however, who knew how true was the love which had dictated this sacrifice, silenced their censure. He opened out a meaning in the action which they had not sought there: "She is come aforehand to anoint My body to the burying."

Passion Week. Sunday the tenth day of Nisan (April 2nd).—The question of John the Baptist had no doubt often been repeated in the hearts of the expectant disciples:—"Art thou He that should come, or do we look for another?" All His conversations with them of late had been filled, not with visions of glory, but with forebodings of approaching death. The world thinks them deceived, and its mockery begins to exercise some influence even over them. They need some encouraging sign under influences so depressing, and this Jesus affords them in the triumphal entry into Jerusalem. If the narrative is carefully examined, it will be seen how remarkably the assertion of a kingly right is combined with the most scrupulous care not to excite the political jealousy of the Jewish powers. When He arrives at the Mount of Olives He commands two of His disciples to go into the village near at hand, where they would find an ass, and a colt tied with her. They were neither to buy nor hire them, and "if any man shall say aught unto you, ye shall say the Lord hath need of them, and straightway he will send them." With these beasts, impressed as for the service of a King, He was to enter into Jerusalem. The disciples spread upon the ass their ragged cloaks for Him to sit on. And the multitudes cried aloud before Him, in the words of the 118th Psalm, "Hosanna, Save now! blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." This Messianic psalm they applied to Him, from a belief, sincere for the moment, that he was the Messiah. It was a striking and to the Pharisees an alarming sight; but it only serves in the end to show the feeble hearts of the Jewish people. The same lips that cried Hosanna will before long be crying, Crucify Him, crucify Him! Meantime, however, all thoughts were carried back to the promises of a Messiah. The very act of riding in upon an ass revived an old prophecy of Zechariah (ix. 9). Words of prophecy out of a psalm sprang unconsciously to their lips. All the city was moved. Blind and lame came to the Temple when He arrived there and were healed. The august conspirators of the Sanhedrim were sore displeased. But all these demonstrations did not deceive the divine insight of Christ. He wept over the city that was hailing Him as its King, and said, "If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes" (Luke). He goes on to prophesy the destruction of the city, just as it afterwards came to pass. After working miracles in the Temple He returned to Bethany.

The 10th of Nisan was the day for the separation of the paschal lamb (Ex. xii. 3). Jesus, the Lamb of God, entered Jerusalem and the Temple on this day, and although none but He knew that He was the Paschal Lamb, the coincidence is not undesigned (Matt. xxi. 1-11, 14-17; Mark xi. 1-11; Luke xix. 29-44; John xii. 12-19).

Monday the 11th of Nisan (April 3rd).—The next day Jesus returned to Jerusalem, again to take advantage of the mood of the people to instruct them. On the way He approached one of the many fig-trees which grew in that quarter (Bethphage="house of figs"), and found that it was full of foliage, but without fruit. He said, "No man eat fruit of thee hereafter for ever!" and the fig-tree withered away. This was no doubt a work of destruction, and as such was unlike the usual tenor of His acts. But it is hard to understand the mind of those who stumble at the destruction of a tree which seems to have ceased to bear by the word of God the Son, yet are not offended at the famine or the pestilence wrought by God the Father. The right of the Son must rest on the same ground as that of the Father. And this was not a wanton destruction; it was a type and a warning. The barren fig-tree had already been made the subject of a parable (Luke xiii. 6), and here it is made a visible type of the destruction of the Jewish people. He had come to them seeking fruit, and now it was time to pronounce their doom as a nation—there should be no fruit on them for ever (Matt. xxi. 18, 19; Mark xi. 12-14). Proceeding now to the Temple, He cleared its court of the crowd of traders that gathered there. He had performed the same act at the beginning of His ministry, and now at the close He repeats it, for the house of prayer was as much a den of thieves as ever. With zeal for God's house His ministry began, with the same it ended (see p. 1051; Matt. xxi. 12, 13; Mark xi. 15-19; Luke xix. 45-48). In the evening He returned again to Bethany.

Tuesday the 12th of Nisan (April 4th).—On this the third day of Passion week Jesus went into Jerusalem as before, and visited the Temple. The Sanhedrim came to Him to call Him to account for the clearing of the Temple. "By what authority doest thou these things?" The Lord answered their question by another, which, when put to them in their capacity of a judge of spiritual things, and of the pretensions of prophets and teachers, was very hard either to answer or to pass in silence—what was their opinion of the baptism of John? If they replied that it was from heaven, their own conduct towards John would accuse them; if of men, then the people would not listen to them even when they denounced Jesus, because none doubted that John was a prophet. They refused to answer, and Jesus refused in like manner to answer them. In the parable of the Two Sons, given by Matthew, the Lord pronounces a strong condemnation on them for saying to God, "I go, Sir," but not going (Matt. xxi. 23-32; Mark xi. 27-33; Luke xx. 1-8). In the parable of the wicked husbandmen the history of the Jews is represented, who had stoned and killed the prophets, and were about to crown their wickedness by the death of the Son. In the parable of the wedding garment the destruction of the Jews, and the invitation to the Gentiles to the feast in their stead, are vividly represented (Matt. xxi. 33-46, xxii. 1-14; Mark xii. 1-12; Luke xx. 9-19).

Not content with their plans for His death, the different parties try to entangle Him in argument and to bring him into contempt. First come the Pharisees and Herodians, as if to ask Him to settle a dispute between them. "Is it lawful to give tribute to Caesar, or not?" The spirit of the answer of Christ lies here: that, since they had accepted Caesar's money, they had confessed his rule, and were bound to render to the civil power what they had confessed to be due to it, as they were to render to God and to His holy temple the offerings due to it. Next appeared the Sadducees, who denied a future state, and put before Him a contradiction which seemed to them to arise out of that doctrine. Seven brethren in succession married a wife (Deut. xxv. 5): whose wife should she be in a future state? The answer was easy to find. The law in question referred obviously to the present time: it would pass away in another state, and so would all such earthly relations, and all jealousies or disputes founded on them. Jesus now retorts the argument on the Sadducees. Appealing to the Pentateuch, because His hearers did not acknowledge the authority of the later books of the Bible, He recites the words, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," as used to Moses, and draws from them the argument that these men must then have been alive. Although the words would not at first sight suggest this inference, they really contain it; for the form of expression implies that He still exists and they still exist (Matt. xxii. 15-33; Mark xii. 13-27; Luke xx. 20-40). Fresh questions awaited Him, but His wisdom never failed to give the appropriate answer. And then he uttered to all the people that terrible denunciation of woe to the Pharisees with which we are familiar (Matt. xxiii. 1-39). If we compare it with our Lord's account of His own position in reference to the Law, in the Sermon on the Mount, we see that the principles there laid down are everywhere violated by the Pharisees. Their almsgiving was ostentation; their distinctions about oaths led to falsehood and profaneness; they were exact about the small observances and neglected the weightier ones of the Law; they adorned the tombs of the prophets, saying that if they had lived in the time of their fathers they would not have slain them; and yet they were about to fill up the measure of their fathers' wickedness by slaying the greatest of the prophets, and persecuting and slaying His followers. After an indignant denunciation of the hypocrites who, with a show of religion, had thus contrived to stifle the true spirit of religion and were in reality its chief persecutors, He apostrophizes Jerusalem in words full of compassion, yet carrying with them a sentence of death: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth, till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Matt. xxiii.).

Another great discourse belongs to this day which, more than any other, presents Jesus as the great Prophet of His people. On leaving the Temple His disciples drew attention to the beauty of its structure, its "goodly stones and gifts,"

their remarks probably arising from the threats of destruction which had so lately been uttered by Jesus. Their Master answered that not one stone of the noble pile should be left upon another. When they reached the Mount of Olives the disciples, or rather the first four (Mark), speaking for the rest, asked Him when this destruction should be accomplished. To understand the answer it must be borne in mind that Jesus warned them that He was *not* giving them an historical account such as would enable them to anticipate the events. "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." Exact data of time are to be purposely withheld from them. Accordingly, two events, analogous in character but widely sundered by time, are so treated in the prophecy that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. The destruction of Jerusalem and the day of judgment—the national and the universal days of account—are spoken of together or alternately without hint of the great interval of time that separates them. Thus it may seem that a most important fact is omitted; but the highest work of prophecy is not to fix times and seasons, but to disclose the divine significance of events. What was most important to them to know was that the destruction of Jerusalem followed upon the probation and rejection of her people, and that the crucifixion and that destruction were connected as cause and effect (Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi.). The conclusion which Jesus drew from his own awful warning was, that they were not to attempt to fix the date of his return: "Therefore be ye also ready, for in such an hour as ye think not the Son of Man cometh." The lesson of the parable of the Ten Virgins is the same; the Christian soul is to be ever in a state of vigilance and preparation (Matt. xxiv. 44, xxv. 13). And the parable of the Talents, here repeated in a modified form, teaches how precious to souls are the uses of time (xxv. 14-30). In concluding this momentous discourse, our Lord puts aside the destruction of Jerusalem, and displays to our eyes the picture of the final judgment. There will He Himself be present, and will separate all the vast family of mankind into two classes, and shall appraise the works of each class as works done to Himself, present in the world though invisible; and men shall see, some with terror and some with joy, that their life here was spent either for Him or against Him, and that the good which lay before them to do was provided for them by Him, and not by chance, and the reward and punishment shall be apportioned to each (Matt. xxv. 31-46).

With these weighty words ends the third day; and whether we consider the importance of His recorded teaching, or the amount of opposition and of sorrow presented to His mind, it was one of the greatest days of all His earthly ministrations. The general reflections of John (xii. 37-50), which contain a retrospect of His ministry and of the strange reception of Him by His people, may well be read as if they came in here.

Wednesday the 13th of Nisim (April 5th).— This day was passed in retirement with the Apostles. Satan had put it into the mind of one of them to betray Him; and Judas Iscariot made a covenant to betray Him to the chief priests for thirty pieces of silver. The character of Judas, and the degrees by which he reached the abyss of guilt in which he was at last destroyed, deserve

much attention. There is no reason to doubt that when he was chosen by Jesus he possessed, like the rest, the capacity of being saved, and was endued with gifts which might have made him an able minister of the New Testament. But the innate worldliness and covetousness were not purged out from him. His practical talents made him a kind of steward of the slender resources of that society, and no doubt he conceived the wish to use the same gifts on a larger field, which the realization of "the kingdom of Heaven" would open out before him. These practical gifts were his ruin. Between him and the rest there could be no real harmony. His motives were worldly, and theirs were not. They loved the Saviour more as they knew Him better. Judas, living under the constant tacit rebuke of a most holy example, grew to hate the Lord; for nothing, perhaps, more strongly draws out evil instincts than the enforced contact with goodness. And when he knew that his Master did not trust him, was not deceived by him, his hatred grew more intense. But this did not break out into overt act until Jesus began to foretell His own crucifixion and death. If these were to happen, all his hopes that he had built on following the Lord would be dashed down. If they should crucify the Master they would not spare the servants; and, in place of a heavenly kingdom, he would find contempt, persecution, and probably death. It was high time, therefore, to treat with the powers that seemed most likely to prevail in the end; and he opened a negotiation with the high-priests in secret, in order that, if his Master were to fall, he might be the instrument, and so make friends among the triumphant persecutors. And yet, strange contradiction, he did not wholly cease to believe in Jesus: possibly he thought that he would so act that he might be safe either way. If Jesus was the Prophet and Mighty One that he had once thought, then the attempt to take Him might force Him to put forth all His resources and to assume the kingdom to which He laid claim, and then the agent in the treason, even if discovered, might plead that he foresaw the result: if He were unable to save Himself and His disciples, then it were well for Judas to betake himself to those who were stronger. The bribe of money, not very considerable, could not have been the chief motive; but as two vicious appetites could be gratified instead of one, the thirty pieces of silver became a part of the temptation. The treason was successful, and the money paid; but not one moment's pleasure did those silver pieces purchase for their wretched possessor, not for a moment did he reap any fruit from his detestable guilt. After the crucifixion, the avenging belief that Jesus was what He professed to be rushed back in full force upon his mind. He went to those who had hired him; they derided his remorse. He cast away the accursed silver pieces, defiled with the "innocent blood" of the Son of God, and went and hanged himself (Matt. xxvi. 14-16; Mark xiv. 10-11; Luke xxii. 1-6).

Thursday the 14th of Nisan (April 6th).—On "the first day of unleavened bread," when the Jews were wont to put away all leaven out of their houses (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. on Mark xiv. 12*), the disciples asked their Master where they were to eat the Passover. He directed Peter and John to go into Jerusalem, and to follow a man whom they

should see bearing a pitcher of water, and to demand of him, in their Master's name, the use of the guest-chamber in his house for this purpose. All happened as Jesus had told them, and in the evening they assembled to celebrate, for the last time, the paschal meal. The sequence of the events is not quite clear from a comparison of the Evangelists; but the difficulty arises with St. Luke, and there is external evidence that he is not following the chronological order (Wieseler, *Chron. Syn. p. 399*). The order seems to be as follows. When they had taken their places at table and the supper had begun, Jesus gave them the first cup to divide amongst themselves (Luke). It was customary to drink at the paschal supper four cups of wine mixed with water; and this answered to the first of them. There now arose a contention among the disciples which of them should be the greatest; perhaps in connexion with the places which they had taken at this feast (Luke). After a solemn warning against pride and ambition Jesus performed an act which, as one of the last of His life, must ever have been remembered by the witnesses as a great lesson of humility. He rose from the table, poured water into a basin, girded himself with a towel, and proceeded to wash the disciples' feet (John). It was an office for slaves to perform, and from Him, knowing, as He did, "that the Father had given all things into His hand, and that He was come from God and went to God," it was an unspeakable condescension. But His love for them was infinite, and if there were any way to teach them the humility which as yet they had not learned, He would not fail to adopt it. Peter, with his usual readiness, was the first to refuse to accept such menial service—"Lord, dost thou wash my feet?" When he was told that this act was significant of the greater act of humiliation by which Jesus saved His disciples and united them to Himself, his scruples vanished. After all had been washed, the Saviour explained to them the meaning of what He had done. "If I, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." But this act was only the outward symbol of far greater sacrifices for them than they could as yet understand. It was a small matter to wash their feet; it was a great one to come down from the glories of heaven to save them. Later the apostle Paul put this same lesson of humility into another form, and rested it upon deeper grounds. "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God; but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men, and being found in fashion as a man He humbled Himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross" (Phil. ii. 5-8; Matt. xxvi. 17-20; Mark xiv. 12-17; Luke xxii. 7-30; John xiii. 1-20).

From this act of love it does not seem that even the traitor Judas was excluded. But his treason was thoroughly known; and now Jesus denounced it. One of them should betray Him. They were all sorrowful at this, and each asked "Is it I?" and even Judas asked and received an affirmative answer (Matt.), but probably in an undertone, for when Jesus said "That thou doest do quickly," none of the rest understood. The traitor having gone straight to his wicked object, the end of the

Saviour's ministry seemed already at hand. "Now is the Son of Man glorified, and God is glorified in Him." He gave them the new commandment, to love one another, as though it were a last bequest to them. To love was not a new thing, it was enjoined in the old Law; but to be distinguished for a special Christian love and mutual devotion was what He would have, and this was the new element in the commandment. Founded by a great act of love, the Church was to be marked by love (Matt. xxvi. 21-25; Mark xiv. 18-21; Luke xxii. 21-23; John xiii. 21-35).

Towards the close of the meal Jesus instituted the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He took bread, and gave thanks and brake it, and gave to His disciples, saying, "This is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me." He then took the cup, which corresponded to the third cup in the usual course of the paschal supper, and after giving thanks, He gave it to them, saying, "This is my blood of the new testament [covenant] which is shed for many." It was a memorial of His passion and of this last supper that preceded it, and in dwelling on His passion in this sacrament, in true faith, all believers draw nearer to the cross of His sufferings and taste more strongly the sweetness of His love and the efficacy of His atoning death (Matt. xxvi. 26-29; Mark xiv. 22-25; Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 23-25).

The denial of Peter is now foretold, and to no one would such an announcement be more incredible than to Peter himself. "Lord, why cannot I follow thee now? I will lay down my life for thy sake." The zeal was sincere, and as such did the Lord regard it; but here, as elsewhere, Peter did not count the cost. By and bye, when the Holy Spirit has come down to give them a strength not their own, Peter and the rest of the disciples will be bold to resist persecution, even to the death. It needs strong love and deep insight to view such an act as this denial with sorrow and not with indignation (Matt. xxvi. 31-35; Mark xiv. 27-31; Luke xxii. 31-38; John xiii. 36-38).

That great final discourse, which John alone has recorded, is now delivered. Although in the middle of it there is a mention of departure (John xiv. 31), this perhaps only implies that they prepared to go; and then the whole discourse was delivered in the house before they proceeded to Gethsemane. Of the contents of this discourse, which is the voice of the Priest in the holy of holies, something has been said already (p. 1050; John xiv. xvii.).

Friday the 15th of Nisan (April 7), including part of the eve of it.—"When they had sung a hymn," which perhaps means, when they had sung the second part of the Hallel, or song of praise, which consisted of Psalms cxv.-cxviii., the former part (Psalms cxiii.-cxiv.) having been sung at an earlier part of the supper, they went out into the Mount of Olives. They came to a place called Gethsemane (oil-press), and it is probable that the place now pointed out to travellers is the real scene of that which follows, and even that its huge olive-trees are the legitimate successors of those which were there when Jesus visited it. A moment of terrible agony is approaching, of which all the apostles need not be spectators, for He thinks of them, and wishes to spare them this addition to their sorrows. So He takes only His three proved companions, Peter, James, and John, and passes with them farther into the garden, leaving the rest seated, probably near the entrance. No pen can attempt to describe

what passed that night in that secluded spot. He tells them "my soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death: tarry ye here and watch with me," and then leaving even the three He goes further, and in solitude wrestles with an inconceivable trial. The words of Mark are still more expressive—"He began to be sore amazed, and to be very heavy" (ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι καὶ ἄδημονεῖν, xiv. 33). The former word means that he was struck with a great dread; not from the fear of physical suffering, however excruciating, we may well believe, but from the contact with the sins of the world, of which, in some inconceivable way, He here felt the bitterness and the weight. He did not merely contemplate them, but bear and feel them. It is impossible to explain this scene in Gethsemane in any other way. If it were merely the fear of the terrors of death that overcame Him, then the martyr Stephen and many another would surpass Him in constancy. But when He says, "Abba, Father, all things are possible unto Thee; take away this cup from me: nevertheless not what I will but what thou wilt" (Mark), the cup was filled with a far bitterer potion than death; it was flavoured with the poison of the sins of all mankind against its God. Whilst the sinless Son is thus carried two ways by the present horror and the strong determination to do the Father's will, the disciples have sunk to sleep. It was in search of consolation that He came back to them. The disciple who had been so ready to ask "Why cannot I follow thee now?" must hear another question, that rebukes his former confidence—"Couldst not thou watch one hour?" A second time He departs and wrestles in prayer with the Father; but although the words He utters are almost the same (Mark says "the same"), He no longer asks that the cup may pass away from Him—"If this cup may not pass away from me except I drink it, Thy will be done" (Matt.). A second time He returns and finds them sleeping. The same scene is repeated yet a third time; and then all is concluded. Henceforth they may sleep and take their rest; never more shall they be asked to watch one hour with Jesus, for His ministry in the flesh is at an end. "The hour is at hand, and the Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners" (Matt.). The prayer of Jesus in this place has always been regarded, and with reason, as of great weight against the monothelite heresy. It expresses the natural shrinking of the human will from a horror which the divine nature has admitted into it, yet without sin. Never does He say, "I will flee;" He says, "If it be possible;" and leaves that to the decision of the Father. That horror and dread arose from the spectacle of human sin; from the bearing the weight and guilt of human sin as about to make atonement for it; and from a conflict with the powers of darkness. Thus this scene is in complete contrast to the Transfiguration. The same companions witnessed both; but there there was peace, and glory, and honour, for the sinless Son of God; here fear and conflict: there God bore testimony to Him; here Satan for the last time tempted Him. (On the account of the Agony see Krummacher, *Der Leidende Christus*, p. 206; Matt. xxvi. 36-46; Mark xiv. 32-42; Luke xxii. 39-46; John xviii. 1.)

Judas now appeared to complete his work. In the doubtful light of torches, a kiss from him was the sign to the officers whom they should take. Peter, whose name is first given in John's Gospel, drew a sword and smote a servant of the high-

priest, and cut off his ear; but his Lord refused such succour, and healed the wounded man. He treated the seizure as a step in the fulfilment of the prophecies about Him, and resisted it not. All the disciples forsook Him and fled (Matt. xxvi. 47-56; Mark xiv. 43-52; Luke xxii. 47-53; John xviii. 2-12).

There is some difficulty in arranging the events that immediately follow, so as to embrace all the four accounts.—The data will be found in the Commentary of Olshausen, in Wieseler (*Chron. Syn.* p. 401, sqq.), and in Greswell's *Dissertations* (iii. 200, sqq.). On the capture of Jesus He was first taken to the house of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas (see p. 1041) the high-priest. It has been argued that as Annas is called, conjointly with Caiaphas, the high-priest, he must have held some actual office in connexion with the priesthood, and Lightfoot and others suppose that he was the vicar or deputy of the high-priest, and Selden that he was president of the Council of the Sanhedrim; but this is uncertain.* It might appear from the course of John's narrative that the examination of our Lord, and the first denial of Peter, took place in the house of Annas (John xviii. 13, 14). But the 24th verse is retrospective—"Now Annas had sent Him bound unto Caiaphas the high-priest" (ἀπέστειλε, aorist for pluperfect, see Winer's *Grammar*); and probably all that occurred after verse 14 took place not at the house of Annas, but at that of Caiaphas. It is not likely that Peter gained admittance to two houses in which two separate judicial examinations took place with which he had nothing ostensibly to do, and this would be forced on us if we assumed that John described what took place before Annas, and the other Evangelists what took place before Caiaphas. The house of the high-priest consisted probably, like other Eastern houses, of an open central court with chambers round it. Into this court a gate admitted them, at which a woman stood to open. Peter, who had fled like the rest from the side of Jesus, followed afar off with another disciple, probably John, and the latter procured him admittance into the court of the high-priest's house. As he passed in, the lamp of the portress threw its light on his face, and she took note of him; and afterwards, at the fire which had been lighted, she put the question to him, "Art not thou also one of this man's disciples?" (John.) All the zeal and boldness of Peter seems to have deserted him. This was indeed a time of great spiritual weakness and depression, and the power of darkness had gained an influence over the Apostle's mind. He had come as in secret; he is determined so to remain, and he denies his Master! Feeling now the danger of his situation, he went out into the porch, and there some one, or, looking at all the accounts, probably several persons, asked him the question a second time, and he denied more strongly. About an hour after, when he had returned into the court, the same question was put to him a third time, with the same result. Then the cock crew; and Jesus, who was within sight, probably in some open room communicating with the court, "turned and looked upon Peter. And Peter remembered the word of the Lord, how He had said unto him, Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny Me thrice. And Peter went out and wept bitterly"

* Mr. Greswell sees no uncertainty; and asserts as a fact that he was the high-priest, vicar, and vice-president of the Sanhedrim (p. 200).

(Luke). Let no man who cannot fathom the *alter perplexi*; and distress of such a time presume to judge the zealous disciple hardly. He trusted too much to his strength; he did not enter into the full meaning of the words, "Watch and pray lest ye enter into temptation." Self-confidence betrayed him into a great sin; and the most merciful Lord restored him after it. "Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall" (1 Cor. x. 12; Matt. xxvi. 57, 58, 69-75; Mark xiv. 53, 54, 66-72; Luke xxii. 54-62; John xviii. 13-18, 24-27).

The first interrogatory to which our Lord was subject (John xviii. 19-24) was addressed to Him by Caiaphas (Annas?, Olshausen, Wieseler), probably before the Sanhedrim had time to assemble. It was the questioning of an inquisitive person who had an important criminal in his presence, rather than a formal examination. The Lord's refusal to answer is thus explained and justified. When the more regular proceedings begin He is ready to answer. A servant of the high-priest, knowing that he should thereby please his master, smote the cheek of the Son of God with the palm of his hand. But this was only the beginning of horrors. At the dawn of day the Sanhedrim, summoned by the high-priest in the course of the night, assembled, and brought their band of false witnesses, whom they must have had ready before. These gave their testimony (see Psalm xxvii. 12), but even before this unjust tribunal it could not stand; it was so full of contradictions. At last two false witnesses came, and their testimony was very like the truth. They deposed that He had said, "I will destroy this temple, that is made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands" (Mark xiv. 58). The perversion is slight but important; for Jesus did not say that *He* would destroy (see John ii. 19), which was just the point that would irritate the Jews. Even these two fell into contradictions. The high-priest now with a solemn adjuration asks Him whether He is the Christ the Son of God. He answers that He is, and foretells His return in glory and power at the last day. This is enough for their purpose. They pronounce Him guilty of a crime for which death should be the punishment. It appears that the Council was now suspended or broken up; for Jesus is delivered over to the brutal violence of the people, which could not have occurred whilst the supreme court of the Jews was sitting. The prophets had foretold this violence (Is. i. 6), and also the meekness with which it would be borne (Is. liii. 7). And yet this "lamb led to the slaughter" knew that it was He that should judge the world, including every one of His persecutors. The Sanhedrim had been within the range of its duties in taking cognizance of all who claimed to be prophets. If the question put to Jesus had been merely, Art Thou the Messiah? this body should have gone into the question of His right to the title, and decided upon the evidence. But the question was really twofold, "Art Thou the Christ, and in that name dost Thou also call Thyself the Son of God?" There was no blasphemy in claiming the former name, but there was in assuming the latter. Hence the proceedings were cut short. They had closed their eyes to the evidence, accessible to all, of the miracles of Jesus, that He was indeed the Son of God, and without these they were not likely to believe that He could claim a title belonging to no other among the

children of men (John xviii. 19-24; Luke xxii. 63-71; Matt. xxvi. 59-68; Mark xiv. 55-65).

Although they had pronounced Jesus to be guilty of death, the Sanhedrim possessed no power to carry out such a sentence (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 6). So as soon as it was day they took Him to Pilate, the Roman procurator. The hall of judgment, or praetorium, was probably a part of the tower of Antonia near the Temple, where the Roman garrison was. Pilate hearing that Jesus was an offender under their law, was about to give them leave to treat him accordingly; and this would have made it quite safe to execute Him. But the council, wishing to shift the responsibility from themselves, from a fear of some reaction amongst the people in favour of the Lord, such as they had seen on the first day of that week, said that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death; and having condemned Jesus for blasphemy, they now strove to have Him condemned by Pilate for a political crime, for calling Himself the King of the Jews. But the Jewish punishment was stoning; whilst crucifixion was a Roman punishment, inflicted occasionally on those who were not Roman citizens; and thus it came about that the Lord's saying as to the mode of His death was fulfilled (Matt. xx. 19, with John xii. 32, 33). From the first Jesus found favour in the eyes of Pilate; His answer that His kingdom was not of this world, and therefore could not menace the Roman rule, was accepted, and Pilate pronounced that he found no fault in Him. Not so easily were the Jews to be cheated of their prey. They heaped up accusations against Him as a disturber of the public peace (Luke xxiii. 5). Pilate was no match for their vehemence. Finding that Jesus was a Galilean, he sent Him to Herod to be dealt with; but Herod, after cruel mockery and persecution, sent Him back to Pilate. Now commenced the fearful struggle between the Roman procurator, a weak as well as cruel man, and the Jews. Pilate was detested by the Jews as cruel, treacherous, and oppressive. Other records of his life do not represent him merely as the weakling that he appears here. He had violated their national prejudices, and had used the knives of assassins to avert the consequences. But the Jews knew the weak point in his breastplate. He was the merely worldly and professional statesman, to whom the favour of the Emperor was life itself, and the only evil of life a downfall from that favour. It was their policy therefore to threaten to denounce him to Caesar for lack of zeal in suppressing a rebellion, the leader of which was aiming at a crown. In his way Pilate believed in Christ; this the greatest crime of a stained life was that with which his own will had the least to do. But he did not believe, so as to make him risk delation to his Master and all its possible consequences. He yielded to the stronger purpose of the Jews, and suffered Jesus to be put to death. Not many years after, the consequences which he had stained his soul to avert came upon him. He was accused and banished, and like Judas, the other great accomplice in this crime of the Jews, put an end to his own life [see PILATE]. The well-known incidents of the second interview are soon recalled. After the examination by Herod, and the return of Jesus, Pilate proposed to release Him, as it was usual on the feast-day to release a prisoner to the Jews out of grace. Pilate knew well that the priests and rulers would object to this; but it was a covert appeal to the people, also present, with

whom Jesus had so lately been in favour. The multitude, persuaded by the priests, preferred another prisoner, called Barabbas. In the meantime the wife of Pilate sent a warning to Pilate to have nothing to do with the death of "that just man," as she had been troubled in a dream on account of Him. Obligated, as he thought, to yield to the clamours of the people, he took water and washed his hands before them, and adopting the phrase of his wife, which perhaps represented the opinion of both of them formed before this time, he said, "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it." The people imprecated on their own heads and those of their children the blood of Him whose doom was thus sealed.

Pilate released unto them Barabbas "that for sedition and murder was cast into prison whom they had desired" (comp. Acts iii. 14). This was no unimportant element in their crime. The choice was offered them between one who had broken the laws of God and man, and One who had given His whole life up to the doing good and speaking truth amongst them. They condemned the latter to death, and were eager for the deliverance of the former. "And in fact their demanding the acquittal of a murderer is but the parallel to their requiring the death of an innocent person, as St. Ambrose observes:—for it is but the very law of iniquity, that they which hate innocence should love crime. They rejected therefore the Prince of Heaven, and chose a robber and a murderer, and an insurrectionist, and they received the object of their choice; so was it given them, for insurrections and murders did not fail them till the last, when their city was destroyed in the midst of murders and insurrections, which they now demanded of the Roman governor" (Williams on the Passion, p. 215).

Now came the scourging, and the blows and insults of the soldiers, who, uttering truth when they thought they were only reviling, crowned Him and addressed Him as King of the Jews. According to John, Pilate now made one more effort for His release. He thought that the scourging might appease their rage, he saw the frame of Jesus bowed and withered with all that it had gone through; and, hoping that this moving sight might inspire them with the same pity that he felt himself, he brought the Saviour forth again to them, and said, "Behold the Man!" Not even so was their violence assuaged. He had made Himself the Son of God, and must die. He still sought to release Jesus: but the last argument, which had been in the minds of both sides all along, was now openly applied to him: "If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend." This saying, which had not been uttered till the vehemence of rage overcame their decent respect for Pilate's position, decided the question. He delivered Jesus to be crucified (Matt. xxvii. 15-30; Mark xv. 6-19; Luke xxiii. 17-25; John xviii. 39, 40, xix. 1-16). John mentions that this occurred about the sixth hour, whereas the crucifixion, according to Mark, was accomplished at the third hour; but there is every reason to think, with Greswell and Wieseler, that John reckons from midnight, and that this took place at six in the morning, whilst in Mark the Jewish reckoning from six in the morning is followed, so that the crucifixion took place at nine o'clock, the intervening time having been spent in preparations.

Difficult, but not insuperable, chronological ques-

tions arise in connexion with (a) John xiii. 1, "before the feast of the passover." (b) John xviii. 28, "and they themselves went not into the judgment-hall lest they should be defiled, but that they might eat the passover," and (c) John xix. 14, "And it was the preparation of the passover about the sixth hour," in all of which the account of John seems dissonant with that of the other Evangelists. These passages are discussed in the various commentaries, but nowhere more fully than in a paper by Dr. Robinson (*Bibliotheca Sacra*. 1845, p. 405), reproduced in his (English) *Harmony* in an abridged form.

One Person alone has been calm amidst the excitements of that night of horrors. On Him is now laid the weight of His cross, or at least of the transverse beam of it; and, with this pressing Him down, they proceed out of the city to Golgotha or Calvary, a place the site of which is now uncertain. As He began to droop, His persecutors, unwilling to defile themselves with the accursed burden, lay hold of Simon of Cyrene and compel him to carry the cross after Jesus. Amongst the great multitude that followed, were several women, who bewailed and lamented Him. He bade them not to weep for Him, but for the widespread destruction of their nation which should be the punishment for His death (Luke). After offering Him wine and myrrh, they crucified Him between two thieves. Nothing was wanting to His humiliation; a thief had been preferred before Him, and two thieves share His punishment. The soldiers divided His garments and cast lots for them (see Psalm xxii. 18). Pilate set over Him in three languages the inscription "Jesus, the King of the Jews." The chief-priests took exception to this that it did not denounce Him as falsely calling Himself by that name, but Pilate refused to alter it. The passers-by and the Roman soldiers would not let even the minutes of deadly agony pass in peace; they reviled and mocked Him. One of the two thieves underwent a change of heart even on the cross: he reviled at first (Matt.); and then, at the sight of the constancy of Jesus, repented (Luke) (Matt. xxvii.; Mark xv.; Luke xxiii.; John xix.).

In the depths of His bodily suffering, Jesus calmly commended to John (?), who stood near, the care of Mary his mother. "Behold thy son! behold thy mother." From the sixth hour to the ninth there was darkness over the whole land. At the ninth hour (3 P.M.) Jesus uttered with a loud voice the opening words of the 22nd Psalm, all the inspired words of which referred to the suffering Messiah. One of those present dipped a sponge in the common sour wine of the soldiers and put it on a reed to moisten the sufferer's lips. Again He cried with a loud voice, "It is finished" (John), "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke); and gave up the ghost. His words upon the cross had all of them shown how truly He possessed His soul in patience even to the end of the sacrifice He was making: "Father, forgive them!" was a prayer for His enemies. "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise," was a merciful acceptance of the offer of a penitent heart. "Woman, behold thy son," was a sign of loving consideration, even at the last, for those He had always loved. "Why hast Thou forsaken me?" expressed the fear and the need of God. "I thirst," the only word that related to Himself, was uttered because it was

prophesied that they were to give Him vinegar to drink. "It is finished," expresses the completion of that work which, when He was twelve years old, had been present to His mind, and never absent since; and "Into Thy hands I commend My spirit," was the last utterance of His resignation of Himself to what was laid upon Him (Matt. xxvii. 31-56; Mark xv. 20-41; Luke xxiii. 33-49; John xix. 17-30).

On the death of Jesus the veil which covered the most Holy Places of the Temple, the place of the more especial presence of Jehovah, was rent in twain, a symbol that we may now have "boldness to enter into the holiest by the blood of Jesus by a new and living way which He hath consecrated for us, through the veil, that is to say, through His flesh" (Heb. x. 19, 20). The priesthood of Christ superseded the priesthood of the law. There was a great earthquake. Many who were dead rose from their graves, although they returned to the dust again after this great token of Christ's quickening power had been given to many (Matt.); they were "saints" that slept—probably those who had most earnestly longed for the salvation of Christ were the first to taste the fruits of His conquest of death. The centurion who kept guard, witnessing what had taken place, came to the same conclusion as Pilate and his wife, "Certainly this was a righteous man;" he went beyond them, "Truly this man was the Son of God" (Mark). Even the people who had joined in the mocking and reviling were overcome by the wonders of His death, and "smote their breasts and returned" (Luke xxiii. 48). The Jews, very zealous for the Sabbath in the midst of their murderous work, begged Pilate that he would put an end to the punishment by breaking the legs of the criminals (Lactant. iv. 26) that they might be taken down and buried before the Sabbath, for which they were preparing (Deut. xxi. 23; Joseph., *B. J.* iv. 5, § 2). Those who were to execute this duty found that Jesus was dead and the thieves still living; so they performed this work on the latter only, that a bone of Him might not be broken (Ex. xii. 46; Psalm xxiv. 20). The death of the Lord before the others was, no doubt, partly the consequence of the previous mental suffering which He had undergone, and partly because His will to die lessened the natural resistance of the frame to dissolution. Some seek for a "mysterious cause" of it, something out of the course of nature; but we must beware of such theories as would do away with the reality of the death, as a punishment inflicted by the hands of men. Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Council but a secret disciple of Jesus, came to Pilate to beg the body of Jesus, that he might bury it. Nicodemus assisted in this work of love, and they anointed the body and laid it in Joseph's new tomb (Matt. xxvii. 50-61; Mark xv. 37-47; Luke xxiii. 46-56; John xix. 30-42).

Saturday the 16th of Nisan (April 8th).—Love having done its part, hatred did its part also. The chief priests and Pharisees, with Pilate's permission, set a watch over the tomb, "lest His disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say unto the people He is risen from the dead" (Matt. xxvii. 62-66).

Sunday the 17th of Nisan (April 9th).—The Sabbath ended at six on the evening of Nisan 16th. Early the next morning the resurrection of Jesus took place. Although He had lain in the grave for

about thirty-six or forty hours, yet these formed part of three days, and thus, by a mode of speaking not unusual to the Jews (Josephus frequently reckons years in this manner, the two extreme portions of a year reckoning as two years), the time of the dominion of death over Him is spoken of as three days. The order of the events that follow is somewhat difficult to harmonise; for each Evangelist selects the facts which belong to his purpose.^b The exact hour of the resurrection is not mentioned by any of the Evangelists. But from Mark xvi. 2 and 9 we infer that it was not long before the coming of the women; and from the time at which the guards went into the city to give the alarm the same inference arises (Matt. xxviii. 11). Of the great mystery itself, the resumption of life by Him who was truly dead, we see but little. "There was a great earthquake, for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow; and for fear of him the keepers did shake, and became as dead men" (Matt.). The women, who had stood by the cross of Jesus, had prepared spices on the evening before, perhaps to complete the embalming of our Lord's body, already performed in haste by Joseph and Nicodemus. They came very early on the first day of the week to the sepulchre. The names of the women are differently put by the several Evangelists, but with no real discrepancy. Matthew mentions the two Marys; Mark adds Salome to these two; Luke has the two Marys, Joanna, and others with them; and John mentions Mary Magdalene only. In thus citing such names as seemed good to him, each Evangelist was no doubt guided by some reason. John, from the especial share which Mary Magdalene took in the testimony to the fact of the resurrection, mentions her only. The women discuss with one another who should roll away the stone, that they might do their pious office on the body. But when they arrive they find the stone rolled away, and Jesus no longer in the Sepulchre. He had risen from the dead. Mary Magdalene at this point goes back in haste; and at once, believing that the body has been removed by men, tells Peter and John that the Lord has been taken away. The other women, however, go into the Sepulchre, and they see an angel (Matt., Mark), or two angels (Luke), in bright apparel, who declare to them that the Lord is risen, and will go before the disciples into Galilee. The two angels, mentioned by St. Luke, are probably two separate appearances to different members of the group; for he alone mentions an indefinite number of women. They now leave the sepulchre, and go in haste to make known the news to the Apostles. As they were going, "Jesus met them, saying, All hail. And they came and held Him by the feet, and worshipped Him. Then said Jesus unto them, Be not afraid; go tell My brethren that they go into Galilee, and there shall they see Me." The eleven do not believe the account when they receive it. In the meantime Peter and John came to the Sepulchre. They ran, in their eagerness, and John arrived first and looked in; Peter afterwards came up, and it is characteristic that the awe which had prevented the other disciple from going in appears to have been

unfelt by Peter, who entered at once, and found the grave-clothes lying, but not Him who had worn them. This fact must have suggested that the removal was not the work of human hands. They then returned, wondering at what they had seen. Mary Magdalene, however, remained weeping at the tomb, and she too saw the two angels in the tomb, though Peter and John did not. They address her, and she answers, still, however, without any suspicion that the Lord is risen. As she turns away she sees Jesus, but in the tumult of her feelings does not even recognise Him at His first address. But He calls her by name, and then she joyfully recognises her Master. He says, "Touch Me not, for I am not yet ascended to My Father: but go to My brethren, and say unto them, I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and to My God and your God." The meaning of the prohibition to touch Him must be sought in the state of mind of Mary, since Thomas, for whom it was desirable as an evidence of the identity of Jesus, was permitted to touch Him. Hitherto she had not realized the mystery of the Resurrection. She saw the Lord, and would have touched His hand or His garment in her joy. Our Lord's answer means, "Death has now set a gulf between us. Touch not, as you once might have done, this body, which is now glorified by its conquest over death, for with this body I ascend to the Father" (so Euthymius, Theophylact, and others). Space has been wanting to discuss the difficulties of arrangement that attach to this part of the narrative. The remainder of the appearances present less matter for dispute; in enumerating them the important passage in 1 Cor. xv. must be brought in. The third appearance of our Lord was to Peter (Luke, Paul); the fourth to the two disciples going to Emmaus in the evening (Mark, Luke); the fifth in the same evening to the eleven as they sat at meat (Mark, Luke, John). All of these occurred on the first day of the week, the very day of the Resurrection. Exactly a week after He appeared to the Apostles, and gave Thomas a convincing proof of His Resurrection (John); this was the sixth appearance. The seventh was in Galilee, where seven of the Apostles were assembled, some of them probably about to return to their old trade of fishing (John). The eighth was to the eleven (Matt.), and probably to five hundred brethren assembled with them (Paul) on a mountain in Galilee. The ninth was to James (Paul); and the last to the Apostles at Jerusalem just before the Ascension (Acts).

Whether this be the exact enumeration, whether a single appearance may have been quoted twice, or two distinct ones identified, it is clear that for forty days the Lord appeared to His disciples and to others at intervals. These disciples, according to the common testimony of all the Evangelists, were by no means enthusiastic and prejudiced expectants of the resurrection. They were sober-minded men. They were only too slow to apprehend the nature of our Lord's kingdom. Almost to the last they shrank from the notion of His suffering death, and thought that such a calamity would be the absolute termination of all their hopes. But from the time of the Ascension they went about preaching the truth that Jesus was risen from the dead. Kings could not alter their conviction on this point: the fear of death could not hinder them from proclaiming it (see Acts ii. 24, 32, iv. 13, iii. x. xiii.; 1 Cor. xv. 5; 1 Pet.

^b In what follows, much use has been made of an excellent paper by Dr. Robinson, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1845, p. 162.

i. 21). Against this event no real objection has ever been brought, except that it is a miracle. So far as historical testimony goes, nothing is better established.

In giving His disciples their final commission, the Lord said, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world" (Matt. xxviii. 18-20). The living energy of Christ is ever present with His Church, even though He has withdrawn from it His bodily presence. And the facts of the life that has been before us are the substance of the apostolic teaching now as in all ages. That God and man were reconciled by the mission of the Redeemer into the world, and by His self-devotion to death (2 Cor. v. 18; Eph. i. 10; Col. i. 20), that this sacrifice has procured for man the restoration of the divine love (Rom. v. 8, viii. 32; 1 John iv. 9); that we by His incarnation become the children of God, knit to Him in bonds of love, instead of slaves unto the bondage of the law (Rom. viii. 15, 29; Gal. iv. 1); these are the common ideas of the apostolic teaching. Brought into such a relation to Christ and His life, we see in all its acts and stages something that belongs to and instructs us. His birth, His baptism, temptation, lowliness of life and mind, His sufferings, death, burial, resurrection, and ascension, all enter into the apostolic preaching, as furnishing motives, examples, and analogies for our use. Hence every Christian should study well this sinless life, not in human commentaries only, still less in a bare abstract like the present, but in the living pages of inspiration. Even if he began the study with a lukewarm belief, he might hope, with God's grace, that the conviction would break in upon him that did upon the Centurion at the cross—"Truly this is the Son of God."

CHRONOLOGY.—Year of the birth of Christ.—It is certain that our Lord was born before the death of Herod the Great. Herod died, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 8, § 1), "having reigned thirty-four years from the time that he had procured Antigonus to be slain; but thirty-seven from the time that he had been declared king by the Romans" (see also *B. J.* i. 33, § 8). His appointment as king, according to the same writer (*Ant.* xiv. 14, § 5), coincides with the 184th Olympiad, and the consulship of C. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio. It appears that he was made king by the joint influence of Antony and Octavius; and the reconciliation of these two men took place on the death of Fulvia in the year 714. Again, the death of Antigonus and the siege of Jerusalem, which form the basis of calculation for the thirty-four years, coincide (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 16, § 4) with the consulship of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus, that is with the year of Rome 717; and occurred in the month Sivan (= June or July). From these facts we are justified in placing the death of Herod in A.U.C. 750. Those who place it one year later overlook the mode in which Josephus reckons Jewish reigns. Wieseler shows by several passages that he reckons the year from the month Nisan to Nisan, and that he counts the fragment of a year at either extreme as one complete year. In this mode, thirty-four years, from June or July 717, would apply to any date

between the first of Nisan 750, and the first or Nisan 751. And thirty-seven years from 714 would apply likewise to any date within the same termini. Wieseler finds facts confirmatory of this in the dates of the reigns of Herod Antipas and Archelaus (see his *Chronologische Synopse*, p. 55). Between these two dates Josephus furnishes means for a more exact determination. Just after Herod's death the Passover occurred (Nisan 15th), and upon Herod's death Archelaus caused a seven-days' mourning to be kept for him (*Ant.* xvii. 9, § 3, xvii. 8, § 4); so that it would appear that Herod died somewhat more than seven days before the Passover in 750, and therefore in the first few days of the month Nisan A.U.C. 750. Now, as Jesus was born before the death of Herod, it follows that the Dionysian era, which corresponds to A.U.C. 754, is at least four years too late.

Many have thought that the star seen by the wise men gives grounds for an exact calculation of the time of our Lord's birth. It will be found, however, that this is not the case. For it has first been assumed that the star was not properly a star, but an astronomical conjunction of known stars. Kepler finds a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign Pisces in A.U.C. 747, and again in the spring of the next year, with the planet Mars added; and from this he would place the birth of Jesus in 748. Ideler, on the same kind of calculation, places it in A.U.C. 747. But this process only proves a highly improbable date, on highly improbable evidence. The words of St. Matthew are extremely hard to reconcile with the notion of a conjunction of planets; it was a star that appeared, and it gave the Magi ocular proof of its purpose by guiding them to where the young child was. But a new light has been thrown on the subject by the Rev. C. Pritchard, who has made the calculations afresh. Ideler (*Handbuch d. Chronologie*) asserts that there were three conjunctions of Jupiter and Saturn in B.C. 7, and that in the third they approached so near that, "to a person with weak eyes, the one planet would almost seem to come within the range of the dispersed light of the other, so that both might appear as one star." Dean Alford puts it much more strongly, that on November 12 in that year the planets were so close "that an ordinary eye would regard them as one star of surpassing brightness" (Greek Test. *in loc.*). Mr. Pritchard finds, and his calculations have been verified and confirmed at Greenwich, that this conjunction occurred not on November 12 but early on December 5; and that even with Ideler's somewhat strange postulate of an observer with weak eyes, the planets could never have appeared as one star, for they never approached each other within double the apparent diameter of the moon (*Memoirs R. Astr. Soc.* vol. xxv.). [STAR IN THE EAST.] Most of the chronologists find an element of calculation in the order of Herod to destroy all the children "from two years old and under" (ἀπὸ τοῦ δύο εἰς ἑξήτερον, Matt. ii. 16). But the διοικεῖς καὶ κατωτέρω, Matt. ii. 16), would be more accurate rather by the extent of his fears than by the accuracy of the calculation of the Magi. Grewell has laboured to show that, from the inclusive mode of computing years, mentioned above in this article, the phrase of the Evangelist would apply to all children just turned one year old, which is true; but he assumes that it would not apply to any that were older, say to those aged a year and eleven months. Herod was a cruel man, angry

and afraid; and it is vain to assume that he adjusted the limit of his cruelties with the nicest accuracy. As a basis of calculation the visit of the Magi, though very important to us in other respects, must be dismissed (but see Greswell, *Dissertations*, &c., Diss. 18th; Wieseler, *Chron. Syn.* p. 57, sqq., with all the references there).

The census taken by Augustus Caesar, which led to the journey of Mary from Nazareth just before the birth of the Lord, has also been looked on as an important note of time, in reference to the chronology of the life of Jesus. Several difficulties have to be disposed of in considering it. (i.) It is argued that there is no record in other histories of a census of the whole Roman empire in the time of Augustus. (ii.) Such a census, if held during the reign of Herod the Great, would not have included Judaea, for it was not yet a Roman province. (iii.) The Roman mode of taking such a census was with reference to actual residence, so that it would not have been requisite for Joseph to go to Bethlehem. (iv.) The state of Mary at the time would render such a journey less probable. (v.) St. Luke himself seems to say that this census was not actually taken until ten years later (ii. 2). To these objections, of which it need not be said Strauss has made the most, answers may be given in detail, though scarcely in this place with the proper completeness.

(i.) "As we know of the *legis actiones* and their abrogation, which were quite as important in respect to the early period of Roman history, as the census of the empire was in respect to a later period, not from the historical works of Livy, Dionysius, or Polybius, but from a legal work, the *Institutes* of Gaius; so we should think it strange if the works of Paullus and Ulpian *De Censibus* had come down to us perfect, and no mention were made in them of the census of Augustus; while it would not surprise us that in the ordinary histories of the time it should be passed over in silence" (Huschke in Wieseler, p. 78). "If Suetonius in his life [of Augustus] does not mention this census, neither does Spartian in his life of Hadrian devote a single syllable to the *edictum perpetuum*, which, in later times, has chiefly adorned the name of that emperor" (ibid.). Thus it seems that the *argumentum de tacurnitate* is very far from conclusive. The edict possibly affected only the provinces, and in them was not carried out at once; and in that case it would attract less attention at any one particular moment.

In the time of Augustus all the procurators of the empire were brought under his sole control and supervision for the first time A.U.C. 731 (Dion Cass. liii. 32). This movement towards centralisation renders it not improbable that a general census of the empire should be ordered, although it may not have been carried into effect suddenly, nor intended to be so. But proceedings in the way of an estimate of the empire, if not an actual census, are distinctly recorded to have taken place in the time of Augustus. "Huic addendae sunt mensurae limitum et terminorum ex libris Augusti et Neronis Caesarum: sed et Balbi mensuris, qui temporibus Augusti omnium provinciarum et civitatum formas et mensuras compertas in commentariis retulit et legem agrariam per universitatem provinciarum distinxit et declaravit" (Frontinus, in the *Rel. Agrar. Auct.* of Goes, p. 109, quoted by Wieseler). This is confirmed from other sources (Wieseler, pp. 81, 82). Augustus directed, as we learn, a

brevarium totius imperii to be made, in which according to Tacitus, "Opes publicae continentantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciae, tributa aut vectigalia et necessitates ac largitiones" (Tacit. *Annal.* i. 11; Sueton. *Aug.* 28, 101; Dion Cass. liii. 30; lvi. 33, given in Wieseler; see also Ritschi, in *Rhein. Mus. für Philol.* N. Series, i. 481). All this makes a census by order of Augustus in the highest degree probable, apart from St. Luke's testimony. The time of our Lord's birth was most propitious. Except some troubles in Dacia the Roman world was at peace, and Augustus was in the full enjoyment of his power. But there are persons who, though they would at once believe this fact on the testimony of some inferior historian, added to these confirmatory facts, reject it just because an Evangelist has said it. (ii. and iii.) Next comes the objection, that, as Judaea was not yet a Roman province, such a census would not have included that country, and that it was not taken from the residence of each person, but from the place of his origin. It is very probable that the mode of taking the census would afford a clue to the origin of it. Augustus was willing to include in his census all the tributary kingdoms, for the *regna* are mentioned in the passage in Tacitus; but this could scarcely be enforced. Perhaps Herod, desiring to gratify the Emperor, and to emulate him in his love for this kind of information, was ready to undertake the census for Judaea, but in order that it might appear to be his rather than the emperor's, he took it in the Jewish manner rather than in the Roman, in the place whence the family sprang, rather than in that of actual residence. There might be some hardship in this, and we might wonder that a woman about to become a mother should be compelled to leave her home for such a purpose, if we were sure that it was not voluntary. A Jew of the house and lineage of David would not willingly forego that position, and if it were necessary to assert it by going to the city of David, he would probably make some sacrifice to do so. Thus the objection (iv.), on the ground of the state of Mary's health, is entitled to little consideration. It is said indeed that "all went to be taxed, every one into his own city" (Luke ii. 3); but not that the decree prescribed that they should. Nor could there well be any means of enforcing such a regulation. But the principle being adopted, that Jews were to be taxed in the places to which their families belonged, St. Luke tells us by these words that as a matter of fact it was generally followed. (v.) The objection that, according to St. Luke's own admission, the census was not taken now, but, when Quirinus was governor of Syria, remains to be disposed of. St. Luke makes two statements, that at the time of our Lord's birth ("in those days") there was a decree for a census, and that this taxing first came about, or took effect (*πρώτη ἐγένετο*), when Cyrenius, or Quirinus, was governor of Syria (Luke ii. 1, 2). And as the two statements are quite distinct, and the very form of expression calls special attention to some remarkable circumstance about this census, no historical inaccuracy is proved, unless the statements are shown to be contradictory, or one or other of them to be untrue. That Strauss makes such a charge without establishing either of these grounds, is worthy of a writer so dishonest (*Leben Jesu*, i. iv. 32). Now, without going into all the theories that have been proposed to explain this second verse, there is no

doubt that the words of St. Luke can be explained in a natural manner, without violence to the sense or contradiction. Herod undertakes the census according to Jewish forms; but his death the same year puts an end to it, and no more is heard of it: but for its influence as to the place of our Lord's birth it would not have been recorded at all. But the Evangelist knows that, as soon as a census (*ἀπογραφή*) is mentioned, persons conversant with Jewish history will think at once of the census taken after the banishment of Archelaus, or about ten years later, which was avowedly a Roman census, and which caused at first some resistance in consequence (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1). The second verse therefore means—"No census was actually completed then, and I know that the first Roman census was that which followed the banishment of Archelaus; but the decree went out much earlier, in the time of Herod." That this is the only possible explanation of so vexed a passage cannot of course be affirmed.^c But it will bear this interpretation, and upon the whole evidence there is no ground whatever for denying either assertion of the Evangelist, or for considering them irreconcilable. Many writers have confounded an obscurity with a proved inaccuracy. The value of this census, as a fact in the chronology of the life of Christ, depends on the connexion which is sought to be established between it and the insurrection which broke out under Matthias and Judas, the son of Sariphaeus, in the last illness of Herod (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 6, § 1). If the insurrection arose out of the census, a point of connexion between the sacred history and that of Josephus is made out. Such a connexion, however, has not been clearly made out (see Wieseler, Ols-hausen, and others, for the grounds on which it is supposed to rest).

The age of Jesus at His baptism (Luke iii. 23) affords an element of calculation. "And Jesus Himself began to be about (*ὥσει*) thirty years of age." Born in the beginning of A.U.C. 750 (or the end of 749), Jesus would be thirty in the beginning of A.U.C. 780 (A.D. 27). Greswell is probably right in placing the baptism of our Lord in the beginning of this year, and the first Passover during His ministry would be that of the same year; Wieseler places the baptism later, in the spring or summer of the same year. (On the sense of *ἀρχόμενος*, see the commentators.) To this first Passover after the baptism attaches a note of time which will confirm the calculations already made. "Then said the Jews, Forty and six years was this Temple in building (*ᾠκοδομήθη*), and wilt Thou rear it up in three days?" There can be no doubt that this refers to the rebuilding of the Temple by Herod: it cannot mean the second Temple, built after the captivity, for this was finished in twenty years (B.C. 535 to B.C. 515). Herod, in the eighteenth year of his reign (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 11, § 1), began to reconstruct the Temple on a larger and more splendid scale (A.U.C. 734). The work was not finished till long after his death, till A.U.C. 818. It is inferred from Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5 & 6) that it was begun in the month

Cisleu. A.U.C. 734. And if the Passover at which this remark was made was that of A.U.C. 780 then forty-five years and some months have elapsed, which, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning (p. 1072), would be spoken of as "forty and six years."

Thus the death of Herod enables us to fix a boundary on one side to the calculations of our Lord's birth. The building of the Temple, for forty-six years, confirms this, and also gives a boundary on the other. From the star of the Magi nothing conclusive can be gathered, nor from the census of Augustus. One datum remains: the commencement of the preaching of John the Baptist is connected with the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Caesar (Luke iii. 1). The rule of Tiberius may be calculated either from the beginning of his sole reign, after the death of Augustus, A.U.C. 767, or from his joint government with Augustus, *i. e.* from the beginning of A.U.C. 765. In the latter case the fifteenth year would correspond with A.U.C. 779, which goes to confirm the rest of the calculations relied on in this article.

An endeavour has been made to deduce the time of the year of the birth of Jesus from the fact that Zacharias was "a priest of the course of Abia" (Luke i. 5). The twenty-four courses of priests served in the Temple according to a regular weekly cycle, the order of which is known. The date of the conception of John would be about fifteen months before the birth of our Lord, and if the date of the latter be A.U.C. 750, then the former would fall in A.U.C. 748. Can it be ascertained in what part of the year 748 the course of Abia would be on duty in the Temple? The Talmud preserves a tradition that the Temple was destroyed by Titus, A.D. 70, on the ninth day of the month Ab. Josephus mentions the date as the 10th of Ab (*Bel. Jud.* vi. 4, § 5 & 8). Without attempting to follow the steps by which these are reconciled, it seems that the "course" of Jehoiarib had just entered upon its weekly duty at the time the Temple was destroyed. Wieseler, assuming that the day in question would be the same as the 5th of August, A.U.C. 823, reckons back the weekly courses to A.U.C. 748, the course of Jehoiarib being the first of all (1 Chr. xxiv. 7). "It follows," he says, "that the ministration of the course of Abia, 74 years 10 months and 2 days, or (reckoning 19 intercalary years) 27,335 days, earlier (= 162 hieratic circles and 119 days earlier), fell between the 3rd and 9th of October, A.U.C. 748. Reckoning from the 10th of October, on which Zacharias might reach his house, and allowing nine months for the pregnancy of Elizabeth, to which six months are to be added (Luke i. 26), we have in the whole one year and three months, which gives the 10th of January as the date of Christ's birth." Greswell, however, from the same starting-point, arrives at the date April 5th; and when two writers so laborious can thus differ in their conclusions, we must rather suspect the soundness of their method than their accuracy in the use of it.

^c See a summary of the older theories in Kuinöl (in Luc. ii. 2); also in Meyer (in Luc. ii. 2), who gives an account of the view, espoused by many, that Quirinus was now a special commissioner for this census in Syria (*ἄρχων τῆς Συρίας*), which the Greek will not bear. But if the theory of the younger Zumpt (see above, CYRENIUS) be correct, then Quirinus was twice governor of Syria, and the Evangelist would

here refer to his former rule. The difficulty is that Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, § 1) mentions that Quirinus was sent, after the banishment of Archelaus, to take a census. Either Zumpt would set this authority aside, or would hold that Quirinus, twice governor, twice made a census; which is scarcely an exact hypothesis than some others.

Similar differences will be found amongst eminent writers in every part of the chronology of the Gospels. For example, the birth of our Lord is placed in B.C. 1 by Pearson and Hug; B.C. 2 by Scaliger; B.C. 3 by Baronius, Calvisius, Stöckind, and Paulus; B.C. 4 by Lamy, Bengel, Anger, Wieseler, and Greswell; B.C. 5 by Usher and Petavius; B.C. 7 by Ideler and Sanclemente. And whilst the calculations given above seem sufficient to determine us, with Lamy, Usher, Petavius, Bengel, Wieseler, and Greswell, to the close of B.C. 5, or early part of B.C. 4, let it never be forgotten that there is a distinction between these researches, which the Holy Spirit has left obscure and doubtful, and "the weightier matters" of the Gospel, the things which directly pertain to man's salvation. The silence of the inspired writers, and sometimes the obscurity of their allusions to matters of time and place, have given rise to disputation. But their words admit of no doubt when they tell us that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, and that wicked hands crucified and slew Him, and that we and all men must own Him as the Lord and Redeemer.

SOURCES.—The bibliography of the subject of the Life of Jesus has been most fully set out in Hase, *Leben Jesu*, Leipsic, 1854, 4th edition. It would be vain to attempt to rival that enormous catalogue. The principal works employed in the present article are the FOUR GOSPELS, and the best-known commentaries on them, including those of Bengel, Wetstein, Lightfoot, De Wette, Lücke, Olshausen, Stier, Alford, Williams, and others; Neander, *Leben Jesu* (Hamburg, 1837), as against Strauss, *Leben Jesu* (Tübingen, 1837), also consulted; Stackhouse's *History of the Bible*; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. v., *Christus* (Göttingen, 1857); Baumgarten, *Geschichte Jesu* (Brunswick, 1859); Krummacher, *Der Leidende Christus* (Bielefeld, 1854). Upon the harmony of the Gospels, see the list of works given under GOSPELS: the principal works used for the present article have been, Wieseler, *Chronologische Synopse*, &c., Hamburg, 1843; Greswell's *Harmony, Prolegomena, and Dissertations*, Oxford, v. y.; two papers by Dr. Robinson in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1845; and Clausen, *Tabulae Synopticae*, Havniae, 1829. Special works, such as Dean Trench on the Parables and on the Miracles, have also been consulted; and detached monographs, sermons, and essays in periodicals. For the text of the Gospels, the 7th edition of Tischendorf's Gr. Text has been employed. [W. T.]

JETHER (יֶתֶר). 1. (Ἰεθέρ: *Jethro*.) Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, is so called in Ex. iv. 18 and the margin of A. V., though in the Heb.-Sam. text and Sam. version the reading is יֶתֶר, as in the Syriac and Targ. Jon., one of Kennicott's MSS., and a MS. of Targ. Onk., No. 16 in De Rossi's collection.

2. (Ἰεθέρ: *Jether*.) The firstborn of Gideon's seventy sons, who were all, with the exception of Jotham, the youngest, slain at Ophrah by Abimelech. At the time of his father's victorious pursuit of the Midianites and capture of their kings he was still a lad on his first battle-field, and feared to draw his sword at Gideon's bidding, and avenge, as the representative of the family, the slaughter of his kinsmen at Tabor (Judg. vii. 20).

3. (Ἰεθέρ in 1 K. ii. 5, 32; Ἰοθάρ in 1 Chr. ii. 17; the Alex. MS. has Ἰεθέρ in both passages: *Jether*.) The father of Amasa, captain-general of

Abshalom's army. Jether is merely another form of Ithra (2 Sam. xvii. 25), the latter being probably a corruption. He is described in 1 Chr. ii. 17 as an Ishmaelite, which again is more likely to be correct than the "Israelite" of the Heb. in 2 Sam. xvii., or the "Jezeelite" of the LXX. and Vulg. in the same passage. "Ishmaelite" is said by the author of the *Quaest. Hebr. in lib. Reg.* to have been the reading of the Hebrew, but there is no trace of it in the MSS. One MS. of Chronicles reads "Israelite," as does the Targum, which adds that he was called Jether the Ishmaelite, "because he girt his loins with the sword, to help David with the Arabs, when Abner sought to drive away David and all the race of Jesse, who were not pure to enter the congregation of Jehovah on account of Ruth the Moabitess." According to Jarchi, Jether was an Israelite, dwelling in the land of Ishmael, and thence acquired his surname, like the house of Obededom the Gittite. Josephus calls him Ἰεθάρης (*Ant.* vii. 10, § 1). He married Abigail, David's sister, probably during the sojourn of the family of Jesse in the land of Moab, under the protection of its king.

4. The son of Jada, a descendant of Hezron, of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 32). He died without children, and being the eldest son the successor fell to his brother's family.

5. The son of Ezra, whose name occurs in a dislocated passage in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 17). In the LXX. the name is repeated: "and Jether begat Miriam," &c. By the author of the *Quaest. Hebr. in Par.* he is said to have been Aaron, Ezra being another name for Amram.

6. (Ἰεθέρ; Alex. Ἰεθέρ.) The chief of a family of warriors of the line of Asher, and father of Jephunneh (1 Chr. vii. 38). He is probably the same as Ithra in the preceding verse. One of Kennicott's MSS. and the Alex. had Jether in both cases. [W. A. W.]

JETHETH (יֶתֶת: Ἰεθέρ: *Jetheth*), one of the phylarchs (A. V. "dukes") who came of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 40; 1 Chr. i. 51), enumerated separately from the genealogy of Esau's children in the earlier part of the chapter, "according to their families, after their places, by their names," and "according to their habitations in the land of their possession" (vers. 40-3). This record of the Edomite phylarchs may point specially to the places and habitations, or towns, named after, or occupied by, them; and even otherwise, we may look for some trace of their names, after the custom of the wandering tribes to leave such footprints in the changeless desert. Identifications of several in the list have been proposed: Jetheth, as far as the writer knows, has not been yet recovered. He may however be probably found if we adopt the likely suggestion of Simonis, יֶתֶת = יֶתֶת, "a nail," "a tent-pin," &c. (and metaphorically "a prince," &c.,

as being *stable, firm*) = Arab. **وَتْد** **وَتْد**, with the same signification. El-Wetideh, **الْوَدَيْدَة** (n. of unity of the former) is a place in Nejd, said to be in the Dahnâ (see **ISHBAK**); there is also a place called El-Wetid; and El-Wetidât (perhaps pl. of the first-named), which is the name of mountains belonging to Bence 'Abd-Allah Ibn Ghatfân (*Mardsid. s. vv.*). [E. S. P.]

JETHLAH (יֶתְלָח), *i. e.* Jithlān: *Ἰελαθά*; Alex. *Ἰεθαλά*: *Jethela*), one of the cities of the tribe of Dan (Josh. xix. 42), named with Ajadon and Thinnathah. In the *Onomasticon* it is mentioned, without any description or indication of position, as *Ἰεθαλά*. It has not since been met with, even by the indefatigable Tobler in his late *Wandering* in that district. [G.]

JETHRO (יֶתְרוֹ), *i. e.* Jithro: *Ἰεθρό*, called also Jether and Hobab; the son of REUEL, was priest or prince of Midian, both offices probably being combined in one person. Moses spent the forty-seven years of his exile from Egypt with him, and married his daughter Zipporah. By the advice of Jethro, Moses appointed deputies to judge the congregation and share the burden of government with himself (Ex. xviii.). On account of his local knowledge he was entreated to remain with the Israelites throughout their journey to Canaan; his room however was supplied by the ark of the covenant, which supernaturally indicated the places for encamping (Num. x. 31, 33). The idea conveyed by the name of Jethro or Jether is probably that of *excellence*; and as Hobab may mean *beloved*, it is quite possible that both appellations were given to the same person for similar reasons. That the custom of having more than one name was common among the Jews we see in the case of Benjamin, Benoni; Solomon, Jedidiah, &c., &c.

It is said in Ex. ii. 18 that the priest of Midian whose daughter Moses married was Reuel; afterwards, at ch. iii. 1, he is called Jethro, as also in ch. xviii.; but in Num. x. 29 "Hobab the son of Raguel the Midianite" is called Moses' father-in-law: assuming the identity of Hobab and Jethro, we must suppose that "their father Reuel," in Ex. ii. 18, was really their grandfather, and that the person who "said, How is it that ye are come so soon to-day?" was the priest of ver. 16: whereas, proceeding on the hypothesis that Jethro and Hobab are not the same individual, it seems difficult to determine the relationship of Reuel, Jethro, Hobab, and Moses. The hospitality, freehearted and unsought, which Jethro at once extended to the unknown homeless wanderer, on the relation of his daughters that he had watered their flock, is a picture of Eastern manners no less true than lovely. We may perhaps suppose that Jethro, before his acquaintance with Moses, was not a worshipper of the true God. Traces of this appear in the delay which Moses had suffered to take place with respect to the circumcision of his son (Ex. iv. 24-26): indeed it is even possible that Zipporah had afterwards been subjected to a kind of divorce (Ex. xviii. 2, שְׁלוּחָהּ), on account of her attachment to an alien creed, but that growing convictions were at work in the mind of Jethro, from the circumstance of Israel's continued prosperity, till at last, acting upon these, he brought back his daughter, and declared that his impressions were confirmed, for "now he knew that the Lord was greater than all gods, for in the thing wherein they dealt proudly, he was above them:" consequently we are told that "Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, took a burnt-offering and sacrifices for God: and Aaron came and all the elders of Israel to eat bread with Moses' father-in-law before God;" as though to celebrate the event of his conversion. Whether or not the account given at Num. x. 29-32 refers to this same event, the narrative at Ex. xviii. 27

coincides with Hobab's own words at Num. x. 30; and, comparing the two, we may suppose that Moses did not prevail upon his father-in-law to stay with the congregation. Calvin (*in 5 lib. Moysi Comment.*) understands ver. 31, 32 thus: "Thou hast gone with us hitherto, and hast been to us instead of eyes, and now what profit is it to thee if, having suffered so many troubles and difficulties, thou dost not go on with us to inherit the promised blessing?" And Mat. Henry imagines that Hobab complied with this invitation, and that traces of the settlement of his posterity in the land of Canaan are apparent at Judg. i. 16 and 1 Sam. xv. 6. Some, and among them Calvin, take Jethro and Reuel to be identical, and call Hobab the *brother-in-law* of Moses. The present punctuation of our Bibles does not warrant this. Why, at Judg. i. 16, Moses' father-in-law is called קֵינִי (Kenite, comp. Gen. xv. 19), or why, at Num. xii. 1, Zipporah, if it be Zipporah, is called אֵשֶׁת א. V. Ethiopian, is not clear.

The Mohammedan name of Jethro is Shoab (Koran 7 and 11). There is a tale in the Midrash that Jethro was a counsellor of Pharaoh, who tried to dissuade him from slaughtering the Israelitish children, and consequently, on account of his clemency, was forced to flee into Midian, but was rewarded by becoming the father-in-law of Moses (see Weil's *Biblical Legends*, p. 93, note). [JETHER; HOBAB.] [S. L.]

JETUR (יֶטוּר: *Ἰετούρ, Ἰεττούρ; Ἰτουραίου*: *Jethur*), Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chr. i. 31, v. 19. [TURAEA.]

JEUEL 1. (יְעוּאֵל: *Ἰεῖλ; Jewel*). A chief man of Judah, one of the Bene-Zerah; apparently at the time of the first settlement in Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix. 6; comp. 2).

2. (Γεουήλ; Alex. *Ἰεουήλ; Gebel*). One of the Bene-Adonikam who returned to Jerusalem with Esdras (1 Esdr. viii. 39). [JEIEL.]

For other occurrences of this name see JEIEL.

JEUSH (יְעוּשׁ: *Ἰεούς, Ἰεούλ, Ἰεός, Ἰαούς, Ἰεώς, Ἰάς, Ἰδίας, Ἰαώς; Jehus, Jaus*).

1. Son of Esau, by Aholibamah, the daughter of Anah, the son of Zibeen the Hivite (Gen. xxvi. 5, 14, 18; 1 Chr. i. 35). It appears from Gen. xxxvi. 20-25, that Anah is a man's name (not a woman's, as might be thought from ver. 2), and, by comparison with ver. 2, that the Horites were Hivites. Jeush was one of the Edomitish dukes (ver. 18). The Cethib has repeatedly יְעִישׁ, *Jeish*.

2. Head of a Benjamite house, which existed in David's time, son of Bilhan, son of Jediel, (1 Chr. vii. 10, 11).

3. A Levite, of the house of Shimei, of the family of the Gershomites. He and his brother Beriah were reckoned as one house in the census of the Levites taken in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiii. 10, 11).

4. Son of Rehoboam king of Judah, by Abihail, the daughter of Eliab, the son of Jesse (2 Chr. xi. 18, 19). [A. C. H.]

JE'UZ (יְעוּז: *Ἰεβούς, Alex.: Ἰεούς, Jehus*), head of a Benjamite house, in an obscure genealogy (1 Chr. vii. 10), apparently son of Shaharaim and Hodesh his third wife, and born in Moab. [A. G. H.]

JEW (יהודי); 'Ιουδαίος: *Judaeus*, i.e. *Judaean*;

Ιουδαίος, Esth. viii. 17; Ιουδαϊσμός, 2 Macc. ii. 21). This name was properly applied to a member of the kingdom of Judah after the separation of the ten tribes. In this sense it occurs twice in the second book of Kings, 2 K. xvi. 6, xxv. 25, and seven times in the later chapters of Jeremiah: Jer. xxxii. 12, xxxiv. 9 (in connexion with Hebrew), xxxviii. 19, xl. 12, xli. 3, xlv. 1, lii. 28. After the Return the word received a larger application. Partly from the predominance of the members of the old kingdom of Judah among those who returned to Palestine, partly from the identification of Judah with the religious ideas and hopes of the people, all the members of the new state were called Jews (*Judaeans*), and the name was extended to the remnants of the race scattered throughout the nations (Dan. iii. 8, 12; Ezr. iv. 12, 23, &c.; Neh. i. 2, ii. 16, v. 1, &c.; Esth. iii. 4 ff., &c. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xi. 5, §7, ἐκλήθησαν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ('Ιουδαῖοι) ἐξ ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνεβήσαν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ιουδα φυλῆς . . .).

Under the name of "Judaean," the people of Israel were known to classical writers. The most famous and interesting notice by a heathen writer is that of Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2 ff.; cf. Orelli's *Excursus*). The trait of extreme exclusiveness with which he specially charged them is noticed by many other writers (Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 103; Diod. Sic. *Ecl.* 34, 1; Quint. *Inst.* iii. 7, 21). The account of Strabo (*xvi.* pp. 760 ff.) is more favourable (cf. *Just.* xxxvi. 2), but it was impossible that a stranger could clearly understand the meaning of Judaism as a discipline and preparation for a universal religion (F. C. Meier, *Judaica seu veterum scriptorum profanorum de rebus Judaicis fragmenta*, Jenae, 1832).

The force of the title 'Ιουδαῖος is seen particularly in the Gospel of St. John. While the other Evangelists scarcely ever use the word except in the title "King of the Jews" (as given by Gentiles),^a St. John, standing within the boundary of the Christian age, very rarely uses any other term to describe the opponents of our Lord. The name, indeed, appeared at the close of the apostle's life to be the true antithesis to Christianity, as describing the limited and definite form of a national religion; but at an earlier stage of the progress of the faith, it was contrasted with Greek (Ἑλλην) as implying an outward covenant with God (Rom. i. 16; ii. 9, 10; Col. iii. 11, &c.). In this sense it was of wider application than *Hebrew*, which was the correlative of *Hellenist* [HELLENIST], and marked a division of language subsisting within the entire body, and at the same time less expressive than *Israelite*, which brought out with especial clearness the privileges and hopes of the children of Jacob (2 Cor. xi. 22; John i. 47; 1 Macc. i. 43, 53, and often).

The history of Judaism is divided by Jost—the most profound writer who has investigated it—into two great eras, the first extending to the close of the collections of the oral laws, 536 B.C.—600 A.D.; the second reaching to the present time. According to this view the first is the period of original development, the second of formal construction; the one furnishes the constituent elements, the second the varied shape of the present faith. But as far

as Judaism was a great stage in the Divine revelation, its main interest closes with the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. From that date its present living force was stayed, and its history is a record of the human shapes in which the Divine truths of earlier times were enshrined and hidden. The old age (αἰών) passed away, and the new age began when the Holy City was finally wrested from its citizens and the worship of the temple closed.

Yet this shorter period from the Return to the destruction of Jerusalem was pregnant with great changes. Four different dynasties in succession directed the energies and influenced the character of the Jewish nation. The dominion of Persia (536-333 B.C.), of Greece (333-167 B.C.), of the Asmonaeans (167-63 B.C.), of the Herods (40 B.C., 70 A.D.) sensibly furthered in various ways the discipline of the people of God, and prepared the way for a final revelation. An outline of the characteristic features of the several periods is given in other articles. Briefly it may be said that the supremacy of Persia was marked by the growth of organisation, order, ritual [CYRUS; DISPERSION OF THE JEWS], that of Greece by the spread of liberty, and speculation [ALEXANDER; ALEXANDRIA; HELLENISTS], that of the Asmonaeans by the strengthening of independence and faith [MACCABEES], that of the Herods by the final separation of the elements of temporal and spiritual dominion into antagonistic systems [HEROD]; and so at length the inheritance of six centuries, painfully won in times of exhaustion and persecution and oppression, was transferred to the treasury of the Christian Church. [B. F. W.]

JEWEL. [PRECIOUS STONES.]

JEWESS ('Ιουδαία: *Judaea*), a woman of Hebrew birth, without distinction of tribe (Acts xvi. 1, xxiv. 24). It is applied in the former passage to Eunice the mother of Timothy, who was unquestionably of Hebrew origin (comp. 2 Tim. iii. 15), and in the latter to Drusilla, the wife of Felix and daughter of Herod Agrippa I.

JEWISH ('Ιουδαϊκός: *Judicis*), of or belonging to Jews: an epithet applied to the Rabbinical legends against which the elder apostle warns his younger brother (Tit. i. 14).

JEWRY (יהודי: 'Ιουδαία: *Judaea*), the same word elsewhere rendered Judah and Judaea. It occurs but once in the O. T., Dan. v. 13, in which verse the Hebrew is translated both by Judah and Jewry: the A. V. retaining the latter as it stands in Coverdale, Tyndale, and the Geneva Bible. The variation possibly arose from a too faithful imitation of the Vulg., which has *Juda* and *Judaea*. Jewry comes to us through the Norman-French, and is of frequent occurrence in Old English. It is found besides in 1 Esd. i. 32, ii. 4, iv. 49, v. 7, 8, 57, vi. 1, viii. 81, ix. 3; Bel, 33; 2 Macc. x. 24; Luke xxiii. 5; John vii. 1.

JEZANIAH (יהיזכר: 'Εζωνίας; Alex. 'Ιεζωνίας in Jer. xl. 8; יהיזכר: 'Αζαρίας in Jer. xlii. 1: *Jezonias*), the son of Hoshaiab, the Maachathite, and one of the captains of the forces, who had escaped from Jerusalem during the final attack of the beleaguering army of the Chaldeans. In the consequent pursuit, which resulted in the capture of Zedekiah, the army was scattered from him and

^a The exceptions are, Matt. xxviii. 15 (a note of the Evangelist of later date than the substance of the

Gospel); Mark vii. 3 (a similar note); Luke vii. 3 xxv. 21.

dispersed throughout the open country among the neighbouring Ammonites and Moabites, watching from thence the progress of events. When the Babylonians had departed, Jezeaniah, with the men under his command, was one of the first who returned to Gedaliah at Mizpah. In the events which followed the assassination of that officer Jezeaniah took a prominent part. He joined Johanan in the pursuit of Ishmael and his murderous associates, and in the general consternation and distrust which ensued he became one of the foremost advocates of the migration into Egypt, so strongly opposed by Jeremiah. Indeed in their interview with the prophet at the Khan of Chimham, when words ran high, Jezeaniah (there called Azariah) was apparently the leader in the dispute, and for once took precedence of Johanan (*Jer.* xliii. 2). In 2 K. xxv. 23 he is called Jaazaniah, in which form the name was easily corrupted into Azariah, or Zechariah, as one MS. of the LXX. reads it. The Syriac and Josephus follow the Hebrew. In the LXX. his father's name is Maaseiah.

JEZEBEL (זִיזְבֵּל; LXX. and N. T. Ἰεζαβήλ; Joseph. Ἰεζαβήλ; *Jezebel*: probably a name, like *Agnes*, signifying "chaste," *sine coitu*, Gesenius in *roc.*), wife of Ahab, king of Israel, and mother of Athaliah, queen of Judah, and Ahaziah and Joram, kings of Israel.* She was a Phoenician princess, daughter of "Ethbaal king of the Zidonians" (or Ithobal king of the Syrians and Sidonians, Menander *apud* Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 13, § 2; c. *Apion*, i. 18). Her marriage with Ahab was a turning point in the history of Israel. Not only was the union with a Canaanitish wife unprecedented in the northern kingdom, but the character of the queen gave additional force and significance to what might else have been regarded merely as a commercial and political measure, natural to a king devoted, as was Ahab, to the arts of peace and the splendour of regal luxury. She was a woman in whom, with the reckless and licentious habits of an Oriental queen, were united the sternest and fiercest qualities inherent in the Phoenician people. The royal family of Tyre was remarkable at that time both for its religious fanaticism and its savage temper. Her father Ethbaal united with his royal office the priesthood of the goddess Astarte, and had come to the throne by the murder of his predecessor Phelles (*Jos. c. Ap.* i. 18). The next generation included within itself Sicheus, or Matgenes, king and priest of Baal, the murderer Pygmalion, and Elisa or Dido, foundress of Carthage (*ib.*). Of this stock came Jezebel. In her hands her husband became a mere puppet (1 K. xxi. 25). Even after his death, through the reigns of his sons, her influence was the evil genius of the dynasty. Through the marriage of her daughter Athaliah with the king of Judah, it extended even to the rival kingdom. The wild licence of her life, the magical fascination of her arts or of her character, became a proverb in the nation (2 K. ix. 22). Long afterwards her name lived as the byword for all that was execrable,

* Amongst the Spanish Jews the name of Jezebel was given to Isabella "the Catholic," in consequence of the detestation in which her memory was held as their persecutor (*Ford's Handbook of Spain*, 2nd ed. p. 486). Whether the name Isabella was originally connected with that of Jezebel is doubtful.

^b According to the reading of A. B. and the older

and in the Apocalypse it is given to a church or an individual^b in Asia Minor, combining in like manner fanaticism and profligacy (*Rev.* ii. 20). If we may trust the numbers of the text, she must have married Ahab before his accession. He reigned 22 years; and 12 years from that time her grandson Ahaziah was 21 years of age. Her daughter Athaliah must have been born therefore at least 37 years before.

The first effect of her influence was the immediate establishment of the Phoenician worship on a grand scale in the court of Ahab. At her table were supported no less than 450 prophets of Baal, and 400 of Astarte (1 K. xvi. 31, 32, xviii. 19). The prophets of Jehovah, who up to this time had found their chief refuge in the northern kingdom, were attacked by her orders and put to the sword (1 K. xviii. 13; 2 K. ix. 7). When at last the people, at the instigation of Elijah, rose against her ministers, and slaughtered them at the foot of Carmel, and when Ahab was terrified into submission, she alone retained her presence of mind; and when she received in the palace of Jezreel the tidings that her religion was all but destroyed (1 K. xix. 1), her only answer was one of those fearful vows which have made the leaders of Semitic nations so terrible whether for good or evil—expressed in a message to the very man who, as it might have seemed but an hour before, had her life in his power:—"As surely as thou art Elijah and as I am Jezebel (LXX.), so may God do to me and more also, if by this time to-morrow I make not thy life as the life of one of them" (1 K. xix. 2). Elijah, who had encountered undaunted the king and the whole force of the prophets of Baal, "feared" (LXX.) the wrath of the awful queen, and fled for his life beyond the furthest limits of Israel (1 K. xix. 3). [ELIJAH.]

The next instance of her power is still more characteristic and complete. When she found her husband cast down by his disappointment at being thwarted by Naboth, she took the matter into her own hands, with a spirit which reminds us of Clytemnestra or Lady Macbeth. "Dost thou now govern the kingdom of Israel? (play the king, ποιεῖς βασιλεύα. LXX.) Arise and eat bread and let thine heart be merry, and I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite" (1 K. xxi. 7). She wrote a warrant in Ahab's name, and sealed it with his seal. It was couched in the official language of the Israelite law—a solemn fast—witnesses—a charge of blasphemy—the authorized punishment of stoning. To her, and not to Ahab, was sent the announcement that the royal wishes were accomplished (1 K. xxi. 14), and she bade her husband go and take the vacant property; and on her accordingly fell the prophet's curse, as well as on her husband (1 K. xxi. 23).

We hear no more of her for a long period. But she survived Ahab by 14 years, and still, as queen-mother (after the Oriental custom), was a great personage in the court of her sons, and, as such, became the special mark for vengeance when Jehu advanced against Jezreel to overthrow the dynasty

versions, it is τὴν γυναῖκα σοῦ, "thy wife." In that case she must be the wife of the "angel;" and the expression would thus confirm the interpretation which makes "the angel" to be the bishop or presiding officer of the Church of Thyatira; and this woman would thus be his wife.

of Ahô. "What peace so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?" (2 K. ix. 22). But in that supreme hour of her house the spirit of the aged queen rose within her, equal to the dreadful emergency. She was in the palace, which stood by the gate of the city, overlooking the approach from the east. Beneath lay the open space under the city walls. She determined to face the destroyer of her family, whom she saw rapidly advancing in his chariot. She painted her eyelids in the Eastern fashion with antimony, so as to give a darker border to the eyes, and make them look larger and brighter (Keil), possibly in order to induce Jehu, after the manner of eastern usurpers, to take her, the widow of his predecessor, for his wife,^b but more probably as the last act of regal splendour. She "ired" ("made good") her head, and, looking down upon him from the high latticed window in the tower (Jos. Ant. ix. 6, § 4), she met him by an allusion to a former act of treason in the history of her adopted country, which conveys a different expression, according as we take one or other of the different interpretations given to it. (1) "Was there peace to Zimri, who slew his 'lord'?" as if to remind Jehu, now in the fulness of his triumph, how Omri, the founder of the dynasty which he was destroying, had himself come into power as the avenger of Zimri, who had murdered Baasha, as he now had murdered Jehoram: or (2) a direct address to Jehu, as a second Zimri:—"Is it peace?" (following up the question of her son in 2 K. ix. 21). "Is it peace, O Zimri, slayer of his lord?" (So Keil and LXX. ἡ Εἰρήνη Ζαμβολὸς φονευτῆς τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ; Or (3) "Peace to Zimri, who slew his 'lord'" (—(according to Josephus, Ant. ix. 6, § 4, καλὸς δοῦλος ὁ ἀποκτείνων τὸν δεσποτὴν)—which again may be taken either as an ironical welcome, or (according to Ewald, iii. 166, 260) as a reminder that as Zimri had spared the seraglio of Baasha, so she was prepared to welcome Jehu. The general character of Jezebel, and the doubt as to the details of the history of Zimri, would lead us rather to adopt the sterner view of her speech. Jehu looked up from his chariot—and his answer, again, is variously given in the LXX. and in the Hebrew text. In the former he exclaims, "Who art thou?—Come down to me." In the latter, "Who is on my side, who?" In either case the issue is the same. Two or three eunuchs of the royal harem show their faces at the windows, and at his command dashed^c the ancient princess down from the chamber. She fell immediately in front of the conqueror's chariot. The blood flew from her mangled corpse over the palace-wall behind, and over the advancing horses in front. The merciless destroyer passed on; and the last remains of life were trampled out by the horses' hoofs. The body was left in that open space called in modern Eastern language "the mounds," where offal is thrown from the city-walls. The dogs of Eastern cities, which prowl around these localities, and which the present writer met on this very spot by the modern village which occupies the site of Jezreel, pounced upon this unexpected prey. Nothing was left by them but the hard portions of the human skele-

ton, the skull, the hands, and the feet. Such was the sight which met the eyes of the messengers of Jehu, whom he had sent from his triumphal banquet, struck with a momentary feeling of compassion for the fall of so much greatness. "Go, see now this cursed woman and bury her, for she is a king's daughter." When he heard the fate of the body, he exclaimed in words which no doubt were long remembered as the epitaph of the greatest and wickedest of the queens of Israel—"This is the word of Jehovah, which He spake by His servant Elijah the Tishbite, saying, In the portion^d of Jezreel shall 'the' dogs eat the flesh of Jezebel; and the carcase of Jezebel shall be as dung on the face of the earth; so that they shall not say, This is Jezebel" (2 K. ix. 36, 37). [A. P. S.]

JEZELUS (Ἰεζήλος: *Zecholeus*). 1. The same as JAHAZIEL (1 Esd. viii. 32).

2. (*Jehelus*.) **JEHIEL**, the father of Obadiah (1 Esd. viii. 35).

JEZER (יֶזֶר): 'Issâar in Gen. xvi. 24; 'Iesér, Num. xxvi. 49, Alex. 'Iesrí; 'Ashp, 1 Chr. vii. 13, Alex. Σαάρ: *Jeser*), the third son of Naphtali, and father of the family of the Jezerites, who were numbered in the plains of Moab.

JEZIAH (יֶזְיָהוּ): 'Aζία: *Jezia*), properly Yizziyyah, a descendant of Parosh, and one of those among the laymen after the return from Babylon who had married strange wives, and at Ezra's bidding had promised to put them away (Ezr. x. 25). In 1 Esd. ix. 26 he is called Eddias. The Syriac of Ezra reads *Jezaniah*.

JEZIEL (יֶזְיֵל): Keri יֶזְיֵל, which is the reading of some MSS.: 'Iahil; MS. Fred. Aug. 'Aζήλ: *Jaziel*), one of the skilled Benjaminite archers or slingers who joined David in his retreat at Ziklag. He was probably the son of Azmaveth of Bahurim, one of David's heroes (1 Chr. xii. 3). In the Syriac Jeziel is omitted, and the sons of Azmaveth are there Pelet and Berachah.

JEZLIAH (יֶזְלִיָּהוּ): 'Iεζλίος, Alex. 'Iεζλία), one of a long list of Benjaminite heads of houses, sons of Elpaal, who dwelt at Jerusalem (1 Chr. viii. 18). [A. C. H.]

JEZO'AR (יֶזְעָר): Σαάρ: *Isaar*), the son of Helah, one of the wives of Asher, the father or founder of Tekoa, and posthumous son of Hezron (1 Chr. iv. 7). The Keri has יֶזְעָר "and Zohar," which was followed by the LXX. and by the A. V. of 1611.

JEZRAH'AH (יֶזְרָחָה): omitted in Vat. MS., Alex. 'Iεζράη, and MS. Fred. Aug. 'Iεζρίας: *Jezraia*), a Levite, the leader of the choristers at the solemn dedication of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42). The singers had built themselves villages in the environs of the city, and the Oasis of the Jordan, and with the minstrels they gathered themselves together at the first summons to keep the dedication with gladness.

JEZREEL (יֶזְרְעֵל): 'Iεζραήλ; Alex. 'Iεζραήλ and 'Iεζραήλ: *Jezrahel*), according to the received text, a descendant of the father or founder of Etam, of the line of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 3). But

* A graphic conception of this scene occurs in Racine's *Athalie*, Act II. Sc. 5.

† According to the explanation of S. Ephrem *Opuscula ad loc.*

^c יֶזְעָר, "dash," as from a precipice (Ps. cxli. 6).

^d יֶזְרְעֵל, "smooth field."

as the verse now stands, we must supply some such word as "families;" "these (are the families of) the father of Etam." Both the LXX. and Vulg. read בָּנָי, "sons," for אָבִי, "father," and six of Kennicott's MSS. have the same, while in two of De Rossi's the readings are combined. The Syriac is singularly different from all:—"And these are the sons of Aminodob, Achizar'el, &c., Neshmo, and Dibosh," the last clause of ver. 3 being entirely omitted. But, although the Syriac text of the Chronicles is so corrupt as to be of little authority in this case, there can be no doubt that the genealogy in vers. 3, 4 is so confused as to be attended with almost insuperable difficulties. Tremellius and Junius regard Etam as the proper name of a person, and Jezreel as one of his sons, while Bertheau considers them both names of places. The Targum on Chron. has, "And these are the Rabbis dwelling at Etam, Jezreel," &c. In ver. 4 Hur is referred to as the ancestor of this branch of the tribe of Judah, and therefore, if the present text be adopted, we must read, "and these, viz. Abi-Etam, Jezreel," &c. But the probability is that in ver. 3 a clause has been omitted. [W. A. W.]

JEZREEL (יֶזְרְעֵל); LXX. Ἰεσραήλ; Joseph.

Ἰεσράηλα, *Ant.* viii. 13, § 6, Ἰεσράελα, *Ant.* ix. 6, § 4, Ἰζάρα, *Ant.* viii. 15, § 4, 6; Ἐσδρήλωμ, or Ἐσδρήλων, *Jud.* i. 8, iv. 6; Ἐσδράηλα, Eusebius and Jerome, in *Onomasticon*, voce *Jezrael*, Latinized into *Stradela*. See Bordeaux Pilgrim in *Itin. Hierosol.* p. 586.) Its modern name is *Zerin*, which is in fact the same word, and which first appears in William of Tyre (xxii. 26) as *Gerin* (*Gerinum*), and Benjamin of Tudela as *Zarzin*. The history of the identification of these names is well given in Robinson, *B. R.* 1st Ed. iii. 163, 165, and is curious as an example of the tenacity of a local tradition, in spite of the carelessness of modern travellers.

The name is used in 2 Sam. ii. 9 and (?) iv. 4, and Hos. i. 5, for the valley or plain between Gilboa and Little Hermon; and to this plain, in its widest extent, the general form of the name Esdraelon (first used in *Jud.* i. 8) has been applied in modern times. It is probably from the richness of the plain that the name is derived, "God has sown," "God's sowing." For the events connected with this great battle-field of Palestine, see *ESDRAELON*.

In its more limited sense, as applied to the city, it first appears in *Josh.* xix. 18, where it is mentioned as a city of Issachar, in the neighbourhood of Chesulloth and Shunem; and it had citizens (1 K. xxi. 1-3), elders, and nobles of its own (1 K. xxi. 8-11). But its historical importance dates from the reign of Ahab; who chose it for his chief residence, as Omri had chosen Samaria, and Baasha Tirzah.

The situation of the modern village of *Zerin* still remains to show the fitness of his choice. It is on one of the gentle swells which rise out of the fertile plain of Esdraelon; but with two peculiarities which mark it out from the rest. One is its strength. On the N.E. the hill presents a steep rocky descent of at least 100 feet (Robinson, 1st Ed. iii. 162). The other is its central locality. It stands at the opening of the middle branch of the three eastern forks of the plain, and looks straight towards the wide western level; thus commanding the view towards the Jordan on the east (2 K. ix. 17), and visible from Carmel on the west (1 K. xviii. 46).

^a In *Jos. Ant.* viii. 13, § 6, it is called Ἰεο, ἀγλα, Ἰζάρου πόλις; in viii. 13, § 7, Ἰζάρου πόλις singly; in

In the neighbourhood, or within the town probably, was a temple and grove of Astarte, with an establishment of 400 priests supported by Jezebel (1 K. xvi. 33; 2 K. x. 11). The palace of Ahab (1 K. xxi. 1, xviii. 46), probably containing his "ivory house" (1 K. xxii. 39), was on the eastern side of the city, forming part of the city wall (comp. 1 K. xxi. 1; 2 K. ix. 25, 30, 33). The seraglio, in which Jezebel lived, was on the city wall, and had a high window facing eastward (2 K. ix. 30). Close by, if not forming part of this seraglio (as Josephus supposes, τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐπὶ τοῦ πύργου, *Ant.* ix. 6, § 4), was a watch-tower, on which a sentinel stood, to give notice of arrivals from the disturbed district beyond the Jordan (2 K. ix. 17). This watch-tower, well-known as "the tower in Jezreel," may possibly have been the tower or "migdol" near which the Egyptian army was encamped in the battle between Necho and Josiah (*Herod.* ii. 159). An ancient square tower which stands amongst the hovels of the modern village may be its representative. The gateway of the city on the east was also the gateway of the palace (2 K. ix. 34). Immediately in front of the gateway, and under the city wall, was an open space, such as existed before the neighbouring city of Bethshan (2 Sam. xxi. 12), and is usually found by the walls of Eastern cities, under the name of "the mounds" (see *Arabian Nights, passim*), whence the dogs, the scavengers of the East, prowled in search of offal (2 K. ix. 25). Here Jezebel met with her end (2 K. ix. 35). [JEZEBEL.] A little further East, but adjoining to the royal domain (1 K. xxi. 1), was a smooth tract of land cleared out of the uneven valley (2 K. i. 25), which belonged to Naboth, a citizen of Jezreel (2 K. ix. 1), by an hereditary right (1 K. xxi. 3); but the royal grounds were so near that it would have been easily turned into a garden of herbs for the royal use (2 K. xxi. 2). Here Elijah met Ahab, Jehu, and Bidkar (1 K. xxi. 17); and here Jehu met Joram and Ahaziah (2 K. x. 21, 25). [ELIJAH; JEHU.] Whether the vineyard of Naboth was here or at Samaria is a doubtful question. [NABOTH.]

Still in the same eastern direction are two springs, one 12 minutes from the town, the other 20 minutes (Robinson, 1st Ed. iii. 167). This latter spring "flows from under a sort of cavern in the wall of conglomerate rock, which here forms the base of Gilboa. The water is excellent; and issuing from crevices in the rocks, it spreads out at once into a fine limpid pool, 40 or 50 feet in diameter, full of fish" (Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 168). This probably, both from its size and situation, was known as "THE SPRING OF JEZREEL" (mistranslated A. V. "a fountain," 1 Sam. xxix. 1), where Saul and was encamped before the battle of Gilboa; and probably the same as the spring of "Harod," where Gideon encamped before his night attack on the Midianites, (*Judg.* vii. 1, mistranslated A. V. "the well"). The name of Harod, "trembling," probably was taken from the "trembling" of Gideon's army (*Judg.* vii. 3). It was the scene of successive encampments of the Crusaders and Saracens; and was called by the Christians Tubania, and by the Arabs *Ain Jaldid*, "the spring of Goliath" (Robinson, *B. R.* iii. 69). This last name, which it still bears, is derived from a tradition mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, that here David

viii. 15, § 4, 6, Ἰζάρα. Various readings are given of Ἰεζάρα, Ἀκάου, Ἀζάου, Ἀζάα

kill d Goliath. The tradition may be a confused reminiscence of many battles fought in its neighbourhood (Ritter, *Jordan*, 416); or the word may be a corruption of "Gilead," supposing that to be the ancient name of Gilboa, and thus explaining Judg. vii. 8, "depart from Mount Gilead" (Schwarz, 334).

According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, §4, 6), this spring, and the pool attached to it, was the spot where Naboth and his sons were executed, where the dogs and swine licked up their blood and that of Ahab, and where the harlots bathed in the blood-stained water (LXX). But the natural inference from the present text of 1 K. xxii. 38 makes the scene of these events to be the pool of Samaria. [See NABOTH.]

With the fall of the house of Ahab the glory of Jezreel departed. No other king is described as living there, and the name was so deeply associated with the family of its founder, that when the Divine retribution overtook the house of their destroyer, the eldest child of the prophet Hosea, who was to be a living witness of the coming vengeance, was called "Jezreel;" "for I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu . . . and at that day I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel; . . . and great shall be the day of Jezreel" (Hos. i. 4, 5, 11). And then out of that day and place of humiliation the name is to go back to its original signification as derived from the beauty and fertility of the rich plain, and to become a pledge of the revived beauty and richness of Israel. "I will 'hear and answer' the heavens, and they will hear and answer' the earth, and the earth shall 'hear and answer' the corn and the wine and the oil [of that fruitful plain], and they shall 'hear and answer' Jezreel [that is, the seed of God], and I will sow her unto me in the earth" (Hos. ii. 22; see Ewald *ad loc.*, and Gesenius *in voce Jezreel*). From this time the image seems to have been continued as a prophetic expression for the sowing the people of Israel, as it were broadcast; as though the whole of Palestine and the world were to become, in a spiritual sense, one rich plain of Jezreel. "I will sow them among the people, and they shall remember me in far countries" (Zech. x. 9). "Ye shall be tilled and sown, and I will multiply men upon you" (Ez. xxxvi. 9, 10). "I will sow the house of Israel and the house of Judah with the seed of men and with the seed of beast" (Jer. xxxi. 27). Hence the consecration of the image of "sowing," as it appears in the N. T., Matt. xiii. 2.

2. A town in Judah, in the neighbourhood of the southern Carmel (Josh. xv. 56). Here David in his wanderings took Ahinoam the Jezreelitess for his first wife (1 Sam. xxvii. 3, xxx. 5). [A. P. S.]

JIBSAM (יִבְשָׁם): 'Iεμασαν; Alex. 'Iεβασαμ: *Jebsem*), one of the sons of Tola, the son of Issachar, who were heads of their father's house and heroes of might in their generations (1 Chr. vii. 2). His descendants appear to have served in David's army, and with others of the same clan mustered to the number of upwards of 22,000.

JIDLAPH (יְדִלָּפ): "weeping," Ges.: 'Iελαφ: *Jedlaph*), a son of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 22), whose settlements have not been identified, though they most probably are to be looked for in the Euphrates country. [E. S. P.]

JIMNA (יִמְנָה): 'Iαμιν; Alex. 'Iαμισιν: *Jemna*), the firstborn of Asner, represented in the num-

bering on the plains of Moab by his descendants the Jimnites (Num. xxvi. 44). He is elsewhere called in the A. V. JIMNAH (Gen. xli. 17) and IMNAH (1 Chr. vii. 30), the Hebrew in both instances being the same.

JIM'NAH (יִמְנָה): 'Iεμνά; Alex. 'Iεμνά; *Jamne*) = JIMNA = IMNAH (Gen. xli. 17).

JIM'NITES, THE (יְיִמְנִיָּהּ; i. e. the Jimnah; Sam. and one MS. יִמְנִיָּהּ: δ' 'Iαμινί; Alex. δ' 'Iαμινί: *Jemnaïtae*), descendants of the preceding (Num. xxvi. 44).

JIPH'TAH (יִפְתָּח), i. e. Yiftach: Vat. omits; Alex. 'Iεφθα: *Jephtha*), one of the cities of Judah in the maritime lowland, or Shefelah (Josh. xv. 43). It is named in the same group with Mareshah, Nezeb, and others. Both the last-mentioned places have been discovered, the former to the south, the latter to the east of *Beit-Jibrin*, not as we should expect on the plain, but in the mountains. Here Jiphthah may some day be found, though it has not yet been met with. [G.]

JIPH'THAH-EL, THE VALLEY OF (יְבֵית־יִפְתָּח): Γαιφαήλ, Έκγαλ και Φθαήλ; Alex.

Γαί 'Iεφθαήλ, Έργγαί 'Iεφθαήλ: *Jephthahel*), a valley which served as one of the land-marks for the boundary both of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 14) and Asher (27). The district was visited in 1852 by Dr. Robinson, who suggests that Jiphthah-el was identical with Jotapata, the city which so long withstood Vespasian (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 7), and that they survive in the modern *Jefat*, a village in the mountains of Galilee, half-way between the Bay of Acre and the Lake of Genesareth. In this case the valley is the great *Wady-Abilin*, which "has its head in the hills near *Jefat*, and runs thence westward to the maritime plain (Robinson, iii. 107). Van de Velde concurs in this, and identifies Zebulun (Josh. xix. 27), which he considers to be a town, with the ruins of *Abilin* (*Memoir*, 326). It should, however, be remarked that the Hebrew word *Ge*, here rendered "valley," has commonly rather the force of a ravine or glen, and is distinct from *Nachal*, which answers exactly to the Arabic *Wady* (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. §2, 38). [G.]

JO'AB (יֹאָב): "Jehovah-father:" 'Iωάβ:

Joab), the eldest and most remarkable of the three nephews of David, the children of Zeruiah, David's sister. Their father is unknown, but seems to have resided at Bethlehem, and to have died before his sons, as we find mention of his sepulchre at that place (2 Sam. ii. 32). They all exhibit the activity and courage of David's constitutional character. But they never rise beyond this to the nobler qualities which lift him above the wild soldiers and chieftains of the time. Asahel, who was cut off in his youth, and seems to have been the darling of the family, is only known to us from his gazelle-like agility (2 Sam. ii. 18). Abishai and Joab are alike in their implacable revenge. Joab, however, combines with these ruder qualities something of a more statesman-like character, which brings him more nearly to a level with his youthful uncle; and unquestionably gives him the second place in the whole history of David's reign.

* By Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 1, §3) his name is given as Suri (Σουρι); but this may be merely a repetition of Sarouiah (Σαροβία).

1. He first appears after David's accession to the throne at Hebron, thus differing from his brother Abishai, who was already David's companion during his wanderings (1 Sam. xxvi. 6). He with his two brothers went out from Hebron at the head of David's "servants," or guards, to keep a watch on the movements of Abner, who with a considerable force of Benjamites had crossed the Jordan, and come as far as Gibeon, perhaps on a pilgrimage to the sanctuary. The two parties sat opposite each other, on each side of the tank by that city. Abner's challenge, to which Joab assented, led to a desperate struggle between twelve champions from either side. [GIBEON.] The left-handed Benjamites, and the right-handed men of Judah—their sword-hands thus coming together—seized each his adversary by the head, and the whole number fell by the mutual wounds they received.

This roused the blood of the rival tribes; a general encounter ensued; Abner and his company were defeated, and in his flight, being hard pressed by the swift-footed Asahel, he reluctantly killed the unfortunate youth. The expressions which he uses, "Wherefore should I smite thee to the ground? how then should I hold up my face to Joab thy brother?" (2 Sam. ii. 22), imply that up to this time there had been a kindly, if not a friendly, feeling between the two chiefs. It was rudely extinguished by this deed of blood. The other soldiers of Judah, when they came up to the dead body of their young leader, halted, struck dumb by grief. But his two brothers, on seeing the corpse, only hurried on with greater fury in the pursuit. At sunset the Benjamite force rallied round Abner,^b and he then made an appeal to the generosity of Joab not to push the war to extremities. Joab reluctantly consented, drew off his troops, and returned, after the loss of only nineteen men, to Hebron. They took the corpse of Asahel with them, and on the way halted at Bethlehem in the early morning, or at dead of night, to inter it in their family burial-place (2 Sam. ii. 32).

But Joab's revenge on Abner was only postponed. He had been on another of these predatory excursions from Hebron, when he was informed on his return that Abner had in his absence paid a visit to David, and been received into favour (2 Sam. iii. 23). He broke out into a violent remonstrance with the king, and then, without David's knowledge, immediately sent messengers after Abner, who was overtaken by them at the well of Sirah, according to Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 1, §5), about two miles from Hebron.^c Abner, with the unsuspecting generosity of his noble nature, returned at once. Joab and Abishai met him in the gateway of the town; Joab took him aside (2 Sam. iii. 27), as if with a peaceful intention, and then struck him a deadly blow "under the fifth rib." It is possible that with the passion of vengeance for his brother may have been mingled the fear lest Abner should supplant him in the king's favour. David burst into passionate invective and imprecations on Joab when he heard of the act, and forced him to appear in sackcloth and torn garments at the funeral (iii. 31). But it was an intimation of Joab's power,

which David never forgot. The awe in which he stood of the sons of Zeruah cast a shade over the whole remainder of his life (iii. 39).

III. There was now no rival left in the way of Joab's advancements, and soon the opportunity occurred for his legitimate accession to the highest post that David could confer. At the siege of Jebus, the king offered the office of chief of the army, now grown into a "host," to any one who would lead the forlorn hope, and scale the precipice on which the besieged fortress stood. With an agility equal to that of David himself, or of his brother Asahel, Joab succeeded in the attempt, and became in consequence commander-in-chief—"captain of the host"—the same office that Abner had held under Saul, the highest in the state after the king (1 Chr. xi. 6; 2 Sam. viii. 16). His importance was immediately shown by his undertaking the fortification of the conquered city, in conjunction with David (1 Chr. xi. 8).

In this post he was content, and served the king with undeviating fidelity. In the wide range of wars which David undertook, Joab was the acting general, and he therefore may be considered as the founder, as far as military prowess was concerned, the Marlborough, the Belisarius, of the Jewish empire. Abishai, his brother, still accompanied him, as captain of the king's "mighty men" (1 Chr. xi. 20; 2 Sam. x. 10). He had a chief armour-bearer of his own, Naharai, a Beerothite (2 Sam. xxiii. 37; 1 Chr. xi. 39), and ten attendants to carry his equipment and baggage (2 Sam. xviii. 15). He had the charge, formerly belonging to the king or judge, of giving the signal by trumpet for advance or retreat (2 Sam. xviii. 16). He was called by the almost regal title of "Lord" (2 Sam. xi. 11), "the prince of the king's army" (1 Chr. xxvii. 34). His usual residence (except when campaigning) was in Jerusalem—but he had a house and property, with barley-fields adjoining, in the country (2 Sam. xiv. 30), in the "wilderness" (1 K. ii. 34), probably on the N.E. of Jerusalem (comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 18, Josh. viii. 15, 20), near an ancient sanctuary, called from its nomadic village "Baalhazor" (2 Sam. xiii. 23; comp. with xiv. 30), where there were extensive sheepwalks. It is possible that this "house of Joab" may have given its name to Ataroth, *Beth-Joab* (1 Chr. ii. 54), to distinguish it from Ataroth-adar. There were two Ataroths in the tribe of Benjamin [see ATAROTH].

1. His great war was that against Ammon, which he conducted in person. It was divided into three campaigns. (a) The first was against the allied forces of Syria and Ammon. He attacked and defeated the Syrians, whilst his brother Abishai laid the same for the Ammonites. The Syrians rallied with their kindred tribes from beyond the Euphrates, and were finally routed by David himself. [HADAREZER]. (b) The second was against Edom. The decisive victory was gained by David himself in the "valley of salt," and celebrated by a triumphal monument (2 Sam. viii. 13). But Joab remained the charge of carrying out the victory, and remained for six months, extirpating the male population, whom he then buried in the tombs of Petra

^b The word describing the halt of Abner's band, and rendered "troop" in the A. V. (2 Sam. ii. 25), is an unusual one, אַגֻּדָּה (*Aguddah*), elsewhere employed for a bunch or knot of hyssop.

^c Possibly the spring which still exists about that distance out of Hebron on the left of the road going northward, and bears the name of *Ain-Serah*. The road has doubtless always followed the same track.

1 K. xi. 15, 16). So long was the terror of his name preserved that only when the fugitive prince of Edom, in the Egyptian court, heard that "David slept with his fathers, and that Joab the captain of the host was dead," did he venture to return to his own country (ib. xi. 21, 22). (c) The third was against the Ammonites. They were again left to Joab (2 Sam. x. 7-19). He went against them at the beginning of the next year "at the time when kings go out to battle"—to the siege of Rabbah. The ark was sent with him, and the whole army was encamped in booths or huts round the beleaguered city (2 Sam. xi. 1, 11). After a sortie of the inhabitants, which caused some loss to the Jewish army, Joab took the lower city on the river, and, then, with true loyalty, sent to urge David to come and take the citadel, "Rabbah," lest the glory of the capture should pass from the king to his general (2 Sam. xii. 26-28).

2. The services of Joab to the king were not confined to these military achievements. In the entangled relations which grew up in David's domestic life, he bore an important part. (a) The first occasion was the unhappy correspondence which passed between him and the king during the Ammonite war respecting Uriah the Hittite, which led to the treacherous sacrifice of Uriah in the above mentioned sortie (2 Sam. xi. 1-25). It shows both the confidence reposed by David in Joab, and Joab's too unscrupulous fidelity to David. From the possession which Joab thus acquired of the terrible secret of the royal household, has been dated, with some probability,^d his increased power over the mind of the king.

(b) The next occasion on which it was displayed was in his successful endeavour to reinstate Absalom in David's favour, after the murder of Amnon. It would almost seem as if he had been guided by the effect produced on the king by Nathan's parable. A similar apologue he put into the mouth of a "wise woman of Tekoah." The exclamation of David on perceiving the application intimates the high opinion which he entertained of his general, "Is not the hand of Joab in all this?" (2 Sam. xiv. 1-20). A like indication is found in the confidence of Absalom that Joab, who had thus procured his return, could also go a step further and demand his admission to his father's presence. Joab, who evidently thought that he had gained as much as could be expected (2 Sam. xiv. 22), twice refused to visit the prince, but having been entrapped into an interview by a stratagem of Absalom, undertook the mission, and succeeded in this also (ib. xiv. 28-33).

(c) The same keen sense of his master's interests that had prompted this desire to heal the breach in the royal family ruled the conduct of Joab no less, when the relations of the father and son were reversed by the successful revolt of Absalom. His former intimacy with the prince did not impair his fidelity to the king. He followed him beyond the Jordan, and in the final battle of Ephraim assumed the responsibility of taking the rebel prince's dangerous life in spite of David's injunction to spare him, and when no one else had courage to act so decisive a part (2 Sam. xviii. 2, 11-15). He was well aware of the terrible effect it would have on the king (ib. xviii. 20), and on this account possibly dissuaded his young friend Ahimaz from bearing the news—but, when the tidings had been broken, he

had the spirit himself to rouse David from the frantic grief which would have been fatal to the royal cause (2 Sam. xix. 5-7). His stern resolution (as he had himself anticipated) well nigh proved fatal to his own interests. The king could not forgive it, and went so far in his unreasonable resentment as to transfer the command of the army from the too faithful Joab to his other nephew Amasa, the son of Abigail, who had even sided with the insurgents (2 Sam. xix. 32). In like manner he returned only a reproachful answer to the vindictive loyalty of Joab's brother, Abishai (ib. 22).

(d) Nothing brings out more strongly the good and bad qualities of Joab than his conduct in this trying crisis of his history. On the one hand, he remained still faithful to his master. On the other hand, as before in the case of Abner, he was determined not to lose the post he so highly valued. Amasa was commander-in-chief, but Joab had still his own small following of attendants; and with him were the mighty men commanded by his brother Abishai (2 Sam. xx. 7, 10), and the body-guard of the king. With these he went out in pursuit of the remnants of the rebellion. In the heat of pursuit, he encountered his rival Amasa, more leisurely engaged in the same quest. At "the great stone" in Gibeon, the cousins met. Joab's sword was attached to his girdle; by design or accident it protruded from the sheath. Amasa rushed into the treacherous embrace, to which Joab invited him, holding fast his sword by his own right hand, whilst the unsheathed sword in his left hand plunged into Amasa's stomach; a single blow from that practised arm, as in the case of Abner, sufficed to do its work. Joab and his brother hurried on to discharge their commission, whilst one of his ten attendants staid by the corpse, calling on the royal party to follow after Joab. But the deed produced a frightful impression. The dead body was lying in a pool of blood by the roadside; every one halted, as they came up, at the ghastly sight, till the attendant dragged it out of the road, and threw a cloak over it. Then, as if the spell was broken, they followed Joab, now once more captain of the host (2 Sam. xx. 5-13). He too, when they overtook him, presented an aspect long afterwards remembered with horror. The blood of Amasa had spirted all over the girdle to which the sword was attached, and the sandals on his feet were red with the stains left by the falling corpse (1 K. ii. 5).

(e) But, at the moment, all were absorbed in the pursuit of the rebels. Once more a proof was given of the wide-spread confidence in Joab's judgment. In the besieged town of Abel Bethmaachah, far in the north, the same appeal was addressed to his sense of the evils of an endless civil war, that had been addressed to him years before by Abner near Gibeon. He demanded only the surrender of the rebel chief, and on the sight of his head thrown over the wall, withdrew the army and returned to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xx. 16-22). [SHEBA.]

(f) His last remonstrance with David was on the announcement of the king's desire to number the people. "The king prevailed against Joab" (2 Sam. xxiv. 1-4). But Joab's scruples were so strong that he managed to avoid numbering two of the tribes, Levi and Benjamin (1 Chr. xxi. 6).

3. There is something mournful in the end of Joab. At the close of his long life, his loyalty, so long unshaken, at last wavered. "Though he

^d See Blunt's *Coincidences*, ii., xi.

had not turned after Absalom (or, as in LXX. or Jos. *Ant.* viii. 1, §4, "He turned not after Solomon"), he turned after Adonijah" (1 K. ii. 28). This probably filled up the measure of the king's long cherished resentment. We learn from David's last song that his powerlessness over his courtiers was even then present to his mind (2 Sam. xxiii. 6, 7), and now, on his deathbed, he recalled to Solomon's recollection the two murders of Abner and Amasa (1 K. ii. 5, 6), with an injunction not to let the aged soldier escape with impunity.

The revival of the pretensions of Adonijah after David's death was sufficient to awaken the suspicions of Solomon. The king deposed the high-priest Abiathar, Joab's friend and fellow-conspirator—and the news of this event at once alarmed Joab himself. He claimed the right of sanctuary within the curtains of the sacred tent, under the shelter of the altar at Gibeon. He was pursued by Benaiah, who at first hesitated to violate the sanctuary of the refuge; but Solomon urged that the guilt of two such murders overrode all such protection. With his hands on the altar therefore, the grey-headed warrior was slaughtered by his successor. The body was carried to his house "in the wilderness," and there interred. He left descendants, but nothing is known of them, unless it may be inferred from the double curse of David (2 Sam. iii. 29) and of Solomon (1 K. ii. 33) that they seemed to dwindle away, stricken by a succession of visitations—weakness, leprosy, lameness, murder, starvation. His name is by some supposed (in allusion to his part in Adonijah's coronation on that spot) to be preserved in the modern appellation of Enrogel—"the well of Job"—corrupted from *Joab*.

[A. P. S.]

2. **יֹאבָבִי**: 'Iwabāb; Alex. 'Iwab; *Joab*.) Son of Seraiah, and descendant of Kenaz (1 Chr. iv. 14). He was father, or prince, as Jarchi explains it, of the valley of Charashim, or smiths, so called, according to the tradition quoted by Jerome (*Quaest. Heb. in Paral.*), because the architects of the Temple were selected from among his sons.

3. ('Iwab; *Job* in 1 Esd.). The head of a family, not of priestly or Levitical rank, whose descendants, with those of Jeshua, were the most numerous of all who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 6, viii. 9; Neh. vii. 11; 1 Esd. viii. 35). It is not clear whether Jeshua and Joab were two prominent men among the children of Pahath-Moab, the ruler or sultan (*shālṭān*) of Moab, as the Syriac renders, or whether, in the registration of those who returned, the descendants of Jeshua and Joab were represented by the sons of Pahath-Moab. The latter is more probably the true solution, and the verse (Ezr. ii. 6; Neh. vii. 11) should then be rendered:—"the sons of Pahath-Moab, for (i. e. representing) the sons of Jeshua and Joab." In this case the Joab of Ezr. viii. 9 and 1 Esd. viii. 35 was probably a distinct personage.

JOACHAZ ('Iexonias; Alex. 'Iáchaz; *Jechonias*) = Jehonahaz (1 Esd. i. 34), the son of Josiah. The LXX. and Vulgate are in this case followed by St. Matthew (i. 11), or have been altered so as to agree with him.

JOACHIM ('Iwakelm; *Joachim*). 1. (Bar. i. 3) = Jehoiakim, called also Joacim.

2. A "high-priest" (*ὁ ἱερεὺς*) at Jerusalem

in the time of Baruch "the son of Chelcias," i. e. Hilkiah (Ezr. i. 7). The name does not occur in the list 1 Chr. vi. 13 ff.

[B. F. W.]

JO'ACIM ('Iwakelm; Alex. 'Iwakelm and 'Iwakelm; *Joacim*). 1. = Jehoiakim (1 Esd. i. 37, 38, 39). [JOACIM, 1.]

2. (*Joachim*) = Jehoiachin (1 Esd. i. 43).

3. = Joiakim, the son of Jeshua (1 Esd. v. 5). He is by mistake called the son of Zerubbabel, as is clear from Neh. xii. 10, 26; and the passage has in consequence been corrected by Junius, who renders it "Jeschuah filius Jehotzadaki cum Jehojakimo filio." Berrington (*General.* i. 72) proposed to omit the words 'Iwakelm ὁ τοῦ αὐτοῦ together as an interpolation. [W. A. W.]

4. "The high-priest which was in Jerusalem" (Jud. iv. 6, 14) in the time of Judith, who welcomed the heroine after the death of Holofernes, in company with "the ancients of the children of Israel" (*ἡ γερουσία τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ*, xv. 8 ff.). The name occurs with the various reading *Eliakim*, but it is impossible to identify him with any historical character. No such name occurs in the lists of high-priests in 1 Chr. vi. (Jos. *Ant.* x. 8, §6); and it is a mere arbitrary conjecture to suppose that Eliakim mentioned in 2 K. xviii. 18 was afterwards raised to that dignity. Still less can be said for the identification of Joacim with Hilkiah (2 K. xxii. 4; 'Eliakias, Jos. *Ant.* x. 4, §2; *Xelcias*, LXX.). The name itself is appropriate to the position which the high-priest occupies in the story of Judith ("The Lord hath set up"), and the person must be regarded as a necessary part of the fiction.

5. The husband of Susanna (Sus. 1 ff.). The name seems to have been chosen, as in the former case, with a reference to its meaning; and it was probably for the same reason that the husband of Anna, the mother of the Virgin, is called Joacim in early legends (*Protev. Jac.* i., &c.).

JOADA'NUS ('Iwadānos; *Joadeus*), one of the sons of Jeshua, the son of Jozadak (1 Esd. ix. 19). His name occupies the same position as that of Gedaliah in the corresponding list in Ezr. x. 18, but it is uncertain how the corruption originated. Probably, as Berrington suggests (*General.* i. 167), the Γ was corrupted into I, and AI into N, a change which in the uncial character would be very slight.

JO'AH (יֹאחַז; 'Iwads in Kings, 'Iwāχ in Isaiah; Alex. 'Iwafāt in 2 K. xviii. 18, 26, and 'Iwds in ver. 37; *Joahē*). 1. The son of Asaph, and chronicler, or keeper of the records, to Hezekiah. He was one of the three chief officers sent to communicate with the Assyrian general at the conduit of the upper pool (Is. xxxvi. 3, 11, 22), and probably belonged to the tribe of Levi.

2. ('Iwab; Alex. 'Iwāχ; *Joah*). The son or grandson of Zimnah, a Gershonite (1 Chr. vi. 21), and apparently the same as Ethan (ver. 42), unless as is not improbable, in the latter list some names are supplied which are omitted in the former, and vice versa. For instance, in ver. 42 Shimei is added, and in ver. 43 Libni is omitted (comp. ver. 20). If Joah and Ethan are identical, the passage must have been early corrupted, as all ancient versions give it as it stands at present, and there are no variations in the MSS.

3. ('Iwab; Alex. 'Iwad; *Joaha*). The third son of Obed-edom (1 Chr. xxvi. 4), a Korhite, and one of the door-keepers appointed by David. With

the rest of his family he is characterised as a man of excellence in strength for the service (ver. 8). They were appointed to keep the southern gate of the temple, and the house of Ashuppim, or "gatherings," which was either a store-house or council-chamber in the outer court (ver. 15).

4. (Ἰωδαῖδ; Alex. Ἰωά; *Joah*.) A Gershonite, the son of Zimham, and father of Eden (2 Chr. xxix. 12). As one of the representatives of the great Levitical family to which he belonged, he took a leading part in the purification of the temple in the reign of Hezekiah. In the last clause of the verse the LXX. have Ἰωαχά, which is the reading of both MSS.; but there is nothing to show that the same person is not in both instances intended, nor any MS. authority for the various reading.

5. (Ἰουάχ; Alex. Ἰωάς; *Johah*.) The son of Joahaz, and keeper of the records, or annalist to Josiah. Together with the chief officers of state, Shaphan the scribe, and Manseiah, the governor of the city, he superintended the repair of the Temple which had been neglected during the two previous reigns (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8). Josephus calls him Ἰωάθης, as if he read Ἰωάθι. The Syriac and Arabic omit the name altogether.

JOAHAZ (Ἰωαχά; Ἰωαχάξ; *Joachaz*), the father of Joah, the chronicler or keeper of the records to king Josiah (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8). One of Kennicott's MS. reads Ἰωαχ, i. e. Ahaz, and the margin of Bomberg's Bible gives Ἰωαχάθι, i. e. Jehoahaz. In the Syr. and Arab. versions the name is omitted.

JOANAN (Ἰωάν; Alex. Ἰωάν; *Jonathas*) = JOHANAN, the son of Eliashib (1 Esd. ix. 1).

JOANNA (Ἰωάννας; Alex. Ἰωάννα; *Joanna*), son of Rhesa, according to the text of Luke iii. 27, and one of the ancestors of Christ. But according to the view explained in a previous article, son of Zerubabel, and the same as Hananiah in 1 Chr. iii. 19. [GENEAL. OF CHRIST; HANANIAH, 8.] [A.C.H.]

JOANNA (Ἰωάννα, modern form "Joan," of the same origin with Ἰωάννας, the reading of most MSS.; also rendered A. V. "Joanna," St. Luke iii. 27, and Ἰωάννης = Hebr. JEHOHANAN), the name of a woman, occurring twice in Luke (viii. 3, xxiv. 10), but evidently denoting the same person. In the first passage she is expressly stated to have been "wife of Chusa, steward (ἐπίτροπος) of Herod," that is, Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee. Professor Blunt has observed in his *Coincidences*, that "we find here a reason why Herod should say to his servants (Matt. xiv. 2), 'This is John the Baptist' . . . because his steward's wife was a disciple of Jesus, and so there would be frequent mention of him among the servants in Herod's court" (Alford, *ad loc.*; comp. Luke ix. 7). Professor Blunt adds the still more interesting instance of Manaen (Acts xiii. 1), the tetrarch's own "foster-brother" (σύντροφος, Blunt, p. 263, ed. 1859). Another coincidence is, that our Lord's ministry was mostly confined to Galilee, the seat of Herod's jurisdiction. Farther, if we might suppose Herod at length to have dismissed Chusa from his service, on account of Joanna's attachment to one already in ill odour with the higher powers (see particularly Luke xiii. 31), the suppression of her husband's name, now no longer holding a distinguished office, would be very natural in the second passage. However, Joanna continued faith-

ful to our Lord throughout His ministry, and as she was one of those whose circumstances permitted them to "minister unto Him out of their substance" during His lifetime, so she was one of those who brought spices and ointments to embalm His body when dead. [E. S. Ff.]

JOANNAN (Ἰωάναν; Alex. Ἰωάννης. *Joannes*), the eldest brother of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. ii. 2). He had the surname of Caddis, and is elsewhere called John. [JOHN, 2.]

JOARIB (Ἰωαρίβ; Alex. Ἰωαρίμ; *Joarib*), chief of the first of the twenty-four courses of priests in the reign of David, and ancestor of the Maccabees (1 Macc. ii. 1). His name appears also in the A. V. as Jehoiarib (1 Chr. xxiv. 7), and Jarib (1 Macc. xiv. 29). Josephus retains the form adopted by the LXX. (*Ant.* xii. 6, §1).

JOASH (Ἰωάσ; Ἰωάσ), the contracted form of the name JEHOASH, in which it is frequently found: Ἰωάς; *Joas*). 1. Son of Ahaziah king of Judah, and the only one of his children who escaped the murderous hand of Athaliah. Jehoram having himself killed all his own brethren, and all his sons, except Ahaziah, having been killed by the irruption of the Philistines and Arabians, and all Ahaziah's remoter relations having been slain by Jehu, and now all his sons being put to death by Athaliah (2 Chr. xxi. 4, 17; xxii. 1, 8, 9, 10), the house of David was reduced to the lowest ebb, and Joash appears to have been the only surviving descendant of Solomon. After his father's sister Jehoshabeath, the wife of Jehoiaha, had stolen him from among the king's sons, he was hid for 6 years in the chambers of the Temple. In the 7th year of his age and of his concealment, a successful revolution placed him on the throne of his ancestors, and freed the country from the tyranny and idolatries of Athaliah. [JEHOIADA.] For at least 23 years, while Jehoiaha lived, this reign was very prosperous. Excepting that the high-places were still resorted to for incense and sacrifice, pure religion was restored. Large contributions were made for the repair of the Temple, which was accordingly restored; and the country seems to have been free from foreign invasion and domestic disturbance. But, after the death of Jehoiaha, Joash, who was evidently of weak character, fell into the hands of bad advisers, at whose suggestion he revived the worship of Baal and Ashtaroth. When he was rebuked for this by Zechariah, the son of Jehoiaha, who had probably succeeded to the high-priesthood, with base ingratitude and daring impiety Joash caused him to be stoned to death in the very court of the Lord's house, "between the temple and the altar" (Matt. xxiii. 35). The vengeance imprecated by the murdered high-priest was not long delayed. That very year, Hazael king of Syria, after a successful campaign against the Philistines, came against Jerusalem, and carried off a vast booty as the price of his departure. A decisive victory, gained by a small band of Syrians over a great host of the king of Judah, had thus placed Jerusalem at his mercy. This defeat is expressly said to be a judgment upon Joash for having forsaken the God of his fathers. He had scarcely escaped this danger, when he fell into another and a fatal one. Two of his servants, taking advantage of his severe illness, some think of a wound received in battle, conspired against him, and sewed him in his bed in the fortress of Millo, thus avenging the innocent blood of Zechariah. II

was buried in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings of Judah. Possibly the fact of Jehoiah being buried there had something to do with this exclusion. Joash's reign lasted 40 years, from 878 to 838 B.C. He was 10th king from David inclusive, reckoning the reign of the usurper Athaliah. He is one of the three kings (Ahaziah, Joash, Amaziah) omitted by St. Matthew in the genealogy of Christ.

With regard to the different accounts of the Syrian invasion given in 2 K. and in 2 Chr., which has led some (as Thenius and many older commentators), to imagine two distinct Syrian invasions, and others to see a direct contradiction, or at least a strange incompleteness in the narratives, as Winer, the difficulty exists solely in the minds of the critics. The narrative given above, which is also that of Keil and E. Bertheau (*Exeg. handb. z. A. T.*) as well as of Josephus, perfectly suits the two accounts, which are merely different abridgments of the one fuller account contained in the original chronicles of the kingdom. Gramberg pushes the system of incredulous criticism to such an absurd pitch, that he speaks of the murder of Zacharias as a pure fable (Winer, *Realwörterb. Joahasch*).

It should be added that the prophet Elisha flourished in Israel throughout the days of Joash; and there is some ground for concluding with Winer (agreeing with Credner, Movers, Hitzig, Meier, and others) that the prophet Joel also prophesied in the former part of this reign. (See Movers, *Chronik.* pp. 119-121.)

2. Son and successor of Jehoahaz on the throne of Israel from B.C. 840 to 825, and for two full years a contemporary sovereign with the preceding (2 K. xiv. 1; comp. with xii. 1, xiii. 10). When he succeeded to the crown, the kingdom was in a deplorable state from the devastations of Hazael and Benhadad, kings of Syria, of whose power at this time we had also evidence in the preceding article. In spite of the perseverance of Joash in the worship set up by Jeroboam, God took compassion upon the extreme misery of Israel, and in remembrance of His covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, interposed to save them from entire destruction. On occasion of a friendly visit paid by Joash to Elisha on his deathbed, where he wept over his face, and addressed him as "the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof," the prophet promised him deliverance from the Syrian yoke in Aphek, the scene of Ahab's great victory over a former Benhadad (1 K. xx. 26-30). He then bid him smite upon the ground, and the king smote thrice and then stayed. The prophet rebuked him for staying, and limited to three his victories over Syria. Accordingly Joash did beat Benhadad three times on the field of battle, and recovered from him the cities which Hazael had taken from Jehoahaz. The other great military event of Joash's reign was his successful war with Amaziah king of Judah. The grounds of this war are given fully in 2 Chr. xxv. [AMAZIAH.] The hiring of 100,000 men of Israel for 100 talents of silver by Amaziah is the only instance on record of such a transaction, and implies that at that time the kingdom of Israel was free from all fear of the Syrians. These mercenary soldiers having been dismissed by Amaziah, at the instigation of a prophet, without being allowed to take part in the Edomitic expedition, returned in great wrath to their own country, and sacked and plundered the cities of Judah in revenge for the

slight put upon them, and also to indemnify themselves for the loss of their share of the plunder. It was to avenge this injury that Amaziah, on his return from his triumph over the Edomites, declared war against Joash, in spite of the warning of the prophet, and the contemptuous dissuasion of Joash under the fable of the cedar and the thistle. The result was that the two armies met at Beth-shemes, that Joash was victorious, put the army of Amaziah to the rout, took him prisoner, brought him to Jerusalem, broke down the wall of Jerusalem, all along the north side from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate, a distance of 400 cubits, plundered the Temple of its gold and silver vessels, seized the king's treasures, took hostages, and then returned to Samaria, where he died, probably not very long afterwards, and was buried in the sepulchres of the kings of Israel. He died in the 15th year of Amaziah king of Judah, and was succeeded by his son Jeroboam II. There is a discrepancy between the Bible account of his character and that given by Josephus. For whereas the former says of him, "He did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord" (2 K. xiii. 11), the latter says that he was a good man, and very different from his father. Josephus probably was guided by the account of Joash's friendly intercourse with Elisha, which certainly indicates some good disposition in him, although he followed the sin of Jeroboam. [A. C. H.]

3. The father of Gideon, and a wealthy man among the Abiezrites. At the time of the Midianitish occupation of the country, he appears to have gone so far with the tide of popular opinion in favour of idolatry, that he had on his own ground an altar dedicated to Baal, and an Asherah. In this, however, he submitted rather to the exigencies of the time, and the influence of his family and neighbours, and was the first to defend the daring act of his son, and protect him from the vengeance of the Abiezrites, by sarcasm only less severe than that which Elijah employed against the priests of Baal in the memorable scene on Carmel (Judg. vi. 11, 29, 30, 31, vii. 14, viii. 13, 29, 32). The LXX. put the speech in vi. 31 most inappropriately into the mouth of Gideon, but this is corrected in the Alex. MS. In the Vulg. the name is omitted in vi. 31 and viii. 13.

4. Apparently a younger son of Ahab, who held a subordinate jurisdiction in the life-time of his father, or was appointed viceroy (*ἀρχοῦρα*, LXX. of 2 Chr. xviii. 25) during his absence in the attack on Ramoth-Gilead (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Chr. xviii. 25). Or he may have been merely a prince of the blood-royal. But if Geiger be right in his conjecture, that Maaseiah, "the king's son," in 2 Chr. xxviii. 7, was a prince of the same. There ship, Joash would be a priest of the belief (Geiger, *Urschrift*, &c., p. 307). The Vulgate calls him "the son of Amelech," taking the article as part of the noun, and the whole as a proper name. Thenius suggests that he may have been placed with the governor of the city for the purpose of military education.

5. A descendant of Shelah the son of Judah, but whether his son or the son of Jokim, as Barington (*Genealogies*, i. 179) supposes, is not clear (1 Chr. iv. 22). The Vulgate rendering of his name by *Securus*, according to its etymology, is well as of the other names in the same verse, is

very remarkable. The Hebrew tradition, quoted by Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. in Paral.*) and Jarchi (*Comm. in loc.*), applies it to Mahlon, the son of Elimelech, who married a Moabitess. The expression rendered in A. V., "who had the dominion (בְּעָלָהּ, *bā'ālāh*) in Moab," would, according to this interpretation, signify "who married in Moab." The same explanation is given in the Targum of R. Joseph.

6. A Benjamite, son of Shemaah of Gibeah (1 Chr. xii. 3). He was one of the heroes, "helpers of the battle," who resorted to David at Ziklag, and assisted him in his excursions against the marauding parties to whose attacks he was exposed (ver. 21). He was probably with David in his pursuit of the Amalekites (comp. 1 Chr. xii. 21, with 1 Sam. xxx. 8, where יִצְחָק should be "troop" in both passages). The Peshito-Syriac, reading יִצְחָק for יִצְחָק, makes him the son of Abiezer.

7. One of the officers of David's household, to whose charge were entrusted the store-houses of oil, the produce of the plantations of sycamores and the olive-yards of the lowlands of Judah (1 Chr. xvii. 28). [W. A. W.]

JO'ASH (יֹאָשׁ), a different name from the preceding: יֹאָשׁ: *Joas*, son of Becher, and head of a Benjamite house, which existed in the time of king David (1 Chr. vii. 8). [A. C. H.]

JO'ATHAM (יֹאָחָז: *Jotham*) = Jotham the son of Uzziah (Matt. i. 9).

JOAZAB'DUS (Ἰωζαβήδος: *Joradus*) = Jozabab the Levite (1 Esd. ix. 48; comp. Neh. viii. 7).

JOB (יֹב): Ἰσάακ; Alex. Ἰασούφ: *Job*, the third son of Issachar (Gen. xlvi. 13), called in another genealogy JASHUB (1 Chr. vii. 1), which is the reading of the Heb. Sam. Codex in Genesis, as it was also in all probability of the two MSS. of the LXX., ζ being frequently represented by μ .

JOB (יֹב, i. e. *Iyob*; יֹבֵב; *Job*). The numerous and difficult questions touching the integrity of this book, its plan, object, and general character; and the probable age, country, and circumstances of its author, cannot be satisfactorily discussed without a previous analysis of its contents. It consists of five parts: the introduction, the discussion between Job and his three friends, the speech of Elihu, the manifestation and address of Almighty God, and the concluding chapter.

I. *Analysis*.—1. The Introduction supplies all the facts on which the argument is based. Job, a chieftain in the land of Uz,^a of immense wealth and high rank, "the greatest of all the men of the East," is represented to us as a man of perfect integrity, blameless in all the relations of life, declared indeed by the Lord Himself to be "without his like in all the earth," "a perfect, and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil." The highest goodness, and the most perfect temporal happiness are combined in his person; under the protection of God, surrounded by a numerous family, he enjoys in advanced life^b an almost paradisiacal state, exemplifying the normal results of human obe-

dience to the will of a righteous God. One question could be raised by envy; may not the goodness which secures such direct and tangible rewards be a refined form of selfishness? In the world of spirits, where all the mysteries of existence are brought to light, Satan, the accusing angel, suggests the doubt, "doth Job fear God for nought?" and asserts boldly that if those external blessings were withdrawn Job would cast off his allegiance,—"he will curse thee to thy face." The problem is thus distinctly propounded which this book is intended to discuss and solve. Can goodness exist irrespective of reward, can the fear of God be retained by man when every inducement to selfishness is taken away? The problem is obviously of infinite importance, and could only be answered by inflicting upon a man, in whom, while prosperous, malice itself could detect no evil, the calamities which are the due, and were then believed to be invariably the results, even in this life, of wickedness. The accuser receives permission to make the trial. He destroys Job's property, then his children; and afterwards, to leave no possible opening for a cavil, is allowed to inflict upon him the most terrible disease known in the East. Each of these calamities assumes a form which produces an impression that it must be a visitation from God,^c precisely such as was to be expected, supposing that the Patriarch had been a successful hypocrite, reserved for the day of wrath. Job's wife breaks down entirely under the trial—in the very words which Satan had anticipated the patriarch himself would at last utter in his despair, she counsels him "to curse God and die." Job remains steadfast. The destruction of his property draws not from him a word of complaint; the death of his children elicits the sublimest words of resignation which ever fell from the lips of a mourner—the disease which made him an object of loathing to man, and seemed to designate him as a visible example of divine wrath, is borne without a murmur; he repels his wife's suggestion with the simple words, "What! shall we receive good at the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil?" "In all this Job did not sin with his lips."

The question raised by Satan was thus answered. His assaults had but issued in a complete removal of the outer forms which could mislead men's judgment, and in developing the highest type of disinterested worth. Had the narrative then ended, the problem could not be regarded as unsolved, while a sublime model would have been exhibited for men to admire and imitate.

2. Still in that case it is clear that many points of deep interest would have been left in obscurity. Entire as was the submission of Job, he must have been inwardly perplexed by events to which he had no clue, which were quite unaccountable on any hypothesis hitherto entertained, and seemed repugnant to the ideas of justice engraven on man's heart. It was also most desirable that the impressions made upon the generality of men by sudden and unaccountable calamities should be thoroughly discussed, and that a broader and firmer basis than heretofore should be found for speculations concerning the providential government of the

^a The situation of Uz is doubtful. Ewald (*Das Buch Job*, p. 20) supposes it to have been the district south of Bashan. Spanheim and Rosenmüller (*Proll.* pp. 29-33) fix it in the N.E. of the desert near the Euphrates. See also Dr. Lee, *Introduction to Job*, p. 29.

^b From ch. xlii. 16 it may be inferred that he was about 70 years old at this time.

^c ὡς καὶ θεοῦ κατ' αὐτοῦ χωροῦντος. Didymus Alex. ed. Migne, p. 1126.

world. An opportunity for such discussion is afforded in the most natural manner by the introduction of three men, representing the wisdom and experience of the age, who came to condole with Job on hearing of his misfortunes. Some time^d appears to have elapsed in the interim, during which the disease had made formidable progress, and Job had thoroughly realised the extent of his misery. The meeting is described with singular beauty. At a distance they greet him with the wild demonstrations of sympathising grief usual in the east; coming near they are overpowered by the sight of his wretchedness, and sit seven days and seven nights without uttering a word. This awful silence, whether Job felt it as a proof of real sympathy, or as an indication of inward suspicion^e on their part, drew out all his anguish. In an agony of desperation he curses the day of his birth, and sees and hopes for no end of his misery, but death.

With the answer to this outburst begins a series of discussions, continued probably (as Ewald shows, p. 55) with some intervals, during several successive days. Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar in turn, bring forward arguments, which are severally answered by Job.

The results of the *first* discussion (from c. iii. -xiv.) may be thus summed up. We have on the part of Job's friends a theory of the divine government resting upon an exact and uniform correlation between sin and punishment (iv. 6, 11, and throughout).^f Afflictions are always penal, issuing in the destruction of those who are radically opposed to God, or who do not submit to His chastisements. They lead of course to correction and amendment of life when the sufferer repents, confesses his sins, puts them away, and turns to God. In that case restoration to peace, and even increased prosperity may be expected (v. 17-27). Still the fact of the suffering always proves the commission of some special sin, while the demeanour of the sufferer indicates the true internal relation between him and God.

These principles are applied by them to the case of Job. They are in the first place scandalized by the vehemence of his complaints, and when they find that he maintains his freedom from wilful, or conscious sin, they are driven to the conclusion that his faith is radically unsound; his protestations appear to them almost blasphemous, they become convinced that he has been secretly guilty of some unpardonable sin, and their tone, at first courteous, though warning (comp. c. iv. with c. xv.), becomes stern, and even harsh and menacing. It is clear that unless they are driven from their partial and exclusive theory they must be led on to an unqualified condemnation of Job.

In this part of the dialogue the character of the three friends is clearly developed. Eliphaz represents the true patriarchal chieftain, grave and dignified, and erring only from an exclusive adherence to tenets hitherto unquestioned, and influenced in the first place by genuine regard for Job, and sympathy with his affliction. Bildad, without much originality or independence of character, reposes partly on the wise saws of antiquity, partly on the authority of his older friend. Zophar differs from

both, he seems to be a young man; his language is violent, and at times even coarse and offensive (see especially his second speech, c. xx.). He represents the prejudiced and narrow-minded bigots of his age.

In order to do justice to the position and arguments of Job, it must be borne in mind, that the direct object of the trial was to ascertain whether he would deny or forsake God, and that his real integrity is asserted by God Himself. His answers throughout correspond with these data. He knows with a sure inward conviction that he is not an offender in the sense of his opponents: he is therefore confident that whatever may be the object of the afflictions for which he cannot account, God knows that he is innocent. This consciousness, which from the nature of things cannot be tested by others, enables him to examine fearlessly their position. He denies the assertion that punishment follows surely on guilt, or proves its commission. Appealing boldly to experience, he declares that in point of fact prosperity and misfortune are not always, or generally commensurate; both are often irrespective of man's deserts, "the tabernacles of robbers prosper, and they that provoke God are secure" (c. xii. 6). In the government of Providence he can see but one point clearly, viz., that all events and results are absolutely in God's hand (xii. 9-25), but as for the principles which underlie those events he knows nothing. In fact, he is sure that his friends are equally uninformed, and are sophists, defending their position, out of mere prejudice, by arguments and statements false in themselves and doubly offensive to God, being hypocritically advanced in his defence (xiii. 1-13). Still he doubts not that God is just, and although he cannot see how or when that justice can be manifested, he feels confident that his innocence must be recognised. "Though He slay me, yet I will trust in Him; he also will be my salvation" (xiii. 14, 16). There remains then but one course open to him, and that he takes. He turns to supplication, implores God to give him a fair and open trial (xiii. 18-28). Admitting his liability to such sins as are common to man, being unclean by birth (xiii. 26, xiv. 4); he yet protests his substantial innocence, and in the bitter struggle with his misery, he first meets the thought which is afterwards developed with remarkable distinctness. Believing that with death all hope connected with this world ceases, he prays that he may be hidden in the grave (xiv. 13), and there reserved for the day when God will try his cause and manifest Himself in love (ver. 15). This prayer represents but a dim, yet a profound and true presentiment, drawn forth, then evidently for the first time, as the possible solution of the dark problem. As for a renewal of life *here*, he dreams not of it (14), nor will he allow that the possible restoration or prosperity of his descendants at all meets the exigencies of his case (21, 22).

In the *second* discussion (xv.-xxi.) there is a more resolute elaborate attempt on the part of Job's friends to vindicate their theory of retributive justice. This requires an entire overthrow of the position taken by Job. They cannot admit his innocence. The fact that his calamities are unparalleled, proves to them that there must be something

^d Otherwise it would be difficult to meet Rosenmüller's objection (p. 8). It seems indeed probable that some months even might pass by before the news would reach the friends, and they could arrange their meeting.

^e Thus Schlottmann.

^f It is curious that this theory was revived and systematized by Basilides, to the great scandal of the early Fathers. See Clem. Al. *Str.* iv. p. 565.

quite unique in his guilt. Eliphaz (c. xv.), who, as usual, lays down the basis of the argument, does not now hesitate to impute to Job the worst crimes of which man could be guilty. His defence is blasphemous, and proves that he is quite godless; that he disregards the wisdom of age and experience, denies the fundamental truths of religion (3-16), and by his rebellious struggles (25-27) against God deserves every calamity which can befall him (28-30). Bildad (xviii.) takes up this suggestion of ungodliness, and after enlarging upon the inevitable results of all iniquity, concludes that the special evils which had come upon Job, such as agony of heart, ruin of home, destruction of family, are peculiarly the penalties due to one who is without God. Zophar (xx.) draws the further inference that a sinner's sufferings must needs be proportioned to his former enjoyments (5-14), and his losses to his former gains (15-19), and thus not only accounts for Job's present calamities, but menaces him with still greater evils (20-29).

In answer Job recognises the hand of God in his afflictions (xvi. 7-16, and xix. 6-20), but rejects the charge of ungodliness; he has never forsaken his Maker, and never ceased to pray. This being a matter of inward consciousness cannot of course be proved. He appeals therefore directly to earth and heaven:—"My witness is in heaven, and my record is on high" (xvi. 19). The train of thought thus suggested carries him much farther in the way towards the great truth—that since in this life the righteous certainly are not saved from evil, it follows that their ways are watched and their sufferings recorded, with a view to a future and perfect manifestation of the divine justice. This view becomes gradually brighter and more definite as the controversy proceeds (xvi. 18, 19, xvii. 8, 9, and perhaps 13-16), and at last finds expression in a strong and clear declaration of his conviction that at the latter day (evidently that day which Job had expressed a longing to see, c. xiv. 12-14) God will personally manifest Himself, and that he, Job, will then see him, in his body,^b with his own eyes, and notwithstanding the destruction of his skin, i. e., the outward man, retaining or recovering his personal identity (xix. 25-27). There can be no doubt that Job here virtually anticipates the final answer to all difficulties supplied by the Christian revelation.

On the other hand, stung by the harsh and narrow-minded bigotry of his opponents, Job draws out (xxi.) with terrible force the undeniable fact, that from the beginning to the end of their lives ungodly men, avowed atheists (vers. 14, 15), persons, in fact, guilty of the very crimes, imputed, out of mere conjecture, to himself, frequently enjoy great and unbroken prosperity. From this he draws the inference, which he states in a very unguarded manner, and in a tone calculated to give just offence, that an impenetrable veil hangs over the temporal dispensations of God.

In the third dialogue (xxii.-xxxi.) no real pro-

gress is made by Job's opponents. They will not give up and cannot defend their position. Eliphaz (xxii.) makes a last effort, and raises one new point which he states with some ingenuity. The station in which Job was formerly placed presented temptations to certain crimes; the punishments which he undergoes are precisely such as might be expected had those crimes been committed; hence he infers they actually were committed. The tone of this discourse thoroughly harmonises with the character of Eliphaz. He could scarcely come to a different conclusion without surrendering his fundamental principles, and he urges with much dignity and impressiveness the exhortations and warnings which in his opinion were needed. Bildad has nothing to add but a few solemn words on the incomprehensible majesty of God and the nothingness of man.¹ Zophar, the most violent and least rational of the three, is put to silence, and retires from the contest.

In his two last discourses Job does not alter his position, nor, properly speaking, adduce any new argument, but he states with incomparable force and eloquence the chief points which he regards as established (c. xxvi.). All creation is confounded by the majesty and might of God; man catches but a faint echo of God's word, and is baffled in the attempt to comprehend his ways. He then (c. xxvii.) describes even more completely than his opponents had done² the destruction which, as a rule, ultimately falls upon the hypocrite, and which he certainly would deserve if he were hypocritically to disguise the truth concerning himself, and deny his own integrity. He thus recognises what was true in his opponent's arguments, and corrects his own hasty and unguarded statements. Then follows (xxviii.) the grand description of Wisdom, and the declaration that human wisdom does not consist in exploring the hidden and inscrutable ways of God, but in the fear of the Lord, and in turning away from evil. The remainder of this discourse (xxix.-xxxi.) contains a singularly beautiful description of his former life, contrasted with his actual misery, together with a full vindication of his character from all the charges made or insinuated by his opponents.

3. Thus ends the discussion, in which it is evident both parties had partially failed. Job has been betrayed into very hazardous statements, while his friends had been on the one hand disingenuous, on the other bigoted, harsh, and pitiless. The points which had been omitted, or imperfectly developed, are now taken up by a new interlocutor (xxxii.-xxxvii.). Elihu, a young man, descended from a collateral branch of the family of Abraham,³ has listened in indignant silence to the arguments of his elders (xxxii. 7), and, impelled by an inward inspiration, he now addresses himself to both parties in the discussion, and specially to Job. He shows, 1. that they had accused Job upon false or insufficient grounds, and failed to convict him, or to vindicate God's justice. Job again had assumed his entire innocence, and had arraigned that justice (xxxiii.

¹ Mr. Froude, on *The Book of Job*, seems not to perceive, or to ignore, the ground on which Eliphaz reasons.

² See Herder's excellent remarks, quoted by Rosenmüller, p. 24. Mr. Froude quite overlooks the fact that Job here, as elsewhere, takes up his opponents' arguments, and urges all the truth which they may involve with greater force, thus showing himself master of the position.

³ A Buzite.

^a This gradual and progressive development was perhaps first brought out distinctly by Ewald.

^b מִבְּשָׂרִי, lit. "from my flesh," may mean in the body, or out of the body. Each rendering is equally tenable on grammatical grounds; but the specification of the time (אֲחֵרָיו) and the place (עַל-יָסֵד) requires a personal manifestation of God, and a personal recognition on the part of Job. Complete personality in the mind of the ancients implies a living body.

3-11). These errors he traces to their both overlooking one main object of all suffering. God speaks to man by chastisement (14, 19-22)—warns him, teaches him self-knowledge and humility (16, 17)—and prepares him (23) by the mediation of a spiritual interpreter (the angel Jehovah of Genesis) to implore and to obtain pardon (24), renewal of life (25), perfect access and restoration (26). This statement does not involve any charge of special guilt, such as the friends had alleged and Job had repudiated. Since the warning and suffering are preventive, as well as remedial, the visitation anticipates the commission of sin; it saves man from pride, and other temptations of wealth and power, and it effects the real object of all divine interpositions, the entire submission to God's will. Again, Elihu argues (xxxiv. 10-17) that any charge of injustice, direct or implicit, against God involves a contradiction in terms. God is the only source of justice; the very idea of justice is derived from His governance of the universe, the principle of which is love. In His absolute knowledge God sees all secrets, and by His absolute power He controls all events, and that, for the one end of bringing righteousness to light (21-30). Man has of course no claim upon God; what he receives is purely a matter of grace (xxxv. 6-9). The occasional appearance of unanswered prayer (9), when evil seems to get the upper hand, is owing merely to the fact that man prays in a proud and insolent spirit (12, 13). Job may look to his heart, and he will see if that is true of himself.

Job is silent, and Elihu proceeds (xxxvi.) to show that the Almightyness of God is not, as Job seems to assert, associated with any contempt or neglect of His creatures. Job, by ignoring this truth, has been led into grave error, and terrible danger (12; cf. 18), but God is still drawing him, and if he yields and follows he will yet be delivered. The rest of the discourse brings out forcibly the lessons taught by the manifestations of goodness, as well as greatness in creation. Indeed, the great object of all natural phenomena is to teach men—"who teacheth like Him?" This part differs from Job's magnificent description of the mystery and majesty of God's works, inasmuch as it indicates a clearer recognition of a loving purpose—and from the address of the Lord which follows, by its discursive and argumentative tone. The last words are evidently spoken while a violent storm is coming on, in which Elihu views the signs of a Theophany, which cannot fail to produce an intense realisation of the nothingness of man before God.

4. From the preceding analysis it is obvious that many weighty truths have been developed in the course of the discussion—nearly every theory of the objects and uses of suffering has been reviewed—while a great advance has been made towards the apprehension of doctrines hereafter to be revealed, such as were known only to God. But the mystery is not as yet really cleared up. The position of the three original opponents is shown to be untenable—the views of Job himself to be but imperfect—while even Elihu gives not the least intimation

that he recognises one special object of calamity. In the case of Job, as we are expressly told, that object was to try his sincerity, and to demonstrate that goodness, integrity in all relations, and devout faith in God can exist independent of external circumstances. This object never occurs to the mind of any one of the interlocutors, nor could it be proved without a revelation. On the other hand, the exact amount of censure due to Job for the excesses into which he had been betrayed, and to his three opponents for their harshness and want of candour, could only be awarded by an omniscient Judge. Hence the necessity for the Theophany—from the midst of the storm Jehovah speaks.

In language of incomparable grandeur He reproves and silences the murmurs of Job. God does not condescend, strictly speaking, to argue with His creatures. The speculative questions discussed in the colloquy are unnoticed, but the declaration of God's absolute power is illustrated by a marvellously beautiful and comprehensive survey of the glory of creation, and His all-embracing Providence by reference to the phenomena of the animal kingdom. He who would argue with the Lord must understand at least the objects for which instincts so strange and manifold are given to the beings far below man in gifts and powers. This declaration suffices to bring Job to a right mind: he confesses his inability to comprehend, and therefore to answer his Maker (xl. 3, 4). A second address completes the work. It proves that a charge of injustice against God involves the consequence that the accuser is more competent than He to rule the universe. He should then be able to control, to punish, to reduce all creatures to order—but he cannot even subdue the monsters of the irrational creation. Baffled by leviathan and behemoth, how can he hold the reins of government, how contend with Him who made and rules them all? P

5. Job's unreserved submission terminates the trial. He expresses deep contrition, not of course for sins falsely imputed to him, but for the bitterness and arrogance which had characterised some portions of his complaints. In the rebuke then addressed to Job's opponents the integrity of his character is distinctly recognised, while they are condemned for untruth, which, inasmuch as it was not wilful, but proceeded from a real but narrow-minded conviction of the Divine justice, is pardoned on the intercession of Job. The restoration of his external prosperity, which is an inevitable result of God's personal manifestation, symbolizes the ultimate compensation of the righteous for all sufferings undergone upon earth.

From this analysis it seems clear that certain views concerning the general object of the book are partial or erroneous. It cannot be the object of the writer to prove that there is no connexion between guilt and sorrow,⁸ or that the old orthodox doctrine of retribution was radically unsound. Job himself recognises the general truth of the doctrine, which is in fact confirmed by his ultimate restoration to happiness.⁹ Nor is the development of the

⁸ A point well drawn out by Schlottmann, p. 33. Job had specially complained of the silence of God.

⁹ Thus A. Schultens. There can be no doubt that "angel," not "messenger," is the true translation; nor that the angel, the one of a thousand, is the

מלאך יהוה of Genesis.

¹⁰ This bearing of the statement upon the whole

argument is satisfactorily shown by Hahn (*Introduction to Job*, p. 4), and by Schlottmann in his commentary on the passage (p. 489).

⁹ This is the strangely exaggerated form in which Mr. Froude represents the views of Ewald. Nothing can be more contrary to the whole tenor of the book.

⁸ See Ewald's remarks in his *Jahrb.* 1858, p. 32.

great doctrine of a future state the primary object. It would not in that case have been passed over in Job's last discourse, in the speech of Elihu, or in the address of the Lord God. In fact critics who hold that view admit that the doctrine is rather suggested than developed, and amounts to scarcely more than a wish, a presentiment, at the most a subjective conviction of a truth first fully revealed by Him "who brought life and immortality to light." The great object must surely be that which is distinctly intimated in the introduction, and confirmed in the conclusion, to show the effects of calamity in its worst and most awful form upon a truly religious spirit. Job is no Stoic, no Titan (Ewald, p. 26), struggling rebelliously against God; no Prometheus' victim of a jealous and unrelenting Deity: he is a suffering man, acutely sensitive to all impressions inward and outward, grieved by the loss of wealth, position, domestic happiness, the respect of his countrymen, dependents, and followers, tortured by a loathsome and all but unendurable disease, and stung to an agony of grief and passion by the insinuations of conscious guilt and hypocrisy. Under such provocation, being wholly without a clue to the cause of his misery, and hopeless of restoration to happiness on earth, he is shaken to the utmost, and driven almost to desperation. Still in the centre of his being he remains firm and unmoved—with an intense consciousness of his own integrity—without a doubt as to the power, wisdom, truth, or absolute justice of God, and therefore awaiting with longing expectation⁹ the final judgment which he is assured must come and bring him deliverance. The representation of such a character, involving the discomfiture of man's great enemy, and the development of the manifold problems which such a spectacle suggests to men of imperfect knowledge, but thoughtful and inquiring minds, is the true object of the writer, who, like all great spirits of the ancient world, dealt less with abstract propositions than with the objective realities of existence. Such is the impression naturally made by the book, and which is recognised more distinctly in proportion as the reader grasps the tenour of the arguments, and realises the characters and events.

II. *Integrity of the book.*—It is satisfactory to find that the arguments employed by those who impugn the authenticity of considerable portions of this book are for the most part mutually destructive, and that the most minute and searching investigations bring out the most convincing proofs of the unity of its composition, and the coherence of its constituent parts. One point of great importance is noted by the latest and one of the most ingenious writers (M. E. Rénan, *Le Livre de Job*, Paris, 1859) on this subject. After some strong remarks upon the inequality of the style, and appearance of

interpolation, M. E. Rénan observes (p. xliiv.) :— "The Hebrews, and Orientals in general, differed widely from us in their views about composition. Their works never have that perfectly defined outline to which we are accustomed, and we should be careful not to assume interpolations or alterations (*retouches*) when we meet with defects of sequence which surprise us." He then shows that in parts of the work, acknowledged by all critics to be by one hand, there are very strong instances of what Europeans might regard as repetition, or suspect of interpolation: thus Elihu recommence his argument four times; while discourses of Job, which have distinct portions, such as to modern critics might seem unconnected and even misplaced, are impressed with such a character of sublimity and force as to leave no doubt that they are the product of a single inspiration. To this just and true observation it must be added that the assumed want of coherence and of logical consistency is for the most part only apparent, and results from a radical difference in the mode of thinking and enunciating thought between the old Eastern, and modern European.

Four parts of the book have been most generally attacked. Objections have been made to the introductory and concluding chapters (1) on account of the style. Of course there is an obvious and natural difference between the prose of the narrative and the highly poetical language of the colloquy. Yet the best critics now acknowledge that the style of these portions is quite as antique in its simple and severe grandeur,⁷ as that of the Pentateuch itself (to which it bears a striking resemblance⁸) or as any other part of this book, while it is as strikingly unlike the narrative style of all the later productions of the Hebrews. Ewald says with perfect truth, "these prosaic words harmonise thoroughly with the old poem in subject-matter and thoughts, in colouring and in art, also in language, so far as prose can be like poetry." It is said again that the doctrinal views are not in harmony with those of Job. This is wholly unfounded. The fundamental principles of the patriarch, as developed in the most solemn of his discourses, are identical with those maintained throughout the book. The form of worship belongs essentially to the early patriarchal type; with little of ceremonial ritual, without a separate priesthood, thoroughly domestic in form and spirit. The representation of the angels, and their appellation, "sons of God," peculiar to this book and to Genesis, accord entirely with the intimations in the earliest documents of the Semitic race. It is moreover alleged that there are discrepancies between the facts related in the introduction, and statements or allusions in the dialogue. But the apparent contradiction between xix. 17 and the statement that all Job's children

questions, that he and Ewald are at direct issue as to the state in which the text of this book has been handed down to us. Ewald considers that it is pure—that the MSS. must have been very good—the verbal connexion is accurate—and emendations unnecessary (see p. 66). M. Rénan asserts, "Cet antique monument nous est parvenu, j'en suis persuadé, dans un état fort misérable et maculé en plusieurs endroits" (p. lx.).

⁷ Rénan: "Le grand caractère du récit est une preuve de son ancienneté."

⁸ For a list of coincidences see Dr. Lee's *Job*, p. 49.

The notion that Job is a type of the Hebrew nation in their sufferings, and that the book was written to console them in their exile, held by Clericus and Bp. Warburton, is generally rejected. See Rosenmüller, pp. 13-16.

⁹ Ewald's theory, on which Schlottmann has some excellent observations (p. 48).

⁷ Schlottmann (p. 46), who draws also a very interesting comparison between Job and Vîçramitra, in the Ramayana (p. 128).

⁸ See the passages quoted by Ewald, p. 27.

⁹ It is a very remarkable instance both of the inconsistency of M. Rénan, and of the little reliance which can be placed upon the judgment of critics upon such

had perished, rests upon a misinterpretation of the words בְּנֵי רֵעִי, "children of my womb," i. e. "of the womb that bare me"—"my brethren," not "my children" (cf. iii. 10): indeed the destruction of the patriarch's whole family is repeatedly assumed in the dialogue (e. g. viii. 4, xxix. 5). Again, the omission of all reference to the defeat of Satan in the last chapter is quite in accordance with the grand simplicity of the poem (Schlottmann, 59, 40). It was too obvious a result to need special notice, and it had in fact been accomplished by the steadfast faith of the patriarch even before the discussions commenced. No allusion to the agency of that spirit was to be expected in the colloquy, since Job and his friends are represented as wholly ignorant of the transactions in heaven. At present indeed it is generally acknowledged* that the entire work would be unintelligible without these portions.

2. Strong objections are made to the passage xxvii. from v. 7 to the end of the chapter. Here Job describes the ultimate fate of the godless hypocrite in terms which some critics hold to be in direct contradiction to the whole tenour of his arguments in other discourses. Dr. Kennicott, whose opinion is adopted by Eichhorn, Froude, and others, held that, owing to some confusion or omission in the MS., the missing speech of Zophar has been put into the mouth of Job. The fact of the contradiction is denied by able writers, who have shown that it rests upon a misapprehension of the patriarch's character and fundamental principles. He had been provoked under circumstances of peculiar aggravation into statements which at the close of the discussion he would be anxious to guard or recal: he was bound, having spoken so harshly, to recognise, what beyond doubt he never intended to deny, the general justice of divine dispensations even in this world. Moreover he intimates a belief or presentiment of a future retribution, of which there are no indications in any other speaker (see ver. 8). The whole chapter is thoroughly coherent: the first part is admitted by all to belong to Job; nor can the rest be disjoined from it without injury to the sense. Ewald says, "only a grievous misunderstanding of the whole book could have misled the modern critics who hold that this passage is interpolated or misplaced." Other critics have abundantly vindicated the authenticity of the passage (Hahn, Schlottmann, &c.). As for the style, E. Rénan, a most competent authority in a matter of taste, declares that it is one of the finest developments of the poem. It certainly differs exceedingly in its breadth, loftiness, and devout spirit, from the speeches of Zophar, for whose silence satisfactory reasons have been already assigned (see the analysis).

3. The last two chapters of the address of the Almighty have been rejected as interpolations by

* Hahn, p. 13; Rosenmüller, p. 46; Eichhorn, Ewald, Schlottmann, Rénan, &c.

^b "Le style du fragment dont nous parlons est celui des meilleurs endroits du poëme. Nulle part la coupe n'est plus vigoureuse, le parallélisme plus sonore: tout indique que ce singulier morceau est de la même main, mais non pas du même jet, que le reste du discours de Jéhovah" (p. 1).

^c Berthold, Gesenius, Schaerer, Jahn, Umbreit, Rosenmüller; and of course by moderate or orthodox writers, as Hävernick, Hahn, Stieckel, Hengstenberg, and Schlottmann. Mr. Froude ventures, nevertheless, to assert that this speech is "now decisively

many, of course rationalistic, writers (Stuhlman, Bernstein, Eichhold, Ewald, Meier); partly because of an alleged inferiority of style; partly as not having any bearing upon the argument; but the connexion of reasoning, involved, though, as was to be expected, not drawn out, in this discourse, has been shown in the preceding analysis; and as for the style, few who have a true ear for the resonant grandeur of ancient Hebrew poetry will dissent from the judgment of E. Rénan,^b whose suggestion, that it may have been written by the same author at a later date, is far from weakening the force of his observation as to the identity of the style.

4. The speech of Elihu presents greater difficulties, and has been rejected by several rationalists, whose opinion, however, is controverted not only by orthodox writers, but by some of the most sceptical commentators.^c The former support their decision chiefly on the manifest, and to a certain extent the real, difference between this and other parts of the book in tone of thought, in doctrinal views, and more positively in language and general style. Much stress also is laid upon the facts that Elihu is not mentioned in the introduction nor at the end, and that his speech is unanswered by Job, and unnoticed in the final address of the Almighty. These points were observed by very early writers, and were accounted for in various ways. On the one hand, Elihu was regarded as a specially inspired person (Schlottmann, p. 53). In the Seder Olam (a rabbinical system of chronology) he is reckoned among the prophets who declared the will of God to the Gentiles before the promulgation of the law. S. Bar Nachman (12th century) notes his connexion with the family of Abraham as a sign that he was the fittest person to expound the ways of God. The Greek Fathers generally follow Chrysostom in attributing to him a superior intellect; while many of the best critics of the two last centuries^d consider that the true dialectic solution of the great problems discussed in the book is to be found in his discourse. On the other hand, Jerome,^e who is followed by Gregory,^f and many ancient as well as modern writers of the Western Church, speak of his character and arguments with singular contempt. Later critics, chiefly rationalists,^g see in him but an empty babler, introduced only to heighten by contrast the effect of the last solemn and dignified discourse of Job. The alternative of rejecting his speech as an interpolation was scarcely less objectionable, and has been preferred by Stuhlman, Bernstein, Ewald, Rénan, and other writers of similar opinions in our country. A candid and searching examination, however, leads to a different conclusion. It is proved (see Schlottmann, *Einl.* p. 55) that there is a close internal connexion between this and other parts of the book; there are references to numerous passages in the discourses of Job and his friends; so covert as only to be dis-

pronounced by Hebrew scholars not to be genuine," and he disposes of the question in a short note (*The Book of Job*, p. 24).

^d Thus Calvin, Thomas Aquinas, and A. Schultens, who speaks of his speech thus: "Elihu moderatissima illa quidem, sed tamen zelo Dei flagrantissima redargutio, qua Jobum subtiliter non minus quam graviter compescere aggreditur."

^e The commentary on Job is not by Jerome, but one of his disciples, and probably expresses his thoughts.

^f *Moralia Magna*, lib. xxviii. 1, 11.

^g Eichhorn, Berthold, Umbreit.

covered by close inquiry, yet, when pointed out, so striking and natural as to leave no room for doubt. Elihu supplies exactly what Job repeatedly demands—a confutation of his opinions, not merely produced by an overwhelming display of divine power, but by rational and human arguments, and proceeding from one, not like his other opponents, bigoted or hypocritical, but upright, candid, and truthful (comp. xxxiii. 3 with vi. 24, 25). The reasonings of Elihu are moreover such as are needed for the development of the doctrines inculcated in the book, while they are necessarily cast in a form which could not without irreverence be assigned to the Almighty.^h As to the objection that the doctrinal system of Elihu is in some points more advanced than that of Job or his friends, it may be answered, first, that there are no traces in this discourse of certain doctrines which were undoubtedly known at the earliest date to which those critics would assign the interpolation; whereas it is evident that if known they would have been adduced as the very strongest arguments for a warning and consolation. No reader of the Psalms and of the prophets could have failed to urge such topics as the resurrection, the future judgment, and the personal advent of Messiah. Secondly, the doctrinal system of Elihu differs rather in degree than in kind from that which has been either developed or intimated in several passages of the work, and consists chiefly in a specific application of the mediatorial theory, not unknown to Job, and in a deeper appreciation of the love manifested in all providential dispensations. It is quite consistent with the plan of the writer, and with the admirable skill shown in the arrangement of the whole work, that the highest view as to the object of afflictions, and to the source to which men should apply for comfort and instruction, should be reserved for this, which, so far as regards the human reasoners,ⁱ is the culminating point of the discussion. Little can be said for Lightfoot's theory, that the whole work was composed by Elihu; or for E. Rénan's conjecture that this discourse may have been composed by the author in his old age;^k yet these views imply an unconscious impression that Elihu is the fullest exponent of the truth. It is satisfactory to know that two^m of the most impartial and discerning critics, who unite in denying this to be an original and integral portion of the work, fully acknowledge its intrinsic excellence and beauty.

There is no difficulty in accounting for the omission of Elihu's name in the introduction. No persons are named in the book until they appear as agents, or as otherwise concerned in the events. Thus Job's brethren are named incidentally in one of his speeches, and his relatives are for the first time in the concluding chapter. Had Elihu been mentioned at first, we should of course have expected him to take part in the discussion, and the impression made by his startling address would

have been lost. Job does not answer him, nor indeed could he deny the cogency of his arguments; while this silence brings out a curious point of coincidence with a previous declaration of the patriarch (vi. 24, 25). Again, the discourse being substantially true did not need correction, and is therefore left unnoticed in the final decision of the Almighty.ⁿ Nothing indeed could be more in harmony with the ancient traditions of the East than that a youth, moved by a special and supernatural impulse to speak out God's truth in the presence of his elders, should retire into obscurity when he had done his work. More weight is to be attached to the objection resting upon diversity of style, and dialectic peculiarities. The most acute critics differ indeed in their estimate of both, and are often grossly deceived (see Schlottmann, p. 61), still there can be little doubt as to the fact. It may be accounted for either on the supposition that the author adhered strictly to the form in which tradition handed down the dialogue; in which case the speech of a Syrian might be expected to bear traces of his dialect;^o or that the Chaldaic forms and idioms, which are far from resembling later vulgarisms or corruptions of Hebrew, and occur only in highly poetic passages of the oldest writers, are such as peculiarly suit the style of the young and fiery speaker (see Schlottmann, *Eint.* p. 61). It has been observed, and with apparent truth, that the discourses of the other interlocutors have each a very distinct and characteristic colouring, shown not only in the general tone of thought, but in peculiarities of expression (Ewald and Schlottmann). The excessive obscurity of the style, which is universally admitted, may be accounted for in a similar manner. A young man speaking under strong excitement, embarrassed by the presence of his elders, and by the peculiar responsibility of his position, might be expected to use language obscured by repetitions; and, though ingenious and true, yet somewhat intricate and imperfectly developed arguments; such as in fact present great difficulties in the exegesis of this portion of the book.

III. *Historical character of the work.*—Three distinct theories have been maintained at various times—some believing the book to be strictly historical; others a religious fiction; others a composition based upon facts. Until a comparatively late time the prevalent opinion was, not only that the persons and events which it describes are real, but that the very words of the speakers were accurately recorded. It was supposed either that Job himself employed the latter years of his life in writing it (A. Schultens), or that at a very early age some inspired Hebrew collected the facts and sayings, faithfully preserved by oral tradition, and presented them to his countrymen in their own tongue. By some the authorship of the work was attributed to Moses; by others it was believed (and this theory has lately been sustained with much ingenuity^p)

in this speech are in themselves exceedingly pure and true, conceived with greater depth, and presented with more force than in the rest of the book" (p. 320).

^h This seems a sufficient answer to an objection more likely to occur to a modern European than to a Hebrew.

ⁱ Stiekel supposes that the Aramaic forms were intentionally introduced by the author on account of the Syrian descent of Elihu.

^j By Dr. Lee; see his Introduction. He accounts thus for the use of the name *יהוה*, found, with one exception, only in these chapters.

^h See Schlottmann (*l. c.*). The reader will remember the just, though sarcastic, criticism of Pope on Milton's irreverence and bad taste.

ⁱ Hahn says of Elihu: "A young wise man, representing all the intelligence of his age" (p. 5). Cf. A. Schultens and Hengstenberg in *Kitto's Bibl. Enc.*

^j P. lvii. This implies, at any rate, that in his opinion there is no absolute incompatibility between this and other parts of the book in point of style or thought. The conjecture is a striking instance of inconsistency in a very dogmatic writer.

^k Ewald and Rénan. Ewald says: "The thoughts

that Moses became acquainted with the documents during his residence in Midian, and that he added the introductory and concluding chapters.

The fact of Job's existence, and the substantial truth of the narrative, were not likely to be denied by Hebrews or Christians, considering the terms in which the patriarch is named in the 14th of Ezekiel and in the Epistle of St. James (v. 11). It seemed to early writers incompatible with any idea of inspiration to assume that a narrative, certainly not allegorical, should be a mere fiction; and irreverent to suppose that the Almighty would be introduced as a speaker in an imaginary colloquy. In the East numerous traditions (Ewald, p. 17, 18; see D'Herbelot, s. v. *Ayoub*) about the patriarch and his family show the deep impression made by his character and calamities: these traditions may possibly have been derived from the book itself; but it is at least equally probable that they had an independent origin. We are led to the same conclusion by the soundest principles of criticism. Ewald says (*Einkl.* p. 15) most truly, "The invention of a history without foundation in facts—the creation of a person, represented as having a real historical existence, out of the mere head of the poet—is a notion so entirely alien to the spirit of all antiquity, that it only began to develop itself gradually in the latest epoch of the literature of any ancient people, and in its complete form belongs only to the most modern times." In the canonical books there is not a trace of any such invention. Of all people the Hebrews were the least likely to mingle the mere creations of imagination with the sacred records revered as the peculiar glory of their race.

This principle is corroborated by special arguments. It is, to say the least, highly improbable that a Hebrew, had he invented such a character as that of Job, should have represented him as belonging to a race which, though descended from a common ancestor, was never on friendly, and generally on hostile, terms with his own people. Uz, the residence of Job, is in no way associated with Israelitish history, and, apart from the patriarch's own history, would have no interest for a Hebrew. The names of most persons introduced have no meaning connected with the part attributed to them in the narrative. The name of Job himself is but an apparent exception. According to most critics יֹב is derived from יָזַן , *infensus fuit*, and means "cruelly or hostilely treated;" according to others (Ewald and Rosenmüller) of high authority it may signify "a true penitent," corresponding to שָׁעָה

أَوَاب , so applied to Job, and evidently with reference to his name, in the Koran (Sur. 38, 44). In either case the name would give but a very

⁹ A fictitious name would of course have meant what the ancients supposed that Job must signify. τὸ ἰὼβ ὄνομα ὑπομοιή νοεῖται, καὶ ἐστίν, ὡς γενέσθαι τούτων ὁ προεκήληθη, ἢ κληθῆναι ὅπερ ἐγένετο. Didymus Alexand. p. 1120, ed. Migne.

⁷ This is assumed by all the critics who believe the details of the work to be a pure creation of the poet. "He has represented the simple relations of patriarchal life, and sustained the assumed character of a rich Arabian chieftain of a nomad tribe, with the greatest truthfulness." (Hahn.) Thus Ewald, Schlottmann, &c., p. 70.

⁸ Both races probably dwelt near the land of Uz. See Rosenm. *Proll.* pp. 30, 31.

partial view, and would indeed fail to represent the central principle⁴ of the patriarch's heroic character. It is moreover far from improbable that the name previously borne by the hero may have been changed in commemoration of the event. Such was the case with Abraham, Jacob, Joshua, and in all probability with many other historical personages in the Old Testament. It is worth noting, in a notice appended to the Alexandrian version it is stated, "he bore previously the name of Jobab;" and that a tradition adopted by the Jews and some Christian Fathers, identifies Job with Jobab, prince of Edom, mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 33. Moreover a coincidence between the name and the character or history of a real person is not uncommon in any age. To this it is objected that the resemblance in Greek does not exist in the Hebrew—a strange assertion: יֹב and יֹבָב are certainly not much less alike than יֹבָב and יֹבָב .

To this it must be added that there is a singularity of reality in the whole narrative, such as must either proceed naturally from a faithful adherence to objective truth, or be the result of the most consummate art.⁷ The effect is produced partly by the thorough consistency of all the characters, especially that of Job, not merely as drawn in broad strong outlines, but as developed under a variety of most trying circumstances: partly also by the minute and accurate account of incidents which in a fiction would probably have been noted by an ancient writer in a vague and general manner. Thus we remark the mode in which the supernatural trial is carried into execution by natural agencies—by Chaldaean and Sabeen⁸ robbers—by whirlwinds common in and peculiar to the desert—by fire—and lastly by the elephantiasis (see Schlottmann, p. 15; Ewald, *l. c.*; and Hengstenberg), the most formidable disease known in the East. The disease was indeed one which the Indians⁹ and most Orientals then probably believed to be peculiarly indicative of divine wrath, and would therefore be naturally selected by the writer (see the analysis above). But the symptoms are described so faithfully as to leave no doubt that the writer must either have introduced them with a view of giving an air of truthfulness to his work, or have recorded what he himself witnessed, or received from an exact tradition. The former supposition is confuted by the fact that the peculiar symptoms are not described in any one single passage so as to attract the reader's attention, but are made out by a critical and scientific examination of words occurring here and there at intervals in the complaints of the sufferer.¹⁰ The most refined art fails in producing such a result: it is rarely attempted in the most artificial ages; was never dreamed of by ancient writers, and must here be regarded as a strong

⁴ Thus Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 5, 2; Abulfeda, *Hist.*

Anteisl., $\text{تَجَدَّمٌ وَدَوْدٌ}$, p. 27, ed. Fleischer,

i. e. his body was smitten with elephantiasis (the سَدَس)

جَدَام), and eaten by worms. The disease is de-

scribed by Ainslie, *Transactions R. S.*, and Bruce. See Ewald, p. 23.

⁹ Ch. ii. 7, 8; vii. 5, 13; xvi. 8; xix. 17, 20; xxx. 18; and other passages. See the تَجَدَّم remarks of Ewald, p. 22.

instance of the undesigned coincidences which the soundest criticism regards as the best evidence of genuineness and authenticity in any work.

Forcible as these arguments may appear, many critics have adopted the opinion either that the whole work is a moral or religious apologue, or that, upon a substratum of a few rudimental facts preserved by tradition, the genius of an original thinker has raised this, the most remarkable monument of the Semitic mind. The first indications of this opinion are found in the Talmud (Baba Bathra, 14-16). In a discussion upon the age of this book, while the Rabbins in general maintain its historical character, Samuel Bar Nachman declares his conviction "Job did not exist, and was not a created man, but the work is a parable."⁵ Hai Gaon,⁶ A. D. 1000, who is followed by Jarchi, altered this passage to "Job existed and was created to become a parable." They had evidently no critical ground for the change, but bore witness to the prevalent tradition of the Hebrews. Maimonides (*Moreh Nevochim*, iii. 22), with his characteristic freedom of mind, considers it an open question of little or no moment to the real value of the inspired book. Ralbag, i. e. R. Levi Ben Gershom, treats it as a philosophic work. A late Hebrew commentator, Simcha Arie (Schlottmann, p. 4), denies the historical truth of the narrative, on the ground that it is incredible the patriarchs of the chosen race should be surpassed in goodness by a child of Edom. This is worth noting in corroboration of the argument that such a fact was not likely to have been invented by an Israelite of any age.⁷

Luther first suggested the theory, which, in some form or other, is now most generally received. In his introduction to the first edition of his translation of the Bible, he speaks of the author as having so treated the historical facts as to demonstrate the truth that God alone is righteous—and in the *Tischreden* (ed. Walsch, tom. xxii. p. 2093), he says, "I look upon the book of Job as a true history, yet I do not believe that all took place just as it is written, but that an ingenious, pious, and learned man brought it into its present form." This position was strongly attacked by Bellarmin, and other Roman theologians, and was afterwards repudiated by most Lutherans. The fact that Spinoza, Clericus, Du Pin, and Father Simon, held nearly the same opinion, the first denying, and the others notoriously holding low views of the inspiration of Scripture, had of course a tendency to bring it into disrepute. J. D. Michaelis first revived the old theory of Bar Nachman, not upon critical but dogmatic grounds. In a mere history, the opinions or doctrines enounced by Job and his friends could have no dogmatic authority; whereas if the whole book were a pure inspiration, the strongest arguments could be deduced from them on behalf of the great truths of the resurrection and a future judgment, which though implied in other early books, are now where so distinctly inculcated. The arbitrary

character of such reasoning is obvious. At present no critic doubts that the narrative rests on facts, although the prevalent opinion among continental scholars is certainly that in its form and general features, in its reasonings and representations of character, the book is a work of creative genius.

The question however cannot be settled, nor indeed thoroughly understood, without reference to other arguments by which critics have endeavoured to determine the date at which the work was completed in its present form, and the circumstances under which it was composed. We proceed therefore to consider

IV. *The probable age, country, and position of the author.*—The language alone does not, as some have asserted, supply any decisive test as to the date of the composition. Critics of the last century generally adopted the opinion of A. Schultens (*Praef. ad librum Jobi*), who considered that the indications of external influences were best accounted for on the supposition that the book was written at a very early period, before the different branches of the Semitic race had completely formed their distinct dialects. The fact that the language of this work approaches far more nearly to the Arabic than any other Hebrew production was remarked by Jerome and is recognised by the soundest critics. On the other hand, there are undoubtedly many Aramaic words,⁸ and grammatical forms, which some critics have regarded as a strong proof that the writers must have lived during, or even after the captivity. At present this hypothesis is universally given up as untenable. It is proved (Ewald, Renan, Schlottmann, and Kosegarten) that there is a radical difference between the Aramaisms of the later Hebrew writings and those found in the book of Job. These latter are, without an exception, such as characterise the antique and highly poetic style; they occur in parts of the Pentateuch, in the Song of Deborah, in the earliest Psalms, and the Song of Solomon, all of which are now admitted even by the ablest rationalistic critics to be among the earliest and purest productions of Hebrew literature.⁹ So far as any argument can be drawn from idiomatic peculiarities, it may be regarded as a settled point that the book was written long before the exile (see some good observations by Hävernick *l. c.*); while there is absolutely nothing to prove a later date than the Pentateuch, or even those parts of the Pentateuch which appear to belong to the patriarchal age.

This impression is borne out by the style. All critics have recognised its grand archaic character. Firm, compact, sonorous as the ring of a pure metal, severe and at times rugged, yet always dignified and majestic, the language belongs altogether to a period when thought was slow, but profound and intensely concentrated, when the weighty and oracular sayings of the wise were wont to be engraved upon rocks with a pen of iron and in characters of molten lead (see xix. 24). It is truly a lapidary

heathen. Aben Ezra, among the Jews, maintained the same opinion.

⁵ A list is given by Lee, p. 50. See also Hävernick, *Introd. to O. T.* p. 176, Eng. Trans.

⁶ Renan's good taste and candour here, as elsewhere, neutralize his rationalistic tendency. In the *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, ed. 1857, he held that the Aramaisms indicate a very late date; in the preface to Job he has adopted the opinion here expressed.

⁷ איוב לא היה ולא נברא אלא משל היה
Mishal has a much wider signification than parable, or any English synonym.

⁸ Ewald and Dukes' *Beiträge*, iii. 165.
⁹ Theodoros of Mopsuestia stands alone in denying the inspiration, while he admits the historical character of the book, which he asserted, in a passage condemned at the second Council of Constantinople, to be replete with statements derogatory to God, and such as could only proceed from a vain and ignorant

style, such as was natural only in an age when writing, though known, was rarely used, before language had acquired clearness, fluency, and flexibility, but lost much of its freshness and native force. Much stress has been laid upon the fact that the book bears a closer resemblance to the Proverbs of Solomon than to any other Hebrew work (see especially Rosenmüller, *Proll.* p. 38). This is true to a remarkable extent with regard to the thoughts, words and forms of expression, while the metre, which is somewhat peculiar and strongly marked,^b is almost identical. Hence it has been inferred that the composition belongs to the Solomonic era, or to the period between Solomon and Hezekiah, by whose orders, as we are expressly informed, a great part of the book of Proverbs was compiled. But the argument loses much of its force when we consider that Solomon did not merely invent the proverbs, but collected the most ancient and curious sayings of olden times, not only of the Hebrews, but probably of other nations with whom he had extensive intercourse, and in whose philosophy he is supposed, not without good reason, to have taken deep interest even to the detriment of his religious principles (see Rénan's *Job*, p. xxiii.); while those proverbs which he invented himself would as a matter of course be cast in the same metrical form, and take an archaic character. Again, there can be little doubt that the passages in which the resemblance is most complete and striking, were taken from one book by the author of the other; and adapted, according to a Hebrew custom, common among the prophets, to the special purposes of his work. On comparing these passages, it seems impossible to deny that they belonged in the first instance to the book of Job,^c where they are in thorough harmony with the tenour of the argument, and have all the characteristics of the author's genius. Taking the resemblance as a fact, we are entitled to conclude that we have in Job a composition not later than the most ancient proverbs, and certainly of much earlier date than the entire book.

The extent to which the influence of this book is perceptible in the later literature of the Hebrews, is a subject of great interest and importance; but it has not yet been thoroughly investigated. Hävernich has a few good remarks in his general *Introduction to the Old Testament*, §30. Dr. Lee (*Introd.* Section vii.) has led the way to a more complete and searching inquiry by a close examination of five chapters, in which he produces a vast number of parallel passages from the Pentateuch (which he holds to be contemporary with the Introduction,

and of a later date than the rest of the book), from Ruth, Samuel, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Micah, and Nahum, all of which are probably, and some of them demonstrably, copied from Job.

Considerable weight must also be attached to the fact that Job is far more remarkable for obscurity than any Hebrew writing.^d There is an obscurity which results from confusion of thought, from carelessness and inaccuracy, or from studied involutions and artificial combination of metaphors indicating a late age.^e But when it is owing to obsolete words, intense concentration of thought and language, and incidental allusions to long forgotten traditions, it is an all but infallible proof of primeval antiquity. Such are precisely the difficulties in this book. The enormous mass of notes which a reader must wade through, before he can feel himself competent to decide upon the most probable interpretation of a single chapter,^f proves that this book stands apart from all other productions of the Hebrews, belongs to a different epoch, and in accordance with the surest canons of criticism, to an earlier age.

We arrive at the same conclusion from considering the institutions, manners, and historical facts described or alluded to in this book. It must be borne in mind that no ancient writer ever succeeded in reproducing the manners of a past age;^g to use the words of M. Rénan, "antiquity had not an idea of what we call local colouring." The attempt was never made by any Hebrew; and the age of any writer can be positively determined when we know the date of the institutions and customs which he describes. Again it is to the last degree improbable (being without a precedent or parallel) that an ancient author^h should intentionally and successfully avoid all reference to historical occurrences, and to changes in religious forms or doctrines of a date posterior to that of the events which he narrates. These points are now generally recognised, but they have rarely been applied with consistency and candour by commentators on this book.

In the first place it is distinctly admitted that from the beginning to the end no reference whatever is made to the Mosaic law, or to any of the peculiar institutions of Israel,ⁱ or to the great cardinal events of the national history after the Exodus. It cannot be proved^k that such reference was unlikely to occur in connexion with the argument. The sanctions and penalties of the law if known, could scarcely have been passed over by the opponents of Job, while the deliverance of Israel and the overthrow of the Egyptians supplied exactly the

Instances in our own literature will occur to every reader.

^f The *ἄραξ λεγόμενα*, and passages of which the interpretation is wholly a matter of conjecture, far surpass those of any portion of the O. T.

^g This is true of the Greek dramatists, and of the greatest original writers of our own, and indeed of every country before the 18th century.

^h In fact, scarcely one work of fiction exists in which a searching criticism does not detect anachronisms or inconsistencies.

ⁱ See Rénan, p. xvi. It should be noted that even the word *תורה*, so common in every other book, especially in those of the post-Davidic age, occurs only once in Job xxii. 22, and then not in the special or technical signification of a received code.

^k See, on the other side, Pareau ap. Rosenm.

^b Each verse, with very few exceptions, consists of two parallel members, and each member of three words; when that number is exceeded, it is owing to the particles or subordinate words, which are almost always so combined as to leave only three tones in each member (Schlottmann, p. 68).

^c See Rosenmüller, *Proll.* p. 40. Even Rénan, who believes that Job was written after the time of Solomon, holds that the description of Wisdom (ch. xxviii.) is the original source of the idea which we find in Proverbs (chs. viii., ix.).

^d See some excellent remarks by Rénan, p. xxxvii.

^e The Makamat of Hariri, and the life of Timour by Arabshah, in Arabic, the works of Lycophron in Greek, are good examples. Somewhat of this character may perhaps be found in the last chapters of Ecclesiastes, while it is conspicuous in the apocryphal books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch.

example which they required in order to silence the complaints and answer the arguments of Job. The force of this argument is not affected by the answer that other books written long after the establishment of the Mosaic ritual contain few or no allusions to those institutions or events. The statement is inaccurate. In each of the books specified there are abundant traces of the law. It was not to be expected that a complete view of the Levitical rites, or of historical facts unconnected with the subject matter of those works, could be derived from them; but they abound in allusions to customs and notions peculiar to the Hebrews trained under the law, to the services of the tabernacle or temple, and they all recognise most distinctly the existence of a sacerdotal system, whereas our author ignores, and therefore, as we may reasonably conclude, was unacquainted with, any forms of religious service, save those of the patriarchal age.

Ewald, whose judgment in this case will not be questioned,⁸ asserts very positively that in all the descriptions of manners and customs, domestic, social, and political, and even in the indirect allusions and illustrations, the genuine colouring of the age of Job, that is of the period between Abraham and Moses, is very faithfully observed; that all historical examples and allusions are taken exclusively from patriarchal times, and that there is a complete and successful avoidance of direct reference to later occurrences,⁹ which in his opinion may have been known to the writer. All critics concur in extolling the fresh, antique simplicity of manners described in this book, the genuine air of the wild, free, vigorous life of the desert, the stamp of hoar antiquity, and the thorough consistency in the development of characters, equally remarkable for originality and force. There is an absolute contrast between the manners, thoughts, and feelings, and those which characterised the Israelites during the monarchical period; while whatever difference exists between the customs of the older patriarchs as described in Genesis and those of Job's family and associates, is accounted for by the progress of events in the intervening period. The chieftain lives in considerable splendour and dignity; menial offices, such as commonly devolved upon the elder patriarchs and their children, are now performed by servants, between whom and the family the distinction appears to be more strongly marked. Job visits the city frequently, and is there received with high respect as a prince, judge, and distinguished warrior (xxix. 7-9). There are allusions to courts of judicature, written indictments,¹⁰ and regular forms of procedure (xiii. 26, and xxxi. 28). Men had begun to observe and reason upon the phenomena of na-

⁸ M. Rénan says: "On s'étonnait de ne trouver dans le livre de Job aucune trace des prescriptions mosaïques. Mais on n'en trouve pas davantage dans le livre des Proverbes, dans l'histoire des Juges et des premiers Rois, et en général dans les écrivains antérieurs à la dernière époque du royaume de Juda." It must be remembered that this writer denies the authenticity of the Pentateuch.

⁹ See the *Einleitung*, p. 57. M. Rénan, Hahn, Schlottmann, and other critics, agree fully with this opinion.

¹⁰ The entire disappearance of the bushmen (Job xx. 4-7) belongs to a very early age. Ewald supposes them to have been descendants of the Horites; and Schlottmann (p. 15) observes, truly, that the writer must have known them from his own observation. This throws us of course back to the Mosaic age.

ture, and astronomical observations were connected with curious speculations upon primeval traditions. We read (xx. 15, xxiii. 10, xxvii. 16, 17, xxviii. 1-21) of mining operations, great buildings, ruined sepulchres, perhaps even of sculptured figures of the dead,¹¹ and there are throughout copious allusions to the natural productions and the arts of Egypt. Great revolutions had occurred within the time of the writer; nations once independent had been overthrown, and whole races reduced to a state of misery and degradation. All this might be expected, even supposing the work to have been written before or near the date of the Exodus. The communications with Egypt were frequent, and indeed uninterrupted during the patriarchal age, and in that country each one of the customs upon which most reliance is placed as indicating a later date, is now proved to have been common long before the age of Moses (see Lepsius, Schlottmann, p. 107). Moreover, there is sufficient reason to believe that under favourable circumstances a descendant of Abraham, who was himself a warrior, and accustomed to meet princes on terms of equality, would at a very early age acquire the habits, position, and knowledge, which we admire in Job. He was the head of a great family, successful in war, prosperous in peace, supplied abundantly with the necessaries of life, and enjoying many of its luxuries; he lived near the great cities on the Euphrates and Tigris, and on the route of the caravans which at the remotest periods exchanged the productions of Egypt and the far East, and had therefore abundant opportunities of procuring information from those merchants, supposing that he did not himself visit a country so full of interest to a thoughtful mind.

Such a progress in civilization may or may not be admitted by historical critics to be probable within the limits of time thus indicated, but no positive historical fact or allusion can be produced from the book to prove that it could not have been written before the time of Moses. The single objection (Rénan, p. 40) which presents any difficulty is the mention of the Chaldeans in the introductory chapter. It is certain that they appear first in Hebrew history about the year B.C. 770. But the name of Cheshed, the ancestor of the race, is found in the genealogical table in Genesis (xxii. 22), a fact quite sufficient to prove the early existence of the people as a separate tribe. It is highly probable that an ancient race bearing that name in Kurdistan (see Xenoph., *Cyr.* iii. 1, §34; *Anab.* iv. 3, §4, v. 5, §17) was the original source of the nation, who were there trained in predatory habits, and accustomed, long before their appearance in history, to make excursions into the neighbouring deserts; a

¹¹ Known in Egypt at an early period (Diod. Sic. i. p. 75).

¹² Ch. xxi. 32. The interpretation is very doubtful.

¹³ The remarkable treatise by Chwolsohn, *Ueber die Ueberreste der Babylonischen Literatur in Arabischen Uebersetzungen*, proves an advance in mental cultivation in those regions at a far earlier age, more than sufficient to answer every objection of this nature.

¹⁴ This is now generally admitted. See M. Rénan, *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, ed. 1858, p. 56. He says truly that they were "redoutés dans tout l'Orient pour leurs brigandages" (p. 65). See also Chwolsohn, *die Saabier*, vol. i. p. 312. Ur of the Chaldeans was undoubtedly so named because it was founded or occupied by that people.

view quite in harmony with the part assigned to them in this book.

The arguments which have induced the generality of modern critics to assign a later date to this book, notwithstanding their concurrence in most of the points and principles which we have just considered, may be reduced to two heads, which we will now examine separately:—

1. We are told that the doctrinal system is considerably in advance of the Mosaic; in fact that it is the result of a recoil from the stern, narrow dogmatism of the Pentateuch. Here of course there can be no common ground between those who admit, and those who secretly or openly deny the authenticity and inspiration of the Mosaic writings. Still even rationalistic criticism cannot show, what it so confidently assumes, that there is a demonstrable difference in any essential point between the principles recognised in Genesis and those of our author. The absence of all recognition of the peculiar views and institutions first introduced or developed in the law has been already shown to be an evidence of an earlier date—all that is really proved is that the elementary truths of primeval revelation are represented, and their consequences developed under a great variety of striking and original forms—a fact sufficiently accounted for by the highly thoughtful character of the book, and the undoubted genius of the writer (comp. Job x. 9; Gen. iii. 19; Isa. xxvii. 3; Gen. ii. 7, vii. 22; Job xxii. 15, 16, with the account of the deluge). In Genesis and in this work we have the same theology; the attributes of the Godhead are identical. Man is represented in all his strength and in all his weakness, glorious in capacities, but infirm and impure in his actual condition, with a soul and spirit allied to the eternal, but with a physical constitution framed from the dust to which it must return. The writer of Job knows just so much of the fall of Adam and the early events of man's history, including the deluge (xxii. 15, 16), as was likely to be preserved by tradition in all the families descended from Shem. And with reference to those points in which a real progress was made by the Israelites after the time of Moses, the position from which this writer starts is precisely that of the lawgiver. One great problem of the book is the reconciliation of unmerited suffering with the love and justice of God. In the prophets and psalms the subject is repeatedly discussed, and receives, if not a complete, yet a substantially satisfactory settlement in connexion with the great doctrines of Messiah's kingdom, priesthood, sufferings, and second advent, involving the resurrection and a future judgment. In the book of Job, as it has been shown, there is no indication that the question had previously been raised. The answers given to it are evidently elicited by the discussions. Even in the discourse of Elihu, in which the nearest approach to the full development of the true theory of providential dispensations is admitted to be found, and which indeed for that very reason has been suspected of interpolation, there is no sign that the writer knew those characteristics of Messiah which from the time of

David were continually present to the mind of the Israelites.

Again it is said that the representation of angels, and still more specially of Satan, belongs to a later epoch. Some have even asserted that the notion must have been derived from Persian or Assyrian mythology. That hypothesis is now generally rejected—on the one hand it would fix a far later date¹ for the composition than any critic of the least authority would now assign to the book; on the other it is proved² that Satan bears no resemblance to Ahriman; he acts only by permission from God, and differs from the angels not in essence but in character. It is true that Satan is not named in the Pentateuch, but there is an exact correspondence between the characteristics of the malignant and envious accuser in this book and those of the enemy of man and God, which are developed in the history of the Fall.³ The appellation of "sons of God" is peculiar to this book and that of Genesis.

It is also to be remarked that no charge of idolatry is brought against Job by his opponents when enumerating all the crimes which they can imagine to account for his calamities. The only allusion to the subject (xxxi. 26) refers to the earliest form of false religion known in the East.⁴ To an Israelite, living after the introduction of heathen rites, such a charge was the very first which would have suggested itself, nor can any one satisfactory reason be assigned for the omission.

2. Nearly all modern critics, even those who admit the inspiration of the author, agree in the opinion that the composition of the whole work, the highly systematic development of the plot, and the philosophic tone of thought indicate a considerable progress in mental cultivation far beyond what can, with any show of probability, be supposed to have existed before the age of Solomon. We are told indeed that such topics as are here introduced occupied men's minds for the first time when schools of philosophy were formed under the influence of that prince. Such assertions are easily made, and resting on no tangible grounds, they are not easily disproved. It should, however, be remarked that the persons introduced in this book belong to a country celebrated for wisdom in the earliest times; inasmuch that the writer who speaks of those schools considers that the peculiarities of the Salomonian writings were derived from intercourse with its inhabitants (Rénan, p. xxiii.-xxv.). The book of Job differs from those writings chiefly in its greater earnestness, vehemence of feeling, vivacity of imagination, and free independent inquiry into the principles of divine government, characteristics as it would seem of a primitive race, acquainted only with the patriarchal form of religion, rather than of a scholastic age. There is indeed nothing in the composition incompatible with the Mosaic age, admitting (what all rationalistic critics who assign a later date to this book deny) the authenticity and integrity of the Pentateuch.

We should attach more weight to the argument derived from the admirable arrangement of the entire book (Schlottmann, p. 108), did we not re-

¹ To the epoch of the Achaemenidae.

² See Rénan, p. xxxix. This was previously pointed out by Herder.

³ Dr. Lee (*Introduction to Job*, p. 13) observes that although Satan is not named in Genesis, yet that the character which that name implies is clearly intimated in the words, "I will put enmity (אִיבָה) between

thee and him." The connexion between this word and the name of Job is perhaps more than an accidental coincidence.

⁴ The worship of the moon was introduced into Mesopotamia, probably in the earliest age, by the Aryans. See Chwolson, *Die Scyther*, i. p. 313.

remember how completely the same course of reasoning misled the acutest critics in the case of the Homeric poems. There is a kind of artifice in style and arrangement of a subject which is at once recognised as an infallible indication of a highly cultivated or declining literature. This, however, differs essentially from the harmonious and majestic simplicity of form, and the natural development of a great thought which characterise the first grand productions of genius in every nation, and produce so powerful an impression of reality as well as of grandeur in every unprejudiced reader of the book of Job.

These considerations lead of course to the conclusion that the book must have been written before the promulgation of the Law, by one speaking the Hebrew language, and thoroughly conversant with the traditions preserved in the family of Abraham. Whether the writer had access to original documents* or not is mere matter of conjecture; but it can scarcely be doubted that he adhered very closely to the accounts, whether oral or written, which he received.

It would be a waste of time to consider the arguments of those who hold that the writer lived near the time of the captivity—that view is now all but universally repudiated: but one hypothesis which has been lately brought forward (by Stichel, who is followed by Schlottmann), and supported by very ingenious arguments, deserves a more special notice. It meets some of the objections which have been here adduced to the prevalent opinion of modern critics, who maintain that the writer must have lived at a period when the Hebrew language and literature had attained their full development; while it accounts in a satisfactory manner for some of the most striking peculiarities of the book. That supposition is, that Job may have been written after the settlement of the Israelites by a dweller in the south of Judaea, in a district immediately bordering upon the Idumean desert. The inhabitants of that district were to a considerable extent isolated from the rest of the nation: their attendance at the festivals and ordinances of the tabernacle and of the temple before the time of the later kings, was probably rare and irregular, if it were not altogether interrupted during a long period. In that case it would be natural that the author, while recognising and enforcing the fundamental principles of religion, should be sparing in allusions to the sanctions or observances of the law. A resident in that district would have peculiar opportunities of collecting the varied and extensive information which was possessed by the author of Job. It was not far from the country of Eliphaz; and it is probable that the intercourse with all the races to which the persons named in the book belonged was frequent during the early years of Israelitish history. The caravans of Tema and Sheba (Job vi. 19) crossed there in a route much frequented by merchants, and the communications with Egypt were of course regular and uninterrupted. A man of wealth, station, and cultivated mind, such as we cannot doubt the author must have been, would either learn from conversation with merchants the peculiarities to which he so frequently alludes, or, as is highly probable, he would avail himself of the opportunity thus afforded

of visiting that country, of all the most interesting to an ancient. The local colouring, so strikingly characteristic of this book, and so evidently natural, is just what might be expected from such a writer. The families in southern Palestine, even at a later age, lived very much after the manner of the patriarchs; and illustrations derived from the free, wild, vigorous life of the desert, and the customs of pastoral tribes, would spontaneously suggest themselves to his mind. The people appear also to have been noted for freshness and originality of mind—qualities seen in the woman of Tekoah, or still more remarkably in Amos, the poor and unlearned herdsman, also of Tekoah. It has also been remarked that Amos seems to have known and imitated the book of Job (comp. Am. iv. 13, v. 8, ix. 6, with Job ix. 8, 9, xxxviii. 31, xii. 15; Schlottmann, p. 109): a circumstance scarcely to be explained, considering the position and imperfect education of that prophet, excepting on the supposition that for some reason or other this book was peculiarly popular in that district. Some weight may also be attached to the observation (Stichel, p. 276; Schlottmann, p. 111) that the dialectic peculiarities of Southern Palestine, especially the softening of the aspirates and exchanges of the sibilants, resemble the few divergences^a from pure Hebrew which are noted in the book of Job.

The controversy about the authorship cannot ever be finally settled. From the introduction it may certainly be inferred that the writer lived many years after the death of Job. From the strongest internal evidence it is also clear that he must either have composed the work before the law was promulgated, or under most peculiar circumstances which exempted him from its influence. The former of these two suppositions has nothing against it excepting the arguments, which have been shown to be far from conclusive, derived from language, composition, and indications of a high state of mental cultivation and general civilization. It has every other argument in its favour, while it is free from the great, and surely insuperable, difficulty that a devout Israelite, deeply interested in all religious speculations, should ignore the doctrines and institutions which were the peculiar glory of his nation: a supposition which, in addition to its intrinsic improbability, is scarcely consistent with any sound view of the inspiration of holy writ.

A complete list and fair estimate of all the preceding commentators on Job is given by Rosenmüller (*Elenchus Inst. Jobi*, 1824). The best Rabbinical commentators are—Jarchi, in the 12th century; Aben Ezra, a good Arabic as well as Hebrew scholar, † A.D. 1168; Levi Ben Gershon, commonly known as Ralbag, † 1370; and Nachmanides in the 13th century. Saadia, the well-known translator of the Pentateuch, has written a paraphrase of Job, and Tanchum a good commentary, both in Arabic (Ewald, *Vorrede*, p. xi.). The early Fathers contributed little to the explanation of the text; but some good remarks on the general argument are found in Chrysostom, Didymus Alexandrinus, and other Greek Fathers quoted in the Catenae of Nicetas, edited by Junius, London, fol., 1637—a work chiefly valuable with reference to the Alexandrian version. Ephrem Syrus has

* E. g. מִשְׁרָה for מִסְרָה, vi. 8; יִצְחָק for יִשְׁחָק, vi. 10; בֹּסֶס for בֹּשֶׁס, v. 11; יִצְחָק for יִשְׁחָק, vi. 16.

^a The most sceptical critics admit that the Israelites had written documents in the age of Moses. See E. Renan, *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 115.

scholia, chiefly doctrinal and practical, vol. ii., Romae, 1740. The translation in the Latin Vulgate by Jerome is of great value; but the commentary ascribed to him consists merely of excerpts from the work of Philip, one of Jerome's disciples (see Tillemont, *Mem. Ecc.* xii. 661): it is of little or no use for the interpretation. The great work of Gregory M. is practical, spiritual, or mystical, but has little connexion with the literal meaning, which the author does not profess to explain. Among the long list of able and learned Romanists who have left commentaries on the book, few had any knowledge of the Hebrew language: from Caietan, Zuniga, little can be learned; but A. Schultens speaks very highly of Pineda, whose commentary has passed through many editions. Rosenmüller says the German translation of Job by T. A. Desreser is one of the best in that language. The early Protestants, Bucer, Oecolampadius, and Calvin, contributed somewhat to the better understanding of the text; but by far the best commentary of that age is that prepared by C. Bertram, a disciple of Mercer, after the death of his master, from his MS. notes. This work is well worth consulting. Mercer was a sound Hebrew scholar of Reuchlin's school, and a man of acute discernment and excellent judgment. The great work of Albert Schultens on Job (A. D. 1737) far surpasses all preceding and contemporary expositions, nor has the writer as yet been surpassed in knowledge of the Hebrew and cognate languages. He was the first who brought all the resources of Arabic literature to bear upon the interpretation of Job. The fault of his book is diffuseness, especially in the statement of opinions long since rejected, and uninteresting to the student. The best works of the present century are those of Rosenmüller, 3 vols. 1824; and H. Ewald, whose translation and commentary are remarkable for accurate learning and originality of genius, but also for contempt of all who believe in the inspiration of Scripture. The *Vorrede* is most painful in tone. The commentaries of Umbreit, Vaihinger, Lange, Stickel, Hahn, Hirzel, De Wette, Knobel, and Vatke are generally characterised by diligence and ingenuity; but have for the most part a strong rationalistic tendency, especially the three last. The most useful analysis is to be found in the introduction to K. Schlottmann's translation, Berlin, 1851; but his commentary is deficient in philological research. M. Rénan has lately given an excellent translation in French (*Le Livre de Job*, Paris, 1859), with an introduction, which, notwithstanding its thoroughly sceptical character, shows a genial appreciation of some characteristic excellences of this book. In England we have a great number of translations, commentaries, &c., of various merit: among which the highest rank must be assigned to the work of Dr. Lee, especially valuable for its copious illustrations from Oriental sources. [F. C. C.]

JOBAB. 1. (יֹבָב: 'Iobab: *Jobab*.) The last in order of the sons of Joktan (*Gen.* x. 29; 1 Chr. i. 23). His name has not been discovered among the Arab names of places in Southern Arabia, where he ought to be found with the other sons of Joktan. But Ptolemy mentions the 'Iobabirai near the Sachalite; and Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 21), followed by Salmasius and Gesenius, suggests the reading 'Iobabirai, by the common interchange of ρ and β . The identification is perhaps correct, but it has not been connected with an Arab name of a tribe or place; and Bochart's conjecture of its being *i. q.*

Arab. يَبَاب, "a desert," &c., from يَب though regarded as probable by Gesenius and Michaelis, seems to be unworthy of acceptance. Kalisch (*Com. on Gen.*) says that it is, "according to the etymology, a district in Arabia Deserta," in apparent ignorance of the famous desert near Hadramawt, called the Ahkáf, of proverbial terror; and the more extensive waste on the north-east of the former, called the "deserted quarter," Er-Ruba el-Kháles, which is impassable in the summer, and fitter to be called desert Arabia than the country named *deserta* by the Greeks.

2. One of the "kings" of Edom (*Gen.* xxxvi. 33, 34; 1 Chr. i. 44, 45), enumerated after the genealogy of Esau, and Seir, and before the phylarchs descended from Esau. [EDOM.] He was "son of Zerah of Bozrah," and successor of Bela, the first king on the list. It is this Jobab whom the LXX., quoting the Syriac, identify with Job, his father being Zerah son of Esau, and his mother, Βοσώρρα. [E. S. P.]

3. King of MADON; one of the northern chieftains who attempted to oppose Joshua's conquest, and were routed by him at Meron (*Josh.* xi. 1, only).

4. 'Iwald, Alex.; 'Iobab, head of a Benjamite house (1 Chr. viii. 10). [JEUZ.] [A. C. H.]

JOCH'EBED (יֹחָבֵד: 'Iochabéd; *Jochabed*), the wife and at the same time the aunt of Amram, and the mother of Moses and Aaron (*Ex.* vi. 20). In order to avoid the apparent illegality of the marriage between Amram and his aunt, the LXX. and Vulg. render the word *dórah* "cousin" instead of "aunt." But this is unnecessary: the example of Abraham himself (*Gen.* xx. 12) proves that in the pre-Mosaic age a greater latitude was permitted in regard to marriage than in a later age. Moreover it is expressly stated elsewhere (*Ex.* ii. 1; *Num.* xxvi. 59) that Jochebed was the daughter of Levi, and consequently sister of Kohath, Amram's father. [W. L. B.]

JODA ('Iodá) = Judah the Levite, in a passage which is difficult to unravel (1 *Esd.* v. 58; see *Ezr.* iii. 9). Some words are probably omitted. The name elsewhere appears in the A. V. in the forms Hodaviah (*Ezr.* ii. 40), Hoderah (*Neh.* vii. 43), Hodijah (*Neh.* x. 10), and Sudias (1 *Esd.* v. 26).

JOED (יֹעֵז: 'Iodá: *Joed*), a Benjamite, the son of Pedaiah (*Neh.* xi. 7). Two of Kennicott's MSS. read יועזר, *i. e.* Joezer, and two יואל, *i. e.* Joel, confounding Joel with Joel the son of Pedaiah the Manassite. The Syriac must have had יועז.

JOEL (יֹאֵל: 'Iohál: *Joel* and *Johel*). 1. Eldest son of Samuel the prophet (1 *Sam.* viii. 2; 1 Chr. vi. 33, xv. 17), and father of Heman the singer. He and his brother Abiah were made judges in Beersheba when their father was old, and no longer able to go his accustomed circuit. But they disgraced both their office and their parentage by the corrupt way in which they took bribes and perverted judgment. Their grievous misconduct gave occasion to the change of the constitution of Israel to a monarchy. It is in the case of Joel that the singular corruption of the text of 1 Chr. vi. 13 (28, A. V.) has taken place. Joel's name has dropped out; and *Vashni*, which means "and the second," and is descriptive of Abijah's has been taken for a proper name.

2. In 1 Chr. vi. 36, A. V., Joel seems to be merely a corruption of Shaul at ver. 24. [A. C. H.]

3. One of the twelve minor prophets; the son of Pethuel, or, according to the LXX., Bethuel. Beyond this fact all is conjecture as to the personal history of Joel. Pseudo-Epiphanius (ii. 245) records a tradition that he was of the tribe of Reuben, born and buried at Bethhoron, between Jerusalem and Caesarea. It is most likely that he lived in Judaea, for his commission was to Judah, as that of Hosea had been to the ten tribes (St. Jerome, *Comment. in Joel*). He exhorts the priests, and makes frequent mention of Judah and Jerusalem. It has been made a question whether he were a priest himself (Winer, *Realw.*), but there do not seem to be sufficient grounds for determining it in the affirmative, though some recent writers (e. g. Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 179) have taken this view. Many different opinions have been expressed about the date of Joel's prophecy. Credner has placed it in the reign of Joash, Bertholdt of Hezekiah, Kimchi, Jahn, &c. of Manasseh, and Calmet of Josiah. The LXX. places Joel after Amos and Micah. But there seems no adequate reason for departing from the Hebrew order. The majority of critics and commentators (Abarbanel, Vitranga, Hengstenberg, Winer, &c.) fix upon the reign of Uzziah, thus making Joel nearly contemporary with Hosea and Amos. The principal reasons for this conclusion, besides the order of the books, are the special and exclusive mention of the Egyptians and Edomites as enemies of Judah, no allusion being made to the Assyrians or Babylonians, who arose at a later period. Nothing, says Hengstenberg, has yet been found to overthrow this conclusion, and it is confirmed on other grounds, especially

The nature, style, and contents of the prophecy.—We find, what we should expect on the supposition of Joel being the first prophet to Judah, only a grand outline of the whole terrible scene, which was to be depicted more and more in detail by subsequent prophets (Browne, *Ordo Saecul.* p. 691). The scope, therefore, is not any particular invasion, but the whole day of the Lord. "This book of Joel is a type of the early Jewish prophetic discourse, and may explain to us what distant events in the history of the land would expand it, and bring fresh discoveries within the sphere of the inspired man's vision" (Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 179).

The proximate event to which the prophecy related was a public calamity, then impending on Judaea, of a twofold character: want of water, and a plague of locusts, continuing for several years. The prophet exhorts the people to turn to God with penitence, fasting, and prayer, and then (he says) the plague shall cease, and the rain descend in its season, and the land yield her accustomed fruit. Nay, the time will be a most joyful one; for God, by the outpouring of His Spirit, will impart to His worshippers increased knowledge of Himself, and after the excision of the enemies of His people, will extend through them the blessings of true religion to heathen lands. This is the simple argument of the book; only that it is beautified and enriched with variety of ornament and picturesque description. The style of the original is perspicuous (except towards the end) and elegant, surpassing that of all other prophets, except Isaiah and Habakkuk, in sublimity.

Browne (*Ordo Saecul.* p. 692) regards the con-

tents of the prophecy as embracing two visions, but it is better to consider it as one connected representation (Hengst., Winer). For its interpretation we must observe not isolated facts of history, but the *idea*. The swarm of locusts was the medium through which this idea, "the ruin upon the apostate church," was represented to the inward contemplation of the prophet. But, in one unbroken connexion, the idea goes on to penitence, return, blessing, outpouring of the Spirit, judgments on the enemies of the Church (1 Pet. iv. 17), final establishment of God's kingdom. All prior destructions, judgments, and victories are like the smaller circles; the final consummation of all things, to which the prophecy reaches, being the utmost one of all.

The locusts of ch. ii. were regarded by many interpreters of the last century (Lowth, Shaw, &c.) as figurative, and introduced by way of comparison to a hostile army of men from the north country. This view is now generally abandoned. Locusts are spoken of in Deut. xxviii. 38 as instruments of Divine vengeance; and the same seems implied in Joel ii. 11, 25. Maurice (*Prophets and Kings*, p. 180) strongly maintains the literal interpretation. And yet the plague contained a parable in it, which it was the prophet's mission to unfold. The four kinds or swarms of locusts (i. 4) have been supposed to indicate four Assyrian invasions (Titcomb, *Bible Studies*), or four crises to the chosen people of God, the Babylonian, Syro-Macedonian, Roman, and Antichristian (Browne). In accordance with the literal (and certainly the primary) interpretation of the prophecy, we should render אֶת־הַמִּטְרָה as in our A. V., "the former rain," with Rosenm. and the lexicographers, rather than "a (or the) teacher of righteousness" with marg. of A. V., Hengst., and others. The allusion to the Messiah, which Hengst. finds in this word, or to the ideal teacher (Deut. xviii. 18), of whom Messiah was the chief, scarcely accords with the immediate context.

The אֶת־הַמִּטְרָה of ch. iii. 1 in the Hebrew, "afterwards" ch. ii. 27 of the A. V., raises us to a higher level of vision, and brings into view Messianic times and scenes. Here, says Steudl, we have Messianic prophecy altogether. If this prediction has ever yet been fulfilled, we must certainly refer the event to Acts ii. The best commentators are agreed upon this. We must not, however, interpret it thus to the exclusion of all reference to preparatory events under the earlier dispensation, and still less to the exclusion of later Messianic times. Acts ii. virtually contained the whole subsequent development. The outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost was the ἀπαρχή, while the full accomplishment and the final reality are yet to come. But here both are blended in one, and the whole passage has therefore a double aspect. The passage is well quoted by St. Peter from the first prophet to the Jewish kingdom. And his quoting it shows that the Messianic reference was the prevailing one in his day; though Acts ii. 39 proves that he extended his reference to the end of the dispensation. The expression "all flesh" (ii. 17) is explained by the following clauses, by which no principle of distribution is meant, but only that all classes, without respect of persons, will be the subjects of the Spirit's influences. All distinction of races, too, will be done away (cf. ii. 32, with Rom. x. 12, 13).

Lastly, the accompanying portents and judg-

ments upon the enemies of God find their various solutions, according to the interpreters, in the repeated deportations of the Jews by neighbouring merchants, and sale to the Macedonians (1 Macc. iii. 41, and Ezek. xxvii. 13), followed by the sweeping away of the neighbouring nations (Maurice); in the events accompanying the crucifixion, in the fall of Jerusalem, in the breaking up of all human politics. But here again the idea includes all manifestations of judgment, ending with the last. The whole is shadowed forth in dim outline; and while some crises are past, others are yet to come (comp. iii. 13-21 with St. Matt. xxiv., and Rev. xix.).

Among the commentators on the book of Joel, enumerated by Rosenmüller, *Scholia in Vet. Test.*, part 7, vol. i., may be specially mentioned Leusden's *Joel Explicatus*, Ultraj. 1657; Dr. Edw. Pocock's *Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel*, Oxford, 1691; and *A Paraphrase and critical Commentary on the Prophecy of Joel*, by Samuel Chandler, London, 1735. See also *Die Propheten des alten Bundes erklärt*, von Heinrich Ewald, Stuttgart, 1840; *Praktischen Commentar über die Kleinen Propheten*, von Dr. Umbreit, Hamburg, 1844; and *Book of the Twelve Minor Prophets*, by Dr. E. Henderson, London, 1845. [H. B.]

4. (יֹאֵל) *Joël*: 'Iwâla: *Joël*. The heart of one of the families of the Simeonites (1 Chr. iv. 35). He formed part of the expedition against the Hamites of Gedor in the reign of Hezekiah.

5. A descendant of Reuben. Junius and Tremellius make him the son of Hanoch, while others trace his descent through Carmi (1 Chr. v. 4). The Syriac for Joel substitutes Carmi, but there is reason to believe that the genealogy is that of the eldest son. Burrington (*Geneal.* i. 53) maintains that the Joel mentioned in v. 8 was a descendant, not of Hanoch, but of one of his brethren, probably Carmi, as Junius and Tremellius print it in their genealogical table. But the passage on which he relies for support (ver. 7), as concluding the genealogy of Hanoch, evidently refers to Beerah, the prince of the Reubenites, whom the Assyrian king carried captive. There is, however, sufficient similarity between Shemaiah and Shema, who are both represented as sons of Joel, to render it probable that the latter is the same individual in both instances. Bertheau conjectures that he was contemporary with David, which would be approximately true if the genealogy were traced in each case from father to son.

6. Chief of the Gadites, who dwelt in the land of Bashan (1 Chr. v. 12).

7. (*Johel*.) The son of Izrahiah, of the tribe of Issachar, and a chief of one of "the troops of the host of the battle" who numbered in the days of David 36,000 men (1 Chr. vii. 3). Four of Kennicott's MSS. omit the words "and the sons of Izrahiah;" so that Joel appears as one of the five sons of Uzzi. The Syriac retains the present text, with the exception of reading "four" for "five."

8. The brother of Nathan of Zobah (1 Chr. xi. 35), and one of David's guard. He is called Igal in 2 Sam. xxiii. 36; but Kennicott contends that in this case the latter passage is corrupt, though in other words it preserved the true reading.

9. The chief of the Gershomites in the reign of David, who sanctified themselves to bring up the ark from the house of Obededom (1 Chr. xv. 7, 11).

10. A Gershonite Levite in the reign of David,

son of Jehiel, a descendant of Laadan, and probably the same as the preceding (1 Chr. xxiii. 8; xxv. 22). He was one of the officers appointed to take charge of the treasures of the Temple.

11. The son of Pedaiah, and prince or chief of the half-tribe of Manassch, west of Jordan, in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 20).

12. A Kohathite Levite in the reign of Hezekiah. He was the son of Azariah, and one of the two representatives of his branch of the tribe in the solemn purification by which the Levites prepared themselves for the restoration of the Temple (2 Chr. xxix. 12).

13. One of the sons of Nebo, who returned with Ezra, and had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 43). He is called Juel in 1 Esd. ix. 35.

14. The son of Zichri, a Benjaminite, placed in command over those of his own tribe and the tribe of Judah, who dwelt at Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 9). [W. A. W.]

JOELAH (יְוֵאלָה): 'Ielâ; Alex. 'Iwâla. *Joëla*, son of Jeroham of Gedor, who with his brother joined the band of warriors who rallied round David at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 7).

JOE'ZER (יְוֵזֶר): 'Iwâzâ; Cod. Fred. Aug. 'Iwâzâp; *Jozer*, a Korhite, one of David's captains who fought by his side while living in exile among the Philistines (1 Chr. xii. 6).

JOG'BEHAH (יְגֹבְבַח): in Num. the LXX. have translated it, as if from יְגֹבְבַח—*Ëψωσαν αὐτάς*; in Judg. 'Ieyebâla; Alex. ἐξ ἐναντίας Ζεβέε: *Jegbaa*), one of the cities on the east of Jordan which were built and fortified by the tribe of Gad when they took possession of their territory (Num. xxxii. 35). It is there associated with JAZZER and BETH-NIMRAH, places which there is reason to believe were not far from the Jordan, and south of the *Jebel-Silad*. It is mentioned once again, this time in connexion with Nobah, in the account of Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites (Judg. viii. 11). They were at Karkor, and he made his way from the upper part of the Jordan valley at Succoth and Penuel, and "went up"—ascended from the Ghor by one of the torrent-beds to the downs of the higher level—by the way of the dwellers in tents—the pastoral people, who avoided the district of the towns—to the east of Nobah and Jogbehah—making his way towards the waste country in the south-east. Here, according to the scanty information we possess, Karkor would seem to have been situated. No trace of any name like Jogbehah has yet been met with in the above, or any other direction. [G.]

JO'GLI (יְגֹלִי): 'Eyal; Alex. 'Eyal; *Jegli*, the father of Bukki, a chief man among the Danites (Num. xxxiv. 22).

JO'HA. 1. (יְהוּחָה): 'Iahâ; Alex. 'Iwâhâ. *Joha*.) One of the sons of Beriah, the Benjaminite who was a chief of the fathers of the dwellers in Aijalon, and had put to flight the inhabitants of Gath (1 Chr. viii. 16). His family may possibly have founded a colony, like the Danites, within the limits of another tribe, where they were exposed, as the men of Ephraim had been, to the attacks of the Gittites. Such border-warfare was too common to render it necessary to suppose that the narrative in 1 Chr. vii. 21 and viii. 13 refer to the same

encounter, although it is not a little singular that the name Beriah occurs in each.

2. (Ἰωαβέ; Alex. Ἰωαβέ.) The Tizite, one of David's guard. Kennicott decides that he was the son of Shimri, as he is represented in the A. V., though in the margin the translators have put "Shimrite" for "the son of Shimri" to the name of his brother Jedihel.

JOHANAN (Ἰωάνης: Ἰωάνης), a shortened form of Jehohanan = "Jehovah's gift." It is the same as John. [JEHOHANAN.] 1. Son of Azariah [AZARIAH, 2], and grandson of Ahimaaz the son of Zadok, and father of Azariah, 3 (1 Chr. vi. 9, 10, A. V.). In Josephus (*Ant.* x. 8, §6) the name is corrupted to Joramus, and in the *Seder Olam* to Joshaz. The latter places him in the reign of Jehoshaphat; but merely because it begins by wrongly placing Zadok in the reign of Solomon. Since however we know from 1 K. iv. 2, supported by 1 Chr. vi. 10, A. V., that Azariah the father of Johanan was high-priest in Solomon's reign, and Amariah his grandson was so in Jehoshaphat's reign, we may conclude without much doubt that Johanan's pontificate fell in the reign of Rehoboam. (See Hervey's *Genealogies*, &c., ch. x.)

2. Son of Elieonai, the son of Neariah, the son of Shemaiah, in the line of Zerubbabel's heirs [SHEMAIAH], (1 Chr. iii. 24). [A. C. H.]

3. (Ἰωάνης in 2 K., Ἰωάνης in Jer.; Alex. Ἰωάνης in 2 K., and Ἰωάνης in Jer., except xli. 11, xlii. 8, xliii. 2, 4, 5: *Johanan*.) The son of Kareah, and one of the captains of the scattered remnants of the army of Judah, who escaped in the final attack upon Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, and, after the capture of the king, remained in the open country of Moab and the Ammonites, watching the tide of events. He was one of the first to repair to Mizpah, after the withdrawal of the hostile army, and tender his allegiance to the new governor appointed by the king of Babylon. From his acquaintance with the treacherous designs of Ishmael, against which Gedaliah was unhappily warned in vain, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he may have been a companion of Ishmael in his exile at the court of Baalis king of the Ammonites, the promoter of the plot (Jer. xl. 8-16). After the murder of Gedaliah, Johanan was one of the foremost in the pursuit of his assassin, and rescued the captives he had carried off from Mizpah (Jer. xli. 11-16). Fearing the vengeance of the Chaldeans for the treachery of Ishmael, the captains, with Johanan at their head, halted by the Khan of Chimham, on the road to Egypt, with the intention of seeking refuge there; and, notwithstanding the warnings of Jeremiah, settled in a body at Tahpanhes. They were afterwards scattered throughout the country, in Migdol, Noph, and Pathros, and from this time we lose sight of Johanan and his fellow-captains.

4. (Ἰωάνης.) The firstborn son of Josiah king of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 15), who either died before his father, or fell with him at Megiddo. Junius, without any authority, identifies him with Zarnes, mentioned 1 Esd. i. 38.

5. A valiant Benjamite, one of David's captains, who joined him at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4).

6. (Alex. Ἰωάνης; Cod. Fred. Aug. Ἰωάνης.) The eighth in number of the lion-faced warriors of Gad, who left their tribe to follow the fortunes of David, and spread the terror of their arms beyond Jordan in the month of its overflow (1 Chr. xii. 12).

7. (Ἰωάνης: Ἰωάνης.) The father of Azariah,

an Ephraimite in the time of Ahaz (% Chr. xviii. 12).

8. The son of Hakkatan, and chief of the Bene-Azgad who returned with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 12). He is called Johannes in 1 Esd. viii. 38.

9. (Ἰωάνης.) The son of Eliashib, one of the chief Levites (Neh. xii. 23) to whose chamber (or "treasury," according to the LXX.) Ezra retired to mourn over the foreign marriages which the people had contracted (Ezr. x. 6). He is called Joanan in 1 Esd. ix. 1; and some have supposed him to be the same with Jonathan, descendant of another Eliashib, who was afterwards high-priest (Neh. xii. 11).

10. (Ἰωάνης: Ἰωάνης; Alex. Ἰωάνης; Cod. Fred. Aug. Ἰωάνης.) The son of Tobiah the Ammonite, who had married the daughter of Meshullam the priest (Neh. vi. 18). [W. A. W.]

JOHANAN'S (Ἰωάννης: Joannes) = Jehohanan son of Bebai (1 Esd. ix. 29; comp. Ezr. x. 28).

JOHN (Ἰωάννης), names in the Apocrypha. 1. The father of Mattathias, and grandfather of the Maccabean family (1 Macc. ii. 1).

2. The (eldest) son of Mattathias (Ἰωάννης), surnamed Caddis (Καδδῖς, cf. Grimm, *ad* 1 Macc. ii. 2), who was slain by "the children of Jambri" [JAMBRI] (1 Macc. ii. 2; ix. 36-38). In 2 Macc. viii. 22 he is called Joseph, by a common confusion of name. [MACCABEES.]

3. The father of Eupolemus, one of the envoys whom Judas Maccabaeus sent to Rome (1 Macc. viii. 17; 2 Macc. iv. 11).

4. The son of Simon, the brother of Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. xiii. 53, xvi. 1), "a valiant man," who, under the title of Johannes Hyrcanus, nobly supported in after time the glory of his house. [MACCABEES.]

5. An envoy from the Jews to Lysias (2 Macc. xi. 17). [B. F. W.]

JOHN (Ἰωάννης; Cod. Bezae, Ἰωάννης: Joannes). 1. One of the high-priest's family, who, with Annas and Caiaphas, sat in judgment upon the Apostles Peter and John for their cure of the lame man and preaching in the Temple (Acts iv. 6). Lightfoot identifies him with R. Johanan ben Zaccai, who lived forty years before the destruction of the Temple, and was president of the great Synagogue after its removal to Jabne, or Jamnia (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chor. Matth. proef.* ch. 15; see also Selden, *De Synedrüs*, ii. ch. 15). Grotius merely says he was known to Rabbinical writers as "John the priest" (*Comm. in Act. iv.*).

2. The Hebrew name of the Evangelist Mark, who throughout the narrative of the Acts is designated by the name by which he was known among his countrymen (Acts xii. 12, 25, xiii. 5, 13, xv. 37).

JOHN, THE APOSTLE (Ἰωάννης). It will be convenient to divide the life which is the subject of the present article into periods corresponding both to the great critical epochs which separate one part of it from another, and to marked differences in the trustworthiness of the sources from which our materials are derived. In no instance, perhaps, is such a division more necessary than in this. One portion of the Apostle's life and work stands out before us as in the clearness of broad daylight. Over

those which precede and follow it there brood the shadows of darkness and uncertainty. In the former we discern only a few isolated facts, and are left to inference and conjecture to bring them together into something like a whole. In the latter we encounter, it is true, images more distinct, pictures more vivid; but with these there is the doubt whether the distinctness and vividness are not misleading—whether half-traditional, half-mythical narrative has not taken the place of history.

1. *Before the call to the discipleship.*—We have no data for settling with any exactitude the time of the Apostle's birth. The general impression left on us by the Gospel-narrative is that he was younger than the brother whose name commonly precedes his (Matt. iv. 21, x. 3, xvii. 1, &c.; but comp. Luke ix. 28, where the order is inverted), younger than his friend Peter, possibly also than his Master. The life which was protracted to the time of Trajan (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 23, following Irenaeus) can hardly have begun before the year B.C. 4 of the Dionysian era. The Gospels give us the name of his father Zebedaeus (Matt. iv. 21) and his mother Salome (Matt. xxvii. 56, compared with Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1). Of the former we know nothing more. The traditions of the fourth century (Epiph. iii. *Haer.* 78) make the latter the daughter of Joseph by his first wife, and consequently half-sister to our Lord. By some recent critics she has been identified with the sister of Mary the mother of Jesus, in John xix. 25 (Wieseler, *Stud. in Krit.* 1840, p. 648).^a They lived, it may be inferred from John i. 44, in or near the same town [BETHSAIDA] as those who were afterwards the companions and partners of their children. There on the shores of the Sea of Galilee the Apostle and his brother grew up. The mention of the "hired servants" (Mark i. 20), of his mother's "substance" (*ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων*, Luke viii. 3), of "his own house" (*τὰ ἴδια*, John xix. 27), implies a position removed by at least some steps from absolute poverty. The fact that the Apostle was known to the high-priest Caiaphas, as that knowledge was hardly likely to have begun after he had avowed himself the disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, suggests the probability of some early intimacy between the two men or their families.^b The name which the parents gave to their younger child was too common to serve as the ground of any special inference; but it deserves notice (1) that the name appears among the kindred of Caiaphas (Acts iv. 6); (2) that it was given to another priestly child, the son of Zacharias (Luke i. 13), as the embodiment and symbol of Messianic hopes. The frequent occurrence of the name at this period, unconnected as it was with any of the great deeds of the old heroic days of Israel, is indeed in itself significant as a sign of that yearning and expectation which then characterised, not only the more faithful and devout (Luke ii. 25, 38), but the whole people. The prominence given to it by the wonders connected with the birth of the future Baptist may have given a meaning to it for the parents of the future Evangelist which it would not otherwise have had. Of the character of Zebedaeus we have hardly the slightest trace. He interposes no refusal when his sons are called on to leave him (Matt. iv.

21). After this he disappears from the scene of the Gospel-history, and we are led to infer that he had died before his wife followed her children in their work of ministration. Her character meets us as presenting the same marked features as those which were conspicuous in her son. From her, who followed Jesus and ministered to Him of her substance (Luke viii. 3), who sought for her two sons that they might sit, one on His right hand, the other on His left, in His kingdom (Matt. xx. 20), he might well derive his strong affections, his capacity for giving and receiving love, his eagerness for the speedy manifestation of the Messiah's kingdom. The early years of the Apostle we may believe to have passed under this influence. He would be trained in all that constituted the ordinary education of Jewish boyhood. Though not taught in the schools of Jerusalem, and therefore, in later life, liable to the reproach of having no recognised position as a teacher, no Rabbinical education (Acts iv. 13), he would yet be taught to read the Law and observe its precepts, to feed on the writings of the prophets with the feeling that their accomplishment was not far off. For him too, as bound by the Law, there would be, at the age of thirteen, the periodical pilgrimages to Jerusalem. He would become familiar with the stately worship of the Temple, with the sacrifice, the incense, the altar, and the priestly robes. May we not conjecture that then the impressions were first made which never afterwards wore off? Assuming that there is some harmony between the previous training of a prophet and the form of the visions presented to him, may we not recognise them in the rich liturgical imagery of the Apocalypse—in that union in one wonderful vision of all that was most wonderful and glorious in the predictions of the older prophets?

Concurrently with this there would be also the boy's outward life as sharing in his father's work. The great political changes which agitated the whole of Palestine would in some degree make themselves felt even in the village-town in which he grew up. The Galilean fisherman must have heard, possibly with some sympathy, of the efforts made (when he was too young to join in them) by Judas of Gamala, as the great asserter of the freedom of Israel against their Roman rulers. Like other Jews he would grow up with strong and bitter feelings against the neighbouring Samaritans. Lastly, before we pass into a period of greater certainty, we must not forget to take into account that to this period of his life belongs the commencement of that intimate fellowship with Simon Bar-jonah of which we afterwards find so many proofs. That friendship may even then have been, in countless ways, fruitful for good upon the hearts of both.

II. *From the call to the discipleship to the departure from Jerusalem.*—The ordinary life of the fisherman of the Sea of Galilee was at last broken in upon by the news that a Prophet had once more appeared. The voice of John the Baptist was heard in the wilderness of Judaea, and the publicans, peasants, soldiers, and fishermen of Galilee gathered round him. Among these were the two sons of

^a Ewald (*Gesch. Israels*, v. p. 171) adopts Wieseler's conjecture, and connects it with his own hypothesis that the sons of Zebedae, and our Lord, as well as the Baptist, were of the tribe of Levi. On the other hand, more sober critics, like Neander (*Paläst. u. Lott.* p.

609, 4th ed.), and Lücke (*Johannes*, l. p. 9), reject both the tradition and the conjecture.

^b Ewald (*l. c.*) presses this also into the service of his strange hypothesis.

Zebedæus and their friends. With them perhaps was One whom as yet they knew not. They heard, it may be, of his protests against the vices of their own ruler—against the hypocrisy of Pharisees and scribes. But they heard also, it is clear, words which spoke to them of their own sins—if their own need of a deliverer. The words "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins" imply that those who heard them would enter into the blessedness of which they spoke. Assuming that the unnamed disciple of John i. 37-40 was the evangelist himself, we are led to think of that meeting, of the lengthened interview that followed it as the starting-point of the entire devotion of heart and soul which lasted through his whole life. Then Jesus loved him as he loved all earnest seekers after righteousness and truth (comp. Mark x. 21). The words of that evening, though unrecorded, were mighty in their effect. The disciples (John apparently among them) followed their new teacher to Galilee (John i. 44), were with him, as such, at the marriage-feast of Cana (ii. 2), journeyed with him to Capernaum, and thence to Jerusalem (ii. 12, 22), came back through Samaria (iv. 8), and then, for some uncertain interval of time, returned to their former occupations. The uncertainty which hangs over the narratives of Matt. iv. 18, and Luke v. 1-11 (comp. the arguments for and against their relating to the same events in Lampe, *Comment. ad Joann.* i. p. 20), leaves us in doubt whether they received a special call to become "fishers of men" once only or twice. In either case they gave up the employment of their life and went to do a work like it, and yet unlike, in God's spiritual kingdom. From this time they take their place among the company of disciples. Only here and there are there traces of individual character, of special turning-points in their lives. Soon they find themselves in the number of the Twelve who are chosen, not as disciples only, but as their Lord's delegates—representatives—Apostles. In all the lists of the Twelve those four names of the sons of Jonah and Zebedæus stand foremost. They come within the innermost circle of their Lord's friends, and are as the ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότεροι. The three, Peter, James, and John, are with him when none else are, in the chamber of death (Mark v. 37), in the glory of the transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1), when he forewarns them of the destruction of the Holy City (Mark xiii. 3, Andrew, in this instance, with them), in the agony of Gethsemane. St. Peter is throughout the leader of that band; to John belongs the yet more memorable distinction of being the disciple whom Jesus loved. This love is returned with a more single undivided heart by him than by any other. If Peter is the φιλόχριστος, John is the φιλιησοῦς (Grotius, *Prolegom. in Joann.*). Some striking facts indicate why this was so; what the character was which was thus worthy of the love of Jesus of Nazareth. They hardly sustain the popular notion, fostered by the received types of Christian art, of a nature gentle, yielding, feminine. The name Boanerges (Mark iii. 17) implies a vehemence, zeal, intensity, which gave to those who had it the might of Sons of Thunder.⁶ That spirit broke out once and again, when they joined their mother in

asking for the highest places in the kingdom of their Master, and declared that they were ready to face the dark terrors of the cup that he drank and the baptism that he was baptised with (Matt. xx. 20-24; Mark x. 35-41)—when they rebuked one who cast out devils in their Lord's name because he was not one of their company (Luke ix. 49)—when they sought to call down fire from heaven upon a village of the Samaritans (Luke ix. 54). About this time Salome, as if her husband had died, takes her place among the women who followed Jesus in Galilee (Luke viii. 3), ministering to him of their substance, and went up with him in his last journey to Jerusalem (Luke xxiii. 55). Through her, we may well believe, St. John first came to know that Mary Magdalene whose character he depicts with such a life-like touch, and that other Mary to whom he was afterwards to stand in so close and special a relation. The fulness of his narrative of what the other evangelists omit (John xi.) leads to the conclusion that he was united also by some special ties of intimacy to the family of Bethany. It is not necessary to dwell at length on the familiar history of the Last Supper. What is characteristic is that he is there, as ever, the disciple whom Jesus loved; and, as the chosen and favoured friend, reclines at table with his head upon his Master's breast (John xiii. 23). To him the eager Peter—they had been sent together to prepare the supper (Luke xxii. 8)—makes signs of impatient questioning that he should ask what was not likely to be answered if it came from any other (John xiii. 24). As they go out to the Mount of Olives the chosen three are nearest to their Master. They only are within sight or hearing of the conflict in Gethsemane (Matt. xxvi. 37). When the betrayal is accomplished, Peter and John, after the first moment of confusion, follow afar off, while the others simply seek safety in a hasty flight^d (John xviii. 15). The personal acquaintance which existed between John and Caiaphas enabled him to gain access both for himself and Peter, but the latter remains in the porch, with the officers and servants, while John himself apparently is admitted to the council-chamber, and follows Jesus thence, even to the praetorium of the Roman Procurator (John xviii. 16, 19, 28). Thence, as if the desire to see the end, and the love which was stronger than death, sustained him through all the terrors and sorrows of that day, he followed—accompanied probably by his own mother, Mary the mother of Jesus, and Mary Magdalene—to the place of crucifixion. The teacher who had been to him as a brother leaves to him a brother's duty. He is to be as a son to the mother who is left desolate (John xix. 26-27). The Sabbath that followed was spent, it would appear, in the same company. He receives Peter, in spite of his denial, on the old terms of friendship. It is to them that Mary Magdalene first runs with the tidings of the emptied sepulchre (John xx. 2); they are the first to go together to see what the strange words meant. Not without some bearing on their respective characters is the fact that John is the more impetuous, running on most eagerly to the rock-tomb; Peter, the least restrained by awe, the first to enter in and look (John xx. 4-6). For at

⁶ The consensus of patristic interpretation sees in this name the prophecy of their work as preachers of the Gospel. This, however, would deprive the epithet of all distinguishing force. (Comp. Suicer, *Thesaurus*, s. v. Βροντή; and Lampe, l. p. 27.)

^d A somewhat wild conjecture is found in writers of the Western Church. Ambrose, Gregory the Great, and Bede, identify the Apostle with the νεανίσκος τῆς Mark xiv. 51, 52 (Lampe, l. p. 38).

least eight days they continued in Jerusalem (John xx. 26). Then, in the interval between the resurrection and the ascension, we find them still together on the sea of Galilee (John xxi. 1), as though they would calm the eager suspense of that period of expectation by a return to their old calling and their old familiar haunts. Here too there is a characteristic difference. John is the first to recognise in the dim form seen in the morning twilight the presence of his risen Lord; Peter the first to plunge into the water and swim towards the shore where he stood calling to them (John xxi. 7). The last words of the Gospel reveal to us the deep affection which united the two friends. It is not enough for Peter to know his own future. That at once suggests the question—"And what shall this man do?" (John xxi. 21). The history of the Acts shows the same union. They are of course together at the ascension and on the day of Pentecost. Together they enter the Temple as worshippers (Acts iii. 1) and protest against the threats of the Sanhedrim (iv. 13). They are fellow-workers in the first great step of the Church's expansion. The apostle whose wrath had been roused by the unbelief of the Samaritans overcomes his national exclusiveness, and receives them as his brethren (viii. 14). The persecution which was pushed on by Saul of Tarsus did not drive him or any of the apostles from their post (viii. 1). When the persecutor came back as the convert, he, it is true, did not see him (Gal. i. 19), but this of course does not involve the inference that he had left Jerusalem. The sharper though shorter persecution which followed under Herod Agrippa brought a great sorrow to him in the martyrdom of his brother (Acts xii. 2). His friend was driven to seek safety in flight. Fifteen years after St. Paul's first visit he was still at Jerusalem and helped to take part in the great settlement of the controversy between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians (Acts xv. 6). His position and reputation there were those of one ranking among the chief "pillars" of the Church (Gal. ii. 9). Of the work of the Apostle during this period we have hardly the slightest trace. There may have been special calls to mission-work like that which drew him to Samaria. There may have been the work of teaching, organising, exhorting the Churches of Judaea. His fulfilment of the solemn charge entrusted to him may have led him to a life of loving and reverent thought rather than to one of conspicuous activity. We may, at all events, feel sure that it was a time in which the natural elements of his character, with all their fiery energy, were being purified and mellowed, rising step by step to that high serenity which we find perfected in the closing portion of his life. Here too we may, without much hesitation, accept the traditions of the Church as recording a historic fact when they ascribe to him a life of celibacy (Tertull. *de Monog.* c. xiii.). The absence of his name from 1 Cor. ix. 5 tends to the same conclusion. It harmonises with all we know of his character to think of his heart

* The hypothesis of Baronius and Tillemont, that the Virgin accompanied him to Ephesus, has not even the authority of tradition (Lampe, i. p. 51).

† Lampe fixes A.D. 66, when Jerusalem was besieged by the Roman forces under Cestius, as the most probable date.

‡ In the earlier tradition which made the Apostles formally partition out the world known to them, Parthia falls to the lot of Thomas, while John receives the Proconsular Asia (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 1). In one

as so absorbed in the higher and diviner love that there was no room left for the lower and the human.

III. *From his departure from Jerusalem to his death.*—The traditions of a later age come in, with more or less show of likelihood, to fill up the great gap which separates the Apostle of Jerusalem from the Bishop of Ephesus. It was a natural conjecture to suppose that he remained in Judaea till the death of the Virgin released him from his trust.* When this took place we can only conjecture. There are no signs of his being at Jerusalem at the time of St. Paul's last visit (Acts xxi.). The pastoral epistles set aside the notion that he had come to Ephesus before the work of the Apostle of the Gentiles was brought to its conclusion. Out of many contradictory statements, fixing his departure under Claudius, or Nero, or as late even as Domitian, we have hardly any data for doing more than rejecting the two extremes.† Nor is it certain that his work as an Apostle was transferred at once from Jerusalem to Ephesus. A tradition current in the time of Augustine (*Quaest. Evang.* ii. 19), and embodied in some MSS. of the N. T., represented the 1st Epistle of St. John as addressed to the Parthians, and so far implied that his Apostolic work had brought him into contact with them. When the form of the aged disciple meets us again, in the twilight of the Apostolic age, we are still left in great doubt as to the extent of his work and the circumstances of his outward life. Assuming the authorship of the Epistles and the Revelation to be his, the facts which the N. T. writings assert or imply are—(1) that, having come to Ephesus, some persecution, local or general, drove him to Patmos (Rev. i. 9):^b (2) that the seven churches, of which Asia was the centre, were special objects of his solicitude (Rev. i. 11); that in his work he had to encounter men who denied the truth on which his faith rested (1 John iv. 1; 2 John 7), and others who, with a railing and malignant temper, disputed his authority (3 John 9, 10). If to this we add that he must have out-lived all, or nearly all, of those who had been the friends and companions even of his maturer years—that this lingering age gave strength to an old imagination that his Lord had promised him immortality (John xxi. 23)—that, as if remembering the actual words which had been thus perverted, the longing of his soul gathered itself up in the cry, "Even so, come, Lord Jesus" (Rev. xxii. 20)—that from some who spoke with authority he received a solemn attestation of the confidence they reposed in him (John xxi. 24)—we have stated all that has any claim to the character of historical truth. The picture which tradition fills up for us has the merit of being full and vivid, but it blends together, without much regard to harmony, things probable and improbable. He is shipwrecked off Ephesus (Simeon Metaph. *in vitâ Johan.* c. 2; Lampe, i. 47), and arrives there in time to check the progress of the heresies which sprang up after

of the legends connected with the Apostles' Creed, Peter contributes the first article, John the second, but the tradition appears with great variations as to time and order (comp. Pseudo-August. *Serm.* ccl.).

^b Here again the hypotheses of commentators range from Claudius to Domitian, the consensus of patristic tradition preponderating in favour of the latter [Comp. REVELATION.]

St. Paul's departure. Then, or at a later period, he numbers among his disciples men like Polycarp, Papias, Ignatius (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* c. xvii.). In the persecution under Domitian he is taken to Rome, and there, by his boldness, though not by death, gains the crown of martyrdom. The boiling oil into which he is thrown has no power to hurt him (Tertull. *de Praescript.* c. xxxvi.).¹ He is then sent to labour in the mines, and Patmos is the place of his exile (Victorinus, in *Apoc.* ix.; Lampe, i. 66). The accession of Nerva frees him from danger, and he returns to Ephesus. There he settles the canon of the Gospel-history by formally attesting the truth of the first three Gospels, and writing his own to supply what they left wanting (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 24). The elders of the Church are gathered together, and he, as by a sudden inspiration, begins with the wonderful opening, "In the beginning was the word" (Hieron. *de Vir. Illust.* 29). Heresies continue to show themselves, but he meets them with the strongest possible protest. He refuses to pass under the same roof (that of the public baths of Ephesus) as their foremost leader, lest the house should fall down on them and crush them (Iren. iii. 3; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 28, iv. 14).² Through his agency the great temple of Artemis is at last reft of its magnificence, and even levelled with the ground (Cyril. Alex. *Orat. de Mar. Virg.*; Nicephor. *H. E.* ii. 42; Lampe, i. 90). He introduces and perpetuates the Jewish mode of celebrating the Easter feast (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 3). At Ephesus, if not before, as one who was a true priest of the Lord, bearing on his brow the plate of gold (*πέταλον*; comp. Suicer. *Thes. s. v.*), with the sacred name engraved on it, which was the badge of the Jewish pontiff (Polycrates, in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 31, v. 24).³ In strange contrast with this ideal exaltation, a later tradition tells how the old man used to find pleasure in the playfulness and fondness of a favourite bird, and defended himself against the charge of unworthy trifling by the familiar apologue of the bow that must sometimes be unbent (Cassian. *Collat.* xxiv. c. 2).⁴ More true to the N. T. character of the Apostle is the story, told with so much power and beauty by Clement of Alexandria (*Quis dives.* c. 42), of his special and loving interest in the younger members of his flock; of his eagerness and courage in the attempt to rescue one of them who had fallen into evil courses. The scene of the old and loving man, standing face to face with the outlaw-chief whom,

in days gone by, he had baptised, and winning him to repentance, is one which we could gladly look on as belonging to his actual life—part of a story which is, in Clement's words, *οὐ αὐθις ἄλλα λόγος*. Not less beautiful is that other scene which comes before us as the last act of his life. When all capacity to work and teach is gone—when there is no strength even to stand—the spirit still retains its power to love, and the lips are still opened to repeat, without change and variation, the command which summed up all his Master's will, "Little children, love one another" (Hieron. in *Gal.* vi.). Other stories, more apocryphal and less interesting, we may pass over rapidly. That he put forth his power to raise the dead to life (Euseb. *H. E.* v. 18); that he drank the cup of hemlock which was intended to cause his death, and suffered no harm from it (Pseudo-August. *Soliloq.*; Isidor. *Hispal. de Morte Sanct.* c. 73); that when he felt his death approaching he gave orders for the construction of his own sepulchre, and when it was finished calmly laid himself down in it and died (Augustin. *Tract. in Joann.* cxxiv.); that after his interment there were strange movements in the earth that covered him (*ibid.*); that when the tomb was subsequently opened it was found empty (Niceph. *H. E.* ii. 42); that he was reserved to re-appear again in conflict with the personal Antichrist in the last days (Suicer. *Thes. s. v. Ἰωάννης*): these traditions, for the most part, indicate little else than the uncritical spirit of the age in which they passed current. The very time of his death lies within the region of conjecture rather than of history, and the dates that have been assigned for it range from A.D. 89 to A.D. 120 (Lampe, i. 92).

The result of all this accumulation of apocryphal materials is, from one point of view, disappointing enough. We strain our sight in vain to distinguish between the false and the true—between the shadows with which the gloom is peopled, and the living forms of which we are in search. We find it better and more satisfying to turn again, for all our conceptions of the Apostle's mind and character, to the scanty records of the N. T., and the writings which he himself has left. The truest thought that we can attain to is still that he was "the disciple whom Jesus loved"—*ὁ ἐπιστήθιος*—returning that love with a deep, absorbing, unwavering devotion. One aspect of that feeling is seen in the zeal for his Master's glory, the burning indig-

¹ The scene of the supposed miracle was outside the Porta Latina, and hence the Western Church commemorates it by the special festival of "St. John Port. Latin." on May 6th.

² Eusebius and Irenaeus make Cerinthus the heretic. In Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxx. c. 24) Ebion is the hero of the story. To modern feelings the anecdote may seem at variance with the character of the Apostle of Love, but it is hardly more than the development in act of the principle of 2 John 10. To the mind of Epiphanius there was a difficulty of another kind. Nothing less than a special inspiration could account for such a departure from an ascetic life as going to a bath at all.

³ The story of the *πέταλον* is perhaps the most perplexing of all the traditions as to the age of the Apostles. What makes it still stranger is the appearance of a like tradition (Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 23; Epiph. *Haer.* 78) about James the Just. Measured by our notions, the statement seems altogether improbable, and yet how can we account for

its appearance at so early a date? Is it possible that this was the symbol that the old exclusive priesthood had passed away? Or are we to suppose that a strong statement as to the new priesthood was misinterpreted, and that rhetoric passed rapidly into legend? (Comp. Neand. *Pflanz. u. Leit.* p. 613; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on Apostolic Age*, p. 283.) Ewald (*l. c.*) finds in it an evidence in support of the hypothesis above referred to.

⁴ The authority of Cassian is but slender in such a case; but the story is hardly to be rejected, on *a priori* grounds, as incompatible with the dignity of an Apostle. Does it not illustrate the truth—

"He prayeth best who loveth best
All things both great and small" ?

⁵ The memory of this deliverance is preserved in the symbolic cup, with the serpent issuing from it, which appears in the mediaeval representations of the Evangelist. Is it possible that the symbol originated in Mark x. 39, and that the legend grew out of the symbol?

nation against all that seemed to outrage it, which runs, with its fiery gleam, through his whole life, and makes him, from first to last, one of the Sons of Thunder. To him, more than to any other disciple, there is no neutrality between Christ and Antichrist. The spirit of such a man is intolerant of compromises and concessions. The same strong personal affection shows itself, in another form, in the chief characteristics of his Gospel. While the other Evangelists record principally the discourses and parables which were spoken to the multitude, he treasures up every word and accent of dialogues and conversations, which must have seemed to most men less conspicuous. In the absence of any recorded narrative of his work as a preacher, in the silence which he appears to have kept for so many years, he comes before us as one who lives in the unseen eternal world, rather than in that of secular, or even spiritual activity. If there is less apparent power to enter into the minds and hearts of men of different temperament and education, less ability to become all things to all men than there is in St. Paul, there is a perfection of another kind. The image mirrored in his soul is that of the Son of Man, who is also the Son of God. He is the Apostle of Love, not because he starts from the easy temper of a general benevolence, nor again as being of a character soft, yielding, feminine, but because he has grown, ever more and more, into the likeness of Him whom he loved so truly. Nowhere is the vision of the Eternal Word, the glory as of the only-begotten of the Father, so unclouded: nowhere are there such distinctive personal reminiscences of the Christ, *κατὰ σάρκα*, in his most distinctively human characteristics. It was this union of the two aspects of the Truth which made him so truly the "Theologus" of the whole company of the Apostles, the instinctive opponent of all forms of a mystical, or logical, or docetic Gnosticism. It was a true feeling which led the later interpreters of the mysterious forms of the four living creatures round the throne (Rev. iv. 7)—departing in this instance from the earlier tradition⁸—to see in him the eagle that soars into the highest heaven and looks upon the unclouded sun. It will be well to end with the noble words from the hymn of Adam of St. Victor, in which that feeling is embodied:—

"Coelum transit, veri rotam
Solis vidit, ibi totam
Mentis figens aciem;
Speculator spiritalis
Quasi seraphim sub alis,
Dei vidit faciem."⁹

(Comp. the exhaustive Prolegomena to Lampe's *Commentary*; Neander, *Pflanz. u. Leit.* 609-652; Stanley, *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, Sermon iv., and *Essay on the Traditions respecting St. John*; Maurice *On the Gospel of St. John*, Sermon i.; and an interesting article by Ebrard, s. v. *Johannes*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*.)

[E. H. P.]

JOHN THE BAPTIST (Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστής), a saint more signally honoured of God than any other whose name is recorded in either the O. or the N. T. John was of the priestly race by both parents, for his father Zacharias was himself a

priest of the course of Abia, or Abijan (1 Ch. xiv. 10), offering incense at the very time when a son was promised to him; and Elizabeth was of the daughters of Aaron (Luke i. 5). Both, too, were devout persons—walking in the commandments of God, and waiting for the fulfilment of His promise to Israel. The divine mission of John was the subject of prophecy many centuries before his birth, for St. Matthew (iii. 3) tells us that it was John, who was prefigured by Isaiah as "the Voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make His paths straight" (Is. xl. 3), while by the prophet Malachi the spirit announces more definitely, "Behold, I will send my messenger, and he shall prepare the way before Me" (iii. 1). His birth—a birth not according to the ordinary laws of nature, but through the miraculous interposition of Almighty power—was foretold by an angel sent from God, who announced it as an occasion of joy and gladness to many—and at the same time assigned to him the name of *John* to signify either that he was to be born of God's especial favour, or, perhaps, that he was to be the harbinger of grace. The angel Gabriel moreover proclaimed the character and office of this wonderful child even before his conception, foretelling that he would be filled with the Holy Ghost from the first moment of his existence, and appear as the great reformer of his countrymen—another Elijah in the boldness with which he would speak truth and rebuke vice—but, above all, as the chosen forerunner and herald of the long-expected Messiah.

These marvellous revelations as to the character and career of the son, for whom he had so long prayed in vain, were too much for the faith of the aged Zacharias; and when he sought some assurance of the certainty of the promised blessing, God gave it to him in a judgment—the privation of speech—until the event foretold should happen—a judgment intended to serve at once as a token of God's truth, and a rebuke of his own incredulity. And now the Lord's gracious promise tarried not—Elizabeth, for greater privacy, retired into the hill-country, whither she was soon afterwards followed by her kinswoman Mary, who was herself the object and channel of divine grace beyond measure greater and more mysterious. The two cousins, who were thus honoured above all the mothers of Israel, came together in a remote city of the south (by some supposed to be Hebron, by others Jutta), and immediately God's purpose was confirmed to them by a miraculous sign; for as soon as Elizabeth heard the salutations of Mary, the babe leaped in her womb, thus acknowledging, as it were even before birth, the presence of his Lord (Luke i. 43, 44). Three months after this, and while Mary still remained with her, Elizabeth was delivered of a son. The birth of John preceded by six months that of our blessed Lord. [Respecting this date, see JESUS CHRIST, p. 1072.] On the eighth day the child of promise was, in conformity with the law of Moses (Lev. xii. 3), brought to the priest for circumcision, and as the performance of this rite was the accustomed time for naming a child, the friends of the family proposed to call him Zacharias after the name of his father. The mother, however, required that he should be called John—a decision which

⁸ The older interpretation made Mark answer to the eagle, John to the lion (Suicer, *Theo. s. v. ἰωάννης*).

⁹ Another verse of the hymn, "Volat avis sine

metâ," et seq., is familiar to most students as the motto prefixed by Olshausen to his commentary on St. John's Gospel. The whole hymn is to be found in Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*, p. 71.

Zacharias, still speechless, confirmed by writing on a tablet, "his name is John." The judgment on his want of faith was then at once withdrawn, and the first use which he made of his recovered speech was to praise Jehovah for his faithfulness and mercy (Luke i. 64). God's wonderful interposition in the birth of John had impressed the minds of many with a certain solemn awe and expectation (Luke iii. 15). God was surely again visiting His people. His providence, so long hidden, seemed once more about to manifest itself. The child thus supernaturally born must doubtless be commissioned to perform some important part in the history of the chosen people. Could it be the Messiah? Could it be Elijah? Was the era of their old prophets about to be restored? With such grave thoughts were the minds of the people occupied, as they mused on the events which had been passing under their eyes, and said one to another, "What manner of child shall this be?" while Zacharias himself, "filled with the Holy Ghost," broke forth in that glorious strain of praise and prophecy so familiar to us in the morning service of our church—a strain in which it is to be observed that the father, before speaking of his own child, blesses God for remembering his covenant and promise, in the redemption and salvation of his people through Him, of whom his own son was the prophet and forerunner. A single verse contains all that we know of John's history for a space of thirty years—the whole period which elapsed between his birth and the commencement of his public ministry. "The child grew and waxed strong in the spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his showing unto Israel" (Luke i. 80). John, it will be remembered, was ordained to be a Nazarite (see Num. vi. 1-21) from his birth, for the words of the angel were, "He shall drink neither wine nor strong drink" (Luke i. 15). What we are to understand by this brief announcement is probably this:—The chosen forerunner of the Messiah and herald of his kingdom was required to forego the ordinary pleasures and indulgences of the world, and live a life of the strictest self-denial in retirement and solitude.

It was thus that the holy Nazarite, dwelling by himself in the wild and thinly peopled region westward of the Dead Sea, called "Desert" in the text, prepared himself by self-discipline, and by constant communion with God, for the wonderful office to which he had been divinely called. Here year after year of his stern probation passed by, till at length the time for the fulfilment of his mission arrived. The very appearance of the holy Baptist was of itself a lesson to his countrymen; his dress was that of the old prophets—a garment woven of camel's hair (2 K. i. 8), attached to the body by a leathern girdle. His food was such as the desert afforded—locusts (Lev. xi. 22) and wild honey (Ps. lxxxi. 16).

And now the long secluded hermit came forth to the discharge of his office. His supernatural birth—his hard ascetic life—his reputation for extraordinary sanctity—and the generally prevailing expectation that some great one was about to appear—these causes, without the aid of miraculous power, for "John did no miracle" (John x. 41), were sufficient to attract to him a great multitude from "every quarter" (Matt. iii. 5). Brief and startling was his first exhortation to them—"Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Some score verses contain all that is recorded of John's

preaching, and the sum of it all is repentance; not mere legal ablation or expiation, but a change of heart and life. Herein John, though exhibiting a marked contrast to the scribes and pharisees of his own time, was but repeating with the stimulus of a new and powerful motive the lessons which had been again and again impressed upon them by their ancient prophets (cf. Is. i. 16, 17, lv. 7; Jer. vii. 3-7; Ezek. xviii. 19-32, xxxvi. 25-27; Joel ii. 12, 13; Mic. vi. 8; Zech. i. 3, 4). But while such was his solemn admonition to the multitude at large, he adopted towards the leading sects of the Jews a severer tone, denouncing Pharisees and Sadducees alike as "a generation of vipers," and warning them of the folly of trusting to external privileges as descendants of Abraham (Luke iii. 8). Now at last he warns them that "the axe was laid to the root of the tree"—that formal righteousness would be tolerated no longer, and that none would be acknowledged for children of Abraham but such as did the works of Abraham (cf. John viii. 39). Such alarming declarations produced their effect, and many of every class pressed forward to confess their sins and to be baptised.

What then was the baptism which John administered? Not altogether a new rite, for it was the custom of the Jews to baptise proselytes to their religion—not an ordinance in itself conveying remission of sins, but rather a token and symbol of that repentance which was an indispensable condition of forgiveness through Him, whom John pointed out as "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world." Still less did the baptism of John impart the grace of regeneration—of a new spiritual life (Acts xix. 3, 4). This was to be the mysterious effect of baptism "with the Holy Ghost," which was to be ordained by that "Mightier One," whose coming he proclaimed. The preparatory baptism of John was a visible sign to the people, and a distinct acknowledgment by them, that a hearty renunciation of sin and a real amendment of life were necessary for admission into the kingdom of heaven, which the Baptist proclaimed to be at hand. But the fundamental distinction between John's baptism unto repentance, and that baptism accompanied with the gift of the Holy Spirit which our Lord afterwards ordained, is clearly marked by John himself (Matt. iii. 11, 12).

As a preacher, John was eminently practical and discriminating. Self-love and covetousness were the prevalent sins of the people at large; on them therefore he enjoined charity, and consideration for others. The publicans he cautioned against extortion, the soldiers against violence and plunder. His answers to them are, no doubt, to be regarded as instances of the appropriate warning and advice which he addressed to every class.

The mission of the Baptist—an extraordinary one for an extraordinary purpose—was not limited to those who had openly forsaken the covenant of God, and so forfeited its principles. It was to the whole people alike. This we must infer from the baptism of one who had no confession to make, and no sins to wash away. Jesus Himself came from Galilee to Jordan to be baptised of John, on the special ground that it became Him "to fulfil all righteousness," and, as man, to submit to the customs and ordinances which were binding upon the rest of the Jewish people. John, however, naturally at first shrank from offering the symbols of purity to the sinless Son of God. But here a difficult question arises—How is John's acknowledgment of

Jesus at the moment of His presenting Himself for baptism compatible with his subsequent assertion that he knew Him not, save by the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him, which took place after His baptism? If it be difficult to imagine that the two cousins were not personally acquainted with each other, it must be borne in mind that their places of residence were at the two extremities of the country, with but little means of communication between them. Perhaps, too, John's special destination and mode of life may have kept him from the stated festivals of his countrymen at Jerusalem. It is possible therefore that the Saviour and the Baptist had never before met. It was certainly of the utmost importance that there should be no suspicion of concert or collusion between them. John, however, must assuredly have been in daily expectation of Christ's manifestation to Israel, and so a word or sign would have sufficed to reveal to him the person and presence of our Lord, though we may well suppose such a fact to be made known by a direct communication from God, as in the case of Simeon (Luke ii. 26; cf. Jackson *on the Creed*, Works, Ox. Ed. vi. 404). At all events it is wholly inconceivable that John should have been permitted to baptise the Son of God without being enabled to distinguish Him from any of the ordinary multitude. Upon the whole, the true meaning of the words *καὶ ὁκ ἤδεν αὐτον* would seem to be as follows:—And I, even I, though standing in so near a relation to Him, both personally and ministerially, had no assured knowledge of Him as the Messiah. I did not know Him, and I had not authority to proclaim Him as such, till I saw the predicted sign in the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Him. It must be borne in mind that John had no means of knowing by previous announcement, whether this wonderful acknowledgment of the Divine Son would be vouchsafed to His forerunner at His baptism, or at any other time (see Dr. Mill's *Hist. Character of St. Luke's Gospel*, and the authorities quoted by him).

With the baptism of Jesus John's more especial office ceased. The king had come to his kingdom. The function of the herald was discharged. It was this that John had with singular humility and self-renunciation announced beforehand:—"He must increase, but I must decrease."

John, however, still continued to present himself to his countrymen in the capacity of witness to Jesus. Especially did he bear testimony to Him at Bethany beyond Jordan (for Bethany, not Bethabara, is the reading of the best MSS.). So confidently indeed did he point out the Lamb of God, on whom he had seen the Spirit alighting like a dove, that two of his own disciples, Andrew, and probably John, being convinced by his testimony, followed Jesus, as the true Messiah.

From incidental notices in Scripture we learn that John and his disciples continued to baptise some time after our Lord entered upon His ministry (see John iii. 23, iv. 1; Acts xix. 3). We gather also that John instructed his disciples in certain moral and religious duties, as fasting (Matt. ix. 14; Luke v. 33) and prayer (Luke xi. 1).

But shortly after he had given his testimony to the Messiah, John's public ministry was brought to a close. He had at the beginning of it condemned the hypocrisy and worldliness of the Pharisees and Sadducees, and he now had occasion to denounce the lust of a king. In daring disregard of the divine laws, Herod Antipas had taken to himself the wife

of his brother Philip; and when John reproved him for this, as well as for other sins (Luke iii. 19), Herod cast him into prison. The place of his confinement was the castle of Machaerus—a fortress on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. It was here that reports reached him of the miracles which our Lord was working in Judaea—miracles which, doubtless, were to John's mind but the confirmation of what he expected to hear as to the establishment of the Messiah's kingdom. But if Christ's kingdom were indeed established, it was the duty of John's own disciples no less than of all others to acknowledge it. They, however, would naturally cling to their own master, and be slow to transfer their allegiance to another. With a view therefore to overcome their scruples, John sent two of them to Jesus Himself to ask the question, "Art Thou He that should come?" They were answered not by words, but by a series of miracles wrought before their eyes—the very miracles which prophecy had specified as the distinguishing credentials of the Messiah (Is. xxxv. 5, li. 1); and while Jesus bade the two messengers carry back to John as his only answer the report of what they had seen and heard, He took occasion to guard the multitude who surrounded Him, against supposing that the Baptist himself was shaken in mind, by a direct appeal to their own knowledge of his life and character. Well might they be appealed to as witnesses that the stern prophet of the wilderness was no waverer, bending to every breeze, like the reeds on the banks of Jordan. Proof abundant had they that John was no worldling with a heart set upon rich clothing and dainty fare—the luxuries of a king's court—and they must have been ready to acknowledge that one so inured to a life of hardness and privation was not likely to be affected by the ordinary terrors of a prison. But our Lord not only vindicates his forerunner from any suspicion of inconstancy, He goes on to proclaim him a prophet, and more than a prophet, nay, inferior to none born of woman, though in respect to spiritual privileges behind the least of those who were to be born of the Spirit and admitted into the fellowship of Christ's body (Matt. xi. 11). It should be noted that the expression *ὁ δὲ μικρότερος, κ.τ.λ.* is understood by Chrysostom, Augustin, Hilary, and some modern commentators, to mean Christ Himself, but this interpretation is less agreeable to the spirit and tone of our Lord's discourse.

Jesus further proceeds to declare that John was, according to the true meaning of the prophecy, the Elijah of the new covenant, foretold by Malachi (iii. 4). The event indeed proved that John was to Herod what Elijah had been to Ahab, and a prison was deemed too light a punishment for his boldness in asserting God's law before the face of a king and a queen. Nothing but the death of the Baptist would satisfy the resentment of Herodias. Though foiled once, she continued to watch her opportunity, which at length arrived. A court festival was kept at Machaerus in honour of the king's birthday. After supper, the daughter of Herodias came in and danced before the company, and so charmed was the king by her grace that he promised with an oath to give her whatsoever she should ask.

Salome, prompted by her abandoned mother, demanded the head of John the Baptist. The promise had been given in the hearing of his distinguished guests, and so Herod, though loth to be made the instrument of so bloody a work, gave instructions to an officer of his guard, who went and

executed John in the prison, and his head was brought to feast the eyes of the adulteress whose sins he had denounced.

Thus was John added to that glorious army of martyrs who have suffered for righteousness' sake. His death is supposed to have occurred just before the third passover, in the course of the Lord's ministry. It is by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 5, §2) attributed to the jealousy with which Herod regarded his growing influence with the people. Herod undoubtedly looked upon him as some extraordinary person, for no sooner did he hear of the miracles of Jesus than, though a Sadducee himself, and as such a disbeliever in the Resurrection, he ascribed them to John, whom he supposed to be risen from the dead. Holy Scripture tells us that the body of the Baptist was laid in the tomb by his disciples, and Ecclesiastical history records the honours which successive generations paid to his memory.

The brief history of John's life is marked throughout with the characteristic graces of self-denial, humility, and holy courage. So great indeed was his abstinence that worldly men considered him possessed. "John came neither eating nor drinking, and they said he hath a devil." His humility was such that he had again and again to disavow the character, and decline the honours which an admiring multitude almost forced upon him. To their questions he answered plainly, he was not the Christ, nor the Elijah of whom they were thinking, nor one of their old prophets. He was no one—a voice merely—the Voice of God calling His people to repentance in preparation for the coming of Him whose shoe latchet he was not worthy to unloose.

For his boldness in speaking truth, he went a willing victim to prison and to death.

The student may consult the following works, where he will find numerous references to ancient and modern commentators:—Tillemont, *Hist. Eccles.*; Witsius, *Miscell.* vol. iv.; Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea*, Oxford, 1842; Neander, *Life of Christ*; Le Bas, *Scripture Biography*; Taylor, *Life of Christ*; Olshausen, *Com. on the Gospels*. [E. H.—s.]

JOHN, GOSPEL OF. 1. *Authority.*—No doubt has been entertained at any time in the Church, either of the canonical authority of this Gospel, or of its being written by St. John. The text 2 Pet. i. 14 is not indeed sufficient to support the inference that St. Peter and his readers were acquainted with the fourth Gospel, and recognised its authority. But still no other book of the N. T. is authenticated by testimony of so early a date as that of the disciples which is embodied in the Gospel itself (xi. 24, 25). Among the Apostolic Fathers, Ignatius appears to have known and recognised this Gospel. His declaration, "I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ the Son of God . . . and I desire the drink of God, His blood, which is incorruptible love" (*ad Rom.* vii.; Cureton, *Corpus Ignatianum*, p. 231), could scarcely have been written by one who had not read St. John vi. 32, &c. And in the *Ep. ad Philadelphinos*, vii. (which, however, is not contained in Mr. Cureton's Syriac MSS.), the same writer says, "[The Holy Spirit] knoweth whence He cometh and whither He goeth, and reproveh the things which are hidden;" this is surely more than an accidental verbal coincidence with St. John iii. 8 and xvi. 8. The fact that this Gospel is not quoted by Clement of Rome (A.D. 68 or 96) serves,

as Dean Alford suggests, merely to confirm the statement that it is a very late production of the Apostolic age. Polycarp in his short epistle, *Hermas*, and *Barnabas* do not refer to it. But its phraseology may be clearly traced in the Epistle to Diognetus ("Christians dwell in the world, but they are not of the world;" comp. John xvii. 11, 14, 16: "He sent His only-begotten Son . . . as loving, not condemning;" comp. John iii. 16, 17), and in Justin Martyr, A.D. 150 ("Christ said, Except ye be born again ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven: and it is manifest to all that it is impossible for those who have been once born to enter into the wombs of those that bare them;" *Apol.* 61; comp. John iii. 3, 5: and again, "His blood having been produced, not of human seed, but of the will of God;" *Trypho.* 63; comp. John i. 13, &c.). Tatian, A.D. 170, wrote a harmony of the four Gospels; and he quotes St. John's Gospel in his only extant work; so do his contemporaries Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Athenagoras, and the writer of the Epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons. The Valentinians made great use of it; and one of their sect, Heracleon, wrote a commentary on it. Yet its authority among orthodox Christians was too firmly established to be shaken thereby. Theophilus of Antioch (*ad Autolycon*, ii.) expressly ascribes this Gospel to St. John; and he wrote, according to Jerome (*Ep.* 53 *ad Algas.*), a harmonised commentary on the four Gospels. And, to close the list of writers of the second century, the numerous and full testimonies of Irenaeus in Gaul and Tertullian at Carthage, with the obscure but weighty testimony of the Roman writer of the Muratorian Fragment on the Canon, sufficiently show the authority attributed in the Western Church to this Gospel. The third century introduces equally decisive testimony from the Fathers of the Alexandrian Church, Clement and Origen, which it is unnecessary here to quote at length.

Cerdon, Marcion, the Montanists, and other ancient heretics (see Lampe, *Commentarius*, i. 136), did not deny that St. John was the author of the Gospel, but they held that the Apostle was mistaken, or that his Gospel had been interpolated in those passages which are opposed to their tenets. The Alogi, a sect in the beginning of the third century, were singular in rejecting the writings of St. John. Guerike (*Einleitung in N. T.* 303) enumerates later opponents of the Gospel, beginning with an Englishman, Edw. Evanson, *On the Dissonance of the Four Evangelists*, Ipswich, 1792, and closing with Bretschneider's *Probabilia de Evangelio Johannis, &c., origine*, Lips. 1820. His arguments are characterised by Guerike as strong in comparison with those of his predecessors. They are grounded chiefly on the strangeness of such language and thoughts as those of St. John coming from a Galilean fisherman, and on the difference between the representations of our Lord's person and of his manner of speech given by St. John and the other Evangelists. Guerike answers Bretschneider's arguments in detail. The scepticism of more recent times has found its fullest, and, according to Bleek, its most important, expression in a treatise by Lützelberger on the tradition respecting the Apostle John and his writings (1840). His arguments are recapitulated and answered by Dr. Davidson (*Introduction to the N. T.*, 1848, vol. i. p. 244 &c.). It may suffice to mention one specimen. St. Paul's expression (Gal. ii. 6), *ἄπολοι ποτε ἦσαν*, is translated by

Lützelberger, "whatsoever they [Peter, James, and John] were formerly:" he discovers therein an implied assertion that all three were not living when the Epistle to the Galatians was written, and infers that since Peter and James were undoubtedly alive, John must have been dead, and therefore the tradition which ascribes to him the residence at Ephesus, and the composition, after A.D. 60, of various writings, must confound him with another John. Still more recently the objections of Baur to St. John's Gospel have been answered by Ebrard, *Das Evangelium Johannis*, &c., Zurich, 1845.

2. *Place and time at which it was written.*—Ephesus and Patmos are the two places mentioned by early writers; and the weight of evidence seems to preponderate in favour of Ephesus. Irenaeus (iii. 1; also *apud* Euseb. *H. E.* v. 8) states that John published his Gospel whilst he dwelt in Ephesus of Asia. Jerome (*Prol. in Matth.*) states that John was in Asia when he complied with the request of the bishops of Asia and others to write more profoundly concerning the Divinity of Christ. Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Prol. in Joannem*) relates that John was living at Ephesus when he was moved by his disciples to write his Gospel.

The evidence in favour of Patmos comes from two anonymous writers. The author of the *Synopsis of Scripture*, printed in the works of Athanasius, states that the Gospel was dictated by St. John in Patmos, and published afterwards in Ephesus. The author of the work *De XII. Apostolis*, printed in the Appendix to Fabricius' Hippolytus (p. 952, ed. Migne), states that John was banished by Domitian to Patmos, where he wrote his Gospel. The later date of these unknown writers, and the seeming inconsistency of their testimony with St. John's declaration (Rev. i. 2) in Patmos, that he had previously borne record of the Word of God, render their testimony of little weight.

Attempts have been made to elicit from the language of the Gospel itself some argument which should decide the question whether it was written before or after the destruction of Jerusalem. But considering that the present tense "is" is used in v. 2, and the past tense "was" in xi. 18, xviii. 1, xix. 41, it would seem reasonable to conclude that these passages throw no light upon the question.

Clement of Alexandria (*apud* Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 14) speaks of St. John as the latest of the Evangelists. The Apostle's sojourn at Ephesus probably began after St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians was written, *i. e.* after A.D. 62. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 20) specifies the fourteenth year of Domitian, *i. e.* A.D. 95, as the year of his banishment to Patmos. Probably the date of the Gospel may lie about midway between these two, about A.D. 78. The references to it in the 1st Epistle and the Revelation lead to the supposition that it was written decidedly before those two books; and the tradition of its supplementary character would lead us to place it some little time after the Apostle had fixed his abode at Ephesus.

3. *Occasion and Scope.*—After the destruction of Jerusalem A.D. 69, Ephesus probably became the centre of the active life of Eastern Christendom. Even Antioch, the original source of missions to the Gentiles, and the future metropolis of the Christian Patriarch, appears, for a time, less conspicuous in the obscurity of early church history than Ephesus, to which St. Paul inscribed his Epistle, and in which St. John found a dwelling-place and a tomb. This half-Greek, half-Oriental city,

"visited by ships from all parts of the Mediterranean, and united by great roads with the markets of the interior, was the common meeting-place of various characters and classes of men" (*Conybeare and Howson's St. Paul*, ch. xiv.). It contained a large church of faithful Christians, a multitude of zealous Jews, an indigenous population devoted to the worship of a strange idol whose image (Jerome, *Praef. in Ephes.*) was borrowed from the East, its name from the West: in the Xystus of Ephesus, free-thinking philosophers of all nations disputed over their favourite tenets (Justin, *Trypho*, i. vii.). It was the place to which Cerinthus chose to bring the doctrines which he devised or learned at Alexandria (Neander, *Church History*, ii. 42, ed. Bohn). In this city, and among the lawless heathens in its neighbourhood (Clem. Alex. *Quis dives salv.* §42), St. John was engaged in extending the Christian Church, when, for the greater edification of that Church, his Gospel was written. It was obviously addressed primarily to Christians, not to heathens; and the Apostle himself tells us (xx. 31) what was the end to which he looked forward in all his teaching.

Modern criticism has indulged in much curious speculation as to the exclusive or the principal motive which induced the Apostle to write. His design, according to some critics, was to supplement the deficiencies of the earlier three Gospels; according to others, to confute the Nicolaitans and Cerinthus; according to others, to state the true doctrine of the Divinity of Christ. But let it be borne in mind first of all that the inspiring, directing impulse given to St. John was that by which all "prophecy came in old time," when "holy men of God spake," "not by the will of man," "but as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." We cannot feel confident of our own capacity to analyse the motives and circumscribe the views of a mind under the influence of Divine inspiration. The Gospel of St. John is a boon to all ages, and to men in an infinite variety of circumstances. Something of the feelings of the chronicler, or the polemic, or the catechist may have been in the heart of the Apostle, but let us not imagine that his motives were limited to any, or to all of these.

It has indeed been pronounced by high critical authority that "the supplementary theory is entirely untenable;" and so it becomes if put forth in its most rigid form, and as showing the whole design of St. John. But even Dr. Davidson, while pronouncing it unsupported by either external tradition or internal grounds, acknowledges that some truth lies at the bottom of it. Those who hold the theory in its extreme and exclusive form will find it hard to account for the fact that St. John has many things in common with his predecessors; and those who repudiate the theory entirely will find it hard to account for his omission, *e. g.* of such an event as the Transfiguration, which he was admitted to see, and which would have been within the scope (under any other theory) of his Gospel. Luthardt concludes most judiciously that, though St. John may not have written with direct reference to the earlier three Evangelists, he did not write without any reference to them.

And in like manner, though so able a critic as Lücke speaks of the anti-Gnostic reference of St. John as prevailing throughout his Gospel, while Luthardt is for limiting such reference to his first verses, and to his doctrine of the Logos; and though other writers have shown much ingenuity

in discovering, and perhaps exaggerating, references to Docetism, Ebionitism, and Sabianism; yet, when controversial references are set forth as the principal design of the Apostle, it is well to bear in mind the cautious opinion expressed by Dr. Davidson:—"Designed polemical opposition to one of those errors, or to all of them, does not lie in the contents of the sacred book itself; and yet it is true that they were not unnoticed by St. John. He intended to set forth the faith alone, and in so doing he has written passages that do confute those erroneous tendencies."

There is no intrinsic improbability in the early tradition as to the occasion and scope of this Gospel, which is most fully related in the commentary of Theodore of Mopsuestia, to the effect that while St. John lived at Ephesus, and visited all parts of Asia, the writings of Matthew, Mark, and even Luke came into the hands of the Christians, and were diligently circulated everywhere. Then it occurred to the Christians of Asia that St. John was a more credible witness than all others, forasmuch as from the beginning, even before Matthew, he was with the Lord, and enjoyed more abundant grace through the love which the Lord bore to him. And they brought him the books, and sought to know his opinion of them. Then he praised the writers for their veracity, and said that a few things had been omitted by them, and that all but a little of the teaching of the most important miracles was recorded. And he added that they who discourse of the coming of Christ in the flesh ought not to omit to speak of his Divinity, lest in course of time men who are used to such discourses might suppose that Christ was only what He appeared to be. Thereupon the brethren exhorted him to write at once the things which he judged the most important for instruction, and which he saw omitted by the others. And he did so. And therefore from the beginning he discoursed about the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, judging this to be the necessary beginning of the Gospel, and from it he went on to the incarnation. [See above, p. 1107.]

4. *Contents and Integrity.*—Luthardt says that there is no book in the N. T. which more strongly than the fourth Gospel impresses the reader with the notion of its unity and integrity. And yet it does not appear to be written with such close adherence to a preconceived plan as a Western writer would show in developing and illustrating some one leading idea. The preface, the break at the end of the twelfth chapter, and the supplementary chapter, are divisions which will occur to every reader. The ingenious synopsis of Bengel and the thoughtful one of Luthardt are worthy of attention. But none is so elaborate and minute as that of Lampe, of which the following is an abridgment:—

A. THE PROLOGUE, i. 1-18.

B. THE HISTORY, i. 19-xx. 29.

a. Various events relating to our Lord's ministry, narrated in connexion with seven journeys, i. 19-xii. 50:—

1. First journey, into Judaea and beginning of His ministry, i. 19-ii. 12.

2. Second journey, at the Passover in the first year of His ministry, ii. 13-iv. (The manifestation of His glory in Jerusalem, ii. 13-iii. 21, and in the journey back, iii. 22-iv.)

3. Third journey, in the second year of His ministry, about the Passover, v.

4. Fourth journey, about the Passover, in the

third year of His ministry, beyond Jordan, vi. (His glory shown by the multiplication of the loaves, and by His walking on the sea, and by the discourses with the Jews, His disciples and His Apostles.)

5. Fifth journey, six months before His death, begun at the Feast of Tabernacles, vii.-x. 21. (Circumstances in which the journey was undertaken, vii. 1-13: five signs of His glory shown at Jerusalem, vii. 14-x. 21.)

6. Sixth journey, about the Feast of Dedication x. 22-42. (His testimony in Solomon's porch, and His departure beyond Jordan.)

7. Seventh journey in Judaea towards Bethany xi. 1-54. (The raising of Lazarus and its consequences.)

8. Eighth journey, before His last Passover, xi. 55-xii. (Plots of the Jews, His entry into Jerusalem, and into the Temple, and the manifestation of His glory there.)

b. History of the Death of Christ, xiii.-xx. 29.

1. Preparation for His Passion, xiii.-xvii. (Last-Supper, discourse to His disciples, His commendatory prayer.)

2. The circumstances of His Passion and Death, xviii. xix. (His apprehension, trial, and crucifixion.)

3. His Resurrection, and the proofs of it, xx. 1-29.

C. THE CONCLUSION, xx. 30-xxi. —

1. Scope of the foregoing history, xx. 30, 31.

2. Confirmation of the authority of the Evangelist by additional historical facts, and by the testimony of the elders of the Church, xxi. 1-24.

3. Reason of the termination of the history, xxi. 25.

Some portions of the Gospel have been regarded by certain critics as interpolations. Luthardt discusses at considerable length the objections of Paulus, Weiss., Schenkel, and Schweizer to ch. xxi. viii. 1-11, v. 3, ii. 1-12, iv. 44-54, vi. 1-26. The discussion of these passages belongs rather to a commentary than to a brief introduction. But as the question as to ch. xxi. has an important bearing on the history of the Gospel, a brief statement respecting it may not be out of place here.

Guerike (*Einführung*, p. 310) gives the following lists of (1) those who have doubted, and (2) those who have advocated its genuineness:—(1) Grotius, Le Clerc, Pfäff, Semler, Paulus, Gurllitt, Bertholdt, Seyffarth, Lücke, De Wette, Schott; (2) R. Simon, Lampe, Wetstein, Osiander, Michaelis, Beck, Eichhorn, Hug, Wegscheider, Handschke, Weber, Tholuck, Scheffer. The objections against the first twenty-three verses of this chapter are founded entirely on internal evidence. The principal objections as to alleged peculiarities of language are completely answered in a note in Guerike's *Einführung*, 310, and are given up with one exception by De Wette. Other objections, though urged by Lücke, are exceedingly trivial and arbitrary, e. g. that the reference to the author in verse 20 is unlike the manner of St. John; that xx. 30, 31 would have been placed at the end of xxi. by St. John if he had written both chapters; that the narrative descends to strangely minute circumstances, &c.

The 25th verse and the latter half of the 24th of ch. xxi. are generally received as an undisguised addition, probably by the elders of the Ephesian Church, where the Gospel was first published.

There is an early tradition recorded by the au

thor of the Synopsis of Scripture in Athanasius; that this Gospel was written many years before the Apostle permitted its general circulation. This fact—rather improbable in itself—is rendered less so by the obviously supplementary character of the latter part, or perhaps the whole of ch. xxi. Ewald (*Gesch. Israel*, vii. 217), less sceptical herein than many of his countrymen, comes to the conclusion that the first 20 chapters of this Gospel, having been written by the Apostle, about A.D. 80, at the request, and with the help of his more advanced Christian friends, were not made public till a short time before his death, and that ch. xxi. was a later addition by his own hand.

5. *Literature*.—The principal Commentators on St. John will be found in the following list:—(1) Origen, in *Opp.* ed. 1759, iv. 1-460; (2) Chrysostom, in *Opp.* ed. 1728, viii. 1-530; (3) Theodore of Mopsuestia and others, in *Corderii Catena in Joannem*, 1630; (4) Augustine, in *Opp.* ed. 1690, iii., part 2, 290-826; (5) Theophylact; (6) Euthymius Zigabenus; (7) Maldonatus; (8) Luther; (9) Calvin; (10) Grotius and others, in the *Critici Sacri*; (11) Cornelius à Lapide; (12) Hammond; (13) Lampe, *Commentarius exegetico-analyticus in Joannem*, 1735; (14) Bengel; (15) Whitby; (16) Lücke, *Commentar zum Evang. Joann.* 1820; (17) Olshausen, *Biblicher Commentar*, 1834; (18) Meyer, *Kritisch-exeget. Commentar*; (19) De Wette, *Exeget. Handbuch z. N. T.*; (20) Tholuck, *Comm. z. Evang. Johan.*; (21) C. E. Luthardt, *das Johanneische Evangelium nach seiner Eigenthümlichkeit*, 1853.

Until very lately the English reader had no better critical help in the study of St. John's Gospel than those which were provided for him by Hammond, Lightfoot, and Whitby. He now has access through the learned Commentaries of Canon Wordsworth and Dean Alford to the interpretations and explanations of the ancient Fathers, and several English theologians, and to those of all the eminent German critics.

The Commentaries of Chrysostom and Augustine have been translated into English in the *Oxford Library of the Fathers* (Parker, 1848). English translations have been published also of the Commentaries of Bengel and Olshausen. And the Rev. F. D. Maurice has published an original and devout Commentary under the title of *Discourses on the Gospel of St. John*, 1857. [W. T. B.]

JOHN, THE FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF. *Its Authenticity*.—The external evidence is of the most satisfactory nature. Eusebius places it in his list of *ὁμολογούμενα* [see above, p. 362], and we have ample proof that it was acknowledged and received as the production of the Apostle John in the writings of Polycarp (*Ep. ad Philipp.* c. vii.); Papias, as quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39); Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 18); Origen (*apud Eus. H. E.* vi. 25); Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. ii.); Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.* c. xv.); Cyprian (*Ep.* xxviii.); and there is no voice in antiquity raised to the contrary.

On the grounds of internal evidence it has been questioned by Lange (*Die Schrift. des Johann. übersetzt und erklärt*, vol. iii.); Cludius (*Ursichten des Christenthums*); Bretschneider (*Probabilia de Evang. et Epist. Joan. Ap. indole et origine*); Zeller (*Theologische Jahrbücher* for 1845). The objections made by these critics are too slight to be worth mentioning. On the other hand the internal evidence for its being the work of St. John

from its similarity in style, language, and doctrine; the Gospel is overwhelming. Macknight (*Preface to First Epistle of John*) has drawn out a list of nineteen passages in the Epistle which are so similar to an equal number of passages in the Gospel that we cannot but conclude that the two writings emanated from the same mind, or that one author was a strangely successful copyist both of the words and of the sentiments of the other. The allusion again of the writer to himself is such as would suit St. John the Apostle, and very few but St. John (1 Ep. i. 1).

Thus we see that the high probability of the authorship is established both by the internal evidence and by the external evidence taken apart. Unite them, and this probability rises to a moral certainty.

With regard to the time at which St. John wrote the Epistle (for an Epistle it essentially is, though not commencing or concluding in the epistolary form) there is considerable diversity of opinion. Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, Benson, Macknight, fix a date previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, understanding (but probably not correctly) the expression "It is the last time" (ii. 18) to refer to the Jewish Church and nation. Lardner, Whiston, Lampe, Mill, Le Clerc, Basnage, Beausobre, Dupin, Davidson, assign it to the close of the first century. This is the more probable date. There are several indications of the Epistle being posterior to the Gospel.

Like the Gospel it was probably written from Ephesus. Grotius fixes Patmos as the place at which it was written—Macknight, Judaea. But a late date would involve the conclusion that it was Ephesus. The persons addressed are certainly not the Parthians, according to the inscriptions of one Greek and several Latin MSS. There is however a somewhat widely spread Latin tradition to this effect resting on the authority of St. Augustine, Cassiodorus, and Bede; and it is defended by Estius. The Greek Church knew no such report. Lardner is clearly right when he says that it was primarily meant for the Churches of Asia under St. John's inspection, to whom he had already orally delivered his doctrine (i. 3, ii. 7).

The main object of the Epistle does not appear to be that of opposing the errors of the Doctæ (Schmidt, Bertholdt, Niemeyer), or of the Gnostics (Kleuker), or of the Nicolaitans (Macknight), or of the Cerinthians (Michaelis), or of all of them together (Townsend), or of the Sabians (Barkey, Storr, Keil), or of Judaizers (Loeffler, Semler), or of apostates to Judaism (Lange, Eichhorn, Hamlein): the leading purpose of the Apostle appears to be rather constructive than polemical. St. John is remarkable both in his history and in his writings for his abhorrence of false doctrine, but he does not attack error as a controversialist. He states the deep truth and lays down the deep moral teaching of Christianity, and in this way rather than directly condemns heresy. In the introduction (i. 1-4) the Apostle states the purpose of his Epistle. It is to declare the Word of life to those whom he is addressing, in order that he and they might be united in true communion with each other, and with God the Father, and His Son Jesus Christ. He at once begins to explain the nature and conditions of communion with God, and being led on from this point into other topics, he twice brings himself back to the same subject. The first part of the Epistle may be considered to end at ii. 28. The Apostle begins afresh with the doctrine of sonship or communion at ii. 29, and returns to the same

theme at iv. 7. His lesson throughout is, that the means of union with God are, on the part of Christ, his atoning blood (i. 7, ii. 2, iii. 5, iv. 10, 14, v. 6) and advocacy (ii. 1)—on the part of man, holiness (i. 6), obedience (ii. 3), purity (iii. 3), faith (iii. 23, iv. 3, v. 5), and above all love (ii. 7, iii. 14, iv. 7, v. 1). St. John is designated the Apostle of Love, and rightly; but it should be ever remembered that his "Love" does not exclude or ignore, but embraces both faith and obedience as constituent parts of itself. Indeed, St. Paul's "Faith that worketh by Love," and St. James' "Works that are the fruit of Faith," and St. John's "Love which springs from Faith and produces Obedience," are all one and the same state of mind described according to the first, third, or second stage into which we are able to analyse the complex whole.

There are two doubtful passages in this Epistle, ii. 23, "but he that acknowledgeth the Son hath the Father also," and v. 7, "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." The question of their authenticity is argued at length by Mill (note at the end of 1 John v.), and Horne (*Introduction to H. S.* iv. p. 448, Lond. 1834). It would appear without doubt that they are not genuine. The latter passage is contained in four only of the 150 MSS. of the Epistle, the Codex Guelpherbytanus of the seventeenth century, the Codex Ravianus, a forgery subsequent to the year 1514, the Codex Britannicus or Monforti of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and the Codex Otobonianus of the fifteenth century. It is not found in the Syriac versions, in the Coptic, the Sadic, the Ethiopic, the Armenian, the Arabic, the Slavonic, nor in any ancient version except the Latin; and the best editions of even the Latin version omit it. It was not quoted by one Greek Father, or writer previous to the 14th century. It was not inserted in Erasmus's editions of the Greek Testament, published in 1516 and 1519, nor in that of Aldus, 1518; nor in that of Gerbelius, 1521; nor of Cephalæus, 1524; nor of Colinaeus, 1534; nor in Luther's version of 1546. Against such an amount of external testimony no internal evidence, however weighty, could be of avail. For the exposition of the passage as containing the words in question, see (as quoted by Horne) Bp. Horsley's *Sermons* (i. p. 193). For the same passage interpreted without the disputed words, see Sir Isaac Newton's *Hist. of Two Texts* (Works, v. p. 528, Lond. 1779). See also Emlin's *Enquiry*, &c., Lond. 1717. See further, Travis (*Letters to Gibbon*, Lond. 1785); Porson (*Letters to Travis*, Lond. 1790); Bishop Marsh (*Letters to Travis*, Lond. 1795); Michaelis (*Intr. to New Test.* iv. p. 412, Lond. 1802); Griesbach (*Diatrise* appended to vol. ii. of *Greek Test.* Halæ, 1806); Butler (*Horæ Bibliæ*, ii. p. 245, Lond. 1807); Clarke (*Succession*, &c., i. p. 71, Lond. 1807); Bishop Burgess (*Vindication of 1 John v. 7*, Lond. 1822 and 1823; *Adnotationes Millii*, &c., 1822; *Letter to the Clergy of St. David's*, 1825; *Two letters to Mrs. Joanna Baillie*, 1831, 1835), to which may be added a dissertation in the *Life of Bp. Burgess*, p. 398, Lond. 1840. [F. M.]

JOHN, THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF. *Their Authenticity.*—These two Epistles are placed by Eusebius in the class of *αποκρυφόμενα*, and he appears himself to be doubtful whether they were written by the Evangelist, or by some other John (*H. E.* iii. 25). The evidence of

antiquity in their favour is not very strong, but yet it is considerable. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the first Epistle as *the larger* (*Strom.* lib. ii.), and if the *Adumbrationes* are his, he bears direct testimony to the second Epistle (*Adumbr.* p. 1011, ed. Potter). Origen appears to have had the same doubts as Eusebius (*apud Euseb.* *H. E.* vi. 25). Dionysius (*apud Euseb.* *H. E.* vii. 25) and Alexander of Alexandria (*apud Socr.* *H. E.* i. 6) attribute them to St. John. So does Irenæus (*Adv. Hæc.* i. 16). Aurelius quoted them in the Council of Carthage, A.D. 256, as St. John's writing (Cyprian, *Op.* ii. p. 120, ed. Oberthür). Ephrem Syrus speaks of them in the same way in the fourth century. In the fifth century they are almost universally received. A homily, wrongly attributed to St. Chrysostom, declares them uncanonical.

If the external testimony is not as decisive as we might wish, the internal evidence is peculiarly strong. Mill has pointed out that of the 13 verses which compose the Second Epistle, 8 are to be found in the First Epistle. Either then the Second Epistle proceeded from the same author as the First, or from a conscious fabricator who desired to pass off something of his own as the production of the Apostle. But if the latter alternative had been true, the fabricator in question would assuredly have assumed the title of John the Apostle, instead of merely designating himself as John the elder, and he would have introduced some doctrine which it would have been his object to make popular. The title and contents of the Epistle are strong arguments against a fabricator, whereas they would account for its non-universal reception in early times. And if not the work of a fabricator, it must from style, diction, and tone of thought, be the work of the author of the First Epistle, and, we may add, of the Gospel.

The reason why St. John designates himself as *πρεσβύτερος* rather than *ἀπόστολος* (Ep. ii. 1, Ep. iii. 1), is no doubt the same as that which made St. Peter designate himself by the same title (1 Pet. v. 1), and which caused St. James and St. Jude to give themselves no other title than "the servant of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ" (Jam. i. 1), "the servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James" (Jude 1). St. Paul had a special object in declaring himself an apostle. Those who belonged to the original Twelve had no such necessity imposed upon them. With them it was a matter of indifference whether they employed the name of Apostle like St. Peter (1 Pet. i. 1, 2 Pet. i. 1), or adopted an appellation which they shared with others like St. John and St. James, and St. Jude.

The Second Epistle is addressed *ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ*. This expression cannot mean the Church (Jerome), nor a particular Church (Cassiodorus), nor the elect Church which comes together on Sundays (Michaelis), nor the Church of Philadelphia (Whiston), nor the Church of Jerusalem (Whitby). An individual woman who had children, and a sister and niece, is clearly indicated. Whether her name is given, and if so, what it is, has been doubted. According to one interpretation she is "the Lady Electa," to another, "the elect Kyria." To a third, "the elect Lady." The first interpretation is that of Clement of Alexandria (if the passage above referred to in the *Adumbrationes* be his), Wetstein, Grotius, Middleton. The second is that of Benson, Carpov, Schleusner, Heumann, Bengel, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Lücke, Neander, Davidson. The third is the rendering of the English version.

Mill, Wall, Wolf, Le Clerc, Lardner, Beza, Eichhorn, Newcome, Wakefield, Macknight. For the rendering "the Lady Electa" to be right, the word *κυρία* must have preceded (as in modern Greek) the word *ἐκλεκτή*, not followed it: and further, the last verse of the Epistle in which her sister is also spoken of as *ἐκλεκτή* is fatal to the hypothesis. The rendering "the elect Kyria," is probably wrong, because there is no article before the adjective *ἐκλεκτή*. It remains that the rendering of the English version is probably right, though here too we should have expected the article.

The Third Epistle is addressed to Caius or Caius. We have no reason for identifying him with Caius of Macedonia (Acts xix. 29), or with Caius of Derbe (Acts xx. 4), or with Caius of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23; 1 Cor. i. 14), or with Caius Bishop of Ephesus, or with Caius Bishop of Thessalonica, or with Caius Bishop of Pergamos. He was probably a convert of St. John (Ep. iii. 4), and a layman of wealth and distinction (Ep. iii. 5) in some city near Ephesus.

The object of St. John in writing the Second Epistle was to warn the lady, to whom he wrote, against abetting the teaching known as that of Basilides and his followers, by perhaps an undue kindness displayed by her towards the preachers of the false doctrine. After the introductory salutation, the Apostle at once urges on his correspondent the great principle of Love, which with him (as we have before seen) means right affection springing from right faith and issuing in right conduct. The immediate consequence of the possession of this Love is the abhorrence of heretical misbelief, because the latter, being incompatible with right faith, is destructive of the producing cause of Love, and therefore of Love itself. This is the secret of St. John's strong denunciation of the "deceiver" whom he designates as "anti-Christ." Love is with him the essence of Christianity; but Love can spring only from right faith. Wrong belief therefore destroys Love and with it Christianity. Therefore says he, "If there come any unto you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed, for he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds" (Ep. ii. 10, 11).

The Third Epistle was written for the purpose of commending to the kindness and hospitality of Caius some Christians who were strangers in the place where he lived. It is probable that these Christians carried this letter with them to Caius as their introduction. It would appear that the object of the travellers was to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles without money and without price (Ep. iii. 7). St. John had already written to the ecclesiastical authorities of the place (ἔγραψα, ver. 9, not "scriptissem," *Vulg.*); but they, at the instigation of Diotrephes, had refused to receive the missionary brethren, and therefore the Apostle now commends them to the care of a layman. It is probable that Diotrephes was a leading presbyter who held Judaizing views, and would not give assistance to men who were going about with the purpose of preaching solely to the Gentiles. Whether Demetrius (ver. 12) was a tolerant presbyter of the same community, whose example St. John holds up as worthy of commendation in contradistinction to that of Diotrephes, or whether he was one of the strangers who bore the letter, we are now unable to determine. The latter supposition is the more probable.

We may conjecture that the two Epistles were written shortly after the First Epistle from Ephesus. They both apply to individual cases of conduct

the principles which had been laid down in their fulness in the First Epistle.

The title Catholic does not properly belong to the Second and Third Epistles. It became attached to them, although addressed to individuals, because they were of too little importance to be classed by themselves, and so far as doctrine went, were regarded as appendices to the First Epistle. [F. M.]

JOIADA (יֹדָדָי): 'Iwadaé, 'Iwadaí; Alex. 'Iwadaí, *Joiada*), high-priest after his father Eliashib, but whether in the lifetime of Nehemiah is not clear, as it is doubtful whether the title in Neh. xiii. 28 applies to him or his father. One of his sons married a daughter of Sanballat the Horonite. He was succeeded in the high-priesthood by his son Jonathan, or Johanan (Neh. xii. 11, 22). Josephus calls this Jehoiada, Judas. [A. C. H.]

JOIAKIM (יֹחָכִים): 'Iwakim; *Joaquin*), a high-priest, son of the renowned Jeshua who was joint leader with Zerubbabel of the first return from Babylon. His son and successor was ELIASHIB (Neh. xii. 10). In Neh. xii. 12-26 is preserved a catalogue of the heads of the various families of priests and Levites during the high-priesthood of Joiakim.

The name is a contracted form of JEHOIAKIM.

JOIARIB (יֹאָרִיב): 'Iwarim; 'Iwarib; Alex. 'Iwaripim; *Joarib*). 1. A layman who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 16).

2. The founder of one of the courses of priests, elsewhere called in full JEHOIARIB. His descendants after the Captivity are given, Neh. xii. 6, 19, and also in xi. 10; though it is possible that in this passage another person is intended.

3. A Shilonite—i. e. probably a descendant of SHELAH the son of Judah—named in the genealogy of Maaseiah, the then head of the family (Neh. xi. 5).

JOK'DEAM (יֹקְדָעַם): 'Arikim; Alex. 'Iekdadim; *Jacadaam*), a city of Judah, in the mountains (Josh. xv. 56), named in the same group with Maon, Carmel, and Ziph, and therefore apparently to be looked for south of Hebron, where they are situated. It has not, however, been yet met with, nor was it known to Eusebius and Jerome. [G.]

JOKIM (יֹקִים): 'Iwakim; Alex. 'Iwakim; *qui stare fecit solem*), one of the sons of Shelah (the third according to Burrington) the son of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 22), of whom nothing further is known. It would be difficult to say what gave rise to the rendering of the Vulgate or the Targum on the verse. The latter translates, "and the prophets and scribes who came forth from the seed of Joshua." The reading which they had was evidently יֹקִים, which some Rabbinical tradition applied to Joshua, and at the same time identified Josah and Saraph, mentioned in the same verse, with Mahlon and Chilion. Jerome quotes a Hebrew legend that Jokim was Elimelech the husband of Naomi, in whose days the sun stood still on account of the transgressors of the law (*Quest. Heb. in Paral.*).

JOK'MEAM (יֹקְמַעַם): 'Iekmadim; *Jecmaam*), a city of Ephraim, given with its suburbs to the Kohathite Levites (1 Chr. vi. 68). The catalogue of the towns of Ephraim in the Book of Joshua is unfortunately very imperfect (see xvi.), but in the parallel list of Levitical cities in Josh. xxi., KIBZAIM occupies the place of Jokmeam (ver. 22). The situation of Jokmeam is to a certain extent indicated in 1 K. x. 12, where it is named with places

which we know to have been in the Jordan valley at the extreme east boundary of the tribe. (Here the A. V. has, probably by a printer's error, JOKNEAM.) This position is further supported by that of the other Levitical cities of this tribe—Shechem in the north, Bethoron in the south, and Gezer in the extreme west, leaving Jokneam to take the opposite place in the east (see, however, the contrary opinion of Robinson, iii. 115 note). With regard to the substitution of Kibzaim—which is not found again—for Jokneam, we would only draw attention to the fact of the similarity in appearance of the two names, קִבְצַיִם and יְקִנְעָם. [G.]

JOK'NEAM (יְקִנְעָם): 'Ieknám, ἡ Μαάν; Alex. 'Iekovám, 'Ieknám, ἡ 'Eknám: *Jachanan, Jecanam, Jecnam*), a city of the tribe of Zebulun, allotted with its suburbs to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 34), but entirely omitted in the catalogue of 1 Chr. vi. (comp. ver. 77). It is doubtless the same place as that which is incidentally named in connexion with the boundaries of the tribe—"the torrent which faces Jokneam" (ix. 11), and as the Canaanite town, whose king was killed by Joshua—"Jokneam of Carmel" (xii. 22). The requirements of these passages are sufficiently met by the modern site *Tell Kaimon*, an eminence which stands just below the eastern termination of Carmel, with the Kishon at its feet about a mile off. Dr. Robinson has shown (*B. R.* iii. 115 note) that the modern name is legitimately descended from the ancient: the CYAMON of Jud. vii. 3 being a step in the pedigree. (See also Van de Velde, i. 331, and *Memoir*, 326.) Jokneam is found in the A. V. of 1 K. iv. 12, but this is unwarranted by either Hebrew text, Alex. LXX. or Vulgate (both of which have the reading Jokmeam, the Vat. LXX. is quite corrupt), and also by the requirements of the passage, as stated under JOKMEAM. [G.]

JOK'SHAN (יְקִשָּׁן): 'Iekšán; 'Iekšán: *Jecsan*), a son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2. 3; 1 Chr. i. 32), whose sons were Sheba and Dedan. While the settlements of his two sons are presumptively placed on the borders of Palestine, those of Jokshan are not known. The Keturahites certainly stretched across the desert from the head of the Arabian, to that of the Persian, gulf; and the reasons for supposing this especially in the case of Jokshan are mentioned in Art. DEDAN. If those reasons be accepted, we must suppose that Jokshan returned westwards to the trans-Jordanic country, where are placed the settlements of his sons, or at least the chief of their settlements; for a wide spread of these tribes seems to be indicated in the passages in the Bible which make mention of them. Places or tribes bearing their names, and consequently that of Jokshan, may be looked for over the whole of the country intervening between the heads of the two gulfs.

The writings of the Arabs are rarely of use in the case of Keturahite tribes, whom they seem to confound with Ishmaelites in one common appellation. They mention a dialect of Jokshan ("Yakish, who is Yokshán," as having been formerly spoken near Aden and El-Jened, in Southern Arabia, Yakoot's *Mogjam*, cited in the *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Geshellschaft*, viii. 600-1, x. 30-1); but that Midianites penetrated so far into the peninsula we hold to be highly improbable [see ARABIA]. [E. S. P.]

JOK'TAN (יְקִטָן, "small," Ges.: 'Iekrát; *Jectan*), son of Eber (Gen. x. 25; 1 Chr. i. 19); and the father of the Joktanite Arabs. His sons were Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmaveth, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Diklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, and Jobab; progenitors of tribes peopling southern Arabia, many of whom are clearly identified with historical tribes, and the rest probably identified in the same manner. The first-named identifications are too well proved to admit of doubt; and accordingly scholars are agreed in placing the settlements of Joktan in the south of the peninsula. The original limits are stated in the Bible, "their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East" (Gen. x. 30). The position of Mesha, which is reasonably supposed to be the western boundary, is still uncertain [MESHA]; but Sephar is well established as being the same as Zafári, the sea-port town on the east of the modern Yemen, and formerly one of the chief centres of the great Indian and African trade [SEPHAR; ARABIA]. Besides the genealogies in Gen. x., we have no record of Joktan himself in the Bible; but there are mentions of the peoples sprung from him, which must guide all researches into the history of the race. The subject is naturally divided into the history of Joktan himself, and that of his sons and their descendants.

The native traditions respecting Joktan commence with a difficulty. The ancestor of the great southern peoples were called Kahtán, who, say the Arabs, was the same as Joktan. To this some European critics have objected that there is no good reason to account for the change of name, and that the identification of Kahtán with Joktan is evidently a Jewish tradition adopted by Mohammad or his followers, and consequently at or after the promulgation of El-Islám. M. Caussin de Perceval commences his essay on the history of Yemen (*Essai*, i. 39) with this assertion, and adds, "Le nom de Kahtán, disent-ils [les Arabes], est le nom de Yectán, légèrement altéré en passant d'une langue étrangère dans la langue arabe." In reply to these objectors, we may state:—

1. The Rabbins hold a tradition that Joktan settled in India (see Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, §4), and the supposition of a Jewish influence in the Arab traditions respecting him is therefore untenable. In the present case, even were this not so, there is an absence of motive for Mohammad's adopting traditions which alienate from the race of Ishmael many tribes of Arabia: the influence here suspected may rather be found in the contradictory assertion, put forward by a few of the Arabs, and rejected by the great majority, and the most judicious, of their historians, that Kahtán was descended from Ishmael.

2. That the traditions in question are post-Mohammadan cannot be proved; the same may be said of everything which Arab writers tell us dates before the Prophet's time; for then oral tradition alone existed, if we except the rock-cut inscriptions of the Himyarites, which are too few, and our knowledge of them is too slight, to admit of much weight attaching to them.

3. A passage in the *Mir-át ez-Zemán*, hitherto unpublished, throws new light on the point. It is as follows:—"Ibn-El-Kelbee says, Yuktan [whose name is also written Yuktán] is the same as Kahtán son of 'A'bir," i. e. Eber, and so say the gene-

* It is remarkable that in historical questions, the Rabbins are singularly wide of the truth, displaying

a deficiency of the critical faculty that is characteristic of Semitic races.

rality of the Arabs. "El-Belâdhiree says, People differ respecting Kahtân; some say he is the same as Yuktân, who is mentioned in the Pentateuch; but the Arabs arabicized his name, and said Kahtân the son of Hood [because they identified their prophet Hood with Éber, whom they call 'A'bir]; and some say, son of Es-Semeyfâ," or as is said in one place by the author here quoted, "El-Hemeysa", the son of Nebt [or Nâbit, i. e. Nebaioth], the son of Isma'el," i. e. Ishmael. He then proceeds, in continuation of the former passage, "Aboo-Haneefeh Ed-Deenawaree says, He is Kahtân the son of 'A'bir; and was named Kahtân only because of his suffering from drought" [which is termed in Arabic Kaht]. (*Mir-ât ez-Zemân*; account of the sons of Shem.) Of similar changes of names by the Arabs there are numerous instances. Thus it is evident that the name of "Saul" (سول) was changed by the

Arabs to "Tâlootu" (طالوت), because of his

tallness, from ^ططول (tallness), or ^ططال (he was tall); although the latter name, being imperfectly declinable, is not to be considered as *Arabic* (which several Arabian writers assert it to be), but as a variation of a foreign name. (See the remarks on this name, as occurring in the Kur-ân, ch. ii. 248, in the *Expositions of Ez-Zamaksheree* and *El-Beydâwee*.) We thus obtain a reason for the change of name which appears to be satisfactory, whereas the theory of its being arabicized is not readily to be explained unless we suppose the term "arabicized" to be loosely employed in this instance.

4. If the traditions of Kahtân be rejected (and in this rejection we cannot agree), they are, it must be remembered, immaterial to the fact that the peoples called by the Arabs descendants of Kahtân, are certainly Joktanites. His sons' colonisation of Southern Arabia is proved by indisputable, and undisputed, identifications, and the great kingdom, which there existed for many ages before our era, and in its later days was renowned in the world of classical antiquity, was as surely Joktanite.

The settlements of the sons of Joktan are examined in the separate articles bearing their names, and generally in ARABIA. They colonised the whole of the south of the peninsula, the old "Arabia Felix," or the Yemen (for this appellation had a very wide significance in early times), stretching, according to the Arabs (and there is in this case no ground for doubting their general correctness), to Mekkeh, on the north-west, and along nearly the whole of the southern coast eastwards, and far inland. At Mekkeh, tradition connects the two great races of Joktan and Ishmael, by the marriage of a daughter of Jurhum the Joktanite with Ishmael. It is necessary in mentioning this Jurhum, who is called a "son" of Joktan (Kahtân), to observe that "son" in these cases must be regarded as signifying "descendant" (cf. CHRONOLOGY, in Hebrew generations), and that many generations (though how many, or in what order, is not known) are missing from the existing list between Kahtân (embracing the most important time of the Joktanites) and the establishment of the comparatively-modern Himyerite kingdom; from this latter date, stated by Caussin, *Essai*, i. 63, at B.C. *cir.* 100, the

^b It is curious that the Greeks first mention the Himyerites in the expedition of Aelius Gallus, towards the close of the 1st century A.C., although Himyer

succession of the Tubbaas is apparently preserved to us.^b At Mekkeh, the tribe of Jurhum long held the office of guardians of the Kaabeh, or temple, and the sacred enclosure, until they were expelled by the Ishmaelites (Kutb-ed-Deen, *Hist. of Mekkeh*, ed. Wüstenfeld, pp. 35 and 39 *seqq.*; and Caussin, *Essai*, i. 194). But it was at Seba, the Biblical Sheba, that the kingdom of Joktan attained its greatness. In the south-western angle of the peninsula, San'â (Uzal), Seba (Sheba), and Hadramâwt (Hazar-maveth), all closely neighbouring, formed together the principal known settlements of the Joktanites. Here arose the kingdom of Seba, followed in later times by that of Himyer. The dominant tribe from remote ages seems to have been that of Seba (or Sheba, the *Sabaei* of the Greeks): while the family of Himyer (*Homeritae*) held the first place in the tribe. The kingdom called that of Himyer we believe to have been merely a late phasis of the old Seba, dating, both in its rise and its name, only shortly before our era.

In ARABIA we have alluded to certain curious indications in the names of Himyer, OPHIR, the Phoenicians, and the Erythraean Sea, and the traces of their westward spread, which would well repay a careful investigation; as well as the obscure relations of a connexion with Chaldaea and Assyria, found in Berosus and other ancient writers, and strengthened by presumptive evidence of a connexion closer than that of commerce, in religion, &c., between those countries and Arabia. An equally interesting and more tangible subject, is the apparently-proved settlement of Cushite races along the coast, on the ground also occupied by Joktanites, involving intermarriages between these peoples, and explaining the Cyclopean masonry of the so-called Himyerite ruins which bear no mark of a Shemite's hand, the vigorous character of the Joktanites and their sea-faring propensities (both qualities not usually found in Shemites), and the Cushitic elements in the rock-cut inscriptions in the "Himyeritic" language.

Next in importance to the tribe of Seba was that of Hadramâwt, which, till the fall of the Himyerite power, maintained a position of independence and a direct line of rulers from Kahtân (Caussin, i. 135-6). Joktanite tribes also passed northwards, to Heereh, in El-'Irâk, and to Ghassân, near Damascus. The emigration of these and other tribes took place on the occasion of the rupture of a great dyke (the Dyke of El-'Arim), above the metropolis of Seba; a catastrophe that appears, from the concurrent testimony of Arab writers, to have devastated a great extent of country, and destroyed the city Ma-rib or Sebâ. This event forms the commencement of an era, the dates of which exist in the inscriptions on the Dyke and elsewhere; but when we should place that commencement is still quite an open question. (See the extracts from *El-Mes'oodee* and other authorities, edited by Schultens; Caussin, i. 84, *seqq.*; and ARABIA.)

The position which the Joktanites hold (in native traditions) among the successive races who are said to have inhabited the peninsula has been fully stated in Art. ARABIA; to which the reader is referred for a sketch of the inhabitants generally, their descent, history, religion, and language. There are some existing places named after Joktan and himself lived long before; agreeing with our belief that his family was important before the establishment of the so-called kingdom. See Caussin, *l. c.*

Kahtán (E.-Idreese, Ed. Jaubert; Niebuhr, *Descr.* 238 c); but there seems to be no safe ground for attaching to them any special importance, or for supposing that the name is ancient when we remember that the whole country is full of the traditions of Joktan. [E. S. P.]

JOKTHEEL (יֹכְתָן). 1. (Ἰαχαρέηλ;

Alex. Ἰεχθαήλ: *Jecthel*), a city in the low country of Judah (Josh. xv. 38), named next to Lachish—probably *Um-Lakis*, on the road between *Beit-zibrin* and Gaza. The name does not appear to have been yet discovered.

2. (Ἰεθοήλ; Alex. Ἰεκθοήλ: *Jecthel*): "God-subdued," the title given by Amaziah to the cliff (עֶבְרָה, A. V. *Selah*)—the stronghold of the Edomites—after he had captured it from them (2 K. xiv. 7). The parallel narrative of 2 Chr. xxv. 11-13 supplies fuller details. From it we learn that, having beaten the Edomite army with a great slaughter in the "Valley of Salt"—the valley south of the Dead Sea—Amaziah took those who were not slain to the cliff, and threw them headlong over it. This cliff is asserted by Eusebius (*Onomast. πέτρα*) to be "a city of Edom, also called by the Assyrians *Rekem*," by which there is no doubt that he intends Petra (see *Onomasticon*, *Ῥεκέμ*, and the quotations in Stanley's *S. & P.* 94 note). The title thus bestowed is said to have continued "unto this day." This, Keil remarks, is a proof that the history was nearly contemporary with the event, because Amaziah's conquest was lost again by Ahaz less than a century afterwards (2 Chr. xxviii. 17). [G.]

JO'NA (Ἰωνᾶ: *Jona*), the father of the Apostle Peter (John i. 42), who is hence addressed as Simon Barjona in Matt. xvi. 17. In the A. V. of John xxi. 15-17 he is called *JONAS*, though the Greek is Ἰωάννης, and the Vulg. *Johannes* throughout. The name in either form would be the equivalent of the Hebrew *Johanan*.

JONADAB. 1. (יֹנָדָב, and once יְהוֹנָדָב, i.e. Jehonadab: Ἰωνάδᾶβ: *Jonadab*), son of Shimeah and nephew of David. He is described as "very subtil" (σοφὸς σφόδρα; the word is that usually translated "wise," as in the case of Solomon, 2 Sam. xiii. 3). He seems to have been one of those characters who, in the midst of great or royal families, pride themselves, and are renowned, for being acquainted with the secrets of the whole circle in which they move. His age naturally made him the friend of his cousin Amnon, heir to the throne (2 Sam. xiii. 3). He perceived from the prince's altered appearance that there was some unknown grief—"Why art thou, the king's son, so lean?"—and, when he had wormed it out, he gave him the fatal advice, for ensnaring his sister Tamar (5, 6).

Agun, when, in a later stage of the same tragedy, Amnon was murdered by Absalom, and the exaggerated report reached David that all the princes were slaughtered, Jonadab was already aware of the real state of the case. He was with the king, and was able at once to reassure him (2 Sam. xiii. 32, 33).

2. Jer. xxxv. 6, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 19, in which it represents sometimes the long, sometimes the short Heb. form of the name. [JEHONADAB.] [A.P.S.]

JONAH (יוֹנָה; Ἰωνᾶς. LXX. and Matt. xii. 39), a prophet, son of Amittai (whose name, con-

founded with יֹנָה, used by the widow of Zarepheth, 1 K. xvii. 24, has given rise to an old tradition, recorded by Jerome, that Jonah was her son, and that Amittai was a prophet himself). We further learn from 2 K. xiv. 25, he was of Gath-hepher, a town of lower Galilee, in Zebulun. This verse enables us to approximate to the time at which Jonah lived. It was plainly after the reign of Jehu, when the losses of Israel (2 K. x. 32) began; and it may not have been till the latter part of the reign of Jeroboam II. The general opinion is that Jonah was the first of the prophets (Rosenm., Bp. Lloyd, Davison, Browne, Drake); Hengstenberg would place him after Amos and Hosea, and indeed adheres to the order of the books in the canon for the chronology. The king of Nineveh at this time is supposed (Ussher and others) to have been Pul, who is placed by Layard (*Nin. and Bab.* 624) at B.C. 750; but an earlier king, Adrammelech II., B.C. 840, is regarded more probable by Drake. Our English Bible gives B.C. 862.

The personal history of Jonah is brief, and well known; but is of such an exceptional and extraordinary character, as to have been set down by many German critics to fiction, either in whole or in part. The book, say they, was composed, or compounded, some time after the death of the prophet, perhaps (Rosenm.) at the latter part of the Jewish kingdom, during the reign of Josiah (S. Sharpe), or even later. The supposed improbabilities are accounted for by them in a variety of ways; e.g. as merely fabulous, or fanciful ornaments to a true history, or allegorical, or parabolical and moral, both in their origin and design. A list of the critics who have advanced these several opinions may be seen in Davidson's *Introduction*, p. 956. Rosenmüller (*Proleg. in Jonam*) refutes them in detail; and then propounds his own, which is equally baseless. Like them, he begins with proposing to escape the difficulties of the history, but ends in a mere theory, open to still greater difficulties. "The fable of Hercules," he says, "devoured and then restored by a sea-monster, was the foundation on which the Hebrew prophet built up the story. Nothing was really true in it." We feel ourselves precluded from any doubt of the reality of the transactions recorded in this book, by the simplicity of the language itself; by the historical allusions in Tob. xiv. 4-6, 15, and Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 10, §2; by the accordance with other authorities of the historical and geographical notices; by the thought that we might as well doubt all other miracles in Scripture as doubt these ("Quod aut hoc omnia divina miracula credenda non sint, aut hoc cur non credetur causa multa sit," Aug. *Ep.* cii. in *quaest.* 6 de *Jona*, ii. 284; cf. Cyril. Alex. *Comment. in Jonam*, iii. 367-389); above all, by the explicit words and teaching of our blessed Lord Himself (Matt. xii. 39, 41, xvi. 4; Luke xi. 29), and by the correspondence of the miracles in the histories of Jonah and of the Messiah.

We shall derive additional arguments for the same conclusion from the history and meaning of the prophet's mission. Having already, as it seems (from 1 in i. 1), prophesied to Israel, he was sent

* Niebuhr also (*Descr.* 240) mentions the reputed tomb of Kahtán, but probably refers to the tomb of

the prophet Hood, who, as we have mentioned, is by some thought to be the father of Kahtán.

to Nineveh. The time was one of political revival in Israel; but ere long the Assyrians were to be employed by God as a scourge upon them. The Israelites consequently viewed them with repulsiveness; and the prophet, in accordance with his name (יֹנָתָן, "a dove"), out of timidity and love for his country, shrunk from a commission which he felt sure would result (iv. 2) in the sparing of a hostile city. He attempted therefore to escape to Tarshish, either Tartessus in Spain (Bochart, *Titcomb*, Hengst.), or more probably (Drake) Tarsus in Cilicia, a port of commercial intercourse. The providence of God, however, watched over him, first in a storm, and then in his being swallowed by a large fish (דָּג נֹרָא) for the space of three days and three nights. We need not multiply miracles by supposing a great fish to have been created for the occasion, for Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. pp. 752-754) has shown that there is a sort of shark which devours a man entire, as this did Jonah while cast into the water (*August. Ep.* 49, ii. 284).

After his deliverance, Jonah executed his commission; and the king, "believing him to be a minister from the supreme deity of the nation" (Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*), and having heard of his miraculous deliverance (Dean Jackson *On the Creed*, bk. ix. c. 42), ordered a general fast, and averted the threatened judgment. But the prophet, not from personal but national feelings, grudged the mercy shown to a heathen nation. He was therefore taught, by the significant lesson of the "gourd," whose growth and decay (a known fact to naturalists, Layard's *Nineveh*, i. 123, 124) brought the truth at once home to him, that he was sent to testify by deed, as other prophets would afterwards testify by word, the capacity of Gentiles for salvation, and the design of God to make them partakers of it. This was "the sign of the prophet Jonas" which was given to a proud and perverse generation of Jews after the ascension of Christ by the preaching of His Apostles. (*Luke xi.* 29, 30, 32; Jackson's *Comm. on the Creed*, ix. c. 42.)

But the resurrection of Christ itself was also shadowed forth in the history of the prophets, as is made certain to us by the words of our Saviour. (See Jackson, as above, bk. ix. c. 40.) Titcomb (*Bible Studies*, p. 237, n.) sees a correspondence between *Jon. i.* 17 and *Hosea vi.* 2. Besides which, the fact and the faith of Jonah's prayer in the belly of the fish betokened to the nation of Israel the intimation of a resurrection and of immortality.

We thus see distinct purposes which the mission of Jonah was designed to serve in the Divine economy; and in these we have the reason of the history's being placed in the prophetic canon. It was highly symbolical. The facts contained a concealed prophecy. Hence, too, only so much of the prophet's personal history is told us as suffices for setting forth the symbols divinely intended, which accounts for its fragmentary aspect. Exclude the symbolical meaning, and you have no adequate reason to give of this history; admit it, and you have images here of the highest facts and doctrines of Christianity. (Davison, *On Prophecy*, p. 275.)

For the extent of the site of Nineveh, see NINEVEH. The old tradition made the burial-place of Jonah to be Gath-hepher: the modern tradition places it at Nebi-Yunus, opposite Mosul. See the account of the excavations in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 596, 597. And consult Drake's *Notes on Jonah* (Macmillan and Co., 1853).

See Leusden's *Jonas Illustratus*, Trajecti ad Rhen 1692; Rosenmüller's *Scholæ in Vet. Test.*; *Exposition upon the Prophet Jonah*, by Abp. Abbott (reprinted), London, 1845; *Notes on the Prophecies of Jonah and Hosea*, by Rev. W. Drake, Cambridge, 1853: Ewald; Umbreit; Hendersen, *Minor Prophets*. [H. B.]

JONAN (יֹנָנָה: *Jona*), son of Eliakim, in the genealogy of Christ, in the 7th generation after David, i. e. about the time of king Jehoram (*Luke iii.* 30). The name is probably only another form of Johanan, which occurs so frequently in this genealogy. The sequence of names, Jonan, Joseph, Juda, Simeon, Levi, Matthat, is singularly like that in vers. 26, 27, Joanna, Judah, Joseph, Semei—Mattathias. [A.C.H.]

JONAS. 1. (יֹנָס; Alex. *Ἰονάδας: Elionas*). This name occupies the same position in 1 Esd. ix. 23 as Eliezer in the corresponding list in Ezr. x. 23. Perhaps the corruption originated in reading יֹנָסִי for אֱלִיעֶזֶר, as appears to have been the case in 1 Esd. ix. 32 (comp. Ezr. x. 31). The former would have caught the compiler's eye from Ezr. x. 22, and the original form Elionas, as it appears in the Vulg., could easily have become Jonas.

2. (יֹנָס, *Jonas*). The prophet Jonah (*2 Esd.* i. 39; *Tob. xiv.* 4, 8; *Matt. xii.* 39, 40, 41, xvi. 4).

3. (יֹהָנָנָס: *Johannes*), John xxi. 15-17. [JONA.]

JONATHAN (יְהוֹנָתָן, i. e. Jehonathan, and יֹנָתָן; the two forms are used almost alternately: יֹנָתָן, Jos. *יֹנָתָן: Jonathan*), the eldest son of king Saul. The name ("the gift of Jehovah," corresponding to *Theodoros* in Greek) seems to have been common at that period; possibly from the example of Saul's son (see JONATHAN, the nephew of David, JONATHAN, the son of Abiathar, JONATHAN, the son of Shage, and NATHAN the prophet).

He first appears some time after his father's accession (*1 Sam. xiii.* 2). If his younger brother Ishbosheth was 40 at the time of Saul's death (*2 Sam. ii.* 8), Jonathan must have been at least 30, when he is first mentioned. Of his own family we know nothing, except the birth of one son, 5 years before his death (*2 Sam. iv.* 4). He was regarded in his father's lifetime as heir to the throne. Like Saul, he was a man of great strength and activity (*2 Sam. i.* 23), of which the exploit at Michmash was a proof. He was also famous for the peculiar martial exercises in which his tribe excelled—archery and slinging (*1 Chr. xii.* 2). His bow was to him what the spear was to his father: "the bow of Jonathan turned not back" (*2 Sam. i.* 22). It was always about him (*1 Sam. xviii.* 4, xx. 35). It is through his relation with David that he is chiefly known to us, probably as related by his descendants at David's court. But there is a background, not so clearly given, of his relation with his father. From the time that he first appears he is Saul's constant companion. He was always present at his father's meals. As Abner and David seem to have occupied the places afterwards called the captaincies of "the host" and "of the guard;" so he seems to have been (as Hushai afterwards) "the friend" (comp. *1 Sam. xx.* 25; *2 Sam. xv.* 37). The whole story implies, without expressing, the deep attachment of the father and son. *Jonan-*

that can only go on his dangerous expedition (1 Sam. xiv. 1) by concealing it from Saul. Saul's vow is confirmed, and its tragic effect deepened, by his feeling for his son, "though it be Jonathan my son" (ib. xiv. 39). "Tell me what thou hast done" (ib. xiv. 43). Jonathan cannot bear to believe his father's enmity to David, "my father will do nothing great or small, but that he will show it to me: and why should my father hide this thing from me? it is not so" (1 Sam. xx. 2). To him, if to any one, the wild frenzy of the king was amenable—"Saul hearkened unto the voice of Jonathan" (1 Sam. xix. 6). Their mutual affection was indeed interrupted by the growth of Saul's insanity. Twice the father would have sacrificed the son: once in consequence of his vow (1 Sam. xiv.); the second time, more deliberately, on the discovery of David's flight; and on this last occasion, a momentary glimpse is given of some darker history. Were the phrases "son of a perverse rebellious woman,"—"shame on thy mother's nakedness" (1 Sam. xx. 30, 31), mere frantic invectives? or was there something in the story of Ahinoam or Rizpah which we do not know? "In fierce anger" Jonathan left the royal presence (ib. 34). But he cast his lot with his father's decline, not with his friend's rise, and "in death they were not divided" (2 Sam. i. 23; 1 Sam. xxiii. 16).

His life may be divided into two main parts.

1. The war with the Philistines; commonly called, from its locality, "the war of Michmash," as the last years of the Peloponnesian war were called for a similar reason "the war of Declea" (1 Sam. xiii. 22, LXX.) In the previous war with the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi. 4-15) there is no mention of him; and his abrupt appearance, without explanation, in xiii. 2, may seem to imply that some part of the narrative has been lost.

He is already of great importance in the state. Of the 3000 men of whom Saul's standing army was formed (xiii. 2, xxiv. 2, xxvi. 1, 2), 1000 were under the command of Jonathan at Gibeah. The Philistines were still in the general command of the country; an officer was stationed at Gaba, either the same as Jonathan's position or close to it. In a sudden act of youthful daring, as when Tell rose against Gesler, or as in sacred history Moses rose against the Egyptian, Jonathan slew this officer,^a and thus gave the signal for a general revolt. Saul took advantage of it, and the whole population rose. But it was a premature attempt. The Philistines poured in from the plain, and the tyranny became more deeply rooted than ever. [SAUL.] Saul and Jonathan (with their immediate attendants) alone had arms, amidst the general weakness and disarming of the people (1 Sam. xiii. 22). They were encamped at Gibeah, with a small body of 600 men, and as they looked down from that height on the misfortunes of their country, and of their native tribe especially, they wept aloud (*ἔκλαιον*, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiii. 16).

From this oppression, as Jonathan by his former act had been the first to provoke it, so now he was the first to deliver his people. On the former occa-

son Saul had been equally with himself involved in the responsibility of the deed. Saul "blew the trumpet;" Saul had "smitten the officer of the Philistines" (xiii. 3, 4). But now it would seem that Jonathan was resolved to undertake the whole risk himself. "The day," the day fixed by him (*γίγεται ἡ ἡμέρα*, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiv. 1) approached; and without communicating his project to any one, except the young man, whom, like all the chiefs of that age, he retained as his armour-bearer, he sallied forth from Gibeah to attack the garrison of the Philistines stationed on the other side of the steep defile of Michmash (xiv. 1). His words are short, but they breathe exactly the ancient and peculiar spirit of the Israelite warrior. "Come, and let us go over unto the garrison of these uncircumcised; it may be that Jehovah will work for us: for there is no restraint to Jehovah to save by many or by few." The answer is no less characteristic of the close friendship of the two young men: already like to that which afterwards sprang up between Jonathan and David. "Do all that is in thine heart; . . . behold, I am with thee, as thy heart is my heart (LXX.; 1 Sam. xiv. 7)." After the manner of the time (and the more, probably, from having taken no counsel of the high-priest or any prophet before his departure), Jonathan proposed to draw an omen for their course from the conduct of the enemy. If the garrison, on seeing them, gave intimations of descending upon them, they would remain in the valley: if, on the other hand, they raised a challenge to advance, they were to accept it. The latter turned out to be the case. The first appearance of the two warriors from behind the rocks was taken by the Philistines, as a furtive apparition of "the Hebrews coming forth out of the holes where they had hid themselves;" and they were welcomed with a scoffing invitation (such as the Jebusites afterwards offered to David), "Come up, and we will show you a thing" (xiv. 4-12). Jonathan immediately took them at their word. Strong and active as he was, "strong as a lion, and swift as an eagle" (2 Sam. i. 23), he was fully equal to the adventure of climbing on his hands and feet up the face of the cliff. When he came directly in view of them, with his armourbearer behind him, they both, after the manner of their tribe (1 Chr. xii. 2) discharged a flight of arrows, stones, and pebbles,^b from their bows, crossbows, and slings, with such effect that 20 men fell at the first onset [ARMS, p. 111a]. A panic seized the garrison, thence spread to the camp, and thence to the surrounding hordes of marauders; an earthquake combined with the terror of the moment; the confusion increased; the Israelites who had been taken slaves by the Philistines during the last 3 days (LXX.) rose in mutiny: the Israelites who lay hid in the numerous caverns and deep holes in which the rocks of the neighbourhood abound, sprang out of their subterranean dwellings. Saul and his little band had watched in astonishment the wild retreat from the heights of Gibeah—he now joined in the pursuit, which led him headlong after the fugitives, over the rugged plateau of Bethel, and down^c the

^a [A. V. "Garrison"] τὸν Ναοιβ, LXX.; 1 Sam. xiii. 3, 4. See Ewald, ii. 476.

^b We have taken the LXX. version of xiv. 13, 14: ἐπιβέβησαν κατὰ πρόσωπον Ἰωνάθαν, καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς . . . ἐν βόλταις καὶ ἐν πετροβόλοις καὶ ἐν κόχλαξί τοῦ πεδίου, for "they fell before Jonathan. . . within as it were a half acre of ground, which is yoke of oxen might plough." The alteration of the Hebrew ne-

cessary to produce this reading of the LXX., is given by Kennicott (*Dissert. on 1 Chron. xi. p. 453*). Ewald (ii. 480) makes this last to be, "Jonathan and his friend were as a yoke of oxen ploughing, and resisting the sharp ploughshares."

^c In xiv. 23, 31, the LXX. reads "Bamoth" for "Beth-zur," and omits "Ajalon."

pass of Beth-horon to Ajalon (xiv. 15-31). [GIBBEAH, p. 691a.] The father and son had not met on that day. Saul only conjectured his son's absence from not finding him when he numbered the people. Jonathan had not heard of the rash curse (xiv. 24) which Saul invoked on any one who ate before the evening. In the dizziness and darkness (Hebrew, 1 Sam. xiv. 27) that came on after his desperate exertions, he put forth the staff which apparently had (with his sling and bow) been his chief weapon, and tasted the honey which lay on the ground as they passed through the forest. The pursuers in general were restrained even from this slight indulgence by fear of the royal curse; but the moment that the day, with its enforced fast, was over, they flew, like Muslims at sunset during the fast of Ramadan, on the captured cattle; and devoured them, even to the brutal neglect of the law which forbade the dismemberment of the fresh carcases with the blood. This violation of the law Saul endeavoured to prevent and to expiate by erecting a large stone, which served both as a rude table and as an altar; the first altar that was raised under the monarchy. It was in the dead of night after this wild revel was over that he proposed that the pursuit should be continued till dawn; and then, when the silence of the oracle of the high-priest indicated that something had occurred to intercept the Divine favour, the lot was tried, and Jonathan appeared as the culprit. Jephthah's dreadful sacrifice would have been repeated; but the people interposed in behalf of the hero of that great day; and Jonathan was saved^d (xiv. 24-46).

2. This is the only great exploit of Jonathan's life. But the chief interest of his career is derived from the friendship with David, which began on the day of David's return from the victory over the champion of Gath, and continued till his death. It is the first Biblical instance of a romantic friendship, such as was common afterwards in Greece, and has been since in Christendom; and is remarkable both as giving its sanction to these, and as filled with a pathos of its own, which has been imitated, but never surpassed, in modern works of fiction. "The soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul"—"Thy love to me was wonderful, passing the love of women" (1 Sam. xviii. 1; 2 Sam. i. 26). Each found in each the affection that he found not in his own family: no jealousy of rivalry between the two, as claimants for the same throne, ever interposed: "Thou shalt be king in Israel, and I shall be next unto thee" (1 Sam. xxiii. 17). The friendship was confirmed, after the manner of the time, by a solemn compact often repeated. The first was immediately on their first acquaintance. Jonathan gave David as a pledge his royal mantle, his sword, his girdle, and his famous bow (xviii. 4). His fidelity was soon called into action by the insane rage of his father against David. He interceded for his life, at first with success (1 Sam. xix. 1-7). Then the madness returned and David fled. It was in a secret interview during this flight, by the stone of Ezel, that the second covenant was made between the two friends, of a still more binding kind, extending to their mutual posterity—Jonathan laying such emphasis on this portion of the compact, as almost to suggest the belief of a

^d Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 6, §5) puts into Jonathan's mouth a speech of patriotic self-devotion, after the manner of a Greek or Roman. Ewald (ii. 481) sup-

slight misgiving on his part of David's future conduct in this respect. It is this interview which brings out the character of Jonathan in the liveliest colours—his little artifices—his love for both his father and his friend—his bitter disappointment at his father's unmanageable fury—his familiar sport of archery. With passionate embraces and tears the two friends parted, to meet only once more (1 Sam. xx.). That one more meeting was far away in the forest of Ziph, during Saul's pursuit of David. Jonathan's alarm for his friend's life is now changed into a confidence that he will escape: "He strengthened his hand in God." Finally, and for the third time, they renewed the covenant, and then parted for ever (1 Sam. xxiii. 16-18).

From this time forth we hear no more till the battle of Gilboa. In that battle he fell, with his two brothers and his father, and his corpse shared their fate (1 Sam. xxxi. 2, 8). [SAUL.] His ashes were buried first at Jabesh-Gilead (ib. 13), but afterwards removed with those of his father to Zelah in Benjamin (2 Sam. xxi. 12). The news of his death occasioned the celebrated elegy of David, in which he, as the friend, naturally occupies the chief place (2 Sam. i. 22, 23, 25, 26), and which seems to have been sung in the education of the archers of Judah, in commemoration of the one great archer, Jonathan: "He bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the bow" (2 Sam. i. 17, 18).

He left one son, aged five years old at the time of his death (2 Sam. iv. 4), to whom he had probably given his original name of Merib-baal, afterwards changed for Mephibosheth (comp. 1 Chr. viii. 34, ix. 40). [MEPHIBOSHETH.] Through him the line of descendants was continued down to the time of Ezra (1 Chr. ix. 40), and even then their great ancestor's archery was practised amongst them. [SAUL.]

2. (יְהוֹנָתָן). Son of Shimeah, brother of Jonadab, and nephew of David (2 Sam. xxi. 21; 1 Chr. xx. 7). He inherited the union of civil and military gifts, so conspicuous in his uncle. Like David, he engaged in a single combat and slew a gigantic Philistine of Gath, who was remarkable for an additional finger and toe on each hand and foot (2 Sam. xxi. 21). If we may identify the Jonathan of 1 Chr. xxvii. 32 with the Jonathan of this passage, where the word translated "uncle" may be "nephew," he was (like his brother Jonadab) "wise"—and as such, was David's counsellor and secretary. Jerome (*Quaest. Heb.* on 1 Sam. xvii. 12) conjectures that this was Nathan the prophet, thus making up the 8th son, not named in 1 Chr. ii. 13-15. But this is not probable.

3. The son of Abiathar, the high-priest. He is the last descendant of Eli, of whom we hear anything. He appears on two occasions. 1. On the day of David's flight from Absalom, having first accompanied his father Abiathar as far as Olivet (2 Sam. xv. 36), he returned with him to Jerusalem, and was there, with Ahimaz the son of Zadok, employed as a messenger to carry back the news of Hushai's plans to David (xvii. 15-21). 2. On the day of Solomon's inauguration, he suddenly broke in upon the banquet of Adonijah, to announce the success of the rival prince (1 K. i. 42, 43). It may be inferred from Adonijah's ex-

poses that a substitute was killed in his place. There is no trace of either of these in the sacred narrative.

pression ("Thou art a valiant man, and bringest good tidings"), that he had followed the policy of his father Abiathar in Adonijah's support.

On both occasions, it may be remarked that he appears as the swift and trusty messenger.

4. The son of Shage the Hararite (1 Chr. xi. 34; 2 Sam. xxiii. 32). He was one of David's heroes (*gibborim*). The LXX. makes his father's name *Sola* (Σολά), and applies the epithet "Ararite" (ὁ Ἀραρί) to Jonathan himself. "Harar" is not mentioned elsewhere as a place; but it is a poetical word for "Har" (mountain), and, as such, may possibly signify in this passage "the mountaineer." Another officer (Ahiam) is mentioned with Jonathan, as bearing the same designation (1 Chr. xi. 35). [A. P. S.]

5. (יְהוֹנָתָן). The son, or descendant, of Gershom the son of Moses, whose name in the Masoretic copies is changed to Manasseh, in order to screen the memory of the great lawgiver from the disgrace which attached to the apostasy of one so closely connected with him (Judg. xviii. 30). While wandering through the country in search of a home, the young Levite of Bethlehem-Judah came to the house of Micah, the rich Ephraimite, and was by him appointed to be a kind of private chaplain, and to minister in the house of gods, or sanctuary, which Micah had made in imitation of that at Shiloh. He was recognised by the five Danite spies appointed by their tribe to search the land for an inheritance, who lodged in the house of Micah on their way northwards. The favourable answer which he gave when consulted with regard to the issue of their expedition probably induced them, on their march to Laish with the warriors of their tribe, to turn aside again to the house of Micah, and carry off the ephod and teraphim, superstitiously hoping thus to make success certain. Jonathan, to whose ambition they appealed, accompanied them, in spite of the remonstrances of his patron; he was present at the massacre of the defenceless inhabitants of Laish, and in the new city, which rose from its ashes, he was constituted priest of the graven image, an office which became hereditary in his family till the captivity. The Targum of R. Joseph, on 1 Chr. xxiii. 16, identifies him with Shebuel the son of Gershom, who is there said to have repented (עָבַר נִתְּנָבָה) in his old age, and to have been appointed by David as chief over his treasures. All this arises from a play upon the name Shebuel, from which this meaning is extracted in accordance with a favourite practice of the Targumist.

6. (יְהוֹנָתָן). One of the sons of Adin (Ezr. viii. 6), whose representative Ebed returned with Ezra at the head of fifty males, a number which is increased to two hundred and fifty in 1 Esd. viii. 32, where Jonathan is written *Iavdabas*.

7. A priest, the son of Asahel, one of the four who assisted Ezra in investigating the marriages with foreign women, which had been contracted by the people who returned from Babylon (Ezr. x. 15; 1 Esd. ix. 14).

8. A priest, and one of the chiefs of the fathers in the days of Joiakim, son of Jeshua. He was the representative of the family of Melicu (Neh. xii. 14).

9. One of the sons of Kareah, and brother of Johanan (Jer. xl. 8). The LXX. in this passage omit his name altogether, and in this they are supported by two of Kennicott's MSS., and the parallel passage of 2 K. xxv. 23. In three others of

Kennicott's it was erased, and was originally omitted in three of De Rossi's. He was one of the captains of the army who had escaped from Jerusalem: in the final assault by the Chaldeans, and, after the capture of Zedekiah at Jericho, had crossed the Jordan, and remained in the open country of the Ammonites till the victorious army had retired with their spoils and captives. He accompanied his brother Johanan and the other captains, who resorted to Gedaliah at Mizpah, and from that time we hear nothing more of him. Hitzig decides against the LXX. and the MSS. which omit the name (*Der Proph. Jeremias*), on the ground that the very similarity between Jonathan and Johanan favours the belief that they were brothers. [W. A. W.]

10. (יְהוֹנָתָן: *Iavdabas*). Son of Joinda, and his successor in the high-priesthood. The only fact connected with his pontificate recorded in Scripture, is that the genealogical records of the priests and Levites were kept in his day (Neh. xii. 11, 22), and that the chronicles of the state were continued to his time (ib. 23). Jonathan (or, as he is called in Neh. xii. 22, 23, John) lived, of course, long after the death of Nehemiah, and in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Josephus, who also calls him John, as do Eusebius* and Nicephorus likewise, relates that he murdered his own brother Jesus in the Temple, because Jesus was endeavouring to get the high-priesthood from him through the influence of Bagoses the Persian general. He adds that John by this misdeed brought two great judgments upon the Jews: the one, that Bagoses entered into the Temple and polluted it; the other, that he imposed a heavy tax of 50 shekels upon every lamb offered in sacrifice, to punish them for this horrible crime (*A. J.* xi. vii. §1). Jonathan, or John, was high-priest for 32 years, according to Eusebius and the Alexandr. Chron. (*Seld. de Success. in P. E. cap. vi. vii.*). Milman speaks of the murder of Jesus as "the only memorable transaction in the annals of Judaea from the death of Nehemiah to the time of Alexander the Great" (*Hist. of Jews*, ii. 29).

11. Father of Zechariah, a priest who blew the trumpet at the dedication of the wall (Neh. xii. 35). He seems to have been of the course of Shemiah. The words "son of" seem to be improperly inserted before the following name, *Mattathias*, as appears by comparing xi. 17. [A. C. H.]

12. (*Iavdabas*). 1 Esdr. viii. 32. [See No. 6.]

13. A son of Mattathias, and leader of the Jews in their war of independence after the death of his brother Judas Maccabaeus, B.C. 161 (1 Macc. ix. 19 ff.). [MACCABEES.]

14. A son of Absalom (1 Macc. xiii. 11), sent by Simon with a force to occupy Joppa, which was already in the hands of the Jews (1 Macc. xii. 33), though probably held only by a weak garrison. Jonathan expelled the inhabitants (τοὺς ἄντας ἐκ αὐτῆς; cf. *Jos. Ant.* xiii. 6, §3) and secured the city. Jonathan was probably a brother of Mattathias (2) (1 Macc. xi. 70).

15. A priest who is said to have offered up a solemn prayer on the occasion of the sacrifice made by Nehemiah after the recovery of the sacred fire (2 Macc. i. 23 ff.: cf. Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. Isr.* iv. 184 f.). The narrative is interesting, as it presents a singular example of the combination of public prayer with sacrifice (Grimm, *ad 2 Macc.* i. c.). [B. F. W.]

* *Chron. Cav.* lib. poster. p. 340. But in the *œ monst. Beaug.* lib. viii., Jonathan.

JON'ATHAS (Ἰωνάθαν; Aii. 'Iathán; *Jonathas*; Aii, *Nathan*), the Latin form of the common name Jonathan, which is preserved in A. V. in Tob. v. 13. [B. F. W.]

JON'ATH-E'LEM-RECHO'KIM (יונת אלם רחוקים, "a dumb dove of (in) distant places"), a phrase found once only in the Bible as a heading to the 56th psalm. Critics and commentators are very far from being agreed on its meaning. Rashi considers that David employed the phrase to describe his own unhappy condition when, exiled from the land of Israel, he was living with Achish, and was an object of suspicion and hatred to the countrymen of Goliath: thus was he amongst the Philistines as a mute (אֲלֵמִית) dove. Kimchi supplies the following commentary:—"The Philistines sought to seize and slay David (1 Sam. xxix. 4-11), and he, in his terror, and pretending to have lost his reason, called himself *Jonath*, even as a dove driven from her cote." Knapp's explanation "on the oppression of foreign rulers"—assigning to *Elem* the same meaning which it has in Ex. xv. 15—is in harmony with the contents of the psalm, and is worthy of consideration. De Wette translates *Jonath Elem Rechokim* "dove of the distant territories," or "of the dove of dumbness (Stummheit) among the strangers" or "in distant places." According to the Septuagint, ἕπερ τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων μετακρυμμένον, "on the people far removed from the holy places" (probably אֵלֶם=אֵלֶם, the Temple-hall; see *Orient. Literatur. Blatt*, p. 579, year 1841), a rendering which very nearly accords with the Chaldee paraphrase: "On the congregation of Israel, compared with a mute dove while exiled from their cities, but who come back again and offer praise to the Lord of the Universe." Aben Ezra, who regards *Jonath Elem Rechokim* as merely indicating the modulation or the rhythm of the psalm (comp. the title אֵילַת הַשָּׁחַר, Ps. xxii.), appears to come the nearest to the meaning of the passage in his explanation, "after the melody of the air which begins *Jonath-elm-Rechokim*." In the *Bior* to Mendelssohn's version of the Psalms *Jonath Elem Rechokim* is mentioned as a musical instrument which produced dull, mournful sounds. "Some take it for a pipe called in Greek ἔλυμος, יונת, from ין, Greek, which would make the inscription read "the long Grecian pipe," but this does not appear to us admissible" (*Biorist's Preface*, p. 26).

[D. W. M.]

JOP'PA (יֹפָא, *i. e.* *Yafa*, "beauty;" the A. V. follows the Greek form, except once, JAPHO: Ἰόπη, LXX. N. T. and Vulg.; Ἰόπη, Joseph. —at least in the most recent editions—Strabo, and others: now *Yafa* or *Jaffa*, a town on the S.W. coast of Palestine, the port of Jerusalem in the days of Solomon, as it has been ever since. Its etymology is variously explained; some deriving it from "Japhet," others from "Iopa," daughter of Aeolus and wife of Cepheus, Andromeda's father, its reputed founder; others interpreting it "the watch-tower of joy," or "beauty," and so forth (Reland, *Palest.* 864). The fact is, that from its being a sea-port, it had a profane, as well as a sacred history. Pliny following Mela (*De situ Orb.* i. 12) says, that it was of ante-diluvian antiquity (*Nat. Hist.* v. 14); and even Sir John Maundeville, in the 14th century, bears witness—though it must be

confessed a clumsy one—to that tradition (*Early Travels in P.* p. 142). According to Josephus, it originally belonged to the Phoenicians (*Ant.* xiii. 15, §4). Here, writes Strabo, some say Andromeda was exposed to the whale (*Geograph.* xvi. p. 759; comp. Müller's *Hist. Graec. Fragm.* vol. iv. p. 325, and his *Geograph. Graec. Min.* vol. i. p. 79), and he appeals to its elevated position in behalf of those who laid the scene there; though in order to do so consistently, he had already shown that it would be necessary to transport Aethiopia into Phoenicia (Strab. i. p. 43). However, in Pliny's age—and Josephus had just before affirmed the same (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 9, §3)—they still showed the chains by which Andromeda was bound; and not only so, but M. Scaurus the younger, the same that was so much employed in Judaea by Pompey (*Bell. Jud.* i. 6, §2 *et seq.*), had the bones of the monster transported to Rome from Joppa—where till then they had been exhibited (Mela, *ibid.*)—and displayed them there during his aedileship to the public amongst other prodigies. Nor would they have been uninteresting to the modern geologist, if his report be correct. For they measured 40 ft. in length; the span of the ribs exceeding that of the Indian elephant; and the thickness of the spine or vertebra being one foot and a half ("sesquipedalis," *i. e.* in circumference—when Solinus says "semipedalis," he means in diameter, see Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ix. 5 and the note, Delphin ed.). Reland would trace the adventures of Jonah in this legendary guise (see above); but it is far more probable that it symbolises the first interchange of commerce between the Greeks, personified in their errant hero Perseus, and the Phoenicians, whose lovely—but till then unexplored—climate may be well shadowed forth in the fair virgin Andromeda. Perseus, in the tale, is said to have plunged his dagger into the right shoulder of the monster. Possibly he may have discovered or improved the harbour, the roar from whose foaming reefs on the north, could scarcely have been surpassed by the barkings of Scylla or Charybdis. Even the chains shown there may have been those by which his ship was attached to the shore. Rings used by the Romans for mooring their vessels, are still to be seen near Terracina in the S. angle of the ancient port (Murray's *Handbk. for S. Italy*, p. 10, 2nd ed.).

Returning to the province of history, we find that Japho or Joppa was situated in the portion of Dan (Josh. xix. 46) on the coast towards the south; and on a hill so high, says Strabo, that people affirmed (but incorrectly) that Jerusalem was visible from its summit. Having a harbour attached to it—though always, as still, a dangerous one—it became the port of Jerusalem, when Jerusalem became metropolis of the kingdom of the house of David, and certainly never did port and metropolis more strikingly resemble each other in difficulty of approach both by sea and land. Hence, except in journeys to and from Jerusalem, it was not much used. In St. Paul's travels, for instance, the starting points by water are, Antioch (Acts xv. 39, vii the Orontes, it is presumed—xviii. 22, 23, was probably a land-journey throughout): Caesarea (ix. 30, and xvii. 2), and once Seleucia (xiii. 4, namely that at the mouth of the Orontes). Also once Antioch (xiv. 25) and once Tyre, as a landing place (xxi. 3). And the same preference for the more northern ports is observable in the early pilgrims beginning with him of Bordeaux.

But Joppa was the place fixed upon for the cedar and pine-wood, from Mount Lebanon, to be landed by the servants of Hiram king of Tyre; thence to be conveyed to Jerusalem, by the servants of Solomon—for the erection of the first "house of habitation" ever made with hands for the invisible Jehovah. It was by way of Joppa, similarly that like materials were conveyed from the same locality, by permission of Cyrus, for the rebuilding of the 2nd Temple under Zerubbabel (1 K. v. 9; 2 Chr. ii. 16; Ezr. iii. 7). Here Jonah, whenever, and wherever he may have lived (2 K. xiv. 25, certainly does not clear up the first of these points), "took ship to flee from the presence of his Maker," and accomplished that singular history, which our Lord has appropriated as a type of one of the principal scenes in the great Drama of His own (Jon. i. 3; Matth. xii. 40). Here, lastly, on the house-top of Simon the tanner, "by the seaside"—with the view therefore circumscribed on the E. by the high ground on which the town stood; but commanding a boundless prospect over the western waters—St. Peter had his "vision of tolerance," as it has been happily designated, and went forth like a 2nd Perseus—but from the East to emancipate, from still worse thralldom, the virgin daughter of the West. The Christian poet Arator has not failed to discover a mystical connexion between the raising to life of the aged Tabitha—the occasion of St. Peter's visit to Joppa—and the baptism of the first Gentile household (*De Act. Apost.* l. 840, ap. Migne, *Patrol. Cours. Compl.* lxxviii. 164).

These are the great Biblical events of which Joppa has been the scene. In the interval that elapsed between the Old and New Dispensations it experienced many vicissitudes. It had sided with Apollonius, and was attacked and captured by Jonathan Maccabaeus (1 Macc. x. 76). It witnessed the meeting between the latter and Ptolemy (*Ibid.* xi. 6). Simon had his suspicions of its inhabitants, and set a garrison there (*Ibid.* xii. 34), which he afterwards strengthened considerably (*Ibid.* xiii. 11). But when peace was restored, he re-established it once more as a haven (*Ibid.* xiv. 5). He likewise rebuilt the fortifications (*Ibid.* ver. 34). This occupation of Joppa was one of the grounds of complaint urged by Antiochus, son of Demetrius, against Simon; but the latter alleged in excuse the mischief which had been done by its inhabitants to his fellow-citizens (*Ibid.* xv. 30 and 35). It would appear that Judas Maccabaeus had burnt their haven some time back for a gross act of barbarity (2 Macc. xii. 6). Tribute was subsequently exacted for its possession from Hyrcanus by Antiochus Sidetes. By Pompey it was once more made independent, and comprehended under Syria (*Joseph. Ant.* xiv. 4, §4); but by Caesar it was not only restored to the Jews, but its revenues—whether from land or from export-duties—were bestowed upon the 2nd Hyrcanus and his heirs (xiv. 10, §6). When Herod the Great commenced operations, it was seized by him, lest he should leave a hostile stronghold in his rear, when he marched upon Jerusalem (xiv. 15, §1), and Augustus confirmed him in its possession (xv. 7, §4). It was afterwards assigned to Archelaus, when constituted ethnarch (xvii. 11, §4), and passed with Syria under Cyrenius, when Archelaus had been deposed (xvii. 12, §5). Under Cestius (*f. e.* Gessius Florus) it was destroyed amidst great slaughter of its inhabitants (*Jell. Jud.* ii. 18, §10); and such a

nest of pirates had it become, when Vespasian arrived in those parts, that it underwent a second and entire destruction—together with the adjacent villages—at his hands (iii. 9, §3). Thus it appears that this port had already begun to be the den of robbers and outcasts which it was in Strabo's time (*Geograph.* xvi. p. 759); while the district around it was so populous, that from Jamnia, a neighbouring town, and its vicinity, 40,000 armed men could be collected (*Ibid.*). There was a vast plain around it, as we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4, §4); it lay between Jamnia and Caesarea—the latter of which might be reached "on the morrow" from it (Acts x. 9 and 24)—not far from Lydda (Acts ix. 38), and distant from Antipatris 150 stadia (*Joseph. Ant.* xiii. 15, §1).

When Joppa first became the seat of a Christian bishop is unknown; but the subscriptions of its prelates are preserved in the acts of various synods of the 5th and 6th centuries (*Le Quien, Oriens Christian.* iii. 629). In the 7th century Arculfus sailed from Joppa to Alexandria, the very route usually taken now by those who visit Jerusalem; but he notices nothing at the former place (*Early Travels in P.* by Wright, p. 10). Saewulf, the next who set sail from Joppa, A.D. 1103, is not more explicit (*Ibid.* p. 47). Meanwhile Joppa had been taken possession of by the forces of Godfrey de Bouillon previously to the capture of Jerusalem. The town had been deserted and was allowed to fall into ruin: the Crusaders contenting themselves with possession of the citadel (William of Tyre, *Hist.* viii. 9); and it was in part assigned subsequently for the support of the Church of the Resurrection (*Ibid.* ix. 16); though there seem to have been bishops of Joppa (perhaps only titular after all) between A.D. 1253 and 1363 (*Le Quien, 1291; comp. p. 1241*). Saladin, in A.D. 1188, destroyed its fortifications (*Sanut. Secret. Fid. Crucis*, lib. iii. part. x. c. 5); but Richard of England, who was confined here by sickness, rebuilt them (*Ibid.*, and Richard of Devizes in Bohn's *Ant. Lib.* p. 61). Its last occupation by Christians was that of St. Louis, A.D. 1253, and when he came, it was still a city and governed by a count. "Of the immense sums," says Joinville, "which it cost the king to enclose Jaffa, it does not become me to speak; for they were countless. He enclosed the town from one side of the sea to the other; and there were 24 towers, including small and great. The ditches were well scoured, and kept clean, both within and without. There were 3 gates" . . . (*Chron. of Crus.* p. 495, Bohn). So restored it fell into the hands of the Sultans of Egypt, together with the rest of Palestine, by whom it was once more laid in ruins. So much so, that Bertrand de la Brocquiere visiting it about the middle of the 15th century, states that it then only consisted of a few tents covered with reeds; having been a strong place under the Christians. Guides, accredited by the Sultan, here met the pilgrims and received the customary tribute from them; and here the papal indulgences offered to pilgrims commenced (*Early Travels*, p. 286). Finally, Jaffa fell under the Turks, in whose hands it still is, exhibiting the usual decrepitude of the cities possessed by them, and depending on Christian commerce for its feeble existence. During the period of their rule it has been three times sacked—by the Arabs in 1722; by the Mamelukes in 1775; and lastly, by Napoleon I. in 1799, upon the glories of whose early career "the massacre of Jaffa" leaves a stain that can never be washed out (v

Moroni, *Dizion. Ecol. s. v.*; Porter, *Handb.* 238, 9).

The existing town contains in round numbers about 4000 inhabitants, and has three convents, Greek, Latin, and Armenian; and as many, or more mosques. Its bazaars are worth a visit; yet few places could exhibit a harbour or landing more miserable. Its chief manufacture is soap. The house of Simon the tanner of course purports to be shown still: nor is its locality badly chosen (Stanley, *S. & P.* 263, 274; and see Seddon's *Memoir*, 86, 7; 185).

The oranges of Jaffa are the finest in all Palestine and Syria: its pomegranates and water-melons are likewise in high repute, and its gardens and orange and citron-groves deliciously fragrant and fertile. But among its population are fugitives and vagabonds from all countries; and Europeans have little security, whether of life or property, to induce a permanent abode there. [E. S. Ff.]

JOPPE (Ἰόππη: *Joppe*), 1 Esd. v. 55; 1 Macc. x. 75, 76; xi. 6; xii. 33; xiii. 11; xiv. 5, 34; xv. 28, 35; 2 Macc. iv. 21; xii. 3, 7. [JOPPA.]

JORAH (יֹרָה): *Ἰωρὰ*: *Jora*), the ancestor of a family of 112 who returned from Babylon with Ezra (Ezr. ii. 18). In Neh. vii. 24 he appears under the name Hariph, or more correctly the same family are represented as the Bene-Hariph, the variation of name originating probably in a very slight confusion of the letters which compose it. In Ezr. two of De Rossi's MSS., and originally one of Kennicott's, had יֹרָה, i. e. Jodah, which is the reading of the Syr. and Arab. versions. One of Kennicott's MSS. had the original reading in Ezr. altered to יֹרָם, i. e. Joram; and two in Neh. read הַרִים, i. e. Harim, which corresponds with Ἀρῆμ of the Alex. MS., and *Hurom* of the Syriac. In any case the change or confusion of letters which might have caused the variation of the name is so slight, that it is difficult to pronounce which is the true form, the corruption of Jorah into Hariph being as easily conceivable as the reverse. Burton (Geneal. ii. 75) decides in favour of the latter, but from a comparison of both passages with Ezr. x. 31 we should be inclined to regard Harim (הַרִים) as the true reading in all cases. But on any supposition it is difficult to account for the form Azephurith, or more properly Ἀρσφουρίθ, in 1 Esd. v. 16, which Burington considers as having originated in a corruption of the two readings in Ezra and Nehemiah, the second syllable arising from an error of the transcriber in mistaking the uncial E for Z. [W. A. W.]

JORAI (יֹרָי): *Ἰωραεῖ*; Alex. *Ἰωραεῖ*: *Jorai*). One of the Gadites dwelling in Gilead in Bashan, whose genealogies were recorded in the reign of Jotham king of Judah (1 Chr. v. 13). Four of Kennicott's MSS., and the printed copy used by Luther, read יֹרָי, i. e. Jodai.

JORAM (הַיֹּרָם, and יֹרָם, apparently indiscriminately: *Ἰωράμ*: *Joram*). 1. Son of Ahab; king of Israel (2 K. viii. 16, 25, 28, 29; ix. 14, 17, 21-23, 29). [JEHORAM, 1.]

2. Son of Jehoshaphat; king of Judah (2 K. viii. 21, 23, 24; 1 Chr. iii. 11; 2 Chr. xxii. 5, 7. Matt. i. 8). [JEHORAM, 2.]

3. A priest in the reign of Jehoshaphat, one of those employed by him to teach the law of Moses through the cities of Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

4. (יֹרָם). A Levite, ancestor of Shelomith in the time of David (1 Chr. xxvi. 25).

5. (Ἰεδδουράμ; Alex. *Ἰεδδουράμ*.) Son of Toi, king of Hamath, sent by his father to congratulate David on his victories over Hadadezer (2 Sam. viii. 10). [HADORAM.]

6. 1 Esd. i. 9. [JOZABAD, 3.] [A. C. H.]

JORDAN (יַרְדֵּן, i. e. *Yarden*, always with the definite article יַרְדֵּן הַיָּרְדֵּן, except Ps. xlii. 6 and Job xl. 23, from יָרַד, *Jarad*, "to descend;" *Ἰορδάνης*: *Jordanis*: now called by the Arabs *esh-Sheriah*, or "the watering-place," with the addition of *el Kibir*, "the great," to distinguish it from the *Sheriat el Mandhur*, the Hieromax), a river that has never been navigable (see below), flowing into a sea that has never known a port—has never been a high-road to more hospitable coasts—has never possessed a fishery—a river that has never boasted of a single town of emmence upon its banks. It winds through scenery remarkable rather for sameness and tameness than for bold outline. Its course is not much above 200 miles from first to last, less than 1-15th of that of the Nile—from the roots of Anti-Lebanon, where it bursts forth from its various sources in all its purity, to the head of the Dead Sea, where it loses itself and its tributaries in the unfathomable brine. Such is the river of the "great plain" of Palestine—the "Descender"—if not "the river of God" in the book of Psalms, at least that of His chosen people throughout their history.

As Joppa could never be made easy of access or commodious for traffic as a commercial city, so neither could Jordan ever vie with the Thames or the Tiber as a river of the world, nor with the rivers of Naaman's preference, the Pharpar and Abana, for the natural beauty of its banks. These last could boast of the same superiority, in respect of the picturesque, over the Jordan, that Gerizim and Samaria could over Zion and Jerusalem.

We propose to inquire, I. what is said about the Jordan in Holy Scripture; II. the accounts given of it by Josephus and others of the same date; III. the statements respecting it by later writers and travellers.

I. There is no regular description of the Jordan to be met with in Holy Scripture, and it is only by putting scattered notices of it together that we can give the general idea which runs through the Bible respecting it.

And, 1. the earliest allusion is not so much to the river itself as to the plain or plains which it traversed: "Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered everywhere . . . even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt" (Gen. xiii. 10). Abram had just left Egypt (xii. 10-20), and therefore the comparison between the fertilising properties of the Jordan and of the Nile is very apposite, though it has since been pushed much too far, as we shall see. We may suppose Lot to have had his view from one of the summits of those hills that run north in the direction of Scythopolis (*B. J.* iv. 7, §2), bounding the plains of Jordan on the W.; for Lot and Abram were now sojourning between Bethel and Ai (Gen. xiii. 3). How far the plain extended in length or breadth is not said: other passages speak of "Jordan and his border" (Josh. xiii. 27), "the borders of Jordan" (xxii. 11), and "the plains of Jericho" (iv. 13; comp. 2 K. xxv. 5): all evidently subdivisions of the same-idea, comprehending the east bank equally with the west (Josh. xiii. 27).

2. We must anticipate events slightly to be able to speak of the fords or passages of the Jordan. The Jordan is inexhaustible, in the book of Job (xl. 23), and deep enough to prove a formidable passage for belligerents (1 Macc. ix. 48); yet, as in all rivers of the same magnitude, there were shallows where it could be forded on foot. There were fords over against Jericho, to which point the men of Jericho pursued the spies (Josh. ii. 7), the same probably that are said to be "toward Moab" in the book of Judges, where the Moabites were slaughtered (iii. 28). Higher up, perhaps over against Succoth, some way above where the little river Jabbok (Zerka) enters the Jordan, were the fords or passages of Betharah (probably the Bethabara, "house of passage," of the Gospel, though most moderns would read "Bethany," see Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 308, note, 2nd ed.), where Gideon lay in wait for the Midianites (Judg. vii. 24), and where the men of Gilead slew the Ephraimites (xii. 6). Not far off, in "the clay ground between Succoth and Zarthan," were the brass foundries of king Solomon (1 K. vii. 46). These fords undoubtedly witnessed the first recorded passage of the Jordan in the O. T.: we say recorded, because there can be little dispute but that Abraham must have crossed it likewise. But only the passage of Jacob is mentioned, and that in remarkable language: "With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two hands" (Gen. xxxii. 10, and Jabbok in connexion with it, ver. 22). And Jordan was next crossed—over against Jericho—by Joshua the son of Nun, at the head of the descendants of the twelve sons of him who signalized the first passage. The magnitude of their operations may be inferred from the fact, that—of the children of Reuben, and of Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh, only—"about 40,000 prepared for war passed over before the Lord unto battle" . . . (Josh. iv. 12 and 13).

The ceremonial of this second crossing is too well known to need recapitulation. It may be observed, however, that, unlike the passage of the Red Sea, where the intermediate agency of a strong east wind is freely admitted (Ex. xiv. 21), it is here said, in terms equally explicit, not only that the river was then unusually full of water, but that "the waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon an heap . . . while those that came down toward the sea of the plain . . . failed and were cut off," as soon as ever "the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water" (Josh. iii. 15, 16). That it happened in harvest-time is seen also from ch. v. 10-12. Finally, with regard to the memorial of the twelve stones, such had been the altar erected by Moses "under the hill" (Ex. xxiv. 4); such probably the altar erected by Joshua upon Mount Ebal, though the number of stones is not defined (Josh. viii. 31), and such, long afterwards, the altar erected by Elijah (1 K. xviii. 31). Whether these twelve stones were deposited in, or on the banks of, the Jordan, or whether there were two sets, one for each locality, has been disputed. Josephus only recognises a single construction—that of an altar—in either case; and this was built, according to him, in the present instance, 50 stadia from the river, and 10 stadia from Jericho, where the people encamped, with the stones which the heads of their tribes had brought from out of the bed of the Jordan. It may be added that Josephus seems loth to admit a miracle, both in the passage of the Jordan and that of the Red Sea (*Ant.* v. 1, §4, ii. 16, §5). From their

vicinity to Jerusalem these lower fords were much used; David, it is probable, passed over them in one instance to fight the Syrians (2 Sam. x. 17); and subsequently, when a fugitive himself, in his way to Mahanaim (xvii. 22), on the east bank. Hither Judah came to reconduct the king home (2 Sam. xix. 15), and on this one occasion a ferry-boat—if the Hebrew word has been rightly rendered—is said to have been employed (ver. 18). Somewhere in these parts Elijah must have snitten the waters with his mantle, "so that they divided hither and thither" (2 K. ii. 8), for he had just left Jericho (ver. 4), and by the same route that he went did Elisha probably return (ver. 14). Naaman, on the other hand, may be supposed to have performed his ablutions in the upper fords, for Elisha was then in Samaria (v. 3), and it was by these fords doubtless that the Syrians fled when miraculously discomfited through his instrumentality (vii. 15). Finally, it was probably by these upper fords that Judas and his followers went over into the great plain before Bethsan—not that they crossed over against Bethsan (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, §5), when they were retracing their steps from the land of Galad to Jerusalem (1 Macc. v. 52).

Thus there were two customary places, at which the Jordan was fordable, though there may have been more, particularly during the summer, which are not mentioned. And it must have been at one of these, if not at both, that baptism was afterwards administered by St. John, and by the disciples of our Lord. The plain inference from the Gospels would appear to be that these baptisms were administered in more places than one. There was one place where St. John baptised in the first instance (*τὸ πρῶτον*, John x. 40), though it is not named. There was Bethabara—probably the upper fords—where the Baptist, having previously baptised our Lord—whether there or elsewhere—bears record to the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Him which ensued (i. 29-34). There was Aenon, near to Salem, to the north, where St. John was baptising upon another occasion, "because there was much water there" (iii. 23). This was during the summer evidently (comp. ii. 13-23), that is, long after the feast of the passover, and the river had become low, so that it was necessary to resort to some place where the water was deeper than at the ordinary fords. There was some place "in the land of Judaea" where our Lord, or rather His disciples, baptised about the same time (iii. 22). And lastly, there was the place—most probably the lower ford near Jericho—where all "Jerusalem and Judaea" went out to be baptised of John in the Jordan (Matt. iii. 5; Mark i. 5).

Where our Lord was baptised is not stated expressly. What is stated is, (1.) that as St. John was a native of some "city in the hill-country of Judaea" (Luke i. 39), so his preaching, commencing "in the wilderness of Judaea" (Matt. iii. 1), embraced "all the country about Jordan" (Luke iii. 3), and drew persons from Galilee, as far off as Nazareth (Mark i. 9) and Bethsaida (John i. 35, 40, 44), as well as from Jerusalem; (2.) that the baptism of the multitude from Jerusalem and Judaea preceded that of our Lord (Matt. iii. 6, 13; Mark i. 5, 9); (3.) that our Lord's baptism was also distinct from that of the said multitude (Luke iii. 21); and (4.) that He came from Nazareth in Galilee, and not from Jerusalem or Judaea, to be baptised. The inference from all which would seem to be (1.) that

the first (τὸ πρῶτον) baptisms of St. John took place at the lower ford near Jericho, to which not only he himself, a native of Judaea, but all Jerusalem and Judaea likewise, would naturally resort as being the nearest; where similarly our Lord would naturally take refuge when driven out from Jerusalem, and from whence He would be within reach of tidings from Bethany, the scene of His next miracle (John x. 39, 41, xi. 1); (2.) that his second baptisms were at the upper ford, or Bethabara, whither he had arrived in the course of his preachings, and were designed for the inhabitants of the more northern parts of the Holy Land, among whom were Jesus and Andrew, both from Galilee; (3.) that his third and last baptisms were in the neighbourhood of Aenon and Salem, still further to the north, where there was not generally so much of a ford, but, on the contrary, where the water was still sufficiently deep, notwithstanding the advanced season. Thus St. John would seem to have moved upwards gradually towards Galilee, the seat of Herod's jurisdiction, by whom he was destined to be apprehended and executed; while our Lord, coming from Galilee, probably by way of Samaria, as in the converse case (John iv. 3, 4), would seem to have met him half-way, and to have been baptised in the ford nearest to that locality—a ford which had been the scene of the first recorded crossing. The tradition which asserts Christ to have been baptised in the ford near Jericho, has been obliged to invent a Bethabara near that spot, of which no trace exists in history, to appear consistent with Scripture (Origen, quoted by Alford on John i. 28).

3. These fords—and more light will be thrown upon their exact site presently—were rendered so much the more precious in those days from two circumstances. First, it does not appear that there were then any bridges thrown over, or boats regularly established on, the Jordan, for the purpose of transporting either pedestrians or merchandise from one bank to the other. One case, perhaps, of either bridge or boat is upon record; but it would seem to have been got up expressly for the occasion (2 Sam. xix. 18). Neither the LXX. nor Vulg. contain a word about a "boat," and Josephus says expressly that it was a "bridge" that was then extemporised (*Ant.* vii. 2, §2). And secondly, because, in the language of the author of the book of Joshua (iii. 15), "Jordan overflowed all his banks all the time of harvest:" a "swelling" which, according to the 1st book of Chronicles (xii. 15), commenced "in the first month" (*i. e.* about the latter end of our March), drove the lion from his lair in the days of Jeremiah (xii. 5, xlix. 19, l. 44), and had become a proverb for abundance in the days of Jesus the son of Sirach (*Eclus.* xxiv. 26). The context of the first of these passages may suffice to determine the extent of this exuberance. The meaning is clearly that the channel or bed of the river became brimfull, so that the level of the water and of the banks was then the same. Dr. Robinson seems therefore to have good reason for saying that the ancient rise of the river has been greatly exaggerated (*i.* 540, 2nd ed.), so much so as to have been compared to that of the Nile (*Reland, Palest.* xi. 111). Evidently too there is nothing extraordinary whatever in this occurrence. On the contrary, it would be more extraordinary were it otherwise. All rivers that are fed by melting snows are fuller between March and September than between September and March; but

the exact time of their increase varies with the time when the snows melt. The Po and Adige are equally full during their harvest-time with the Jordan; but the snows on Lebanon melt earlier than on the Alps, and harvest begins later in Italy than in the Holy Land. "The heavy rains of November and December," as Dr. R. justly remarks, "find the earth in a parched and thirsty state, and are consequently absorbed into the soil as they fall. The melting of the snows, on the other hand, on the mountains can only affect the rivers. Possibly 'the basins of Hâleh and Tiberias' may so far act as 'regulators' upon the Jordan as to delay its swelling till they have been replenished. On the other hand, the snows on Lebanon are certainly melting fast in April.

4. The last feature which remains to be noticed in the Scriptural account of the Jordan is its frequent mention as a boundary: "over Jordan," "this," and "the other side," or "beyond Jordan," were expressions as familiar to the Israelites as "across the water," "this," and "the other side of the Channel," are to English ears. In one sense indeed, that is, in so far as it was the eastern boundary of the land of Canaan, it was the eastern boundary of the promised land (*Num.* xxxiv. 12). In reality, it was the long serpentine vine, trailing over the ground from N. to S., round which the whole family of the twelve tribes were clustered. Four-fifths of their number—nine tribes and a half—dwelt on the W. of it, and one-fifth, or two tribes and a half, on the E. of it, with the Levites in their cities equally distributed amongst both, and it was theirs from its then reputed fountain-head to its exit into the Dead Sea. Those who lived on the E. of it had been allowed to do so on condition of assisting their brethren in their conquests on the W. (*Num.* xxxii. 20-33); and those who lived on the W. "went out with one consent" when their countrymen on the E. were threatened (*1 Sam.* xi. 6-11). The great altar built by the children of Reuben, of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, on the banks of the Jordan, was designed as a witness of this intercommunion and mutual interest (*Josh.* xxii. 10-29). In fact, unequal as the two sections were, they were nevertheless regarded as integral parts of the whole land; and thus there were three cities of refuge for the manslayer appointed on the E. of the Jordan; and there were three cities, and no more, on the W.—in both cases moreover equi-distant one from the other (*Num.* xxxv. 9-15; *Josh.* xx. 7-9; *Lewis, Heb. Repubi.* ii. 12). When these territorial divisions had been broken up in the captivities of Israel and Judah, some of the "coasts beyond Jordan" seem to have been retained under Judaea. [JUDAEA.]

II. As the passage which is supposed to speak of "the fountain of Daphne" (*Num.* xxxiv. 11, and Patrick *ad l.*, see below) is by no means clear, we cannot appeal to Holy Scripture for any information respecting the sources of the Jordan. What Josephus and others say about the Jordan may be briefly told. Panium, says Josephus (*i. e.* the sanctuary of Pan), appears to be the source of the Jordan; whereas it has a secret passage hither under ground from Phiala, as it is called, about 120 stadia distant from Caesarea, on the road to Trachonitis, and on the right hand side of, and not far from the road. Being a wheel-shaped pool, it is rightly called Phiala from its rotundity (*περὶ φηπέλας*); yet the water always remains there up to the brim, neither subsiding nor overflowing

That this is the true source of the Jordan was first discovered by Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis—for by his orders chaff was cast into the water at Phiala, and it was taken up at Panium. Panium was always a lovely spot; but the embellishments of Agrippa, which were sumptuous, added greatly to its natural charms (from *Bell. Jud.* i. 21, §3; and *Ant.* xv. 10, §3, it appears that the temple there was due to Herod the Great). It is from this cave at all events that the Jordan commences his ostensible course above ground; traversing the marshes and fens of Semechonitis (L. Merom or *Hüleh*), and then, after a course of 120 stadia, passing by the town Julias, and intersecting the lake of Genesareth, winds its way through a considerable wilderness, till it finds its exit in the lake Asphaltites (*B. J.* iii. 10, §7). Elsewhere he somewhat modifies his assertion respecting the nature of the great plain [JERICHO]; while on the physical beauties of Genesareth, the palms and figs, olives and grapes, that flourished round it, and the fish for which its waters were far-famed, he is still more eloquent (*B. J.* iii. 10, §8). In the first chapter of the next book (iv. 1, §1) he notices more fountains at a place called Daphne (still *Difneh*, see *Rob. Bibl. Res.*, vol. iii. p. 393, note), immediately under the temple of the golden calf, which he calls the sources of the little, and its communication with the great, Jordan (comp. *Ant.* i. 10, §1, v. 3, §1, and viii. 8, §4). While Josephus dilates upon its sources, Pausanias, who had visited the Jordan, dilates upon its extraordinary disappearance. He cannot get over its losing itself in the Dead Sea; and compares it to the submarine course of the Alpheus from Greece to Sicily (lib. v. 7, 4, ed. Dindorf.) Pliny goes so far as to say that the Jordan instinctively shrinks from entering that dread lake, by which it is swallowed up. On the other hand Pliny attributes its rise to the fountain of Paneas, from which he adds Caesarea was surnamed (*Nat. H.* v. 15.). Lastly Strabo speaks of the aromatic reeds and rushes, and even balsam, that grew on the shores and marshes round Genesareth; but can he be believed when he asserts that the Aradians and others were in the habit of sailing up Jordan with cargo? (xvi. 2, 16.) It will be remembered that he wrote during the first days of the empire, when there were boats in abundance upon Genesareth (John vi. 22-24).

III. Among the latest travellers who have explored and afterwards written upon the course or sources of the Jordan, are Messrs. Irby and Mangles (*Journal of Trav.*), Dr. Robinson, Lieut. Lynch and party (*Narrat. and Off. Rep.*), Capt. Newbold (*Journal of R. Asiat. S.*, vol. xvi. p. 8, *et seq.*), Rev. W. Thompson (*Bibl. Sac.*, vol. iii. p. 184, *et seq.*), and Professor Stanley. While making our best acknowledgments to these writers for what is contained in the following summary, we shall take the liberty of offering one or two criticisms where personal inspection constrains our demurring to their conclusions. According to the older commentators "Dan" was a stream that rose in a fountain called Phiala, in the district called Panium, and among the roots of Lebanon; then after a subterraneous course, re-appeared near the town called Paneas, Dan, or Caesarea Philippi, where it was joined by a small stream called "Jor;" and henceforth united both names in one—Jordan (*Corn. a Lap.* in Deut. xxxiii. 22). But it has been well observed that the Hebrew word יַרְדֵּן, *Jarden*, has no relation whatever to the name Dan; and also that the river had

borne that name from the days of Abraham, and from the days of Job, at least five centuries before the name of Dan was given to the city at its source (Robinson, iii. 412). It should be added that the number of streams meeting at or about Baniás very far exceeds two.

This is one of the points on which we are compelled to dissent from one and all of the foregoing travellers—not one of them dwells upon the phenomenon that from the village of *Hashbeiya* on the N.W. to the village of *Shil'ba* on the N.E. of *Baniás*, the entire slope of Anti-Lebanon is alive with bursting fountains and gushing streams, every one of which, great or small, finds its way sooner or later into the swamp between *Baniás* and lake *Hüleh*, and eventually becomes part of the Jordan. Incidentally this of course comes out; but surely this, and not those three prime sources exclusively, to which Captain Newbold has most justly added a 4th, passed over without a word by the rest—should be made the prominent feature of that charmed locality. The fact is, that with the exception of Messrs. Irby and Mangles, he is the only traveller of them all who has in any degree explored the S.E. side of the slope; the route of the others being from *Baniás* to *Hashbeiya* on the western side. Then again all have travelled in the months of April, May, or June—that is, before the melting of the snows had ceased to have influence—except Messrs. Irby and Mangles, whose scanty notices were made in February, or just after the heavy rains. Whereas in order to be able to decide to which of those sources Jordan is most indebted, the latter end of October, the end of the dry season, and just before the rains set in—when none but streams possessed of inherent vitality are in existence—should have been chosen. Far be it from us to depreciate those time-honoured parent springs—the noble fountain (of Daphne) under the Tell, or hill of Dan (*Tell-el-Kady*), which "gushes out all at once a beautiful river of delicious water" in the midst of verdure and welcome shade; still less, that magnificent "burst of water out of the low slope" in front of the picturesque cave of *Baniás*, inscriptions in the niches of which still testify to the deity that was once worshipped there, and to the royal munificence that adorned his shrine. Travellers nevertheless who have seen Clitumnus (and to read of it in Pliny, *Ep. lib.* viii. 8, is almost to see), Vaucluse, or even Holywell in N. Wales, will have seen something of the kind. But what shall we say to "the bold perpendicular rock" near *Hashbeiya*, "from beneath which," we are told, "the river gushes copious, translucent, and cool, in two rectangular streams, one to the N.E., and the other to the N.W.?" for if this source, being the most distant of all, may "claim in a strictly scientific sense to be the parent stream of the whole valley," then let us be prepared on the same principle to trace the Mississippi back to the Missouri. Besides, Captain Newbold—and we can here vouch for his statement—has detected a 4th source, which according to the Arabs, is never dry, in what Mr. Thompson hastily dismisses as the mountain-torrent *Wady el-Kid*, and Messrs. Irby and Mangles as a "rivulet;" but which the Captain appears to have followed to the springs called *Esh-Shar*, though we must add, that its sources, according to our impression, lie considerably more to the N. It runs past the ruined walls and forts of *Baniás* on the S.E. Nobody that has seen its dizzy cataracts in the month of April, or its deep-rock-hewn bed at

all other seasons, can speak lightly of it; though it is naturally lost upon all those who quit Baniás for the N.W.

Again, we make bold to say, that the Phiala of Josephus has not yet been identified. Any lake would have been called Phiala by the Greeks that bore that shape (Reland, *Palest.* 41; comp. Hoffman's *Lex. Univ.* s. v.; if we mistake not, the lake of Delos is a further instance). But *Birket er Ram*, or the alleged Phiala, lying to the S.E. of, and at some distance from, the cave of Baniás, we are not surprised that the story of Josephus should be voted absurd; for he is thus made to say seriously, what even to a tragic poet was the climax of impossibilities (Eur. *Med.* 410), that "the fountains of sacred streams flow backwards," or uphill. The Arabs doubtless heard of the story of the chaff through some dragoman, who heard it from his masters; but the direction of *Shib'a*—"six hours higher up the southern declivity of Mount Hermon," and therefore to the N.E. of Baniás—is beyond doubt the true one, as long since pointed out by Reland (*ibid.*, and see his Map) for the site of the lake. According to Lynch, "a very large fountain issuing from the base of a high rock," exists there (*Off. Rep.* 112). Lastly, the actual description given by Captain Newbold of the lake *Merj el Man*, "3 hrs. E. 10° N. from Baniás," proves, at all events, that there is one circular lake, besides *Birket er Ram*, in those regions, and in the very direction indicated by the historian. We cannot help, therefore, entertaining a suspicion that *Merj el Man* will turn out to be the true Phiala.

Once more, Mr. Thompson had stated that "the Hashbeiya, when it reaches the L. Hüleh, has been immensely enlarged by the waters from the great fountains of Baniás, Tell-el Kady, el Mellárah, Derakit or Belát" (both on the western side of the plain) "and innumerable other springs." Captain Newbold, on the other hand, found it impossible to ascertain whether such a junction took place, or not, before they enter the lake (p. 15). His Arabs strongly maintained the negative. It was reserved for Dr. Robinson in 1852 to settle the question of their previous junction, which according to him may be witnessed one-third of a mile N. of Tell Sheikh Yásuf: so that they enter Hüleh, as they depart from it, in one united stream (vol. iii. 395). Its passage through and from Genesareth is that of uninterrupted unity. But that the waters of the Jordan do not condescend to mingle in any sense with those of the lake, is as true as that the Rhone and the lake of Geneva never embrace. Any comparison between the waters of the Jordan, as a fertilizer, or as a beverage, with those of the Nile, would be no less unreal; while from the immense amount of vegetable matter which they contain, the former decompose with a rapidity perfectly marvellous when kept. Travellers, therefore, who are desirous of preserving them, will do well to go to the fountain-heads for their supply. There alone they sparkle and look inviting.

"The Jordan enters Genesareth about two miles below the ruins of the ancient city Julias, or the Bethsaida of Gaulonitis, which lay upon its eastern bank. At its mouth it is about 70 feet wide, a lazy turbid stream, flowing between low alluvial banks. There are several bars not far from its mouth where it can be forded. . . . From the site of Bethsaida to *Jisr Benát Ya'kób* is about six miles. The Jordan here rushes along, a foaming torrent (much of course depending on the season

when it is visited), through a narrow winding ravine, shut in by high precipitous banks. Above the bridge the current is less rapid and the banks are lower. The whole distance from the lake el-Hüleh to the sea of Tiberias is nearly nine miles, and the fall of the river is about 600 feet" (Porter's *Handbook*, part ii. p. 426-7; comp. Stanley's *S. & P.* p. 364, note 1, 2nd ed.

The two principal features in the course of the Jordan are its descent and its sinuosity. From its fountain-heads to the point where it is lost to nature, it rushes down one continuous inclined plane, only broken by a series of rapids or precipitous falls. Between the lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, Lieutenant Lynch passed down 27 rapids which he calls threatening; besides a great many more of lesser magnitude. According to the computations which were then made, the descent of the Jordan in each mile was about 11.8 English feet; the depression of the lake of Tiberias below the level of the Mediterranean 653.3; and that of the Dead Sea 1316.7 (Robinson, i. 612, note xxx.). Thus "the Descender" may be said to have fairly earned his name. Its sinuosity is not so remarkable in the upper part of its course. Lieutenant Lynch would regard the two phenomena in the light of cause and effect. "The great secret," he says, "of the depression between lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea is solved by the tortuous course of the Jordan. In a space of 60 miles of latitude and 4 or 5 miles of longitude, the Jordan traverses at least 200 miles" (*Off. Letter*, p. 265 of *Narrat.*). During the whole passage of 8½ days, the time which it took his boats to reach the Dead Sea from Genesareth, only one straight reach of any length, about midway between them, i. e. on the 4th day, is noticed. The rate of stream seems to have varied with its relative width and depth. The greatest width mentioned was 180 yards, the point where it enters the Dead Sea. Here it was only 3 feet deep. On the 6th day the width in one place was 80 yards, and the depth only 2 feet; while the current on the whole varied from 2 to 8 knots. On the 5th day the width was 70 yards, with a current of 2 knots, or 30 yards with a current of 6 knots.

The only living tributaries to the Jordan noticed particularly below Genesareth were the *Yarmúk* (Hieromax) and the *Zerka* (Jabbok). The mouth of the former of these was passed on the 3rd day, 40 yards wide, with moderate current; while the latter, whose course became visible on the 7th day, was, on the 8th day, discovered to have two distinct outlets into the main stream, one of which was then dry. Older writers had distinguished two beds and banks of the Jordan; the first, that occupied by the river in its normal state; the second, comprising the space which it occupied during its swelling or overflow (Martiniere, *Dict. Geograph.* s. v.). Similarly Lieutenant Lynch has remarked, "There are evidently two terraces to the Jordan, and through the lowest one the river runs its serpentine course. From the stream, above the immediate banks, there is, on each side, a singular terrace of low hills, like truncated cones, which is the bluff terminus of an extended table-land, reaching quite to the mountains of Hauran on the E., and the high hills on the western side" (*Narrat.*, April 13, and comp. what Capt. Newbold says, p. 22). There are no bridges over Jordan to which an earlier date has been assigned than that of the Roman occupation; and there are vestiges of Roman roads in different parts of the country—between *Nábulus* and *Beisán*

for instance—that may well have crossed by these bridges. The Saracens afterwards added to their number, or restored those which they found in ruins. Thus the bridge called *el Ghujan* over the Hashbeia, has two pointed arches and one round (Newbold, p. 13), while the entire architecture of the *Jisr Benât Ya'kôb* (of the daughters of Jacob), $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the S. of L. Hûleh, as well as of the khan adjacent to it on the eastern side, is pronounced to be Saracenic (*ibid.*, p. 20). A Roman bridge of ten arches, *Jisr Semakh*, spans the Jordan near the village bearing that name, and was doubtless on the route from Tiberias and Tarichea to Gadara and Decapolis (*ibid.*, p. 21, Irby, p. 90). Lastly, the bridge of *Mejâmîeh*, which crosses the Jordan about six miles from the lake of Genesareth, was Saracenic; while that near the ford *Dâmîeh* was more Roman (Newbold, p. 20, and Lynch, *Narr.*, April 16).

Turning from these artificial constructions to the old bridges of nature—the fords, we find a remarkable, yet perfectly independent concurrence between the narrative of Lieutenant Lynch and what has been asserted previously respecting the fords or passages of the Bible. We do not indeed affirm that the localities fit into each other like the pieces of a puzzle. Yet still it is no slight coincidence that no more than three, or at most four regular fords should have been set down by the chroniclers of the American expedition. The two first occur on the same day within a few hours of each other, and are called respectively *Wacabes* and *Sûkua* (*Off. Rep.* pp. 25 and 26). Eighteen miles E. by N. of the last of these were the ruins of Jerash (which our authority confounds with Pella), exactly in a line with which is placed the site of Succoth, or *Sakût*, in the map of Dr. Robinson; though he admits that arguments are not wanting for placing it some way to the S. (vol. iii. p. 310). The next ford is passed the following, or the 7th day, the ford of *Dâmîeh*, as it is called, opposite to the commencement of the *Wady Zerka*, some miles above the junction of that river with the Jordan, and where the road from *Nâbulus* to *es-Salt* crossed. Could we ascertain the true site of Succoth, we might be better able to decide which of these two fords answered best to the *Ieth-barah* of the Old Test., or Bethabara of the New; and then Aenon might be the ford, or one of the two fords, to the N. of it. It is perhaps worthy of note that the neighbourhood of the ford *Sûkua* is represented as the dreariest wild imaginable—fearful solitude and monotony (*Narr.*, April 15). That Messrs. Irby and Mangles forded the Jordan near Tarichea was probably due to the ruins of the old Roman bridge; on the contrary, where they forded it on horseback, $1\frac{1}{2}$ hr. from Beisân, Lynch found the water between 5 and 6 feet deep.

The ford *el-Mashra'a* over against Jericho was the last ford put upon record, and it is too well known to need any lengthened notice. Here tradition has chosen to combine the passage of the Israelites under Joshua with the baptism of our Lord—a more distant ford would have been found highly inconvenient for the Jerusalem pilgrims; and here accordingly, three miles below the ruined convent of St. John—in honour of these events—the annual bathing of the Oriental pilgrims takes place; of which Professor Stanley has given a lively picture (*S. & P.* p. 314-16; comp. *Off. Rep.* p. 29, 30).

We have observed that not a single city ever crowned the banks of the Jordan. Still Bethshan and Jericho to the W., Gerasa, Pella, and Gadara to

the E. of it, were important cities, and caused a good deal of traffic between the two opposite banks. Under the sway of the Egyptian sultans, the bridge of the Daughters of Jacob seems to have been one of the high-roads to Damascus. Another road to Damascus was from *Nâbulus* through *Beisân*, and was brought over by the bridge at the mouth of the *Yermûk*. The sites of these cities, with their history, are discussed under their respective names; and for the same reason we abstain from going deeply into the physical features of the Jordan, or of the Ghor, for these will be treated of more at large under the general head of Palestine. We shall confine ourselves therefore to the most cursory notice. As there were slime-pits, or pits of bitumen, and salt-pits (Gen. xi. 3; Zeph. ii. 9) in the vale of Siddim, on the extreme south, so Mr. Thompson speaks of bitumen wells 20 minutes from the bridge over the *Hashbeiya* on the extreme north; while *Ain-el Mellâhah* above L. Hûleh, is emphatically “the fountain of the salt works” (Lynch’s *Narrat.*, p. 470). Thermal springs are frequent about the lake of Tiberias; the most celebrated, below the town bearing that name (Robinson, ii. 384, 5); some near Emmaus (Lynch, 467), some near Magdala, and some not far from Gadara (Irby, 90, 1). The hill of Dan is said to be an extinct crater, and masses of volcanic rock and tufa are noticed by Lynch, not far from the mouth of the *Yermûk* (*Narrat.*, April 12). Dark basalt is the characteristic of the rocks in the upper stage; trap, limestone, sandstone, and conglomerate, in the lower. On the 2nd day of the passage a bank of fuller’s-earth was observed.

How far the Jordan in olden time was ever a zone of cultivation, like the Nile, is uncertain. Now, with the exception of the eastern shores of the L. Hûleh, the hand of man may be said to have disappeared from its banks. The genuine Arab is a nomad by nature, and contemns agriculture. There, however, Dr. Robinson, in the month of May, found the land tilled almost down to the lake; and large crops of wheat, barley, maize, sesame, and rice rewarded the husbandman. Horses, cattle, and sheep—all belonging to the *Ghacârinéh* tribe—fattened on the rich pasture; and large herds of black buffaloes luxuriated in the streams and in the deep mire of the marshes (vol. iii. p. 396). These are doubtless lineal descendants of the “fat bulls of Bashan;” as the “oaks of Bashan” are still the magnificent staple tree of those regions. Cultivation degenerates as we advance southwards. Corn-fields wave round Genesareth on the W., and the palm and vine, fig and pomegranate, are still to be seen here and there. Melons grown on its shores are of great size and much esteemed. Pink oleanders, and a rose-coloured species of hollyhock, in great profusion, wait upon every approach to a rill or spring. These gems of nature reappear in the lower course of the Jordan. There the purple thistle, the bright yellow marigold, and scarlet anemone, saluted the adventurers of the New World: the laurestinus and oleander, cedar and arbutus, willow and tamarisk, accompanied them on their route. As the climate became more tropical, and the lower Ghôr was entered, large ghurrah trees, like the aspen, with silvery foliage, overhung them; and the cane, frequently impenetrable, and now in blossom, “was ever at the water’s edge.” Only once during the whole voyage, on the 4th day, were patches of wheat and barley visible; but the hand that had sowed them lived far away. As Jeremiah in the O. T., and St. Je-

rome and Phœas (see Reland as above) among Christian pilgrims, had spoken of the Jordan as the resort of lions, so tracks of tigers, wild boars, and the like, presented themselves from time to time to these explorers. Flocks of wild ducks, of cranes, of pigeons, and of swallows, were scared by their approach; and a specimen of the bulbul, or Syrian nightingale, fell into their hands. The scenery throughout was not inspiring—it was of a subdued character when they started; profoundly gloomy and dreary near ford *Sūkca*; and then utterly sterile just before they reached Jericho. With the exception of a few Arab tribes—so savage, as scarce to be considered exceptions—humanity had become extinct on its banks.

We cannot take leave of our subject without expressing our warmest thanks to our Transatlantic brethren. It was not enough that Dr. Robinson should have eclipsed all other writers who had preceded him in his noble work upon Palestine; but that a nation from the extreme W.—from a continent utterly unknown to the Old or New Testament—should have been the first to accomplish the navigation of that sacred river, which has been before the world so prominently for nearly 4000 years; this is a fact which surely ought not to be passed over by any writer on the Jordan in silence, or uncommemorated. [E. S. Ff.]

JORIBAS (Ἰώριβος: *Joribus* = JARIB (1 Esd. viii. 44; comp. Ezr. viii. 16).

JORIBUS (Ἰώριβος: *Joribus*) = JARIB (1 Esd. ix. 19; comp. Ezr. x. 18).

JORIM (Ἰωρίμ), son of Matthat, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 29), in the 13th generation from David inclusive; about contemporary, therefore, with Ahaz. The form of the name is anomalous, and should probably be either Joram or Joarim. [A. C. H.]

JOR'KOAM (דַּרְקָאָם: Ἰερκᾶν; Alex. Ἰερκαάν: *Jercaam*), either a descendant of Caleb the son of Hezron, through Hebron, or, as Jarchi says, the name of a place in the tribe of Judah, of which Raham was prince (1 Chr. ii. 44). It was probably in the neighbourhood of Hebron. Jerome gives it in the form Jerchaam (*Quæst. Hebr. in Paral.*).

JOSABAD. 1. (דַּבְּיָאָד: Ἰωσαβὰδ; Alex. Ἰωσαβὰδ; Cod. Fred. Aug. Ἰωσαβὰβ: *Jezebad*.) Properly JOZABAD, the Gederathite, one of the hardy warriors of Benjamin who left Saul to follow the fortunes of David during his residence among the Philistines at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 4).

2. (Ἰωσαβὰδός; Alex. Ἰωσαβὰδός: *Josadus*) = Jozabad, son of Jeshua the Levite (1 Esd. viii. 63; comp. Ezr. viii. 33).

3. (Alex. Ἰωσαβὰδος: *Zabdius*), one of the sons of Bebai (1 Esd. ix. 29). [ZABBAI.]

* According to the order of the narrative, Rachel's death preceded the selling of Joseph; it is unlikely that 17 years should have elapsed between the birth of Joseph and that of Benjamin; and as Benjamin had ten sons at the coming into Egypt (xli. 21), it is scarcely probable that he was born no more than 22 years before. There is moreover no mention of Rachel besides the allusion in the speech of Judah to Joseph, quoted above (xli. 20), in the whole subsequent narrative, until dying Jacob, when he blesses Ephraim

JO'SAPHAT (Ἰωσαφάτ: *Josaphat*) = Jehoshaphat king of Judah (Matt. i. 8).

JOSAPHIAS (Ἰωσαφίας: *Josaphias*) = JOSAPHIAH (1 Esd. viii. 36; comp. Ezr. viii. 10).

JO'SEDEC (Ἰωσεδέκ: *Josedec*; *Josedech*), 1 Esd. v. 5, 48, 56; vi. 2; ix. 19; Eccles. xlix. 12 = JEHOZADAK or JOZADAK, the father of Jeshua, whose name also appears as JOSEDECH (Hag. i. 1).

JO'SEPH (דְּבִיָּה: Ἰωσήφ: *Joseph*). 1. The elder of the two sons of Jacob by Rachel. Like his brethren, he received his name on account of the circumstances of his birth. We read that Rachel was long barren, but that at length she "bare a son; and said, God hath taken away (דְּבִיָּה) my reproach; and she called his name Joseph (דְּבִיָּה); saying, The Lord will add (דְּבִיָּה) to me another son" (Gen. xxx. 23, 24); a hope fulfilled in the birth of Benjamin (comp. xxxv. 17). This passage seems to indicate a double etymology (from דְּבִיָּה and דְּבִיָּה). There is nothing improbable in this explanation, because of the relation of the taking away the reproach to the expectation of another son. Such double etymologies are probably more common in Hebrew names than is generally supposed.

The date of Joseph's birth relatively to that of the coming of Jacob into Egypt is fixed by the mention that he was thirty years old when he became governor of Egypt (xli. 46), which agrees with the statement that he was "seventeen years old" (xxxvii. 2) about the time that his brethren sold him. He was therefore born about 39 years before Jacob came into Egypt, and, according to the chronology which we hold to be the most probable, B.C. cir. 1906.

After Joseph's birth he is first mentioned when a youth, seventeen years old. As the child of Rachel, and "son of his old age" (xxxvii. 3), and doubtless also for his excellence of character, he was beloved by his father above all his brethren. Probably at this time Rachel was already dead and Benjamin but an infant, Benjamin, that other "child of his old age" (xli. 20), whom Jacob afterwards loved as all that remained of Rachel when he supposed Joseph dead—"his brother is dead, and he alone is left of his mother, and his father loveth him" (i. c.).* Jacob at this time had two small pieces of land in Canaan, Abraham's burying-place at Hebron in the south, and the "parcel of a field, where he [Jacob] had spread his tent" (Gen. xxxiii. 19), at Shechem in the north, the latter being probably, from its price, the lesser of the two. He seems then to have stayed at Hebron with the aged Isaac, while his sons kept his flocks. Joseph, we read, brought the evil report of his brethren to his father, and they hated him

and Manasseh, returns to the thought of his beloved wife, and says, "And as for me, when I came from Padan, Rachel died by me in the land of Canaan in the way, when yet [there was] but a little way to come unto Ephrath: and I buried her there in the way of Ephrath; the same [is] Beth-lehem" (xlviii. 7). Joseph's anxiety in Egypt to see Benjamin seems to favour the idea that he had known him as a child. When Joseph was sold, Benjamin can, however, have only been very young.

because his father loved him more than them, and had shown his preference by making him a dress (כְּתֹנֶת פָּסִים), which appears to have been a long tunic with sleeves, worn by youths and maidens of the richer class.^b The hatred of Joseph's brethren was increased by his telling of a dream foreshowing that they would bow down to him, which was followed by another of the same import.^c It is remarkable that thus early prophetic dreams appear in Joseph's life. This part of the history (xxvii. 3-11) may perhaps be regarded as a retrospective introduction to the narrative of the great crime of the envious brethren. They had gone to Shechem to feed the flock; and Joseph was sent thither from the vale of Hebron by his father to bring him word of their welfare and that of the flock. They were not at Shechem, but were gone to Dothan, which appears to have been not very far distant, pasturing their flock like the Arabs of the present day, wherever the wild country (ver. 22) was unowned. On Joseph's approach, his brethren, except Reuben, resolved to kill him; but Reuben saved him, persuading them to cast him into a dry pit, with the intent that he might restore him to his father. Accordingly, when Joseph was come, they stripped him of his tunic and cast him into the pit, "and they sat down to eat bread: and they lifted up their eyes and looked, and, behold, a company of Ishmeelites came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery [?] and balm and gum ladanum [?], going to carry [it] down to Egypt" (ver. 25).—In passing we must call attention to the interest of this early notice of the trade between Palestine and Egypt.—The Ishmeelites are also called Midianites in the narrative: that the two names are used interchangeably is evident from ver. 28; it must therefore be supposed that one of them is generic; the caravan "came from Gilead" and brought balm;^d so that it is reasonable to infer the merchants to have been Midianites, and that

they are also called Ishmeelites by a kind of generic use of that name. Judah suggested to his brethren to sell Joseph to the Ishmeelites, appealing at once to their covetousness and, in proposing a less cruel course than that on which they were probably still resolved, to what remnant of brotherly feeling they may still have had. Accordingly they took Joseph out of the pit and sold him "for twenty [shekels] of silver" (ver. 28), which we find to have been, under the Law, the value of a male from five to twenty years old (Lev. xxvii. 5).^e Probably there was a constant traffic in white slaves, and the price, according to the unchangeableness of eastern customs, long remained the same. It is worthy of remark that we here already find the descendants of Abraham's concubines oppressing the lawful heirs. Reuben was absent, and on his return to the pit was greatly distressed at not finding Joseph. His brethren pretended to Jacob that Joseph had been killed by some wild beast, taking to him the tunic stained with a kid's blood, while even Reuben forbore to tell him the truth, all speaking constantly of the lost brother as though they knew not what had befallen him, and even as dead. "And Jacob rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon his loins, and mourned for his son many days. And all his sons and all his daughters rose up to comfort him; but he refused to be comforted; and he said, For I will go down unto my son mourning into the grave. Thus his father wept for him" (Gen. xxxvii. 34, 35).^f Jacob's lamentation shows that he knew of a future state, for what comfort would he have in going into his own grave when he thought that his lost son had been torn by wild beasts? This is one of the cases in which we should certainly understand "Hades" by "the grave," and may translate, "For I will go down unto my son mourning to Hades."^g

The Midianites sold Joseph in Egypt to Potiphar, "an officer of Pharaoh, captain of the executioners, an Egyptian" (xxxix. 1; comp. xxxvii. 36).^h We

^b The name of this dress seems to signify "a tunic reaching to the extremities." It was worn by David's daughter Tamar, being the dress of "the king's daughters [that were] virgins" (2 Sam. xiii. 18, see 19). There seems no reason for the LXX. rendering χιτῶν ποικίλος, or the Vulg. *polymita*, except that it is very likely that such a tunic would be ornamented with coloured stripes, or embroidered. The richer classes among the ancient Egyptians wore long dresses of white linen. The people of Palestine and Syria, represented on the Egyptian monuments as enemies or tributaries, wore similar dresses, partly coloured, generally with a stripe round the skirts and the borders of the sleeves.

^c From Joseph's second dream, and his father's rebuke, it might be inferred that Rachel was living at the time that he dreamt it. It is indeed possible that it may have occurred some time before the selling of Joseph, and been interpreted by Jacob of Rachel, who certainly was not alive at its fulfilment, so that it could not apply to her. Yet, if Leah only survived, Jacob might have spoken of her as Joseph's mother. The dream, moreover, indicates eleven brethren besides the father and mother of Joseph: if therefore Benjamin were already born, Rachel must have been dead: the reference is therefore more probably to Leah, who may have been living when Jacob went into Egypt.

^d The three articles of commerce carried by the caravan we have rendered spicery, balm, and gum ladanum. The meaning of כְּתֹנֶת is extremely doubtful: there is nothing to guide us but the

renderings of the LXX. *θυμίαμα* and the Vulg. *aromata*, and the congruity of their meaning with that of the name of the second article. As to the כְּתֹנֶת, there can be no doubt that it was a kind of balm, although its exact kind is difficult to determine. The meaning of לְבָשׁ is not certain: perhaps gum ladanum is a not improbable conjecture.

^e Kalisch remarks (*ad loc.*) that twenty shekels was "a price less than that ordinarily paid for a Hebrew slave (Ex. xxi. 32; Lev. xxvii. 5)." The former reference is to the fine to be paid, thirty shekels of silver, to the owner of a slave, male or female, gored to death by an ox: the latter disproves his assertion.—The payment must have been by weight, since there is no reason to believe that coined money was known at this remote period. [MONEY.]

^f The daughters here mentioned were probably the wives of Jacob's sons: he seems to have had but one daughter; and if he had many granddaughters, few would have been born thus early.

^g For this interesting inference we are indebted to Dr. Marks. On the knowledge of the future state among the Israelites during and after the sojourn in Egypt, see art. EGYPT.

^h The word עֲרִיב, which we have rendered "officer," with the A. V., properly means "eunuch," as explained in the margin, although it is also used in the Bible in the former sense (Ges. *Thes.* s. v.). Potiphar's office would scarcely have been given to a

have probably no right to infer, as Gesenius has done (*Theo. s. v.* סֵבֶט), that by the executioners we are to understand the same as the king's guard or body-guard.¹ This may be the case when the Chaldeans are spoken of, for the immediate infliction of punishment under the very eye of the sovereign was always usual both with Semites and Tatars, as a part of their system of investing the regal power with terror; but the more refined Egyptians and their responsible kings do not seem to have practised a custom which nothing but necessity could render tolerable. That in this case the title is to be taken literally, is evident from the control exercised by Potiphar over the king's prison (xxxix. 20), and from the fact that this prison is afterwards shown to have been in the house of the captain of the executioners, that officer then being doubtless a successor of Potiphar (xl. 3, 4). The name Potiphar is written in hieroglyphics PET-PA-RA or PET-P-RA, and signifies "belonging to Ra" (the sun). It occurs again, with a slightly different orthography, Poti-pherah, as the name of Joseph's father-in-law, priest or prince of On. It may be remarked that as Ra was the chief divinity of On, or Heliopolis, it is an interesting undesigned coincidence that the latter should bear a name indicating devotion to Ra. [POTIPHAR.]

It is important to observe that a careful comparison of evidence has led us to the conclusion that, at the time that Joseph was sold into Egypt, the country was not united under the rule of a single native line, but governed by several dynasties, of which the Fifteenth Dynasty, of Shepherd Kings, was the predominant line, the rest being tributary to it. The absolute dominions of this dynasty lay in Lower Egypt, and it would therefore always be most connected with Palestine. The manners described are Egyptian, although there is apparently an occasional slight tinge of Shemitism. The date of Joseph's arrival we should consider B.C. cir. 1890. [EGYPT: CHRONOLOGY.]

In Egypt, the second period of Joseph's life begins. As a child he had been a true son, and withstood the evil example of his brethren. He is now to serve a strange master in the hard state of slavery, and his virtue will be put to a severer proof than it had yet sustained. Joseph prospered in the house of the Egyptian, who, seeing that God blessed him, and pleased with his good service, "set him over his house, and all [that] he had he gave into his hand" (xxxix. 4, comp. 5). He was placed over all his master's property with perfect trust, and "the Lord blessed the Egyptian's house for Joseph's sake" (ver. 5). The sculptures and paintings of the ancient Egyptian tombs bring vividly before us the daily life and duties of Joseph. The property of great men is shown to have been managed by scribes, who exercised a most methodical and minute supervision over all the operations of agriculture, gardening, the keeping of live stock, and fishing. Every product was carefully registered to check the dishonesty of the labourers, who in Egypt have always been famous in this respect. Probably in no country was farming ever more systematic. Joseph's previous knowledge of tending flocks, and

perhaps of husbandry, and his truthful character, exactly fitted him for the post of overseer. How long he filled it we are not told. "Joseph was fair of form and fair in appearance" (xxxix. 6). His master's wife, with the well-known profligacy of the Egyptian women, tempted him, and failing, charged him with the crime she would have made him commit. Potiphar, incensed against Joseph, cast him into prison. It must not be supposed, from the lowness of the morals of the Egyptians in practice, that the sin of unfaithfulness in a wife was not ranked among the heaviest vices. The punishment of adulterers was severe, and a moral tale recently interpreted, "*The Two Brothers*," is founded upon a case nearly resembling that of Joseph. It has, indeed, been imagined that this story was based upon the trial of Joseph, and as it was written for the heir to the throne of Egypt at a later period, there is some reason in the idea that the virtue of one who had held so high a position as Joseph might have been in the mind of the writer, were this part of his history well-known to the priests, which, however, is not likely. This incident, moreover, is not so remarkable as to justify great stress being laid upon the similarity to it of the main event of a moral tale. The story of Bellerophon might as reasonably be traced to it, were it Egyptian and not Greek.—The Muslims have founded upon the history of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, whom they call Yousuf and Zeleekha, a famous religious allegory. This is much to be wondered at, as the Kur-án relates the tempting of Joseph with no material variation in the main particulars from the authentic narrative. The commentators say, that after the death of Potiphar (Kitfeer), Joseph married Zeleekha (Sale, ch. xii.). This mistake was probably caused by the circumstance that Joseph's father-in-law bore the same name as his master.

Potiphar, although convinced of Joseph's guilt, does not appear to have brought him before a tribunal, where the enormity of his alleged crime, especially after the trust placed in him, and the fact of his being a foreigner, which was made much of by his master's wife (xxxix. 14, 17), would probably have ensured a punishment of the severest kind. He seems to have only cast him into the prison, which appears to have been in his house, or, at least, under his control, since afterwards prisoners are related to have been put "in ward [in] the house of the captain of the executioners, into the prison" (xl. 3), and simply, "in ward [in] the captain of the executioners' house" (xli. 10, comp. xl. 7.) The prison is described as "a place where the king's prisoners [were] bound" (xxxix. 20). Here the hardest time of Joseph's period of probation began. He was cast into prison on a false accusation, to remain there for at least two years, and perhaps for a much longer time. At first he was treated with severity; this we learn from Ps. cv., "He sent a man before them, Joseph [who]: was sold for a slave: whose feet they afflicted with the fetter: the iron entered into his soul" (ver. 17, 18). There is probably here a connexion between "fetter" and "iron" (comp. cxlix. 8), in which case the signification of the last

eunuch, and there is, we believe, no evidence that there were such in the Egyptian courts in ancient times. This very word first occurs in hieroglyphics, written סַבְרַס, as a title of Persian functionaries, in inscriptions of the time of the Persian dominion.

¹ יֵרֵךְ הַסֵּבֶטִים must mean "captain of the executioners," from Potiphar's connexion with the prison, although the LXX. renders it ἀρχιμαίετρος.

clausure would be "the iron entered into him," meaning that the fetters cut his feet or legs. This is not inconsistent with the statement in Genesis that the keeper of the prison treated Joseph well (xxxix. 21), for we are not justified in thence inferring that he was kind from the first.^k

In the prison, as in Potiphar's house, Joseph was found worthy of complete trust, and the keeper of the prison placed everything under his control, God's especial blessing attending his honest service. After a while, Pharaoh was incensed against two of his officers, "the chief of the cupbearers" (יִשָּׁר הַמִּשְׁקִים) and "the chief of the takers" (יִשָּׁר הָאוֹנִים), and cast them into the prison where Joseph was. Here the chief of the executioners, doubtless a successor of Potiphar (for, had the latter been convinced of Joseph's innocence, he would not have left him in the prison, and if not so convinced, he would not have trusted him), charged Joseph to serve these prisoners. Like Potiphar, they were "officers" of Pharaoh (xl. 2), and though it may be a mistake to call them *grandes*, their easy access to the king would give them an importance that explains the care taken of them by the chief of the executioners. Each dreamed a prophetic dream, which Joseph interpreted, disclaiming human skill and acknowledging that interpretations were of God. It is not necessary here to discuss in detail the particulars of this part of Joseph's history, since they do not materially affect the leading events of his life; they are however very interesting from their perfect agreement with the manners of the ancient Egyptians as represented on their monuments.^m Joseph, when he told the chief of the cupbearers of his coming restoration to favour, prayed him to speak to Pharaoh for him; but he did not remember him.

^k Joseph's complaint to the chief of the cupbearers, "And here also have I done nothing that they should put me into the dungeon" (בְּבוֹר, xl. 15), does not throw light upon this matter; for although the word used seems properly to mean the worst kind of prison, or the worst part of a prison, here it must be merely equivalent, as in xli. 14, to בֵּית הַסֵּפֶר (xxxix. 20, &c.), which seems properly a milder term.

^m It has been imagined, from the account of the dream of the chief of the cupbearers, that the wine then drunk by the king of Egypt may have been the fresh unfermented juice of the grape; but the nature of the dream, which embraces a long period, and merely indicates the various stages of the growth of the tree and fruit as though immediately following one another, would allow the omission of the process of preparing the wine. The evidence of the monuments makes it very improbable that unfermented wine was drunk by the ancient inhabitants, so that it seems impossible that it should ever have taken the place of fermented or true wine, which was the national beverage of the higher classes at least.

ⁿ Lit. "at the end of two years of days;" but we may read "after" for "at the end;" and the word "days" appears merely to indicate that the year was a period of time, or possibly is used to distinguish the ordinary year from a greater period, the year of days from the year of years.

^o This word is probably of Egyptian origin. [EGYPT; NILE.]

^p There can be no doubt that this is an Egyptian word. The LXX. does not translate it (Gen. xli. 2, 18; Is. xix. 7); and Jesus the son of Sirach, an Egyptian Jew, uses it untranslated (Wisd. xl. 16): it

"After two years,"^a Joseph's deliverance came. Pharaoh dreamed two prophetic dreams. "He stood by the river" [יָאֵר, the Nile].^o And, behold, coming up out of the river seven kine [or 'heifers'], beautiful in appearance and fat-fleshed, and they fed in the marsh-grass [בְּאֵרֶשֶׁת].^p And, behold, seven other kine coming up after them out of the river, evil in appearance, and lean-fleshed' (xli. 1-3). These, afterwards described still more strongly, ate up the first seven, and yet, as is said in the second account, when they had eaten them remained as lean as before (xli. 1-4, 17-21). Then Pharaoh had a second dream,—"Behold, seven ears of corn coming up on one stalk, fat [or 'full,' ver. 22] and good. And, behold, seven ears, thin and blasted with the east wind,^q sprouting forth after them" (ver. 5, 6). These, also described more strongly in the second account, devoured the first seven ears (ver. 5-7, 22-24). In the morning Pharaoh sent for the "scribes," (חֲרָטְמִים), and the "wise men," and they were unable to give him an interpretation. Then the chief of the cupbearers remembered Joseph, and told Pharaoh how a young Hebrew, "servant to the captain of the executioners," had interpreted his and his fellow-prisoner's dreams. "Then Pharaoh sent and called Joseph, and they made him hasten out of the prison: and he shaved [himself], and changed his raiment, and came unto Pharaoh" (ver. 14). The king then related his dreams, and Joseph, when he had disclaimed human wisdom, declared to him that they were sent of God to forewarn Pharaoh. There was essentially but one dream. Both kine and ears symbolized years. There were to be seven years of great plenty in Egypt, and after them seven years of consuming and "very heavy famine." The dou-

is written in these places ἀγί, ἀγεί. Jerome remarks that when he asked the learned Egyptians what this word meant, they said that in their language this name was given to every kind of marsh-plant ("omne quod in palude virens nascitur," Com. in Is. l. c.). The change of the ancient Egyptian vowel *xx* to *l* is quite consistent with the laws of permutation which we discover by a comparison of Egyptian and Hebrew (*Enc. Brit.* 8th ed. "Hieroglyphics"). This word occurs with נִמְצָא in Job viii. 11. The latter we have supposed to be there used generically, as "the reed" [EGYPT]; but from the occurrence of an Egyptian word with it, it may be inferred to have its special signification, "the papyrus." The former word, however, seems to be always generic.

^q Bunsen remarks upon this word: "Der Ostwind, der wegen seiner funfzigtagigen Dauer jetzt in Aegypten Chamsin heisst, ist sehr trocken und hat Verwandtschaft mit dem Samum (d. h. der Giftige), dem erstickenden Sturmwind des wuesten Arabien, der im April und Mai herrscht" (*Bibelsaech.* ad loc.). But it should be observed: 1. The east wind does not blow during the Khamaseen. 2. The spring hot winds are southerly. 3. They do not last fifty days. 4. They are not called Chamsin (Khamaseen) or Khamaseen. 5. They prevail, usually for three days at a time, during the seven weeks (49 days) following Easter, vulgarly called in Egypt Khamaseen, which is a plural of Khamseen, a term applied in the singular to neither winds nor period, though they are not strictly confined to this fluctuating period. 6. They have no relation to the Samoom, which occurs in any hot weather, and seldom lasts more than a quarter of an hour. 7. The Samoom is not peculiar to Arabia.

bling of the dream denoted that the events it foreshadowed were certain and imminent. On the interpretation it may be remarked, that it seems evident that the kine represented the animal products, and the ears of corn the vegetable products, the most important object in each class representing the whole class. Any reference to Egyptian superstitions, such as some commentators have imagined, is both derogatory to revelation and, on purely critical grounds, unreasonable. The perfectly Egyptian colour of the whole narrative is very noticeable, and nowhere more so than in the particulars of the first dream. The cattle coming up from the river and feeding on the bank may be seen even now, though among them the lean kine predominate; and the use of one Egyptian word, if not of two, in the narrative, probably shows that the writer knew the Egyptian language. The corn with many ears on one stalk must be wheat, one kind of which now grown in Egypt has this peculiarity. Another point to be remarked is, that Joseph shaved before he went into Pharaoh's presence, and we find from the monuments that the Egyptians, except when engaged in war, shaved both the head and face, the small beard that was worn on the chin being probably artificial. Having interpreted the dream, Joseph counselled Pharaoh to choose a wise man and set him over the country, in order that he should take the fifth part of the produce of the seven years of plenty against the years of famine. To this high post the king appointed Joseph. Thus, when he was thirty years of age, was he at last released from his state of suffering, and placed in a position of the greatest honour. About thirteen years' probation had prepared him for this trust; some part passed as Potiphar's slave, some part, probably the greater, in the prison. If our views of Hebrew and Egyptian chronology be correct, the Pharaoh here mentioned was Assa, Manetho's Assis or Asses, whose reign we suppose to have about occupied the first half of the nineteenth century B.C.

Pharaoh, seeing the wisdom of giving Joseph, whom he perceived to be under God's guidance, greater powers than he had advised should be given to the officer set over the country, made him not only governor of Egypt, but second only to the sovereign. We read: "And Pharaoh took off his signet* from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen (שֵׁשׁ, *byssus*), and put a collar of gold about his neck; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Abrech (אַבְרֵךְ), even to set him over all the land of Egypt" (xli. 42, 43). The monuments show that on the investiture of a high official in Egypt, one of the chief ceremonies was the putting on him a collar of gold (see *Ancient Egyptians*, pl. 80); the other particulars, the vestures of fine linen and the riding in the second chariot,

* We only know that Joseph was two years in prison after the liberation of the chief of the cup-bearers. The preponderance of evidence, however, seems in favour of supposing that he was longer in prison than in Potiphar's house.

* The signet was of so much importance with the ancient Egyptian kings that their names (except perhaps in the earliest period) were always enclosed in an oval which represented an elongated signet.

* We do not here except Bunsen's etymology (*Bibelscherk*, ad loc.), for we doubt that the root bears the signification he gives it, and think the construction inadmissible.

are equally in accordance with the manners of the country. The meaning of what was cried before him has not been satisfactorily determined. We are told that Pharaoh named Joseph Zaphnath-paaneah (xli. 45) (זַפְנַת פַּעֲנֵחַ, *Φοινθουφανήχ*), the signification of which is doubtful. [See ZAPHNATH-PAANEAH.] He also "gave him to wife Asenath daughter of Poti-pherah, priest [or "prince," פְּרִיָה] of On" (ver. 45). Whether Joseph's father-in-law were priest or prince cannot, we think, be determined, although the former seems more likely, since On was a very priestly city, and there is no good reason to think that a priest would have been more exclusive than any other Egyptian functionary. His name, implying devotion to Ra, the principal object of worship at On, though, as already noticed, appropriate to any citizen of that place, would be especially so to a priest. [POTI-PHARH.] It is worthy of remark that On appears to have been the capital, and seems to have been certainly the religious capital, as containing the great temple, of Apepee, a shepherd-king, probably of the same line as Joseph's Pharaoh. (*Select Papyri*; Brugsch, *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellschaft*. The name of Joseph's wife we are disposed to consider to be Hebrew. [ASENATH.]

Joseph's history, as governor of Egypt, shows him in two relations, which may be here separately considered. We shall first speak of his administration of the country, and then of his conduct to his brethren. In one respect, as bearing upon Joseph's moral character, the two subjects are closely connected, but their details may be best treated apart, if we keep this important aspect constantly in view.

Joseph's first act was to go "throughout all the land of Egypt" (ver. 46). During "the seven plenteous years" there was a very abundant produce, and he gathered the fifth part, as he had advised Pharaoh, and laid it up. The narrative, according to Semitic usage, speaks as though he had taken the whole produce of the country, or the whole surplus produce (ver. 48); but a comparison with a parallel passage shows that our explanation must be correct (ver. 34, 35). The abundance of this store is evident from the statement that "Joseph gathered corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until he left numbering; for [it was] without number" (ver. 49). The representations of the monuments, which show that the contents of the granaries were accurately noted by the scribes when they were filled, well illustrate this passage.

Before the years of famine Asenath bare Joseph two sons, of whom we read that he named "the firstborn Manasseh [a forgetter]: For God [said he] hath made me forget all my toil, and all my father's house. And the name of the second called he Ephraim [fruitful?]:^x For God hath caused

^x The very old opinion that פְּרִיָה means prince as well as priest has been contradicted by Gesenius, but not disproved.

* It may be remarked, as indicating that Joseph's family did not maintain an Egyptian mode of life, that Manasseh took an Aramitess as a concubine (1 Chr. vii. 14). This happened in his father's lifetime; for Joseph lived to see the children of Machir the son of this concubine (Gen. i. 23).

* The derivation of Ephraim can scarcely be doubted, although there is difficulty in determining it. This difficulty we may perhaps partly attribute to the pointing

me to be fruitful in the land of my affliction" (50-52). Though, as was natural, the birth of a son made Joseph feel that he had at last found a home, that his father's house was no longer his home, yet it was not in utter forgetfulness of his country that he gave this and the other, both born of his Egyptian wife, Hebrew names, still less, names signifying his devotion to the God of his fathers.

When the seven good years had passed, the famine began. We read that "the dearth was in all lands; but in all the land of Egypt there was bread. And when all the land of Egypt was famished, the people cried to Pharaoh for bread: and Pharaoh said unto all the Egyptians, Go unto Joseph; what he saith to you, do. And the famine was over all the face of the earth. And Joseph opened all the storehouses [lit. 'all wherein' was], and sold unto the Egyptians; and the famine waxed sore in the land of Egypt. And all countries came into Egypt to Joseph for to buy [corn]; because that the famine was [so] sore in all lands" (ver. 54-57). The expressions here used do not require us to suppose that the famine extended beyond the countries around Egypt, such as Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, as well as some part of Africa, although of course it may have been more widely experienced. It may be observed, that although famines in Egypt depend immediately upon the failure of the inundation, and in other countries upon the failure of rain, yet that, as the rise of the Nile is caused by heavy rains in Ethiopia, an extremely dry season there and in Palestine would produce the result described in the sacred narrative. It must also be recollected that Egypt was anciently the granary of neighbouring countries, and that a famine there would cause first scarcity, and then famine, around. Famines are not very unfrequent in the history of Egypt; but the famous seven years' famine in the reign of the Fátíme Khalefeh El-Mustansir-b-illáh is the only known parallel to that of Joseph: of this an account is given under FAMINE. Early in the time of famine, Joseph's brethren came to buy corn, a part of the history which we mention here only as indicating the liberal policy of the governor of Egypt, by which the storehouses were opened to all buyers of whatever nation they were.

After the famine had lasted for a time, apparently two years, there was "no bread in all the land; for the famine [was] very sore, so that the land of Egypt and [all] the land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine. And Joseph gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt, and in the land of Canaan, for the corn which they bought: and Joseph brought the money into Pharaoh's house" (xlvi. 13, 14). When all the money of Egypt and Canaan was exhausted, barter became necessary. Joseph then obtained all the cattle of Egypt,² and in the next year, all

the land, except that of the priests, and apparently, as a consequence, the Egyptians themselves. He demanded, however, only a fifth part of the produce as Pharaoh's right. It has been attempted to trace this enactment of Joseph in the fragments of Egyptian history preserved by profane writers, but the result has not been satisfactory. Ever were the latter sources trustworthy as to the early period of Egyptian history, it would be difficult to determine the age referred to, as the actions of at least two kings are ascribed by the Greeks to Sesostis, the king particularized. Herodotus says that, according to the Egyptians, Sesostis "made a division of the soil of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning square plots of ground of equal size to all, and obtaining his chief revenue from the rent which the holders were required to pay him every year" (ii. 109). Elsewhere he speaks of the priests as having no expenses, being supported by the property of the temples (37), but he does not assign to Sesostis, as has been rashly supposed, the exemption from taxation that we may reasonably infer. Diodorus Siculus ascribes the division of Egypt into nomes to Sesostis, whom he calls Sesósis. Taking into consideration the general character of the information given by Herodotus, respecting the history of Egypt at periods remote from his own time, we are not justified in supposing anything more than that some tradition of an ancient allotment of the soil by the crown among the population was current when he visited the country. The testimony of Diodorus is of far less weight.

The evidence of the narrative in Genesis seems favourable to the theory we support that Joseph ruled Egypt under a shepherd-king. It appears to have been his policy to give Pharaoh absolute power over the Egyptians, and the expression of their gratitude—"Thou hast saved our lives: let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants" (xlvi. 25)—seems as though they had been heretofore unwilling subjects. The removing the people to cities probably means that in that time of suffering the scattered population was collected into the cities for the more convenient distribution of the corn.

There is a notice, in an ancient Egyptian inscription, of a famine which has been supposed to be that of Joseph. The inscription is in a tomb at Benee-Hasan, and records of Amenee, a governor of a district of Upper Egypt, that when there were years of famine, his district was supplied with food. This was in the time of Sesertesen I., of the xiith Dynasty. It has been supposed by Baron Bunsen (*Egypt's Place*, iii. 334) that this must be Joseph's famine, but not only are the particulars of the record inapplicable to that instance,^a but the calamity it relates was never unusual in Egypt as its ancient inscriptions and modern history equally testify.^b

¹ It appears from this narrative that purchase by money was, in Joseph's time, the general practice in Egypt. The representations of the monuments show that in early times money was abundant, not coined, but, in the form of rings of gold and silver, weighed out when purchases were made.

² It does not appear whether, after the money of Canaan was exhausted, Joseph made conditions with the Canaanites like those he had made with the Egyptians.

³ Baron Bunsen's quotation, "When, in the time of Sesertosis I., the great famine prevailed in all the other districts of Egypt, there was corn in mine"

(*Egypt's Place*, l. c.), is nowhere in the original. See Birch in *Transactions R. Soc. Lit.* 2nd Ser. v. Pt. ii. 232, 3; Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, i. 56.

^b Dr. Brugsch remarks on this inscription: "La dernière partie de cette curieuse inscription où Amenj, se reportant à une famine qui avait lieu pendant les années de son gouvernement, se fait un panégyrique d'avoir prévenu les malheurs de la disette sans se partialiser, a attiré la plus grande attention de ceux qui y voient, et nous ajoutons très à propos, un pendant de l'histoire de Joseph en Égypte, et des sept années de famine de ce pays. Cependant il ne faut pas croire, que ce roi Ousertésen I., sous le règne

Joseph's policy towards the subjects of Pharaoh is important in reference to the forming an estimate of his character. It displays the resolution and breadth of view that mark his whole career. He perceived a great advantage to be gained, and he lost no part of it. He put all Egypt under Pharaoh. First the money, then the cattle, last of all the land, and the Egyptians themselves, became the property of the sovereign, and that too by the voluntary act of the people without any pressure. This being effected, he exercised a great act of generosity, and required only a fifth of the produce as a recognition of the rights of the crown. Of the wisdom of this policy there can be no doubt. Its justice can hardly be questioned when it is borne in mind that the Egyptians were not forcibly deprived of their liberties, and that when they had been given up, they were at once restored. We do not know all the circumstances, but if, as we may reasonably suppose, the people were warned of the famine and yet made no preparation during the years of overflowing abundance, the government had a clear claim upon its subjects for having taken precautions they had neglected. In any case it may have been desirable to make a new allotment of land, and to reduce an unequal system of taxation to a simple claim to a fifth of the produce. We have no evidence whether Joseph were in this matter divinely aided, but we cannot doubt that if not he acted in accord with a judgment of great clearness in distinguishing good and evil.

We have now to consider the conduct of Joseph at this time towards his brethren and his father. Early in the time of famine, which prevailed equally in Canaan and Egypt, Jacob reproved his helpless sons and sent them to Egypt, where he knew there was corn to be bought. Benjamin alone he kept with him. Joseph was now governor, an Egyptian in habits and speech, for like all men of large mind he had suffered no scruples of prejudice to make him a stranger to the people he ruled. In his exalted station he laboured with the zeal that he showed in all his various charges, presiding himself at the sale of corn. We read: "And the sons of Israel came to buy [corn] among those that came; for the famine was in the land of Canaan. And Joseph, the governor over the land, he [it was] that sold to all the people of the land; and Joseph's brethren came, and bowed down themselves before him [with] their faces to the earth" (xlii. 5, 6). His brethren did not know Joseph, grown from the boy they had sold into a man, and to their eyes an Egyptian, while they must have been scarcely changed, except from the effect of time, which would have been at their ages far less marked. Joseph remembered his dreams, and behaved to them as a stranger, using, as we afterwards learn, an interpreter, and spoke hard words to them, and accused them of being spies. In defending themselves they thus spoke of their household. "Thy servants [are] twelve brethren, the sons of one man in the land of Canaan, and, behold, the youngest [is] this day with our father, and one [is] not" (13). Thus to Joseph himself they maintained the old deceit of his disappearance. He at once desires

to see his brother, first refusing that they should return without sending for and bringing Benjamin, then putting them in prison three days, but at last releasing them that they might take back corn, on the condition that one should be left as a hostage. They were then stricken with remorse, and saw that the punishment of their great crime was come upon them. "And they said one to another, We [are] verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us. And Reuben answered them, saying, Spake I not unto you, saying, Do not sin against the child, and ye would not hear? therefore, behold, also his blood is required. And they knew not that Joseph understood [them]; for an interpreter [was] between them. And he turned himself about from them, and wept; and returned to them again, and communed with them, and took from them Simeon, and bound him before their eyes" (21-24). Thus he separated one of them from the rest, as they had separated him from his father. Yet he restored their money in their sacks, and gave them provision for the way, besides the corn they had purchased. The discovery of the money terrified them and their father, who refused to let them take Benjamin. Yet when the famine continued, and they had eaten the supply, Jacob desired his sons to go again to Egypt. But they could not go without Benjamin. At the persuasion of Judah, who here appears as the spokesman of his brethren, Jacob was at last prevailed on to let them take him, Judah offering to be surety. It may be remarked that Reuben had made the same offer, apparently, at once after the return, when Jacob had withheld his consent, telling his father that he might slay his two sons if he did not bring back Benjamin (37, 38). Judah seems to have been put forward by his brethren as the most able, and certainly his after-conduct in Egypt would have justified their choice, and his father's trusting him rather than the rest. Jacob, anxious for Benjamin, and not unmindful of Simeon, touchingly sent to the governor out of his scanty stock a little present of the best products of Palestine, as well as double money that his sons might repay what had been returned to them.

When they had come into Egypt, Joseph's brethren, as before, found him presiding at the sale of corn. Now that Benjamin was with them he told his steward to slay and make ready, for they should dine with him at noon. So the man brought them into Joseph's house. They feared, not knowing as it seems, why they were taken to the house (xliii. 25), and perhaps thinking they might be imprisoned there. Joseph no doubt gave his command in Egyptian, and apparently did not cause it to be interpreted to them. They were, however, encouraged by the steward, and Simeon was brought out to them. When Joseph came they brought him the present, again fulfilling his dreams, as twice they bowed before him. At the sight of Benjamin he was greatly affected. "And he lifted up his eyes and saw his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, and said, [is] this

duquel une famine eut lieu en E'gypte, soit le Pharaon de Joseph, ce qui n'est guère admissible, par suite de raisons chronologiques. Du reste ce n'est pas la seule inscription qui fasse mention de la famine; il en existe d'autres, qui datent de rois tout-à-fait différents, parlent du même fléau et des mêmes précautions prises

pour le prévenir."—*Histoire d'E'gypte*, i. p. 56. We are glad to learn from this new work that Dr. Brugsch, though differing from us as to the Exodus, is disposed to hold Joseph to have governed Egypt under a step-herd-king (pp. 79, 80).