





A
DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

COMPRISING ITS
ANTIQUITIES, BIOGRAPHY, GEOGRAPHY,
AND NATURAL HISTORY.

EDITED
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DIRECTIONS TO BINDER.

Plate I., Specimens of Greek MSS. from the 1st to the VIth century, to be placed between pages 516 and 517.

Plate II. Specimens of Greek MSS. from the Xth to the XIVth century, to be placed between pages 518 and 519.

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K

KABZEE'L (קַבְצֵ'ל; Βασιλεήλ, Καβσεήλ, Καβασαήλ; Alex. Κασθηήλ: *Cabseel, Capsael*), one of the "cities" of the tribe of Judah; the first named in the enumeration of those next Edom, and apparently the farthest south (Josh. xv. 21). Taken as Hebrew, the word signifies "collected by God," and may be compared with JOKTHEEL, the name bestowed by the Jews on an Edomite city. Kabzeel is memorable as the native place of the great hero BENALAH-ben-Jehoiada, in connexion with whom it is twice mentioned (2 Sam. xxiii. 20; 1 Chr. xi. 22). After the captivity it was re-inhabited by the Jews, and appears as JEKABZEEL.

It is twice mentioned in the Onomasticon—as Καβσεήλ and *Capsael*; the first time by Eusebius only, and apparently confounded with Carmel, unless the conjecture of Le Clerc in his notes on the passage be accepted, which would identify it with the site of Elijah's sleep and vision, between Beer-sheba and Horeb. No trace of it appears to have been discovered in modern times. [G.]

KA'DESH, KA'DESH BAR'NEA (קַדְשׁ, קַדְשׁ בְּרִנְיָ; Κάδης, Κάδης Βαρνή, Κάδης τού Βαρνή). This place, the scene of Miriam's death, was the furthest point to which the Israelites reached in their direct road to Canaan; it was also that whence the spies were sent, and where, on their return, the people broke out into murmuring, upon which their strictly penal term of wandering began (Num. xiii. 3, 26, xiv. 29-33, xx. 1; Deut. ii. 14). It is probable that the term "Kadesh," though applied to signify a "city," yet had also a wider application to a region, in which Kadesh-Meribah certainly, and Kadesh-Barnea probably, indicates a precise spot. Thus Kadesh appears as a limit eastward of the same tract which was limited westward by Shur (Gen. xx. 1). Shur is possibly the same as Sihor, "which is before Egypt" (xxv. 18; Josh. xiii. 3; Jer. ii. 18), and was the first portion of the wilderness on which the people emerged from the passage of the Red Sea. [SHUR.] "Between Kadesh and Bered" is another indication of the site of Kadesh as an eastern limit (Gen. xvi. 14), for the point so fixed is "the fountain on the way to Shur" (v. 7), and the range of limits is narrowed by selecting the western one not so far to the west, while the eastern one, Kadesh, is unchanged. Again, we have Kadesh as the point to which the forty of

KADESH

Chedorlaomer "returned"—a word which does not imply that they had previously visited it, but that it lay in the direction, as viewed from Mount Seir and Paran mentioned next before it, which was that of the point from which Chedorlaomer had come, viz. the North. Chedorlaomer, it seems, coming down by the eastern shore of the Dead Sea smote the Zuzims (Ammon, Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 20), and the Emims (Moab, Deut. ii. 11), and the Horites in Mount Seir, to the south of that sea, unto "El-Paran that is by the wilderness." He drove these Horites over the Arabah into the *Et-Thi* region. Then "returned," i. e. went northward to Kadesh and Hazazon Tamar, or Engedi (comp. Gen. xiv. 7; 2 Chr. xx. 2). In Gen. xiv. 7 Kadesh is identified with En-Mishpat, the "fountain of judgment," and is connected with Tamar, or Hazazon Tamar, just as we find these two in the comparatively late book of Ezekiel, as designed to mark the southern border of Judah, drawn through them and terminating seaward at the "River to," or "toward the Great Sea." Precisely thus stands Kadesh-Barnea in the books of Numbers and Joshua (comp. Ezek. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28; Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3). Unless then we are prepared to make a double Kadesh for the book of Genesis, it seems idle with Reland (*Palestina*, p. 114-7) to distinguish the "En-Mishpat, which is Kadesh," from that to which the spies returned. For there is an identity about all the connexions of the two, which, if not conclusive, will compel us to abandon all possible inquiries. This holds especially as regards Paran and Tamar, and in respect of its being the eastern limit of a region, and also of being the first point of importance found by Chedorlaomer on passing round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. In a strikingly similar manner we have the limits of a route, apparently a well-known one at the time, indicated by three points, Horeb, Mount Seir, Kadesh-Barnea, in Deut. i. 2, the distance between the extremes being fixed at "11 days' journey," or about 165 miles, allowing 15 miles to an average day's journey. This is one element for determining the site of Kadesh, assuming of course the position of Horeb ascertained. The name of the place to which the spies returned is "Kadesh" simply, in Num. xiii. 26, and is there closely connected with the "wilderness of Paran;" yet the "wilderness of Zin" stands in near conjunction, as the point whence the "search" of the spies commenced (ver. 21). Again, in Num. xxxii. 8, we find that it was

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from Kadesh-Barnea that the mission of the spies commenced, and in the rehearsed narrative of the same event in Deut. i. 19, and ix. 23, the name "Barnea" is also added. Thus far there seems no reasonable doubt of the identity of this Kadesh with that of Genesis. Again, in Num. xx., we find the people encamped in Kadesh after reaching the wilderness of Zin. For the question whether this was a second visit (supposing the Kadesh identical with that of the spies), or a continued occupancy, see WILDERNESS OF WANDERING. The mention of the "wilderness of Zin" is in favour of the identity of this place with that of Num. xiii. The reasons which seem to have fostered a contrary opinion are the absence of water (ver. 2) and the position assigned—"in the uttermost of" the "border" of Edom. Yet the murmuring seems to have arisen, or to have been more intense on account of their having encamped there in the expectation of finding water; which affords again a presumption of identity. Further, "the wilderness of Zin along by the coast of Edom" (Num. xxxiv. 3; Josh. xv.) destroys any presumption to the contrary arising from that position. Jerome clearly knows of but one and the same Kadesh—"where Moses smote the rock," where "Miriam's monument," he says, "was still shown, and where Chedorlaomer smote the rulers of Amalek." It is true Jerome gives a distinct article on *Kaddēs, ἔνθα ἡ πηγὴ τῆς κρίσεως, i.e. En-mishpat,*^a but only perhaps in order to record the fountain as a distinct local fact. The apparent ambiguity of the position, first, in the wilderness of Paran, or in Paran; and secondly in that of Zin, is no real increase to the difficulty. For whether these tracts were contiguous, and Kadesh on their common border, or ran into each other, and embraced a common territory, to which the name "Kadesh," in an extended sense, might be given, is comparatively unimportant. It may, however, be observed, that the wilderness of Paran commences, Num. x. 12, where that of Sinai ends, and that it extends to the point, whence in ch. xiii. the spies set out, though the only positive identification of Kadesh with it is that in xiii. 26, when on their return to rejoin Moses they come "to the wilderness of Paran, to Kadesh." PARAN then was evidently the general name of the great tract south of Palestine, commencing soon after Sinai, as the people advanced northwards,—that perhaps now known as the desert *Et-Tih*. Hence, when the spies are returning southwards they return to Kadesh, viewed as in the wilderness of Paran; though, in the same chapter, when starting northwards on their journey, they commence from that of Zin. It seems almost to follow that the wilderness of Zin must have overlapped that of Paran on the north side; or must, if they were parallel and lay respectively east and west, have had a further extension northwards than this latter. In the designation of the southern border of the Israelites also, it is observable that the wilderness of Zin is mentioned as a limit, but nowhere that of Paran^b (Num. xxxiv. 3; Josh. xv.

^a Another short article of Jerome's, apparently referred to by Stanley (*S. & P.* 93 note), as relating likewise to En-mishpat, should seem to mean something wholly different, viz., the well of Isaac and Abir-elech in Gerar: *φρέαρ κρίσεως εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἔστι κρήνη Βήρδαν (puteus judicis) καλουμένη ἐν τῇ Γεραριῇ.*

^b There is a remarkable interpolation in the LXX., or (as seems less probable) omission in the present Heb. text of Num. xx. xiii. 26, where, in following the

1), unless the dwelling of Ishmael "in the wilderness of Paran" (Gen. xxi. 21) indicates that, on the western portion of the southern border, which the story of Hagar indicates as his dwelling-place, the Paran nomenclature prevailed.

If it be allowed, in the dearth of positive testimony, to follow great natural boundaries in suggesting an answer to the question of the situation of these adjacent or perhaps overlapping wildernesses, it will be seen, on reference to Kiepert's map (in Robinson, vol. i.; see also Russeger's map (in Robinson region), that the Arabah itself and the plateau westward of it are, when we leave out the commonly so-called Sinaitic peninsula (here considered as corresponding in its wider or northerly portion to "the wilderness of Sinai"), the two parts of the whole region most strongly partitioned off from and contrasted with one another. On this western plateau is indeed superimposed another, no less clearly marked out, to judge from the map, as distinct from the former as this from the Arabah; but this higher ground, it will be further seen, probably corresponds with "the mountain of the Amorites." The Arabah, and its limiting barrier of high ground on the western side, differ by about 400 or 500 feet in elevation at the part where Robinson, advancing from Petra towards Hebron, ascended that barrier by the pass *el Khūrār*. At the N.W. angle of the Arabah the regularity of this barrier is much broken by the great wadis which converge thither; but from its edge at *el Khūrār* the great floor stretches westward, with no great interruption of elevation, if we omit the superimposed plateau, to the Egyptian frontier, and northward to Rhinocolura and Gaza. Speaking of it apparently from the point of view at *el Khūrār*, Robinson (ii. 586-7) says it is "not exactly a table-land, but a higher tract of country, forming the first of the several steps or offsets into which the ascent of the mountains in this part is divided." It is now known as the wilderness *Et-Tih*. A general description of it occurs in Robinson (i. 261-2), together with a mention of the several travellers who had then previously visited it: its configuration is given, *ib.* 294. If this *Et-Tih* region represent the wilderness of Paran, then the Arabah itself, including all the low ground at the southern and south-western extremity of the Dead Sea, may stand for the wilderness of Zin. The superimposed plateau has an eastern border converging, towards the north, with that of the general elevated tract on which it stands, *i.e.* with the western barrier aforesaid of the Arabah, but losing towards its higher or northern extremity its elevation and preciseness, in proportion as the general tract on which it stands appears to rise, till, near the S.W. curve of the

various stages of the march, we find respectively as follows:—

HEBREW.

יְסֵעוּ מַעֲיָנִין זָבֵר וַיַּחֲנוּ בְּמִדְבַּר
צִן הַיָּדָא קָדֵשׁ

GREEK.

καὶ ἀπῆραν ἐκ Γεσιῶν Γάβερ καὶ παρεβάλον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Σίν, καὶ ἀπῆραν ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου Σίν, καὶ παρεβάλον εἰς τὴν ἐρημον Φάραν· αὐτὴ ἔστι Κάδης.

The LXX. would make them approach the wilderness of Sin first, and that of Paran secondly, thus reversing the effect of the above observations.

^c Called, at least throughout a portion of its course, *Jebel el Beyānēh*.

Dead Sea, the higher plateau and the general tract appear to blend. The convergency in question arises from the general tract having, on its eastern side, *i. e.* where it is to the Arabah a western limit, a barrier running more nearly N. and S. than that of the superimposed plateau, which runs about E.N.E. and W.S.W. This highest of the two steps on which this terrace stands is described by Williams (*Holy City*, i. 463-4), who approached it from Hebron—the opposite direction to that in which Robinson, mounting towards Hebron by the higher pass *Es-Súfáh*,^d came upon it—as “a gigantic natural rampart of lofty mountains, which we could distinctly trace for many miles”^e E. and W. of the spot on which we stood, whose precipitous promontories of naked rock, forming as it were bastions of Cyclopean architecture, juttled forth in irregular masses from the mountain-barrier into the southern wilderness, a confused chaos of chalk.”^f Below the traveller lay the *Wady Murreh*, running into that called *El-Fikreh*, identifying the spot with that described by Robinson (ii. 587) as “a formidable barrier supporting a third plateau” (reckoning apparently the Arabah as one), rising on the other, *i. e.* northern side of the *Wady el-Fikreh*. But the southern face of this highest plateau is a still more strongly defined wall of mountains. The Israelites must probably have faced it, or wandered along it, at some period of their advance from the wilderness of Sinai to the more northern desert of Paran. There is no such boldly-marked line of cliffs north of the *Et-Tih* and *El-Odjme*h ranges, except perhaps Mount Seir, the eastern limit of the Arabah. There is a strongly marked expression in Deut. i. 7, 19, 20, “the mountain of the Amorites,” which besides those of Seir and Hor, is the only one mentioned by name after Sinai, and which is there closely connected with Kadesh Barnea. The wilderness (that of Paran) “great and terrible,” which they passed through after quitting Horeb (vers. 6, 7, 19), was “by the way of” this “mountain of the Amorites.” “We came,” says Moses, “to Kadesh Barnea; and I said unto you, ye are come unto the mountain of the Amorites.” Also in ver. 7, the adjacent territories of this mountain-region seem not obscurely intimated; we have the Shephelah (“plain”) and the Arabah (“vale”), with the “hills” (“hill-country of Judah”) between them; and “the South” is added as that debateable outlying region, in which the wilderness strives with the inroads of life and culture. There is no natural feature to correspond so well to this mountain of the Amorites as this smaller higher plateau superimposed on *Et-Tih*, forming the watershed of the two great systems of wadys, those north-westward towards the great *Wady-el-Arish*, and those north-eastward towards the *Wady Jeráf*eh and the great *Wady-el-Jo*b. Indeed, in these converging wady-systems on either side of the “mountain,” we have a desert-continuation of the same configuration of country, which the Shephelah and Arabah with their interposed watershed highlands present further north. And even as the name ARABAH is plainly continued from the Jordan valley, so as to mean the great arid trough between the Dead Sea and Elath; so perhaps the Shephelah (“vale”)

might naturally be viewed as continued to the “river of Egypt.” And thus the “mountain of the Amorites” would merely continue the mountain-mass of Judah and Ephraim, as forming part of the land “which the Lord our God doth give unto us.” The south-western angle of this higher plateau is well defined by the bluff peak of *Jebel 'Aráif*, standing in about 30° 22' N., by 34° 30' E. Assuming the region from *Wady Feiran* to the *Jebel Mousa* as a general basis for the position of Horeb, nothing farther south than this *Jebel 'Aráif* appears to give the necessary distance from it for Kadesh, nor would any point on the west side of the western face of this mountain region suit, until we get quite high up towards Beersheba. Nor, if any site in this direction is to be chosen, is it easy to account for “the way of Mount Seir” being mentioned as it is, Deut. i. 2, apparently as the customary route “from Horeb” thither. But if, as further reasons will suggest, Kadesh lay probably near the S.W. curve of the Dead Sea, then “Mount Seir” will be within sight on the E. during all the latter part of the journey “from Horeb” thither. This mountain region is in Kiepert’s map laid down as the territory of the *Azáimeh*, but is said to be so wild and rugged that the Bedouins of all other tribes avoid it, nor has any road ever traversed it (Robinson, i. 186). Across this then there was no pass; the choice of routes lay between the road which leading from Elath to Gaza and the Shephelah, passes to the west of it, and that which ascends from the northern extremity of the Arabah by the Ma’aleh Akrabim towards Hebron. The reasons for thinking that the Israelites took this latter course are, that if they had taken the western, Beersheba would seem to have been the most natural route of their first attempted attack (Robinson, i. 187). It would also have brought them too near to the land of the Philistines, which it seems to have been the Divine purpose that they should avoid. But above all, the features of the country, scantily as they are noticed in Num., are in favour of the eastern route from the Arabah and Dead Sea.

One site fixed on for Kadesh is the *Ain es Shey-ábeh* on the south side of this “mountain of the Amorites,” and therefore too near Horeb to fulfil the conditions of Deut. i. 2. Messrs. Rowlands and Williams (*Holy City*, i. 463-8) argue strongly in favour of a site for Kadesh on the west side of this whole mountain region, towards *Jebel Helal*, where they found “a large single mass or small hill of solid rock, a spur of the mountain to the north of it, immediately rising above it, the only visible naked rock in the whole district.” They found salient water rushing from this rock into a basin, but soon losing itself in the sand, and a grand space for the encampment of a host on the S.W. side of it. In favour of it they allege, 1, the name *Kádes* or *Kádes*, pronounced in English *Káddáse* or *Kúddáse*, as being exactly the form of the Hebrew name Kadesh; 2, the position, in the line of the southern boundary of Judah; 3, the correspondence with the order of the places mentioned, especially the places Adar and Azmon, which these travellers recognize in *Adeirat* and *Aseimeh*, otherwise (as in

^d There are three nearly parallel passes leading to the same level: this is the middle one of the three. Schubert (*Reise*, ii. 441-3) appears to have taken the same path; Bertou that on the W. side, *El Yemen*.

^e This is only the direction, or apparent direction,

of the range at the spot, its general one being as above stated. See the maps.

^f So Robinson, before ascending, remarks (ii. 585) that the hills consisted of chalky stone and conglomerate.

KADESH

Kiepert's map) *Kadeirat* and *Kaseimeh*; 4, its position with regard to *Jebel el-Halal*, or *Jebel Helal*; 5, its position with regard to the mountain of the Amorites (which they seem to identify with the western face of the plateau); 6, its situation with regard to the grand S.W. route to Palestine by Beer-lahai-roi from Egypt; 7, its distance from Sinai, and the goodness of the way thither; 8, the accessibility of Mount Hor from this region. Of these, 2, 4, 5, and 8, seem of no weight; 1 is a good deal weakened by the fact that some such name seems to have a wide range^b in this region; 3 is of considerable force, but seems overbalanced by the fact that the whole position seems too far west; arguments 6 and 7 rather tend against than for the view in question, any western route being unlikely (see text above), and the "goodness" of the road not being discoverable, but rather the reverse, from the Mosaic record. But, above all, how would this accord with "the way of Mount Seir" being that from Sinai to Kadesh Barnea? (Deut. i. 2.)

In the map to Robinson's last edition, a *Jebel el Kudais* is given on the authority of Abeken. But this spot would be too far to the west for the fixed point intended in Deut. i. 2 as Kadesh Barnea. Still, taken in connexion with the region endeavoured to be identified with the "mountain of the Amorites," it may be a general testimony to the prevalence of the name Kadesh within certain limits; which is further supported by the names given below^b.

The indications of locality strongly point to a site near where the mountain of the Amorites descends to the low region of the Arabah and Dead Sea. *Tell Arad* is perhaps as clear a local monument of the event of Num. xxi. 1, as we can expect to find. [ARAD]. "The Canaanitish king of Arad" found that Israel was coming "by the way of the spies," and "fought against" and "took some of them prisoners." The subsequent defeat of this king is clearly connected with the pass *Es-Süfa*, between which and the *Tell Arad* a line drawn ought to give us the direction of route intended by "by the way of the spies;" accordingly, within a day's journey on either side of this line produced towards the Arabah, Kadesh-Barnea should be sought for. [HORMAH]. Nearly the same ground appears to have been the scene of the previous discomfiture of the Israelites rebelliously attempting to force their way by this pass to occupy the "mountain" where "the Amalekites and Amorites" were "before them" (Num. xiv. 45; Judg. i. 17); further, however, this defeat is said to have been "in Seir" (Deut. i. 44). Now, whether we admit or not with Stanley (*S. & P.* 94 note) that Edom had at this period no territory west of the Arabah, which is perhaps doubtful, yet there can be no room for doubt that "the mountain of the Amorites" must at any rate be taken as their

western limit. Hence the overthrow in Seir must be east of that mountain, or, at furthest, on its eastern edge. The "Seir" alluded to may be the western edge of the Arabah below the *Es-Süfa* pass. When thus driven back, they "abode in Kadesh many days" (Deut. i. 46). The city, whether we prefer Kadesh simply, or Kadesh-Barnea, as its designation, cannot have belonged to the Amorites, for these after their victory would probably have disputed possession of it; nor could it, if plainly Amoritish, have been "in the uttermost of the border" of Edom. It may be conjectured that it lay in the debatable ground between the Amorites and Edom, which the Israelites in a message of courtesy to Edom might naturally assign to the latter, and that it was possibly then occupied in fact by neither, but by a remnant of those Horites whom Edom (Deut. ii. 12) dislodged from the "mount" Seir, but who remained as refugees in that arid and unenviable region, which perhaps was the sole remnant of their previous possessions, and which they still called by the name of "Seir," their patriarch. This would not be inconsistent with "the edge of the land of Edom" still being at Mount Hor (Num. xxxiii. 37), nor with the Israelites regarding this debatable ground, after dispossessing the Amorites from "their mountain," as pertaining to their own "south quarter." If this view be admissible, we might regard "Barnea" as a Hebraized remnant of the Horite language, or of some Horite name.

The nearest approximation, then, which can be given to a site for the city of Kadesh, may be probably attained by drawing a circle, from the pass *Es-Süfa*, at the radius of about a day's journey, its south-western quadrant will intersect the "wilderness of Paran," or *El-Tih*, which is there overhung by the superimposed plateau of the mountain of the Amorites; while its south-eastern one will cross what has been designated as the "wilderness of Zin." This seems to satisfy all the conditions of the passages of Genesis, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, which refer to it. The nearest site in harmony with this view, which has yet been suggested (Robinson, ii. 175), is undoubtedly the *Ain el-Weibek*. To this, however, is opposed the remark of a traveller (Stanley, *S. and P.* 95) who went probably with a deliberate intention of testing the local features in reference to this suggestion, that it does not afford among its "stony shelves of three or four feet high" any proper "cliff" (סלע), such as is the word specially describing that "rock" (A. V.) from which the water gushed. It is however nearly opposite the *Wady Ghuweir*, the great opening into the steep eastern wall of the Arabah, and therefore the most probable "highway" by which to "pass through the border" of Edom. But until further examination of local features has

^c What is more disputable than the S. boundary line? *Jebel Helal* derives its sole significance from a passage not specified in Jeremiah. The "mountain of the Amorites," as shown above, need not be that western face. Mt. Hor is as accessible from elsewhere.

^b Seetzen's last map shows a *Wady Kidiese* corresponding in position nearly with *Jebel el Kudais* given in Kiepert's, on the authority of Abeken. Zimmermann's Atlas, sect. x., gives *el Cadessah* as another name for the well-known hill *Mudurah*, or *Moderah*, lying within view of the point described above, from Williams's *Holy City*, i. 463-4. This is towards the East, a good deal nearer the Dead Sea

and so far more suitable. Further, Robertson's map in Stewart's *The Tent and the Khan* places an *Ain Khades* near the junction of the *Wady Abyad*, with the *Wady el Arish*; but in this map are tokens of some confusion in the drawing.

¹ Fürst has suggested בֶּרֶנֶיִעַ, "son of wandering" = Bedouin; but בֶּרֶ does not occur as "son" in the writings of Moses. The reading of the LXX. in Num. xxxiv. 4, Κάδης τοῦ Βαρνῆ, seems to favour the notion that it was regarded by them as a man's name. The name "Meribah" is accounted for in Num. xx. 13. [MERIBAH.]

been made, which owing to the frightfully desolate character of the region seems very difficult, it would be unwise to push identification further.

Notice is due to the attempt to discover Kadesh in Petra, the metropolis of the Nabathaeans (Stanley, *S. and P.* 94), embedded in the mountains to which the name of Mount Seir is admitted by all authorities to apply, and almost overhung by Mount Hor. No doubt the word *Selâ*, "cliff," is used as a proper name occasionally, and may probably in 2 K. xiv. 7; Is. xvi. 1, be identified with a city or spot of territory belonging to Edom. But the two sites of Petra and Mount Hor are surely far too close for each to be a distinct camping station, as in Num. xxxiii. 36, 37. The camp of Israel would have probably covered the site of the city, the mountain, and several adjacent valleys. But, further, the site of Petra must have been as thoroughly Edomitish territory as was that of BOZRAH, the then capital, and could not be described as being "in the uttermost" of their border. "Mount Seir" was "given to Esau for a possession," in which he was to be unmolested, and not a "foot's breadth" of his land was to be taken. This seems irreconcilable with the quiet encampment of the whole of Israel and permanency there for "many days," as also with their subsequent territorial possession of it, for Kadesh is always reckoned as a town in the southern border belonging to Israel. Neither does a friendly request to be allowed to pass through the land of Edom come suitably from an invader who had seized, and was occupying one of its most difficult passes; nor, again, is the evident temper of the Edomites and their precautions, if they contemplated, as they certainly did, armed resistance to the violation of their territory, consistent with that invader being allowed to settle himself by anticipation in such a position without a stand being made against him. But, lastly, the conjunction of the city Kadesh with "the mountain of the Amorites," and its connexion with the assault repulsed by the Amalekites and Canaanites (Deut. i. 44; Num. xiv. 43), points to a site wholly away from Mount Seir.

A paper in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April, 1860, entitled *A Critical Enquiry into the Route of the Exodus*, discards all the received sites for Sinai, even that of Mount Hor, and fixes on Elusa (*El Kalesah*) as that of Kadesh. The arguments of this writer will be considered, as a whole, under WILDERNESS OF WANDERING.

Kadesh appears to have maintained itself, at least as a name to the days of the prophet Ezekiel, (*l. c.*) and those of the writer of the apocryphal book

of Judith (i. 9). The "wilderness of Kadesh" occurs only in Ps. xxix. 8, and is probably undistinguishable from that of Zin. As regards the name "Kadesh," there seems some doubt whether it be originally Hebrew.^k

Almost any probable situation for Kadesh on the grounds of the Scriptural narrative, is equally opposed to the impression derived from the aspect of the region thereabouts. No spot perhaps, in the locality above indicated, could now be an eligible site for the host of the Israelites "for many days." Jerome speaks of it as a "desert" in his day, and makes no allusion to any city there, although the tomb of Miriam, of which no modern traveller has found any vestige, had there its traditional site. It is possible that the great volume of water which in the rainy season sweeps by the great *El-Jeib* and other wadys into the S.W. corner of the Ghor, might, if duly husbanded, have once created an artificial oasis, of which, with the neglect of such industry, every trace has since been lost. But, as no attempt is made here to fix on a definite site for Kadesh as a city, it is enough to observe that the objection applies in nearly equal force to nearly all solutions of the question of which the Scriptural narrative admits. [H. H.]

KAD'MIEL (קַדְמִיֵּל; Καδμήλ: *Cedmihel*),

one of the Levites who with his family returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel, and apparently a representative of the descendants of Hodaviah, or, as he is elsewhere called, Hodaveh or Judah (Ezr. ii. 40; Neh. vii. 43). In the first attempt which was made to rebuild the Temple, Kadmiel and Jeshua, probably an elder member of the same house, were, together with their families, appointed by Zerubbabel to superintend the workmen, and officiated in the thanksgiving-service by which the laying of the foundation was solemnized (Ezr. iii. 9). His house took a prominent part in the confession of the people on the day of humiliation (Neh. ix. 4, 5), and with the other Levites joined the princes and priests in a solemn compact to separate themselves to walk in God's law (Neh. x. 9). In the parallel lists of 1 Esdr. he is called CADMIEL.

KAD'MONITES, THE (קַדְמוֹנִי, *i. e.* "the

Kadmonite;" τῶν Κεδμωναίων; Alex. omits: *Cedmonaeos*), a people named in Gen. xv. 19 only; one of the nations who at that time occupied the land promised to the descendants of Abram. The name is from a root *Kedem*, signifying "eastern," and also "ancient" (Ges. *Thes.* 1195).

Bochart (*Chan. i.* 19; *Phal. iv.* 36) derives the

sanctify, as a priest, or to keep holy, as the sabbath, and (pual) its passive; also *Golii Lex. Arab.*

Lat. Lugd. Bat. 1553, s. v. **قدس**. The derived sense, **קַדְשָׁה**, a male prostitute, fem. **קַדְשָׁה**, a harlot,

does not appear to occur in the Arab.: it is to be referred to the notion of prostitution in honour of an idol, as the Syrians in that of Astarte, the Babylonians in that of Mylitta (Herod. i. 199), and is conveyed in the Greek *ἱερόδουλος*. [*Idolatry*, vol. i. 838b.] This repulsive custom seems more suited to those populous and luxurious regions than to the hard bare life of the desert. As an example of Eastern nomenclature travelling far west at an early period, Cadiz may perhaps be suggested as based upon Kadesh, and carried to Spain by the Phœnicians.

^k It may be perhaps a Horite word, corrupted so as to bear a signification in the Heb. and Arab.; but, assuming it to be from the root meaning "holiness," which exists in various forms in the Heb. and Arab., there may be some connexion between that name, supposed to indicate a shrine, and the En-Mishpat = Fountain of Judgment. The connexion of the priestly and judicial function, having for its root the regarding as sacred whatever is authoritative, or the deducing all subordinate authority from the Highest, would support this view. Compare also the double functions united in Sheikh and Cadi. Further, on this supposition, a more forcible sense accrues to the name Kadesh *Meribah* = strife or contention, being as it were a perversion of *Mishpat* = judgment—a taking it *in partem deteriorem*. For the Heb. and Arab. derivatives from this same root see Gesen. *Lex.* s. v. **קַדְשָׁה**, varying in senses of to be holy, or (piel) to

KALLAI

ḡadmonites from Cadmus, and further identifies them with the Hivites (whose place they fill in the above list of nations), on the ground that the Hivites occupied Mount Hermon, "the most easterly part of Canaan." But Hermon cannot be said to be on the east of Canaan, nor, if it were, did the Hivites live there so exclusively as to entitle them to an appellation derived from that circumstance (see vol. i. 820). It is more probable that the name Kadmonite in its one occurrence is a synonym for the BENE-KEDEM—the "children of the East," the general name which in the Bible appears to be given to the tribes who roved in the great waste tracts on the east and south-east of Palestine. [G.]

KALLAI (קָלַי: Καλλῆι: *Celāi*), a priest in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua. He was one of the chiefs of the fathers, and represented the family of Sallai (Neh. xii. 20).

KANAH (קָנָה: Κανθάν; Alex. *Kanā: Cano*), one of the places which formed the landmarks of the boundary of Asher; apparently next to Zidon-rabbah, or "great Zidon" (Josh. xix. 28 only). If this inference is correct, then Kanah can hardly be identified in the modern village *Kāna*, six miles inland, not from Zidon, but from Tyre, nearly 20 miles south thereof. The identification, first proposed by Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 456), has been generally accepted by travellers (Wilson, *Lands*, ii. 230; Porter, *Handbook*, 395; Schwarz, 192; Van de Velde, i. 180). Van de Velde (i. 209) also treats it as the native place of the "woman of Canaan" (γυνή Χανααίνα) who cried after our Lord. But the former identification, not to speak of the latter—in which a connexion is assumed between two words radically distinct—seems untenable. An *Ain-Kana* is marked in the map of Van de Velde, about 8 miles S.E. of *Saida* (Zidon), close to the conspicuous village *Jurjā*, at which latter place Zidon lies full in view (Van de Velde, ii. 437). This at least answers more nearly the requirements of the text. But it is put forward as a mere conjecture, and must abide further investigation. [G.]

KANAH, THE RIVER (קָנָה נָחַל = the torrent or wady K.: Χελκανά, φάραγξ Καρανά; Alex. *χειμαρῶνος Κανά* and *φάραγξ Κανά*: *Vallis arvadineti*), a stream falling into the Mediterranean, which formed the division between the territories of Ephraim and Manasseh, the former on the south, the latter on the north (Josh. xvi. 8, xvii. 9). No light appears to be thrown on its situation by the Ancient Versions or the Onomasticon. Dr. Robinson (iii. 135) identifies it "without doubt" with a wady, which taking its rise in the central mountains of Ephraim, near *Akrabeh*, some 7 miles S.E. of *Nablus*, crosses the country and enters the sea just above *Jaffa* as *Nahr-el-Aujeh*; bearing during part of its course the name of *Wady Kanah*. But this, though perhaps sufficiently important to serve as a boundary between two tribes, and though the retention of the name is in its favour, is surely too far south to have been the boundary between Ephraim and Manasseh. The conjecture of Schwarz (51) is more plausible—that it is a wady which commences west of and close to *Nablus*, at *Ain-el-Khassab*, and falls into the sea as *Nahr Falah*, and which bears also the name of *Wady al-Khassab*—the reedy stream. This has its more northerly position in its favour, and also the agreement in signification of the names (*Kanah* meaning also

reedy). But it should not be forgotten that the name *Khassab* is borne by a large tract of the maritime plain at this part (Stanley, *S. & P.* 263). Porter pronounces for *N. Akhdar*, close below Caesarea. [G.]

KARE'AH (קָרְאָה: Κάρη: *Caree*), the father of Johanan and Jonathan, who supported Gedaliah's authority and avenged his murder (Jer. xl. 8, 13, 15, 16, xli. 11, 13, 14, 16, xlii. 1, 8, xliii. 2, 4, 5). He is elsewhere called **CAREAH**.

KARKA'A (with the def. article, קָרְקָאָה: Κάδης, in both MSS.; Symm. translating, *ἑσάρης: Carcaa*), one of the landmarks on the south boundary of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 3), and therefore of the Holy Land itself. It lay between Addar and Azmon, Azmon being the next point to the Mediterranean (*Wady el-Arish*). Karkaa, however, is not found in the specification of the boundary in Num. xxxiv., and it is worth notice that while in Joshua the line is said to make a detour (סָבַב) to Karkaa, in Numbers it runs to Azmon. Nor does the name occur in the subsequent lists of the southern cities in Josh. xv. 21-32, or xix. 2-8, or in Neh. xi. 25, &c. Eusebius (*Onomasticon*, *Ἀκαρκάς*) perhaps speaks of it as then existing (*ἡ πόλις ἔστιν*), but at any rate no subsequent traveller or geographer appears to have mentioned it. [G.]

KARK'OB (with the def. article, קָרְקֹב: Καρκάρ; Alex. *Karká*: Vulg. translating, *requiescent*), the place in which the remnant of the host of Zebah and Zalmunna which had escaped the rout of the Jordan valley were encamped, when Gideon burst upon and again dispersed them (Judg. viii. 10). It must have been on the east of the Jordan, beyond the district of the towns, in the open wastes inhabited by the nomad tribes—"them that dwelt in tents on the east of Nobah and Jogbehah" (ver. 11). But it is difficult to believe that it can have been so far to the south as it is placed by Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast. Karká* and "Carcar"), namely one day's journey (about 15 miles) north of Petra, where in their time stood the fortress of Carcaria, as in ours the castle of *Kerek el-Shobah* (Burckhardt, 19 Aug. 1812). The name is somewhat similar to that of CHARACA, or Charax, a place on the east of the Jordan, mentioned once in the Maccabean history; but there is nothing to be said either for or against the identification of the two.

If *Kunawat* be **KENATH**, on which Nobah bestowed his own name (with the usual fate of such innovations in Palestine), then we should look for Karkor in the desert to the east of that place; which is quite far enough from the Jordan valley, the scene of the first encounter, to justify both Josephus's expression, *πάρρη πολύ* (*Ant.* vii. 6, §5), and the careless "security" of the Midianites. But no traces of such a name have yet been discovered in that direction, or any other than that above mentioned. [G.]

KAR'TAH (קָרְתָּה: ἡ Κάδης; Alex. *Karθά*: *Chartha*), a town of Zebulun, which with its "suburbs" was allotted to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 34). It is not mentioned either in the general list of the towns of this tribe (xix. 10-16), or in the parallel catalogue of Levitical cities in 1 Chr. vi., nor does it appear to have been recognised since. [G.]

KAR'TAN (קָרְתָן; *Θαρμῶν*; Alex. *Νοεμμῶν*; *Carthan*), a city of Naphtali, allotted with its "suburbs" to the Gershonite Levites (Josh. xxi. 32). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. vi. the name appears in the more expanded form of KIRJATHAIM (ver. 76), of which Kartan may be either a provincialism or a contraction. A similar change is observable in Dothan and Dothaim. The LXX. evidently had a different Hebrew text from the present. [G.]

KATT'ATH (קַטְתָּ; *Κατανάθ*; Alex. *Κατράθ*; *Cateth*), one of the cities of the tribe of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15). It is not mentioned in the Onomasticon. Schwarz (172) reports that in the *Jerusalem Megillah*, Kattath "is said to be the modern Katunith," which he seeks to identify with *Kana el-Jelil*,—most probably the CANA OF GALILEE of the N. T.—5 miles north of *Seffurieh*, partly on the ground that Cana is given in the Syriac as *Katna*, and partly for other but not very palpable reasons. [G.]

KEDAR (קֶדָר, "black skin, black-skinned man," Ges.: *Κηδάρ*; *Cedar*), the second in order of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 13; 1 Chr. i. 29), and the name of a great tribe of the Arabs, settled on the north-west of the peninsula and the confines of Palestine. This tribe seems to have been, with Tema, the chief representative of Ishmael's sons in the western portion of the land they originally peopled. The "glory of Kedar" is recorded by the prophet Isaiah (xxi. 13-17) in the burden upon Arabia; and its importance may also be inferred from the "princes of Kedar," mentioned by Ez. (xxvii. 21), as well as the pastoral character of the tribe: "Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats: in these [were they] thy merchants." But this characteristic is maintained in several other remarkable passages. In Cant. i. 5, the black tents of Kedar, black like the goat's or camel's-hair tents of the modern Bedawee, are forcibly mentioned, "I [am] black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon." In Is. lx. 7, we find the "flocks of Kedar," together with the rams of Nebaioth; and in Jer. xlix. 28, "concerning Kedar, and concerning the kingdoms of HAZOR," it is written, "Arise ye, go up to Kedar, and spoil the men of the East [the BENE-KEDEM]. Their tents and their flocks shall they take away; they shall take to themselves their tent-curtains, and all their vessels, and their camels" (28, 29). They appear also to have been, like the wandering tribes of the present day, "archers" and "mighty men" (Is. xxi. 17; comp. Ps. cxx. 5). That they also settled in villages or towns, we find from that magnificent passage of Isaiah (xlii. 11), "Let the wilderness and the cities thereof lift up [their voice], the villages [that] Kedar doth inhabit: let the inhabitants of the rock sing, let them shout from the top of the mountains;"—unless encampments are here intended.* But dwelling in more permanent habitations than tents is just what we should expect from a far-stretching tribe such as Kedar certainly was, covering in their pasturelands and watering places the great western desert, settling on the borders of Palestine, and penetrating

into the Arabian peninsula, where they were to be the fathers of a great nation. The archers and warriors of this tribe were probably engaged in many of the wars which the "men of the East" (of whom Kedar most likely formed a part) waged, in alliance with Midianites and others of the Bene-Kedem, with Israel (see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai*, i. 180-1, on the war of Gideon, &c.). The tribe seems to have been one of the most conspicuous of all the Ishmaelite tribes, and hence the Rabbins call the Arabians universally by this name.^b

In Is. xxi. 17, the descendants of Kedar are called the Bene-Kedar.

As a link between Bible history and Mohammedan traditions, the tribe of Kedar is probably found in the people called the Cedrei by Pliny, on the confines of Arabia Petraea to the south (*N. H.* v. 11); but they have, since classical times, become merged into the Arab nation, of which so great a part must have sprung from them. In the Mohammedan traditions, Kedar^c is the ancestor of Mohammad; and through him, although the genealogy is broken for many generations, the ancestry of the latter from Ishmael is carried. (See Caussin, *Essai*, i. 175, *seqq.*) The descent of the bulk of the Arabs from Ishmael we have elsewhere shown to rest on indisputable grounds. [ISHMAEL.] [E. S. P.]

KE'DEMAH (קֶדְמָה, *i. e.* "eastward;" *Κεδμά*; *Cedma*), the youngest of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chr. i. 31).

KE'DEMOTH (in Deut. and Chron. קְדְמוֹת; in Josh. קֶדְמֹת; *Κεδμῶθ*, *Βακεδμῶθ*, ἢ *Δεκμῶθ*, ἢ *Καδμῶθ*; Alex. *Κεδμοῦθ*, *Κεδμηῶθ*, *Καμηδῶθ*, *Γεδσῶν*; *Cedemoth*, *Cademoth*), one of the towns in the district east of the Dead Sea allotted to the tribe of Reuben (Josh. xiii. 18); given with its "suburbs" to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 37; 1 Chr. vi. 79; in the former of these passages the name, with the rest of verses 36 and 37, is omitted from the Rec. Hebrew Text, and from the Vulg.). It possibly conferred its name on the "wilderness, or uncultivated pasture land (*Midbar*), of Kedemoth," in which Israel was encamped when Moses asked permission of Sihon to pass through the country of the Amorites; although, if Kedemoth be treated as a Hebrew word, and translated "Eastern," the same circumstance may have given its name both to the city and the district. And this is more probably the case, since "Aroer on the brink of the torrent Arnon" is mentioned as the extreme (south) limit of Sihon's kingdom and of the territory of Reuben, and the north limit of Moab, Kedemoth, Jahazah, Heshbon, and other towns, being apparently north of it (Josh. xiii. 16, &c.), while the wilderness of Kedemoth was certainly outside the territory of Sihon (Deut. ii. 26, 27, &c.), and therefore south of the Arnon. This is supported by the terms of Num. xxi. 23, from which it would appear as if Sihon had come out of his territory into the wilderness; although on the other hand, from the fact of Jahaz (or Jahazah) being said to be "in the wilderness" (Num. xxi. 23), it seems doubtful whether the towns named in Josh. xiii. 16-21, were all north of Arnon. As in other cases we must await further investigation on the east of the Dead Sea. The place is but casually mentioned in the *Onomasticon* ("Cademoth"), but yet

* *הַצִּירִים*. Comp. usage of Arabic, *قرية*, *Karyeh*.

^b Hence קָדָר, *Qadâr*, Rabbin. use of the Arabic language (Ges. *Lex. ed. Tregelles*).

^c *Qaydâr*, *قيدار*.

so as to imply a distinction between the town and the wilderness. No other traveller appears to have noticed it. (See Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 271.) [JAHAZ.]

KE'DESH (כֶּדֶשׁ), the name borne by three cities in Palestine.

1. (Κάδης; Alex. Βελέθ: *Cedes*) in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 23). Whether this is identical with Kadesh-Barnea, which was actually one of the points on the south boundary of the tribe (xv. 3; Num. xxxiv. 4), it is impossible to say. Against the identification is the difference of the name,—hardly likely to be altered if the famous Kadesh was intended, and the occurrence of the name elsewhere showing that it was of common use.

2. (Κέδες; Alex. Κέδες: *Cedes*), a city of Issachar, which according to the catalogue of 1 Chr. vi. was allotted to the Gershonite Levites (ver. 72). In the parallel list (Josh. xxi. 28) the name is KISHON, one of the variations met with in these lists, for which it is impossible satisfactorily to account. The Kedesh mentioned among the cities whose kings were slain by Joshua (Josh. xii. 22), in company with Megiddo and Jokneam of Carmel, would seem to have been this city of Issachar, and not, as is commonly accepted, the northern place of the same name in Naphtali, the position of which in the catalogue would naturally have been with Hazor and Shimron-Meron. But this, though probable, is not conclusive.

3. KEDESH (Κάδες, Κάδης, Κέδες,^a Κεφέξ; Alex. also Κέδες; *Cedes*): also KEDESH IN GALILEE (כֶּדֶשׁ בְּגַלִּילָא, i. e. "K. in the Galil;" ἡ Κάδης ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ; *Cedes in Galilaea*): and once, Judg. iv. 6, KEDESH-NAPHTALI (כֶּדֶשׁ נַפְתָּלִי; Κάδης Νεφθαλί; *Cedes Nephthali*). One of the fortified cities of the tribe of Naphtali, named between Hazor and Edrei (Josh. xix. 37); appointed as a city of refuge, and allotted with its "suburbs" to the Gershonite Levites (xx. 7, xxi. 32; 1 Chr. vi. 76). In Josephus's account of the northern wars of Joshua (*Ant.* v. 1, §18), he apparently refers to it as marking the site of the battle of Merom, if Merom be intended under the form Beroth.^b It was the residence of Barak (Judg. iv. 6), and there he and Deborah assembled the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali before the conflict (9, 10). Near it was the tree of Zaananim, where was pitched the tent of the Kenites Heber and Jael, in which Sisera met his death (ver. 11). It was probably, as its name implies, a "holy place" of great antiquity, which would explain its selection as one of the cities of refuge, and its being chosen by the prophethess as the spot at which to meet the warriors of the tribes

^a Some of the variations in the LXX. are remarkable. In Judg. iv. 9, 10, Vat. has Κάδης, and Alex. Κέδες; but in ver. 11, they both have Κέδες. In 2 K. xv. 29, both have Κεφέξ. In Judg. iv. and elsewhere the Peschito Version has Recem-Naphtali for Kedesh, Recem being the name which in the Targums is commonly used for the Southern Kadesh, K. Barnea. (See Stanley, *S. & P.* 94 note.)

^b Πρὸς Ἐπιρώθ κἀλεῖ τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῆς ἀνω, Κεδέση ἐν πόρρω. J. D. Michaelis (*Orient. and Ezeget. Bibliothek*, 1773, No. 84) argues strenuously for the identity of Beroth and Kedes in this passage with Berytus (*Beirút*) and Kedesh, near Emessa (see above); but interesting and ingenious as is the attempt, the conclusion cannot be tenable. (See also a subsequent paper in 1774, No. 116.)

^c From the root כֶּדֶשׁ, common to the Semitic

before the commencement of the struggle for Jehovah against the mighty." It was one of the places taken by Tiglath-Pileser in the reign of Pekah (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 11, §1, Κόδισα; 2 K. xv. 29); and here again it is mentioned in immediate connexion with Hazor. Its next and last appearance in the Bible is as the scene of a battle between Jonathan Maccabaeus and the forces of Demetrius (1 Macc. xi. 63, 73, A. V. CADES; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5, §6, 7). After this time it is spoken of by Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 18, §1; iv. 2, §3, πρὸς Κυδουσοῖς) as in the possession of the Tyrians—"a strong inland^d village," well fortified, and with a great number of inhabitants; and he mentions that during the siege of Giscala, Titus removed his camp thither—a distance of about 7 miles, if the two places are correctly identified—a movement which allowed John to make his escape.

By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Cedes") it is described as lying near Paneas, and 20 miles (Eusebius says 8—ἡ—but this must be wrong) from Tyre, and as called Κυδωσος or Cidissus. Brocardus (*Descr.* ch. iv.), describes it, evidently from personal knowledge, as 4 leagues north of Safet, and as abounding in ruins. It was visited by the Jewish travellers, Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. 1170), and ha-Parchi (A.D. 1315). The former places it one day's, and the latter half-a-day's, journey from Bonias (Benj. of Tudela by Asher, i. 82, ii. 109, 420). Making allowances for imperfect knowledge and errors in transcription, there is a tolerable agreement between the above accounts, recognisable now that Dr. Robinson has with great probability identified the spot. This he has done at Kades, a village situated on the western edge of the basin of the *Ard-el-Huleh*, the great depressed basin or tract through which the Jordan makes its way into the Sea of Merom. Kades lies 10 English miles N. of Safed, 4 to the N.W. of the upper part of the Sea of Merom, and 12 or 13 S. of *Banias*. The village itself "is situated on a rather high ridge, jutting out from the western hills, and overlooking a small green vale or basin. . . . Its site is a splendid one, well watered and surrounded by fertile plains." There are numerous sarcophagi, and other ancient remains (Rob. iii. 366-8; see also Van de Velde, ii. 417; Stanley, 365, 390).

In the Greek (Κυδίας) and Syriac (*Kedes de Naphtali*) texts of Tob. i. 2,—though not in the Vulgate or A. V.—Kedesh is introduced as the birthplace of Tobias. The text is exceedingly corrupt, but some little support is lent to this reading by the Vulgate, which, although omitting Kedesh, mentions Safed—*post viam quae ducit ad Occidentem, in sinistro habens civitatem Saphet*.

languages (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1195, 8). Whether there was any difference of signification between Kadesh and Kedesh does not seem at all clear. Gesenius places the former in connexion with a similar word which would seem to mean a person or thing devoted to the infamous rites of ancient heathen worship—"Scortum sacrum, idque masculinum;" but he does not absolutely say that the bad force resided in the name of the place Kadesh. To Kedesh he gives a favourable interpretation—"Sacrarium." The older interpreters, as Hiller and Simonis, do not recognise the distinction.

^d Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, ch. xix., has some strange comments on this passage. He has taken Whiston's translation of μεσόγειος—"mediterranean"—as referring to the Mediterranean Sea! and has drawn his inferences accordingly.

The name Kedesh exists much farther north than the possessions of Naphtali would appear to have extended, attached to a lake of considerable size on the Orontes, a few miles south of *Huns*, the ancient Emessa (Rob. iii. 549; Thomson, in Ritter, *Damascus*, 1002, 4). The lake was well known under that name to the Arabic geographers (see, besides the authorities quoted by Robinson, Abulfeda in Schultens' *Index Geogr.* "Fluvius Orontes" and "Kudsum"), and they connect it in part with Alexander the Great. But this and the origin of the name are alike uncertain. At the lower end of the lake is an island which, as already remarked, is possibly the site of Ketesh, the capture of which by Sethe I. is preserved in the records of that Egyptian king. [JERUSALEM, vol. i. 989 note.] [G.]

KEHE'LATHAH (קֶהֶלֶת: Μακελλάθ: *Celatha*), a desert encampment of the Israelites (Num. xxxiii. 22), of which nothing is known. [H. H.]

KEILAH (קַיִלָּה, but in 1 Sam. xxiii. 5, קַיִלָּה: Κειλάμ, ἡ Κειλά; Alex. Κειλά; Joseph. Κίλλα, and the people of Κίλλανοί and of Κίλλῆται: *Ceila*: Luth. *Kejila*), a city of the Shefelah or lowland district of Judah, named, in company with NEZIB and MARESHAH, in the next group to the Philistine cities (Josh. xv. 44). Its main interest consists in its connexion with David. He rescued it from an attack of the Philistines, who had fallen upon the town at the beginning of the harvest (Jos. Ant. vi. 13, §1), plundered the corn from its threshing-floor, and driven off the cattle (1 Sam. xiii. 1). The prey was recovered by David (2-5), who then remained in the city till the completion of the in-gathering. It was then a fortified place,^b with walls, gates, and bars (1 Sam. xxiii. 7, and Joseph.). During this time the massacre of Nob was perpetrated, and Keilah became the repository of the sacred Ephod, which Abiathar the priest, the sole survivor, had carried off with him (ver. 6). But it was not destined long to enjoy the presence of these brave and hallowed inmates, nor indeed was it worthy of such good fortune, for the inhabitants soon plotted David's betrayal to Saul, then on his road to besiege the place. Of this intention David was warned by Divine intimation. He therefore left (1 Sam. xxiii. 7-13).

It will be observed that the word *Baali* is used by David to denote the inhabitants of Keilah, in this passage (ver. 11, 12; A. V. "men"); possibly pointing to the existence of Canaanites in the place [BAAL, p. 146b].

We catch only one more glimpse of the town, in the times after the Captivity, when Hashabiah, the ruler of one half the district of Keilah (or whatever the word *Pelec*, A. V., "part" may mean), and Bava ben-Henadad, ruler of the other half, assisted Nehemiah in the repair of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 17, 18). Keilah appears to have been known to Eusebius and Jerome. They describe it in the *Onomasticon* as existing under the name Κηλά, or *Ceila*, on the road from Eleutheropolis to Hebron,

at 8^c miles distance from the former. In the map of Lieut. Van de Velde (1858), the name *Kila* occurs attached to a site with ruins, on the lower road from *Beit Jibrin* to Hebron, at very nearly the right distance from *B. Jibrin* (almost certainly Eleutheropolis), and in the neighbourhood of *Beit Násib* (Nezib) and *Maresa* (Mareshah). The name was only reported to Lieut. V. (see his *Memoir*, p. 328), but it has been since visited by the indefatigable Tobler, who completely confirms the identification, merely remarking that *Kila* is placed a little too far south on the map. Thus another is added to the list of places which, though specified as in the "lowland," are yet actually found in the mountains: a puzzling fact in our present ignorance of the principles of the ancient boundaries. [JIPH-TAH; JUDAH, p. 1156b.]

In the 4th century a tradition existed that the prophet Habbakuk was buried at Keilah (*Onomasticon*, "Ceila"; Nicephorus, *H. E.* xii. 48; Casiodorus, in Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 29); but another tradition gives that honour to HUKKOK.

In 1 Chr. iv. 19, "KEILAH THE GARMITE" is mentioned, apparently—though it is impossible to say with certainty—as a descendant of the great Caleb (ver. 15). But the passage is extremely obscure, and there is no apparent connexion with the town Keilah. [G.]

KELAI'AH (קַלְיָה: Κωλία; Alex. Κωλά; Cod. Fred. Aug. Κωλεία, and Κωλίε; *Celala*) = KELITA (Ezr. x. 23). In the parallel list of 1 Esd. his name appears as COLIUS.

KE'LITA (קַלִּיטָא: Κωλίτας; Καλιτάν in Neh. x. 10: *Celita*; *Calita* in Ezr. x. 23), one of the Levites who returned from the captivity with Ezra, and had intermarried with the people of the land (Ezr. x. 23). In company with the other Levites he assisted Ezra in expounding the law (Neh. viii. 7), and entered into a solemn league and covenant to follow the law of God, and separate from admixture with foreign nations (Neh. x. 10). He is also called KELAI'AH, and in the parallel list of 1 Esd. his name appears as CALITAS.

KEM'UEL (קַמּוּיֵל: Καμουήλ: *Camuel*).

1. The son of Nahor by Milcah, and father of Aram, whom Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 414, note) identifies with Ram of Job xxxii. 2, to whose family Elihu belonged (Gen. xxii. 21).

2. The son of Shiptan, and prince of the tribe of Ephraim; one of the twelve men appointed by Moses to divide the land of Canaan among the tribes (Num. xxxiv. 24).

3. A Levite, father of Hashabiah, prince of the tribe in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 17).

KE'NAN (קַיִנָּן: Καϊνάν: *Cainan*) = CAINAN the son of Enos (1 Chr. i. 2), whose name is also correctly given in this form in the margin of Gen. v. 9.

KEN'ATH (קַנְתָּ: ἡ Κανθ, Alex. ἡ Κανσάθ in Chron. both MSS. *Kanath*: *Chanath*, *Canath*), one

^a The name may possibly be derived from קַהֲלָה, a congregation, with the local suffix הָ, which many of these names carry. Compare the name of another place of encampment, מַקְהֵלֶת, which appears to be from the same root.

^b This is said by Gesenius and others to be the signification of the name "Keilah." If this be so, there would almost appear to be a reference to this and

the contemporary circumstances of David's life, in Ps. xxxi.; not only in the expression (ver. 21), "marvellous kindness in a strong city" (עִיר חֲזָקָה), but also in ver. 8, and in the general tenour of the Psalm.

^c This is Jerome's correction of Eusebius, who gives 17—manifestly wrong, as the whole distance between Hebron and *Beit-Jibrin* is not more than 15 Roman miles.

of the cities on the east of Jordan, with its "daughter-towns" (A. V. "villages") taken possession of by a certain NOBAH, who then called it by his own name (Num. xxxi. 42). At a later period these towns, with those of Jair, were recaptured by Geshur and Aram (1 Chr. ii. 23^a). In the days of Eusebius (*Onom.* "Canath") it was still called Kanatha, and he speaks of it as "a village of Arabia . . . near Bozra." Its site has been recovered with tolerable certainty in our own times at *Kenawât*, a ruined town at the southern extremity of the *Lejah*, about 20 miles N. of *Bûsrah*, which was first visited by Burckhardt in 1810 (*Syria*, 83-86), and more recently by Porter (*Damascus*, ii. 87-115; *Handbk.* 512-14), the latter of whom gives a lengthened description and identification of the place. The suggestion that *Kenawât* was Kenath seems, however, to have been first made by Gesenius in his notes to Burckhardt (A. D. 1823, p. 505). Another Kenawit is marked on Van de Velde's map, about 10 miles farther to the west.

The name furnishes an interesting example of the permanence of an original appellation. NOBAH, though conferred by the conqueror, and apparently at one time the received name of the spot (Judg. viii. 11), has long since given way to the older title. Compare ACCHO, KIRJATH-ARBA, &c. [G.]

KENAZ (קנז: *Kenéz*: *Cenez*). 1. Son of Eliphaz, the son of Esau. He was one of the dukes of Edom, according to both lists, that in Gen. xxxvi. 15, 42, and that in 1 Chr. i. 53, and the founder of a tribe or family, who were called from him Kenezites (Josh. xiv. 14, &c.). Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, and Othniel, were the two most remarkable of his descendants. [CALEB.]

2. One of the same family, a grandson of Caleb, according to 1 Chr. iv. 15, where, however, the Hebrew text is corrupt. Another name has possibly fallen out before Kenaz. [A. C. H.]

KENEZITE (written **KENIZZITE**, A. V. Gen. xv. 19: קנזים: *Kenézaim*: *Cenezæus*), an Edomitish tribe (Num. xxxii. 12; Josh. xiv. 6, 14). [KENAZ.] It is difficult to account for the Kenezites existing as a tribe so early as before the birth of Isaac, as they appear to have come from Gen. xv. 19. If this tribe really existed then, and the enumeration of tribes in ver. 19-21 formed a part of what the Lord said to Abram, it can only be said, with Bochart (*Phaleg*, iv. 36), that these Kenezites are mentioned here only, that they had ceased to exist in the time of Moses and Joshua, and that nothing whatever is known of their origin or place of abode. But it is worth consideration

^a This passage is erroneously translated in the A. V. It should be, "And Geshur and Aram took the Havvoth-Jair, with Kenath and her daughters, sixty cities." See Bertheau, *Chronik*; Zunz's version; Targum of Joseph, &c. &c.

^b Josephus gives the name *Kenetides* (*Ant.* v. 5, §4); but in his notice of Saul's expedition (vi. 7, §3) he has τὸ τῶν Σαμαριτῶν ἔθνος—the form in which he elsewhere gives that of the Shechemites. No explanation of this presents itself to the writer. The Targums of Onkelos, Jonathan, and Pseudojon. uniformly render the Kenite by קנזים = *Salmaite*, possibly because in the genealogy of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 55) a branch of the Kenites come under Salma, son of Caleb. The same name is introduced in the Samarit. Versa. before "the Kenite" in Gen. xv. 19 only.

^c This passage is incorrectly rendered in the A. V. It should be, "And Heber the Kenite had severed

whether the enumeration may not be a later explanatory addition by Moses or some later editor, and so these Kenezites be descendants of Kenaz, whose adoption into Israel took place in the time of Caleb, which was the reason of their insertion in this place. [A. C. H.]

KENITE, THE, and KENITES, THE (קנזים and קנזים, i. e. "the Kenite;" in Chron. ii. 25; but in Num. xxiv. 22, and in Judg. iv. 11 b, קנזים, *Kain*: οἱ Κεναῖοι, ὁ Κιναῖος, οἱ Κεναῖοι: *Cinaeus*),^b a tribe or nation whose history is strangely interwoven with that of the chosen people. In the genealogical table of Gen. x. they do not appear. The first mention of them is in company with the Kenizzites and Kadmonites, in the list of the nations who then occupied the Promised Land (Gen. xv. 19). Their origin, therefore, like that of the two tribes just named, and of the Avvims (AVITES) is hidden from us. But we may fairly infer that they were a branch of the larger nation of MIDIAN—from the fact that Jethro, the father of Moses's wife, who in the records of Exodus (see ii. 15, 16, iv. 19, &c.) is represented as dwelling in the land of Midian, and as priest or prince of that nation, is in the narrative of Judges (i. 16, iv. 11^c) as distinctly said to have been a Kenite. As Midianites they were therefore descended immediately from Abraham by his wife Keturah, and in this relationship and their connexion with Moses we find the key to their continued alliance with Israel. The important services rendered by the sheikh of the Kenites to Moses during a time of great pressure and difficulty, were rewarded by the latter with a promise of firm friendship between the two peoples—"what goodness Jehovah shall do unto us, the same will we do to thee." And this promise was gratefully remembered long after to the advantage of the Kenites (1 Sam. xv. 6). The connexion then commenced lasted as firmly as a connexion could last between a settled people like Israel and one whose tendencies were so ineradicably nomadic as the Kenites. They seem to have accompanied the Hebrews during their wanderings. At any rate they were with them at the time of their entrance on the Promised Land. Their encampment—separate and distinct from the rest of the people—was within Balaam's view when he delivered his prophecy^d (Num. xxiv. 21, 22), and we may infer that they assisted in the capture of Jericho,^e the "city of palm-trees" (Judg. i. 16; comp. 2 Chr. xxviii. 15). But the wanderings of Israel over, they forsook the neighbourhood of the towns, and betook themselves to freer air—to "the wilderness of Judah, which

himself from Kain of the children of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses, and pitched," &c.

^d If it be necessary to look for a literal "fulfilment" of this sentence of Balaam's, we shall best find it in the accounts of the latter days of Jerusalem under Jehoiakim, when the Kenite Rechabites were so far "wasted" by the invading army of Assyria as to be driven to take refuge within the walls of the city, a step to which we may be sure nothing short of actual extremity could have forced these Children of the Desert. Whether Ashur carried them away captive^e with the other inhabitants we are not told, but it is at least probable.

^e It has been pointed out under HOBAB that one of the wadys opposite Jericho, the same by which, according to the local tradition, the Beni-Israel descended to the Jordan, retains the name of *Sho'ebik*. The Mussaman version of Hobab

is to the south of Arad" (Judg. i. 16), where "they dwelt among the people" of the district—the Amalekites who wandered in that dry region, and among whom they were living centuries later when Saul made his expedition there (1 Sam. xv. 6). Their alliance with Israel at this later date is shown no less by Saul's friendly warning than by David's feigned attack (xxvii. 10, and see xxx. 29).

But one of the sheikhs of the tribe, Heber by name, had wandered north instead of south, and at the time of the great struggle between the northern tribes and Jabin king of Hazor, his tents were pitched under the tree of Zaanaim, near Kedesh (Judg. iv. 11). Heber was in alliance with both the contending parties, but in the hour of extremity the ties of blood-relationship and ancient companionship proved strongest, and Sisera fell a victim to the hammer and the nail of Jael.

The most remarkable development of this people, exemplifying most completely their characteristics—their Belouin hatred of the restraints of civilization, their fierce determination, their attachment to Israel, together with a peculiar semi-monastic austerity not observable in their earlier proceedings—is to be found in the sect or family of the RECHABITES, founded by Rechab, or Jonadab his son, who come prominently forward on more than one occasion in the later history. [JEHONADAB; RECHABITES.]

The founder of the family appears to have been a certain Hammath (A. V. HEMATH) and a singular testimony is furnished to the connexion which existed between this tribe of Midianite wanderers and the nation of Israel, by the fact that their name and descent are actually included in the genealogies of the great house of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 55).

No further notices would seem to be extant of this interesting people. The name of *Ba-Kain* (abbreviated from *Bene el-Kain*) is mentioned by Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 337 note) as borne in comparatively modern days by one of the tribes of the desert; but little or no inference can be drawn from such similarity in names. [G.]

KEN'IZZITE. Gen. xv. 19. [KENEZITE.]

KEREN-HAPPUCH (קֶרֶן חַפְּצִים: 'Αμαλθαίας κέρας: *Cornustibii*), the youngest of the daughters of Job, born to him during the period of his reviving prosperity (Job xlii. 14), and so called probably from her great beauty. The Vulgate has correctly rendered her name "horn of antimony," the pigment used by Eastern ladies to colour their eyelashes; but the LXX., unless they had a different reading, adopted a current expression of their own age, without regard to strict accuracy, in representing Keren-happuch by "the horn of Amalthaea," or "horn of plenty."

KER'IOTH (קֶרְיֹוֹת, *i. e.* Keriyoth). 1. (*αἱ πόλεις*; Alex. *πόλις*: *Carioth*), a name which occurs among the lists of the towns in the southern district of Judah (Josh. xv. 25). According to the A. V. ("Kerioth,^b and Hezron") it denotes a distinct place from the name which follows it; but this separation is not in accordance with the ac-

centuation of the Rec. Hebrew text, and is now generally abandoned (see Keil, *Josua*, ad loc. and Reland, *Pal.* 700, 708; the versions of Zunz, Cahen, &c.), and the name taken as "Keriyoth-Hezron, which is Hazor," *i. e.* its name before the conquest was Hazor, for which was afterwards substituted Keriyoth-Hezron—the "cities of H."

Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 101), and Lieut. Van de Velde (ii. 82) propose to identify it with *Kurjetin* ("the two cities"), a ruined site which stands about 10 miles S. from Hebron, and 3 from *Main* (Maon).

Kerioth furnishes one, and that perhaps the oldest and most usual, of the explanations proposed for the title "Isariot," and which are enumerated under *JUDAS ISCARIOT*, vol. i. 1160b. But if Kerioth is to be read in conjunction with Hezron, as stated above, another difficulty is thrown in the way of this explanation.

2. (Καριόθ; *Carioth*), a city of Moab, named in the denunciations of Jeremiah—and there only—in company with Dibon, Beth-diblathaim, Bethmeon, Bozrah, and other places "far and near" (Jer. xlviii. 24). None of the ancient interpreters appear to give any clue to the position of this place. By Mr. Porter, however, it is unhesitatingly identified with *Kureiyeh*, a ruined town of some extent lying between *Busrah* and *Sulkhad*, in the southern part of the *Hauran* (*Five Years* &c. ii. 191-198; *Handbook*, 523, 4). The chief argument in favour of this is the proximity of *Kureiyeh* to *Busrah*, which Mr. Porter accepts as identical with the *BOZRAH* of the same passage of Jeremiah. But there are some considerations which stand very much in the way of these identifications. Jeremiah is speaking (xlviii. 21) expressly of the cities of the "Mishor" (A. V. "plain-country"), that is, the district of level downs east of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, which probably answered in whole or in part to the *Belka* of the modern Arabs. In this region were situated Heshbon, Dibon, Elealeh, Beth-meon, Kir-heres—the only places named in the passage in question, the positions of which are known with certainty. The most northern of these (Heshbon) is not farther north than the upper end of the Dead Sea; the most southern (Kir) lay near its lower extremity. Nor is there anything in the parallel denunciation of Moab by Isaiah (ch. xvi.) to indicate that the limits of Moab extended farther to the north. But *Busrah* and *Kureiyeh* are no less than 60 miles to the N.N.E. of Heshbon itself, beyond the limits even of the modern *Belka* (see Kiepert's map to *Wetzstein's Hauran und die Trachonen*, 1860), and in a country of an entirely opposite character from the "flat downs, of smooth and even turf" which characterise that district—"a savage and forbidding aspect . . . nothing but stones and jagged black rocks . . . the whole country around *Kureiyeh* covered with heaps of loose stones," &c. (Porter, ii. 189, 193). A more plausible identification would be *Kureiyat*, at the western foot of *Jebel Attarus*, and but a short distance from either Dibon, Bethmeon, or Heshbon.

But on the other hand it should not be overlooked that Jeremiah uses the expression "far and

^a A place named *KINAH*, possibly derived from the same root as the Kenites, is mentioned in the lists of the cities of "the south" of Judah. But there is nothing to imply any connexion between the two. [KINAH.]

^b In the A. V. of 1611 the punctuation was still

more marked—"and Kerioth: and Hezron, which is Hazor." This agrees with the version of Junius and Tremellius—"et Keriothae (Chetzron ea est Chetzor)," and with that of Luther. Castilio, on the other hand, has "Cariothesron, quae alias Hazor."

near" (ver. 24), and also that if *Busrah* and *Kureiyah* are not *Bozrah* and *Kerioth*, those important places have apparently flourished without any notice from the Sacred writers. This is one of the points which further investigation by competent persons, east of the Jordan, may probably set at rest.

Kerioth occurs in the A. V., also in ver. 41. Here however it bears the defective article (קִרְיֹתֹת): Alex. Ἀκκαριώθ: *Carioth*), and would appear to signify not any one definite place, but "the cities" of Moab"—as may also be the case with the same word in Amos ii. 2. [KIRIOTH.] [G.]

KEROS (קִירוֹס: *Káðhs*; Alex. *Kήραος* in *Ezr.* i. 44, קִירוֹס: *Kipás*; Alex. *Keipás* in *Neh.* vii. 47: *Ceros*), one of the Nethinim, whose descendants returned with Zerubbabel.

KETTLE (קִדְרֹת: *káðhs*), a vessel for culinary or sacrificial purposes (1 Sam. ii. 14). The Hebrew word is also rendered "basket" in *Jer.* xxiv. 2, "caldron" in 2 Chr. xxxv. 13, and "pot" in *Job* xii. 20. [CALDRON.] [H. W. P.]

KETURAH (קֵטוּרָה, "incense," Ges.: *Xετούρα*: *Cetura*), the "wife" whom Abraham "added and took" (A. V. "again took") besides, or after the death of, Sarah (*Gen.* xxv. 1; 1 Chr. i. 32). Gesenius and others adopt the theory that Abraham took Keturah after Sarah's death; but probability seems against it (compare *Gen.* xvii. 17, xviii. 11; *Rom.* iv. 19; and *Heb.* xi. 12), and we incline to the belief that the passage commencing with xxv. 1, and comprising perhaps the whole chapter, or at least as far as ver. 10, is placed out of its chronological sequence in order not to break the main narrative; and that Abraham took Keturah during Sarah's lifetime. That she was strictly speaking his wife is also very uncertain. The Hebrew word so translated in this place in the A. V., and by many scholars, is *Isháh*, of which the first meaning given by Gesenius is "a woman, of every age and condition, whether married or not;" and although it is commonly used with the signification of "wife," as opposed to husband, in *Gen.* xxx. 4, it occurs with the signification of concubine, "and she gave him Bilhah her handmaid to wife." In the record in 1 Chr. i. 32, Keturah is called a "concubine," and it is also said, in the two verses immediately following the genealogy of Keturah, that "Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac. But unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, while he yet lived, eastward, unto the east country" (*Gen.* xxv. 5, 6). Except Hagar, Keturah is the only person mentioned to whom this passage can relate; and in confirmation of this supposition we find strong evidence of a wide spread of the tribes sprung from Keturah, bearing the names of her sons, as we have mentioned in other articles. These sons were "Zimran, and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah" (ver. 2); besides the sons and grandsons of Jokshan, and the sons of Midian. They evidently crossed the desert to the Persian Gulf and occupied the whole intermediate country, where traces of their names are frequent, while Midian extended south into the peninsula of Arabia Proper.

* So Ewald, *Propheten*, "Die Städte Moabs."

אִשָּׁה.

The elder branch of the "sons of the concubines," however, was that of Ishmael. He has ever stood as the representative of the bondwoman's sons; and as such his name has become generally applied by the Arabs to all the Abrahamic settlers north of the Peninsula—besides the great Ishmaelite element of the nation.

In searching the works of Arab writers for any information respecting these tribes, we must be contented to find them named as Abraham, or even Ishmaelite, for under the latter appellation almost all the former are confounded by their descendants. Keturah herself is by them mentioned very rarely and vaguely, and evidently only in quoting from a rabbinical writer. (In the *Kámoos* the name is said to be that of the Turks, and that of a young girl (or slave) of Abraham; and, it is added, her descendants are the Turks!) M. Caussin de Perceval (*Essai*, i. 179) has endeavoured to identify her with the name of a tribe of the Amalekites (the 1st Amalek) called *Katoorá*,^d but his arguments are not of any weight. They rest on a weak etymology, and are contradicted by the statements of Arab authors as well as by the fact that the early tribes of Arabia (of which is *Katoorá*) have not, with the single exception of Amalek, been identified with any historical names; while the exception of Amalek is that of an apparently aboriginal people whose name is recorded in the Bible; and there are reasons for supposing that these early tribes were aboriginal. [E. S. P.]

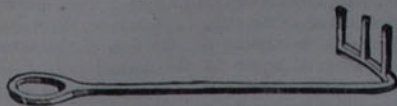
KEY (מַפְתָּח, from פָּתַח, "to open," Ges. p.

1138: *κλεῖς*; *clavis*). The key of a native Oriental lock is a piece of wood, from 7 inches to 2 feet in length, fitted with wires or short nails, which, being inserted laterally into the hollow bolt which serves as a lock, raises other pins within the staple so as to allow the bolt to be drawn back. But it is not difficult to open a lock of this kind even without a key, viz. with the finger dipped in paste or other adhesive substance. The passage *Cant.* v. 4, 5, is thus probably explained (*Harmer, Obs.* iii. 31; *vol.* i. 394, ed. Clarke; *Rauwollff*, ap. *Ray, Trav.* ii. 17). [LOCK.] The key, so vobal a symbol of authority, both in ancient and modern times, is named more than once in the Bible, especially *Is.* xxii. 22, a passage to which allusion is probably made in *Rev.* iii. 7. The expression "bearing the key on the shoulder" is thus a phrase used, sometimes perhaps in the literal sense, to denote possession of office; but there seems no reason to suppose, with Grotius, any figure of a key embroidered on the garment of the office-bearer (see *Is.* ix. 6). In Talmudic phraseology the Almighty was represented as "holding the keys" of various operations of nature, e. g. rain, death, &c., i. e. exercising dominion over them. The delivery of the key is therefore an act expressive of authority conferred, and the possession of it implies authority of some kind held by the receiver. The term "chamberlain," an officer whose mark of office is sometimes in modern times an actual key, is explained under *EUNUCH* (Grotius, *Calmet*, *Knobel*, on *Is.* xxii. 22; *Hammond*; *Lightfoot, Hor. Hebr.*; *De Wette* on *Matt.* xvi. 19; *Carpzov* on *Goodwin, Moses and Aaron*, pp. 141, 632; *Diet. of Antiq.* art. "Matrimonium"; *Ovid, Fast.* i. 99, 118, 125, 139; *Hofmann, Lex.*

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قنطوراء

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قنطوراء

"Camerarius;" Chambers, *Dict.* "Chamberlain;" E. L. and, *Ant. Hebr.* ii. 3, 5.) [H. W. P.]



Iron Key. (From Thebes.)

KEZIA (קֶזְיָה: *Kasia*; Alex. *Kasasia*: *Cassia*), the second of the daughters of Job, born to him after his recovery (Job xlii. 14).

KEZI'Z, THE VALLEY OF (קֶזִי'ז: *Auekasis*; Alex. *Ἀμεικασίς*: *Vallis Casis*), one of the "cities" of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 21). That it was the eastern border of the tribe, is evident from its mention in company with BETH-HOGLAH and BETH-HA-ARABAH. The name does not re-appear in the O. T., but it is possibly intended under the corrupted form BETH-BASI, in 1 Macc. ix. 62, 64. The name, if Hebrew, is derivable from a root meaning to cut off (Ges. *Thes.* 1229; Simonis, *Onom.* 70). Is it possible that it can have any connexion with the general circumcision which took place at Gilgal, certainly in the same neighbourhood, after the Jordan was crossed (Josh. v. 2-9)? [G.]

KIB'ROTH - HATTA'AVAH (קִבְרוֹת הַתְּאוּחָה: *μηματὰ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας*: *sepulchra concupiscentiæ*), Num. xi. 34; marg.; "the graves of lust" (comp. xxxiii. 17). From there being no change of spot mentioned between it and Taberah in xi. 3, it is probably, like the latter, about three days' journey from Sinai (x. 33); and from the sea being twice mentioned in the course of the narrative (xi. 22, 31), a maritime proximity may perhaps be inferred. Here it seems they abode a whole month, during which they went on eating quails, and perhaps suffering from the plague which followed. If the conjecture of *Hādherā* (Burekhardt, p. 495; Robinson, i. 151) as a site for Hazereth [see HAZEROTH] be adopted, then "the graves of lust" may be perhaps within a day's journey thence in the direction of Sinai, and would lie within 15 miles of the Gulf of Akabah; but no traces of any graves have ever been detected in the region.^a Both Schubert, between Sinai and the *Wady Murrāh* (*Reisen*, 360), and Stanley (*S. & P.* 82), just before reaching *Hādherā*, encountered flights of birds—the latter says of "red-legged cranes." Ritter^b speaks of such flights as a constant phenomenon, both in this peninsula and in the Euphrates region. Burekhardt, *Travels in Syria*, 406, 8 Aug., quotes Russell's

^a Save one of a Mahomedan saint (Stanley, *S. & P.* 78), which does not assist the question.

^b He remarks on the continuance of the law of nature in animal habits through a course of thousands of years (xiv. 261).

^c Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 33, says quails settle on the sails of ships by night, so as to sink sometimes the ships in the neighbouring sea. So Diod. Sic. i. p. 88: τὰς θήρας τῶν ὀρνέων ἐπιούσιντο, ἐφέροντο τε ὄρτοι κατ' ἀγέλας. μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους (Lepsius, *Thebes to Sinai*, 23). Comp. Joseph. *Ant.* iii. l. 56; and Froy-

tag, *Lex. Arab.* s. v. قطا; also Kalisch on Ex. xvi. 13, where an incidental mention of the bird occurs. The Linnæan name appears to be *Tetrao Alehata*.

^d The name is derived by Gesenius and others from קִרְ, "black;" either, according to Robinson, from

Aleppo, ii. 194, and says the bird *Katta* is found in great numbers in the neighbourhood of *Tāfleh*. [TOPHEL.] He calls it a species of partridge, or "not improbably the *Selova* or quail." Boys not uncommonly kill three or four of them at one throw with a stick." [H. H.]

KIBZA IM (קִבְצִים: Vat. omits; Alex. ἡ Καβ-σάειμ: *Cebtain*), a city of Mount-Ephraim, not named in the meagre, and probably imperfect, lists of the towns of that great tribe (see Josh. xvi.), but mentioned elsewhere as having been given up with its "suburbs" to the Kohathite Levites (xxi. 22). In the parallel list of 1 Chr. vi. JOKMEAM is substituted for Kibzaim (ver. 68), an exchange which, as already pointed out under the former name, may have arisen from the similarity between the two in the original. Jokmeam would appear to have been situated at the eastern quarter of Ephraim. But this is merely inference, no trace having been hitherto discovered of either name.

Interpreted as a Hebrew word, Kibzaim signifies "two heaps." [G.]

KID. [GOAT: see Appendix A.]

KID'RON, THE BROOK (נַחַל קִדְרוֹן: *ἡ χεῖμαρρος Κέδρων* and τῶν κέδρων; in Jer. only *Náxal Kédron*, and Alex. *χεῖμαρρος Νάχαλ K.*: *torrents Cedron*), a torrent or valley—not a "brook," as in the A. V.—in immediate proximity to Jerusalem. It is not named in the earlier records of the country, or in the specification of the boundaries of Benjamin or Judah, but comes forward in connexion with some remarkable events of the history. It lay between the city and the Mount of Olives, and was crossed by David in his flight (2 Sam. xv. 23, comp. 30), and by our Lord on His way to Gethsemane (John xviii. 1; comp. Mark xiv. 26; Luke xxii. 39). Its connexion with these two occurrences is alone sufficient to leave no doubt that the Nachal-Kidron is the deep ravine on the east of Jerusalem, now commonly known as the "Valley of Jehoshaphat." But it would seem as if the name were formerly applied also to the ravines surrounding other portions of Jerusalem—the south or the west; since Solomon's prohibition to Shimei to "pass over the torrent Kidron" (1 K. ii. 37; Jos. *Ant.* viii. 1, §5) is said to have been broken by the latter when he went in the direction of Gath to seek his fugitive slaves (41, 42). Now a person going to Gath would certainly not go by the way of the Mount of Olives, or approach the eastern side of the city at all. The route—whether Gath were at *Beit-Jibrān* or at *Tell es-Safieh*—would be by the

the turbidness of its stream (comp. Job vi. 16; though the words of Job imply that this was a condition of all brooks when frozen); or more appropriately, with Stanley, from the depth and obscurity of the ravine (*S. & P.* 172); possibly also—though this is proposed with hesitation—from the impurity which seems to have attached to it from a very early date.

We cannot, however, too often insist on the great uncertainty which attends the derivations of these ancient names; and in treating Kidron as a Hebrew word, we may be making a mistake almost as absurd as that of the copyists who altered it into τῶν κέδρων, believing that it arose from the presence of cedars.

^e Here, and here only, the form used in the A. V. is CEDRON. The variations in the Greek text are very curious. Codex A has τῶν κέδρων; B, τῶν κέδρων; D, τῶν κέδρων, and in some cursive MSS. quoted by Tischendorf we even find τῶν δένδρων

Bethlehem-gate, and then nearly due west. Perhaps the prohibition may have been a more general one than is implied in ver. 37 (comp. the king's reiteration of it in ver. 42), the Kidron being in that case specially mentioned because it was on the road to Bahurim, Shimei's home, and the scene of his crime. At any rate, beyond the passage in question, there is no evidence of the name Kidron having been applied to the southern or western ravines of the city.

The distinguishing peculiarity of the Kidron valley—that in respect to which it is most frequently mentioned in the O. T.—is the impurity which appears to have been ascribed to it. Excepting the two casual notices already quoted, we first meet with it as the place in which King Asa demolished and burnt the obscene phallic idol (vol. i. 849a) of his mother (1 K. xv. 13; 2 Chr. xv. 16). Next we find the wicked Athaliah hurried thither to execution (Jos. Ant. ix. 7, §3; 2 K. xi. 16). It then becomes the regular receptacle for the impurities and abominations of the idol-worship, when removed from the Temple and destroyed by the adherents of Jehovah^a (2 Chr. xxix. 16, xxx. 14; 2 K. xxiii. 4, 6, 12). In the course of these narratives the statement of Josephus just quoted as to the death of Athaliah is supported by the fact that in the time of Josiah it was the common cemetery of the city (2 K. xxiii. 6; comp. Jer. xxvi. 23, "graves of the common people"), perhaps the "valley of dead bodies" mentioned by Jeremiah (xxxi. 40) in close connexion with the "fields" of Kidron; and the restoration of which to sanctity was to be one of the miracles of future times (*ibid.*).

How long the valley continued to be used for a burying-place it is very hard to ascertain. After the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 the bodies of the slain were buried outside the Golden Gateway (Mislin, ii. 487; Tobler, *Umgebungen*, 218); but what had been the practice in the interval the writer has not succeeded in tracing. To the date of the monuments at the foot of Olivet we have at present no clue; but even if they are of pre-Christian times there is no proof that they are tombs. From the date just mentioned, however, the burials appear to have been constant, and at present it is the favourite resting-place of Moslems and Jews, the former on the west, the latter on the east of the valley. The Moslems are mostly confined to the narrow level spot between the foot of the wall and the commencement of the precipitous slope; while the Jews have possession of the lower part of the slopes of Olivet, where their scanty tombstones are crowded so thick together as literally to cover the surface like a pavement.

The term *Nachal*^b is in the O. T., with one single exception (2 K. xxiii. 4), attached to the name of Kidron, and apparently to that alone of the valleys or ravines of Jerusalem. Hinnom is always the *Ge*. This enables us to infer with great probability that the Kidron is intended in 2 Chr. xxxii. 4, by the "brook (*Nachal*) which ran through the midst of the land;" and that Hezekiah's preparations for the siege consisted in sealing the source of the Kidron—"the upper

^a The Targum appears to understand the obscure passage Zeph. i. 11, as referring to the destruction of the idolatrous worship in Kidron, for it renders it, "How! all ye that dwell in the *Nachal* Kidron, for all the people are broken whose works were like the works of the people of the land of Canaan." [MAKTESH.]

^b *Nachal* is untranslatable in English unless by

springhead (not 'watercourse,' as A. V.) of Gihon' where it burst out in the wady some distance north of the city, and leading it by a subterranean channel to the interior of the city. If this is so, there is no difficulty in accounting for the fact of the subsequent want of water in the ancient bed of the Kidron. In accordance with this also is the specification of Gihon as "Gihon-in-the-Nachal"—that is, in the Kidron valley—though this was probably the lower of two outlets of the same name. [GIHON.] By Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, it is mentioned as "close to Jerusalem on the eastern side, and spoken of by John the Evangelist." But the favourite name of this valley at the time of Jerome, and for several centuries after, was "the valley of Jehoshaphat," and the name Kidron, or, in accordance with the orthography of the Vulgate, Cedron, is not invariably found in the travellers (see Arculf, *E. Trav.* 1; Saewulf, 41; Benjamin of Tudela; Maundeville, *E. Trav.* 176; Thietmar, 27; but not the Bordeaux Pilgrim, the Citez de Jherusalem, Willibald, &c.).

The following description of the valley of Kidron in its modern state—at once the earliest and the most accurate which we possess—is taken from Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* i. 269):—

"In approaching Jerusalem from the high mosque of *Nebî Samu'el* in the N.W. the traveller first descends and crosses the bed of the great *Wady Beit Hanina* already described. He then ascends again towards the S.E. by a small side wady and along a rocky slope for twenty-five minutes, when he reaches the Tombs of the Judges, lying in a small gap or depression of the ridge, still half an hour distant from the northern gate of the city. A few steps further he reaches the watershed between the great wady behind him and the tract before him; and here is the head of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. From this point the dome of the Holy Sepulchre bears S. by E. The tract around this spot is very rocky; and the rocks have been much cut away, partly in quarrying building-stone, and partly in the formation of sepulchres. The region is full of excavated tombs; and these continue with more or less frequency on both sides of the valley, all the way down to Jerusalem. The valley runs for 15 minutes directly towards the city; it is here shallow and broad, and in some parts tilled, though very stony. The road follows along its bottom to the same point. The valley now turns nearly east, almost at a right angle, and passes to the northward of the Tombs of the Kings and the *Muslim Wady* before mentioned. Here it is about 200 rods distant from the city; and the tract between is tolerably level ground, planted with olive-trees. The *Nabulus* road crosses it in this part, and ascends the hill on the north. The valley is here still shallow, and runs in the same direction for about 10 minutes. It then bends again to the south, and, following this general course, passes between the city and the Mount of Olives.

"Before reaching the city, and also opposite its northern part, the valley spreads out into a basin

"Wady," to which it answers exactly, and which bids fair to become shortly an English word. It does not signify the stream, or the valley which contained the bed of the stream, and was its receptacle when swollen by winter-rains—but both. [RIVER.]

* See a slight correction of this by Tobler, *Umgebungen*, 22.

of some breadth, which is tilled, and contains plantations of olive and other fruit-trees. In this part it is crossed obliquely by a road leading from the N.E. corner of Jerusalem across the northern part of the Mount of Olives to *'Anāta*. Its sides are still full of excavated tombs. As the valley descends, the steep side upon the right becomes more and more elevated above it; until, at the gate of St. Stephen, the height of this brow is about 100 feet. Here a path winds down from the gate on a course S.E. by E., and crosses the valley by a bridge; beyond which are the church with the Tomb of the Virgin, Gethsemane, and other plantations of olive-trees, already described. The path and bridge are on a causeway, or rather terrace, built up across the valley, perpendicular on the south side; the earth being filled in on the northern side up to the level of the bridge. The bridge itself consists of an arch, open on the south side, and 17 feet high from the bed of the channel below; but the north side is built up, with two subterranean drains entering it from above; one of which comes from the sunken court of the Virgin's Tomb, and the other from the fields further in the north-west. The breadth of the valley at this point will appear from the measurements which I took from St. Stephen's Gate to Gethsemane, along the path, viz.—

	Eng. feet.
1. From St. Stephen's Gate to the brow of the descent, level	135
2. Bottom of the slope, the angle of the descent being 164°	415
3. Bridge, level	140
4. N.W. corner of Gethsemane, slight rise	145
5. N.E. corner of do. do.	150

The last three numbers give the breadth of the proper bottom of the valley at this spot, viz. 435 feet, or 145 yards. Further north it is somewhat broader.

“Below the bridge the valley contracts gradually, and sinks more rapidly. The first continuous traces of a water-course or torrent-bed commence at the bridge, though they occur likewise at intervals higher up. The western hill becomes steeper and more elevated; while on the east the Mount of Olives rises much higher, but is not so steep. At the distance of 1000 feet from the bridge on a course S. 10° W. the bottom of the valley has become merely a deep gully, the narrow bed of a torrent, from which the hills rise directly on each side. Here another bridge^d is thrown across it on an arch; and just by on the left are the alleged tombs of Jehoshaphat, Absalom, and others; as also the Jewish cemetery. The valley now continues of the same character, and follows the same course (S. 10° W.) for 550 feet further; where it makes a sharp turn for a moment towards the right. This portion is the narrowest of all; it is here a mere ravine between high mountains. The S.E. corner of the area of the mosque overhangs this part, the corner of the wall standing upon the very brink of the declivity. From it to the bottom, on a course S.E. the angle of depression is 27°, and the distance 450 feet, giving an elevation of 128 feet at that point; to which may be added 20 feet or more for the rise of ground just north along the wall; making in all an elevation of about 150 feet. This, however, is the highest point above the valley; for further south the narrow ridge of Ophel

slopes down as rapidly as the valley itself. In this part of the valley one would expect to find, if anywhere, traces of ruins thrown down from above, and the ground raised by the rubbish thus accumulated. Occasional blocks of stone are indeed seen; but neither the surface of the ground, nor the bed of the torrent, exhibits any special appearance of having been raised or interrupted by masses of ruins.

“Below the short turn above mentioned, a line of 1025 feet on a course S.W. brings us to the Fountain of the Virgin, lying deep under the western hill. The valley has now opened a little; but its bottom is still occupied only by the bed of the torrent. From here a course S. 20° W. carried us along the village of Siloam (*Kefr Seluām*) on the eastern side, and at 1170 feet we were opposite the mouth of the Tyropeon and the Pool of Siloam, which lies 255 feet within it. The mouth of this valley is still 40 or 50 feet higher than the bed of the Kidron. The steep descent between the two has been already described as built up in terraces, which, as well as the strip of level ground below, are occupied with gardens belonging to the village of Siloam. These are irrigated by the waters of the Pool of Siloam, which at this time were lost in them. In these gardens the stones have been removed, and the soil is a fine mould. They are planted with fig and other fruit-trees, and furnish also vegetables for the city. Elsewhere the bottom of the valley is thickly strewn with small stones.

“Further down, the valley opens more and is tilled. A line of 685 feet on the same course (S. 20° W.) brought us to a rocky point of the eastern hill, here called the Mount of Offence, over against the entrance of the Valley of Hinnom. Thence to the well of Job or Nehemiah is 275 feet due south. At the junction of the two valleys the bottom forms an oblong plat, extending from the gardens above mentioned nearly to the well of Job, and being 150 yards or more in breadth. The western and north-western parts of this plat are in like manner occupied by gardens; many of which are also on terraces, and receive a portion of the waters of Siloam.

“Below the well of Nehemiah the Valley of Jehoshaphat continues to run S.S.W. between the Mount of Offence and the Hill of Evil Counsel, so called. At 130 feet is a small cavity or outlet by which the water of the well sometimes runs off. At about 1200 feet, or 400 yards, from the well is a place under the western hill, where in the rainy season water flows out as from a fountain. At about 1500 feet or 500 yards below the well the valley bends off S. 75° E. for half a mile or more, and then turns again more to the south, and pursues its way to the Dead Sea. At the angle where it thus bends eastward a small wady comes in from the west, from behind the Hill of Evil Counsel. The width of the main valley below the well, as far as to the turn, varies from 50 to 100 yards; it is full of olive and fig-trees, and is in most parts ploughed and sown with grain. Further down it takes the name among the Arabs of *Wady er-Rāhib*. ‘Monks’ Valley,’ from the convent of St. Saba situated on it; and still nearer to the Dead Sea it is also called *Wady en-Nār*, ‘Fire Valley.’^e

^d For a minute account of the two bridges, see Tobler, *Umgebungen*, 35-39.

^e A list of some of the plants found in this valley

is given by Mislin (iii. 209); and some scraps of information about the valley itself at p. 199.

"The channel of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the Brook Kidron of the Scriptures, is nothing more than the dry bed of a wintry torrent, bearing marks of being occasionally swept over by a large volume of water. No stream flows here now except during the heavy rains of winter, when the waters descend into it from the neighbouring hills. Yet even in winter there is no constant flow; and our friends, who had resided several years in the city, had never seen a stream running through the valley. Nor is there any evidence that there was anciently more water in it than at present. Like the wadis of the desert, the valley probably served of old, as now, only to drain off the waters of the rainy season."

One point is unnoticed in Dr. Robinson's description, sufficiently curious and well-attested to merit further careful investigation—the possibility that the Kedron flows below the present surface of the ground. Dr. Barclay (*City*, &c. 302) mentions "a fountain that bursts forth during the winter in a valley entering the Kedron from the north, and flows several hundred yards before it sinks;" and again he testifies that at a point in the valley about two miles below the city the murmurings of a stream deep below the ground may be distinctly heard, which stream, on excavation, he actually discovered (*ibid.*). His inference is that between the two points the brook is flowing in a subterranean channel, as is "not at all unfrequent in Palestine" (p. 303). Nor is this a modern discovery, for it is spoken of by William of Tyre; by Brocardus (*Descr.* cap. viii.), as audible near the "Tomb of the Virgin;" and also by Fabri (i. 370), Marinus Sanutus (3, 14, 9), and others.

That which Dr. Robinson complains that neither he nor his friends were fortunate enough to witness has since taken place. In the winter of 1853-4 so heavy were the rains, that not only did the lower part of the Kidron, below the so-called well of Nehemiah or Joab, run with a considerable stream for the whole of the month of March (Barclay, 515), but also the upper part, "in the middle section of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, flowed for a day or two" (Stewart, *Tent & Khan*, 316). The Well of Joab is probably one of the outlets of the mysterious spring which flows below the city of Jerusalem, and

"During the latter rains of February and March the well *Ain Ayub* is a subject of much speculation and interest to all dwellers in the city. If it overflows and discharges its waters down the *Wady-en-Nar*, the lower part of the Kidron, then they are certain that they will have abundance of water during the summer; if there is no overflow, their minds are filled with forebodings." (Stewart, 316.)

1. (a) **שָׂרָר**, "flesh," *οἰκείος*; *caro*. (b) **שָׂרָרָה**, "kinswoman," also "kindred," *οἰκεία*, *caro*, from **שָׂרָר**, "to swell," also "to remain," *i. e.* "be superfluous." Whence comes **שָׂרָר**, "remainder," Ges. 1349-50. Hence, in Lev. xviii. 6, A. V. has in margin "remainder."

2. **בִּשְׂרָר**, "flesh," *σάρξ*, *caro*, from **בִּשְׂרָר**, "be joyful," *i. e.* conveying the notion of beauty, Ges. p. 248.

3. **בִּשְׂרָרָה**, "family," *φυλὴ*, *familia*, applied both to races and single families of mankind, and also to animals.

4. (a) **מוֹדַע**, **מוֹדַע**, and in Keri **מוֹדַע**, from **יָדַע**, "see," "know." (b) Also, from same root, **מוֹדַעַת**, "kindred;" and hence "kinsmar," or

its overflow is comparatively common; but the flowing of a stream in the upper part of the valley would seem not to have taken place for many years before the occasion in question, although it occurred also in the following winter (*Jewish Intelligencer*, May 1856, p. 137 note), and, as the writer is informed, has since become almost periodical. [G.]

KINAH (קִינָה) 'Κῆμα; Alex. *Kinā*: *Cina*, a city of Judah, one of those which lay on the extreme south boundary of the tribe, next to Edom (Josh. xv. 22). It is mentioned in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome, but not so as to imply that they had any actual knowledge of it. With the sole exception of Schwarz (99), it appears to be unmentioned by any traveller, and the "town *Cinah* situated near the wilderness of *Zin*" with which he would identify it, is not to be found in his own or any other map.

Professor Stanley (*S. & P.* 160) very ingeniously connects *Kinah* with the *Kenites* (קִינִי), who settled in this district (Judg. i. 16). But it should not be overlooked that the list in Josh. xv. purports to record the towns as they were at the conquest, while the settlement of the *Kenites* probably (though not certainly) did not take place till after it. [G.]

KINDRED.^a I. Of the special names denoting relation by consanguinity, the principal will be found explained under their proper heads, **FATHER**, **BROTHER**, &c. It will be there seen that the words which denote near relation in the direct line are used also for the other superior or inferior degrees in that line, as grandfather, grandson, &c.

On the meaning of the expression *Sh'ér basar* (see below 1 and 2) much controversy has arisen. *Sh'ér*, as shown below, is in Lev. xviii. 6, in marg. of A. V., "remainder." The rendering, however, of *Sh'ér basar* in text of A. V., "near of kin," may be taken as correct, but, as Michaelis shows, without determining the precise extent to which the expression itself is applicable (Mich. *Laws of Moses*, ii. 48, ed. Smith; Knobel on *Leviticus*; see also Lev. xxv. 49; Num. xxvii. 11).

II. The words which express collateral consanguinity are—1. uncle;^b 2. aunt;^c 3. nephew;^d 4. niece (not in A. V.); 5. cousin.^e

"kinswoman," used, like "acquaintance," in both senses, Ges. p. 574. But Buxtorf limits (*b*) to the abstract sense, (*a*) to the concrete, *γνώριμος*, *propinquus*.

5. **אָחוּה**, "brotherhood," *διαθήκη*, *germanitas*, Ges. p. 63.

Nearly allied with the foregoing in sense are the following general terms:—

6. **כְּרוֹב**, "near," hence "a relative," *ὁ ἐγγύς*, *propinquus*, Ges. p. 1234.

7. **נֶאֱחָל**, from **נָחַל**, "redeem," Ges. p. 252, *ὁ ἀγαπιστεύων*, "a kinsman," *i. e.* the relative to whom belonged the right of redemption or of vengeance.

^b **דָּוָר**, *ἀδελφός τοῦ πατρός*, *εἰκείος*; *patruus*.

^c **דְּרָה** or **דְּרָה**, *ἡ συγγενής*, *avoz patruī*.

^d **בֵּן**, in connexion with **נֶכֶד**, "offspring;" but see

JOCHEBED. It is rendered "nephew" in A. V., but indicates a descendant in general, and is usually so rendered by LXX. and Vulg. See Ges. p. 861.

^e *συγγενής*, *cognatus*, Luke i. 36, 58.

III. The terms of affinity are—1. (a) father-in-law,^f (b) mother-in-law;^g 2. (a) son-in-law,^h (b) daughter-in-law;ⁱ 3. (a) brother-in-law,^k (b) sister-in-law.^m

The relations of kindred, expressed by few words, and imperfectly defined in the earliest ages, acquired in course of time greater significance and wider influence. The full list of relatives either by consanguinity, *i. e.* as arising from a common ancestor, or by affinity, *i. e.* as created by marriage, may be seen detailed in the *Corpus Juris Civ. Digest. lib. xxxviii. tit. 10, de Gradibus*; see also *Corp. Jur. Canon. Decr. ii. c. xxxv. 9, 5.*

The domestic and economical questions arising out of kindred may be classed under the three heads of MARRIAGE, INHERITANCE, and BLOOD-REVENGE, and the reader is referred to the articles on those subjects for information thereon. It is clear that the tendency of the Mosaic Law was to increase the restrictions on marriage, by defining more precisely the relations created by it, as is shown by the cases of Abraham and Moses. [ISCAH; JOCHEBED.] For information on the general subject of kindred and its obligations, see Selden, *de Jure Naturali*, lib. v.; Michaelis, *Laus of Moses*, ed. Smith, ii. 36; Knobel on Lev. xviii.; Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* iii. 3, 4, 5, vol. ii. 301-304, ed. Mangey; Burckhardt, *Arab Tribes*, i. 150; Keil, *Bibl. Arch.* ii. p. 50, §106, 107.

[H. W. P.]

KINE. [COW: See Appendix A.]

KING (מֶלֶךְ, *melok*; βασιλεύς: *rex*), the name of the Supreme Ruler of the Hebrews during a period of about 500^a years previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, B.C. 586. It was borne first by the Ruler of the 12 Tribes united, and then by the Rulers of Judah and Israel separately.

The immediate occasion of the substitution of a regal form of government for that of the Judges, seems to have been the siege of Jabesh-Gilead by Nahash, king of the Ammonites (1 Sam. xi. 1, xii. 12), and the refusal to allow the inhabitants of that city to capitulate, except on humiliating and cruel conditions (1 Sam. xi. 2, 4-6). The conviction seems to have forced itself on the Israelites that they could not resist their formidable neighbour unless they placed themselves under the sway of a king, like surrounding nations. Concurrently with this conviction, disgust had been excited by the corrupt administration of justice under the sons of Samuel, and a radical change was desired by them in this respect also (1 Sam. viii. 3-5). Accordingly the original idea of a Hebrew king was twofold: first, that he should lead the people to battle in time of war; and, 2ndly, that he should ex-

ecute judgment and justice to them in war and in peace (1 Sam. viii. 20). In both respects the desired end was attained. The righteous wrath and military capacity of Saul were immediately triumphant over the Ammonites; and though ultimately he was defeated and slain in battle with the Philistines, he put even them to flight⁺ on more than one occasion (1 Sam. xiv. 23, xvii. 52), and generally waged successful war against the surrounding nations (1 Sam. xiv. 47). His successor, David, entered on a series of brilliant conquests over the Philistines, Moabites, Syrians, Edomites, and Ammonites [see DAVID, vol. i. 410]; and the Israelites, no longer confined within the narrow bounds of Palestine, had an empire extending from the river Euphrates to Gaza, and from the entering in of Hamath to the river of Egypt (1 K. iv. 21). In the meanwhile complaints cease of the corruption of justice; and Solomon not only consolidated and maintained in peace the empire of his father, David, but left an enduring reputation for his wisdom as a judge. Under this expression, however, we must regard him, not merely as pronouncing decisions, primarily, or in the last resort, in civil and criminal cases, but likewise as holding public levees and transacting public business "at the gate," when he would receive petitions, hear complaints, and give summary decisions on various points, which in a modern European kingdom would come under the cognizance of numerous distinct public departments.

To form a correct idea of a Hebrew king, we must abstract ourselves from the notions of modern Europe, and realise the position of Oriental sovereigns. It would be a mistake to regard the Hebrew government as a limited monarchy, in the English sense of the expression. It is stated in 1 Sam. x. 25, that Samuel "told the people the manner^b of the kingdom, and wrote it in the book and laid it before the Lord," and it is barely possible that this may refer to some statement respecting the boundaries of the kingly power. But no such document has come down to us; and if it ever existed, and contained restrictions of any moment on the kingly power, it was probably disregarded in practice. The following passage of Sir John Malcolm respecting the Shahs of Persia, may, with some slight modifications, be regarded as fairly applicable to the Hebrew monarchy under David and Solomon:—"The monarch of Persia has been pronounced to be one of the most absolute in the world. His word has ever been deemed a law; and he has probably never had any further restraint upon the free exercise of his vast authority than has arisen from his regard for religion, his respect for established usages, his desire of reputation, and

but this is in a speech, and statistical accuracy may have been foreign to the speaker's ideas on that occasion. And there are difficulties in admitting that he reigned so long as forty years. See Winer *sub voc.*, and the article SAUL in this volume. It is only in the reign of David that mention is first made of the "recorder" or "chronicler" of the king (2 Sam. viii. 16). Perhaps the contemporary notation of dates may have commenced in David's reign.

^b The word מַנְשֵׁב, translated "manner" in the A. V., is translated in the LXX. *δικαίωμα*, *i. e.* statute or ordinance (see Ecclus. iv. 17, Bar. ii. 12, iv. 13). But Josephus seems to have regarded the document as a prophetic statement, read before the king, of the calamities which were to arise from the kingly power, as a kind of protest recorded for succeeding ages (see *Ant.* vi. 4, §c).

^f הָסֵר, *peitheros*, *socer*.

^g הַמָּוֶת, *peithera*, *socrus*.

^h הַתָּן, *gambrós*, *socer*, from הָתַן, "give in marriage," whence come part. in Kal. תָּתַן, m., and תָּתַן, f. father-in-law and mother-in-law, *i. e.* parents who give a daughter in marriage.

ⁱ בִּלְהָ, *númfá*, *nurus*.

^j אָבִי, *ádelphos* τοῦ ἀνδρός, *levir*.

^m אָבִי, *ádelphos*, *uzor fratris*.

^a The precise period depends on the length of the reign of Saul, for estimating which there are no certain data. In the O. T. the exact length is nowhere mentioned. In Acts xiii. 21 forty years are specified;

his fear of exciting an opposition that might be dangerous to his power, or to his life" (Malcolm's *India, Persia*, vol. ii. 303; compare Elphinstone's *India, or the Indian Mahometan Empire*, book viii. c. 3). It must not, however, be supposed to have been either the understanding, or the practice, that the sovereign might seize at his discretion the private property of individuals. Ahab did not venture to seize the vineyard of Naboth till, through the testimony of false witnesses, Naboth had been convicted of blasphemy; and possibly his vineyard may have been seized as a confiscation, without flagrantly outraging public sentiment in those who did not know the truth (1 K. xi. 6). But no monarchy perhaps ever existed in which it would not be regarded as an outrage, that the monarch should from covetousness seize the private property of an innocent subject in no ways dangerous to the state. And generally, when Sir John Malcolm proceeds as follows, in reference to "one of the most absolute" monarchs in the world, it will be understood that the Hebrew king, whose power might be described in the same way, is not, on account of certain restraints which exist in the nature of things, to be regarded as "a limited monarch" in the European use of the words. "We may assume that the power of the king of Persia is by usage absolute over the property and lives of his conquered enemies, his rebellious subjects, his own family, his ministers, over public officers civil and military, and all the numerous train of domestics; and that he may punish any person of these classes, without examination or formal procedure of any kind: in all other cases that are capital, the forms prescribed by law and custom are observed; the monarch only commands, when the evidence has been examined and the law declared, that the sentence shall be put in execution, or that the condemned culprit shall be pardoned" (vol. ii. 306). In accordance with such usages, David ordered Uriah to be treacherously exposed to death in the forefront of the hottest battle (2 Sam. xi. 15); he caused Rechab and Baanah to be slain instantly, when they brought him the head of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. iv. 12); and he is represented as having on his death-bed recommended Solomon to put Joab and Shimei to death (1 K. ii. 5-9). In like manner, Solomon caused to be killed, without trial, not only his elder brother Adonijah, and Joab, whose execution might be regarded as the exceptional acts of a dismal state-policy in the beginning of his reign, but likewise Shimei, after having been seated on the throne three years. And King Saul, in resentment at their connivance with David's escape, put to death 85 priests, and caused a massacre of the inhabitants of Nob, including women, children, and sucklings (1 Sam. xxii. 18, 19).

Besides being commander-in-chief of the army, supreme judge, and absolute master, as it were, of the lives of his subjects, the king exercised the power of imposing taxes on them, and of exacting from them personal service and labour. Both these points seem clear from the account given (1 Sam. viii. 11-17) of the evils which would arise from the kingly power; and are confirmed in various ways. Whatever mention may be made of con-

sulting "old men," or "elders of Israel," we never read of their deciding such points as these. When Pul, the king of Assyria, imposed a tribute on the kingdom of Israel, "Menahem, the king," exacted the money of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man 50 shekels of silver (2 K. xv. 19). And when Jehoikim, king of Judah, gave his tribute of silver and gold to Pharaoh, he taxed the land to give the money; he exacted the silver and gold of the people of every one according to his taxation (2 K. xxiii. 35). And the degree to which the exaction of personal labour might be carried on a special occasion, is illustrated by King Solomon's requirements for building the temple. He raised a levy of 30,000 men, and sent them to Lebanon by courses of ten thousand a month; and he had 70,000 that bare burdens, and 80,000 hewers in the mountains (1 K. v. 13-15). Judged by the Oriental standard, there is nothing improbable in these numbers. In our own days, for the purpose of constructing the Mahmoodeyeh Canal in Egypt, Mehemet Ali, by orders given to the various sheikhs of the provinces of Sakarah, Ghizeh, Mensourah, Sharkieh, Menouf, Bahyreh, and some others, caused 300,000 men, women, and children, to be assembled along the site of the intended canal.* This was 120,000 more than the levy of Solomon.

In addition to these earthly powers, the King of Israel had a more awful claim to respect and obedience. He was the vicegerent of Jehovah (1 Sam. x. 1, xvi. 13), and as it were His son, if just and holy (2 Sam. vii. 14; Ps. lxxxix. 26, 27, ii. 6, 7). He had been set apart as a consecrated ruler. Upon his head had been poured the holy anointing oil, composed of olive-oil, myrrh, cinnamon, sweet calamus, and cassia, which had hitherto been reserved exclusively for the priests of Jehovah, especially the high-priest, or had been solely used to anoint the Tabernacle of the Congregation, the Ark of the Testimony, and the vessels of the Tabernacle (Ex. xxx. 23-33, xl. 9; Lev. xxi. 10; 1 K. i. 39). He had become, in fact, emphatically "the Lord's Anointed." At the coronation of sovereigns in modern Europe, holy oil has been frequently used, as a symbol of divine right; but this has been mainly regarded as a mere form; and the use of it was undoubtedly introduced in imitation of the Hebrew custom. But, from the beginning to the end of the Hebrew monarchy, a living real significance was attached to consecration by this holy anointing oil. From well-known anecdotes related of David,—and perhaps, from words in his lamentation over Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. i. 21)—it results that a certain sacredness invested the person of Saul, the first king, as the Lord's anointed; and that, on this account, it was deemed sacrilegious to kill him, even at his own request (1 Sam. xxiv. 6, 10, xxvi. 9, 16; 2 Sam. i. 14). And, after the destruction of the first Temple, in the Book of Lamentations over the calamities of the Hebrew people, it is by the name of "the Lord's Anointed" that Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, is bewailed (Lam. iv. 20). Again, more than 600 years after the capture of Zedekiah, the name of the Anointed, though never so used in the Old Testament—yet suggested probably by Ps. ii. 2, Dan. ix. 26—had

* See *The Englishwoman in Egypt*, by Mrs. Poole, vol. ii. p. 219. Owing to insufficient provisions, bad treatment, and neglect of proper arrangements, 30,000 of this number perished in seven months (p. 220). In compulsory levies of labour, it is probably difficult to

prevent gross instances of oppression. At the rebellion of the ten tribes, Adoniram, called also Adoram, who was over the levy of 30,000 men for Lebanon, was stoned to death (1 K. xii. 18; 1 K. v. 14; 2 Sam. xx. 24).

become appropriated to the expected king, who was to restore the kingdom of David, and inaugurate a period when Edom, Moab, the Ammonites, and the Philistines, would again be incorporated with the Hebrew monarchy, which would extend from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean Sea and to the ends of the earth (Acts i. 6; John i. 41, iv. 25; Is. xi. 12-14; Ps. lxxii. 8). And thus the identical Hebrew word which signifies anointed,^d through its Aramaic form adopted into Greek and Latin, is still preserved to us in the English word *Messiah*. (See Gesenius's *Thesaurus*, p. 825.)

A ruler in whom so much authority, human and divine, was embodied, was naturally distinguished by outward honours and luxuries. He had a court of Oriental magnificence. When the power of the kingdom was at its height, he sat on a throne of ivory, covered with pure gold, at the feet of which were two figures of lions. The throne was approached by 6 steps, guarded by 12 figures of lions, two on each step. The king was dressed in royal robes (1 K. xxii. 10; 2 Chr. xviii. 9); his insignia were, a crown or diadem of pure gold, or perhaps radiant with precious gems (2 Sam. i. 10, xii. 30; 2 K. xi. 12; Ps. xxi. 3), and a royal sceptre (Ez. xix. 11; Is. xiv. 5; Ps. xiv. 6; Am. i. 5, 8). Those who approached him did him obeisance, bowing down and touching the ground with their foreheads (1 Sam. xxiv. 8; 2 Sam. xix. 24); and this was done even by a king's wife, the mother of Solomon (1 K. i. 16). Their officers and subjects called themselves his servants or slaves, though they do not seem habitually to have given way to such extravagant salutations as in the Chaldaean and Persian courts (1 Sam. xvii. 32, 34, 36, xx. 8; 2 Sam. vi. 20; Dan. ii. 4). As in the East at present, a kiss was a sign of respect and homage (1 Sam. x. 1, perhaps Ps. ii. 12). He lived in a splendid palace, with porches and columns (1 K. vii. 2-7). All his drinking vessels were of gold (1 K. x. 21). He had a large harem, which in the time of Solomon must have been the source of enormous expense, if we accept as statistically accurate the round number of 700 wives and 300 concubines, in all 1000, attributed to him in the Book of Kings (1 K. xi. 3). As is invariably the case in the great eastern monarchies at present, his harem was guarded by eunuchs; translated "officers" in the A. V. for the most part (1 Sam. viii. 15; 2 K. xxiv. 12, 15; 1 K. xxii. 9; 2 K. viii. 6, ix. 32, 33, xx. 18, xxiii. 11; Jer. xxxviii. 7).

The main practical restraints on the kings seem to have arisen from the prophets and the prophetic order, though in this respect, as in many others, a distinction must be made between different periods and different reigns. Indeed, under all circumstances, much would depend on the individual character of the king or the prophet. No transaction of importance, however, was entered on without consulting the will of Jehovah, either by Urim and Thummim, or by the prophets; and it was the general persuasion that the prophet was in an especial sense the servant and messenger of Jehovah, to whom Jehovah had declared his will (Is. xiv. 26; Am. iii. 7; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, ix. 6: see PROPHETS).

^d It is supposed both by Jahn (*Archäol. Bib.* §222) and Bauer (in his *Heb. Alterthümer*, §20) that a king was only anointed when a new family came to the throne, or when the right to the crown was disputed. It is usually on such occasions only that the anointing is specified; as in 1 Sam. x. 1, 2 Sam. ii. 4, 1 K. i. 39, 2 K. ix. 3, 2 K. xi. 12: but this is not invariably

The prophets not only rebuked the king with boldness for individual acts of wickedness, as after the murders of Uriah and of Naboth; but also, by interposing their denunciations or exhortations at critical periods of history, they swayed permanently the destinies of the state. When, after the revolt of the ten tribes, Rehoboam had under him at Jerusalem an army stated to consist of 180,000 men, Shemaiah, as interpreter of the divine will, caused the army to separate without attempting to put down the rebellion (1 K. xii. 21-24). When Judah and Jerusalem were in imminent peril from the invasion of Sennacherib, the prophetic utterance of Isaiah encouraged Hezekiah to a successful resistance (Is. xxxvii. 22-36). On the other hand, at the invasion of Judaea by the Chaldees, Jeremiah prophetically announced impending woe and calamities in a strain which tended to paralyse patriotic resistance to the power of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. xxxviii. 4, 2). And Jeremiah evidently produced an impression on the king's mind contrary to the counsels of the princes, or what might be called the war-party in Jerusalem (Jer. xxxviii. 14-27).

The law of succession to the throne is somewhat obscure, but it seems most probable that the king during his lifetime named his successor. This was certainly the case with David, who passed over his elder son Adonijah, the son of Haggith, in favour of Solomon, the son of Bathsheba (1 K. i. 30, ii. 22); and with Rehoboam, of whom it is said that he loved Maachah the daughter of Absalom above all his wives and concubines, and that he made Abijah her son to be ruler among his brethren, to make him king (2 Chr. xi. 21, 22). The succession of the first-born has been inferred from a passage in 2 Chr. xxi. 3, 4, in which Jehoshaphat is said to have given the kingdom to Jehoram "because he was the first-born." But this very passage tends to show that Jehoshaphat had the power of naming his successor; and it is worthy of note that Jehoram, on his coming to the throne, put to death all his brothers, which he would scarcely, perhaps, have done if the succession of the first-born had been the law of the land. From the conciseness of the narratives in the books of Kings no inference either way can be drawn from the ordinary formula in which the death of the father and succession of his son is recorded (1 K. xv. 8). At the same time, if no partiality for a favourite wife or son intervened, there would always be a natural bias of affection in favour of the eldest son. There appears to have been some prominence given to the mother of the king (2 K. xxiv. 12, 15; 1 K. ii. 19), and it is possible that the mother may have been regent during the minority of a son. Indeed some such custom best explains the possibility of the audacious usurpation of Athaliah on the death of her son Ahaziah: an usurpation which lasted six years after the destruction of all the seed-royal except the young Jehoash (2 K. xi. 1, 3).

The following is a list of some of the officers of the king:—

1. The Recorder or Chronicler, who was perhaps analogous to the Historiographer whom Sir John Malcolm mentions as an officer of the Persian court,

the case (see 2 K. xxiii. 30), and there does not seem sufficient reason to doubt that each individual king was anointed. There can be little doubt, likewise, that the kings of Israel were anointed, though this is not specified by the writers of Kings and Chronicles, who would deem such anointing invalid.

whose duty it is to write the annals of the king's reign (*History of Persia*, c. 23). Certain it is that there is no regular series of minute dates in Hebrew history until we read of this recorder, or *remembrancer*, as the word *maskir* is translated in a marginal note of the English version. He signifies one who keeps the memory of events alive, in accordance with a motive assigned by Herodotus for writing his history, viz. that the acts of men might not become extinct by time (Herod. i. 1; 2 Sam. viii. 16; 1 K. iv. 3; 2 K. xviii. 18; Is. xxxvi. 3, 22).

2. The Scribe or Secretary, whose duty would be to answer letters or petitions in the name of the king, to write despatches, and to draw up edicts (2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25; 2 K. xii. 10, xix. 2, xxii. 8).

3. The officer who was *over the house* (Is. xxxii. 15, xxxvi. 3). His duties would be those of chief steward of the household, and would embrace all the internal economical arrangements of the palace, the superintendence of the king's servants, and the custody of his costly vessels of gold and silver. He seems to have worn a distinctive robe of office and girdle. It was against Shebna, who held this office, that Isaiah uttered his personal prophecy (xxii. 15-25), the only instance of the kind in his writings (see *Ges. Com. on Isaiah*, p. 69+).

4. The king's friend (1 K. iv. 5), called likewise the king's companion. It is evident from the name that this officer must have stood in confidential relation to the king, but his duties are nowhere specified.

5. The keeper of the vestry or wardrobe (2 K. x. 22).

6. The captain of the body-guard (2 Sam. xx. 23). The importance of this officer requires no comment. It was he who obeyed Solomon in putting to death Adonijah, Joab, and Shimei (1 K. ii. 25, 34, 46).

7. Distinct officers over the king's treasures—his storehouses, labourers, vineyards, olive-trees, and sycamore-trees, herds, camels, and flocks (1 Chr. xvii. 25-31).

8. The officer over all the host or army of Israel, the commander-in-chief of the army, who commanded it in person during the king's absence (2 Sam. xx. 23; 1 Chr. xvii. 34; 2 Sam. xi. 1). As an instance of the formidable power which a general might acquire in this office, see the narrative in 2 Sam. iii. 30-37, when David deemed himself obliged to tolerate the murder of Abner by Joab and Abishai.

9. The royal counsellors (1 Chr. xxvii. 32; Is. iii. 3, xix. 11, 13). Ahithophel is a specimen of how much such an officer might effect for evil or for good; but whether there existed under Hebrew kings any body corresponding, even distantly, to the English Privy Council, in former times, does not appear (2 Sam. xvi. 20-23, xvii. 1-14).

The following is a statement of the sources of the royal revenues:—

1. The royal demesnes, corn-fields, vineyards, and olive-gardens. Some at least of these seem to have been taken from private individuals, but whether as the punishment of rebellion, or on any other plausible pretext, is not specified (1 Sam. viii. 14; 1 Chr. xvii. 26-28). 2. The produce of the royal flocks (1 Sam. xxi. 7; 2 Sam. xiii. 23; 2 Chr. xxvi. 10; 1 Chr. xxvii. 25). 3. A nominal tenth of the produce of corn-land and vineyards and of sheep (1 Sam. viii. 15, 17). 4. A tribute from merchants who

passed through the Hebrew territory (1 K. x. 14) 5. Presents made by his subjects (1 Sam. xvi. 20; 1 Sam. x. 27; 1 K. x. 25; Ps. lxxii. 10). There is perhaps no greater distinction in the usages of eastern and western nations than on what relates to the giving and receiving of presents. When made regularly they do in fact amount to a regular tax. Thus, in the passage last referred to in the book of Kings, it is stated that they brought to Solomon "every man his present, vessels of silver and vessels of gold, and garments, and armour, and spices, horses and mules, a rate year by year." 6. In the time of Solomon, the king had trading vessels of his own at sea, which, starting from Eziongeber, brought back once in three years gold and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks (1 K. x. 22). It is probable that Solomon and some other kings may have derived some revenue from commercial ventures (1 K. ix. 28). 7. The spoils of war taken from conquered nations and the tribute paid by them (2 Sam. viii. 2, 7, 8, 10; 1 K. iv. 21; 2 Chr. xxvii. 5). 8. Lastly, an undefined power of exacting compulsory labour, to which reference has been already made (1 Sam. viii. 12, 13, 16). As far as this power was exercised it was equivalent to so much income. There is nothing in 1 Sam. x. 25, or in 2 Sam. v. 3, to justify the statement that the Hebrews defined in express terms, or in any terms, by a particular agreement or covenant for that purpose, what services should be rendered to the king, or what he could legally require. (See Jahn, *Archäologia Biblica*; Bauer, *Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Alterthümer*; Winer, s. v. König.)

It only remains to add, that in Deuteronomy xvii. 14-20 there is a document containing some directions as to what any king who might be appointed by the Hebrews was to do and not to do. The proper appreciation of this document would mainly depend on its date. It is the opinion of many modern writers—Gesenius, De Wette, Winer, Ewald, and others—that the book which contains the document was composed long after the time of Moses. See, however, DEUTERONOMY in the 1st vol. of this work; and compare Gesenius, *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, p. 32; De Wette, *Einleitung in die Bibel*, "Deuteronomium"; Winer, s. v. König; Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 381. [E. T.]

KINGS, FIRST AND SECOND BOOKS OF, originally only one book in the Hebrew Canon, and first edited in Hebrew as two by Bomberg, after the model of the LXX. and the Vulgate (De Wette and O. Thenius, *Einleitung*). They are called by the LXX., Origen, &c., βασιλειῶν πρώτη and τετάρτη, third and fourth of the Kingdoms (the books of Samuel being the first and second), but by the Latins, with few exceptions, tertius et quartus Regum liber. Jerome, though in the heading of his translation of the Scriptures, he follows the Hebrew name, and calls them Liber Malachim Primus and Secundus, yet elsewhere usually follows the common usage of the church in his day. In his Prologus Galeatus he places them as the fourth of the second order of the sacred books, i. e. of the Prophets:—"Quartus, Malachim, i. e. Regum, qui tertio et quarto Regum volumine continentur. Metiusque multo est Malachim, i. e. Regum, quam Mamelachoth, i. e. Regnorum, dicere. Non enim multarum gentium describit regna; sed unius Israelitici populi, qui tribus duodecim continentur." In his epistle to Paulinus he thus describes the

contents of these two books:—"Malachim, i. e. tertius et quartus Regum liber, a Salomone usque ad Jechoniam, et a Jeroboam filio Nabat usque ad Osee qui ductus est in Assyrios, regnum Juda et regnum describit Israel. Si historiam respicias, verba simplicia sunt: si in literis sensum latentem inspexeris, Ecclesiae paucitas, et hereticorum contra ecclesiam bella, narrantur." The division into two books, being purely artificial and as it were mechanical, may be overlooked in speaking of them; and it must also be remembered that the division between the books of Kings and Samuel is equally artificial, and that in point of fact the historical books commencing with Judges and ending with 2 Kings present the appearance of one work,^a giving a continuous history of Israel from the times of Joshua to the death of Jehoiachin. It must suffice here to mention, in support of this assertion, the frequent allusion in the book of Judges to the times of the kings of Israel (xvii. 6, xviii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 25); the concurrent evidence of ch. ii. that the writer lived in an age when he could take a retrospect of the whole time during which the judges ruled (ver. 16-19), i. e. that he lived after the monarchy had been established; the occurrence in the book of Judges, for the first time, of the phrase "the Spirit of Jehovah" (iii. 10), which is repeated often in the book (vi. 34, xi. 29, xiii. 25, xiv. 6, &c.), and is of frequent use in Samuel and Kings, (e. g. 1 Sam. x. 6, xvi. 13, 14, xix. 9; 2 Sam. xxiii. 2; 1 K. xxii. 24; 2 K. ii. 16, &c.); the allusion in i. 21 to the capture of Jebus, and the continuance of a Jebusite population (see 2 Sam. xxiv. 16); the reference in xx. 27 to the removal of the ark of the covenant from Shiloh to Jerusalem, and the expression "in those days," pointing, as in xvii. 6, &c., to remote times; the distinct reference in xviii. 30 to the captivity of Israel by Shalmaneser; with the fact that the books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, form one unbroken narrative, similar in general character, which has no beginning except at Judg. i., while, it may be added, the book of Judges is not a continuation of Joshua, but opens with a repetition of the same events with which Joshua closes. In like manner the book of Ruth clearly forms part of those of Samuel, supplying as it does the essential point of David's genealogy and early family history, and is no less clearly connected with the book of Judges by its opening verse, and the epoch to which the whole book relates.^b Other links connecting the books of Kings with the preceding may be found in the comparison, suggested by De Wette, of 1 K. ii. 26 with 1 Sam. ii. 35; i. 11 with 2 Sam. v. 5; 1 K. ii. 3, 4, v. 17, 18, xviii. 18, 19, 25, with 2 Sam. vii. 12-16; and 1 K. iv. 1-6 with 2 Sam. viii. 15-18. Also 2 K. xvii. 41 may be compared with Judg. ii. 19; 1 Sam. ii. 27 with Judg. xiii. 6; 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20, xix. 27, with Judg. xiii. 6; 1 Sam. ix. 21 with Judg. vi. 15, and xx.; 1 K. viii. 1 with 2 Sam. vi. 17, and v. 7, 9; 1 Sam. xvii. 12 with Ruth iv. 17; Ruth i. 1 with Judg. xvii. 7, 8, 9, xix. 1, 2 (Bethlehem-Judah); the use in Judg. xiii. 6, 8, of the phrase "the man of God" (in the earlier books applied to Moses only, and that only in Deut. xxxiii. 1 and Josh. iv. 6), may be compared with the very frequent

use of it in the books of Samuel and Kings as the common designation of a prophet, whereas only Jeremiah besides (xxxv. 4) so uses it before the captivity.^c The phrase, "God do so to me, and more also," is common to Ruth, Samuel, and Kings, and "till they were ashamed" to Judges and Kings (iii. 25; 2 K. ii. 17, viii. 11). And generally the style of the narrative, ordinarily quiet and simple, but rising to great vigour and spirit when stirring deeds are described (as in Judg. iv., vii., xi., &c.; 1 Sam. iv., xvii., xxxi., &c.; 1 K. viii., xviii., xix., &c.), and the introduction of poetry or poetic style in the midst of the narrative (as in Judg. v., 1 Sam. ii., 2 Sam. i. 17, &c., 1 K. xxii. 17, &c.), constitute such strong features of resemblance as lead to the conclusion that these several books form but one work. Indeed the very names of the books sufficiently indicate that they were all imposed by the same authority for the convenience of division, and with reference to the subject treated of in each division, and not that they were original titles of independent works.

But to confine ourselves to the books of Kings. We shall consider—

- I. Their historical and chronological range;
- II. Their peculiarities of diction, and other features in their literary aspect;
- III. Their authorship, and the sources of the author's information;
- IV. Their relation to the books of Chronicles;
- V. Their place in the canon, and the references to them in the New Testament.

I. The books of Kings range from David's death and Solomon's accession to the throne of Israel, commonly reckoned as B.C. 1015, but according to Lepsius B.C. 993 (*Königsb. d. Aegypt.* p. 102), to the destruction of the kingdom of Judah and the desolation of Jerusalem, and the burning of the Temple, according to the same reckoning B.C. 588, (B.C. 586, Lepsius, p. 107)—a period of 427 (or 405) years: with a supplemental notice of an event that occurred after an interval of 26 years, viz. the liberation of Jehoiachin from his prison at Babylon, and a still further extension to Jehoiachin's death, the time of which is not known, but which was probably not long after his liberation. The history therefore comprehends the whole time of the Israelitish monarchy, exclusive of the reigns of Saul and David, whether existing as one kingdom as under Solomon and the eight last kings, or divided into the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. It exhibits the Israelites in the two extremes of power and weakness; under Solomon extending their dominion over tributary kingdoms from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean and the border of Egypt (1 K. iv. 21); under the last kings reduced to a miserable remnant, subject alternately to Egypt and Assyria, till at length they were rooted up from their own land. As the cause of this decadence it points out the division of Solomon's monarchy into two parts, followed by the religious schism and idolatrous worship brought about from political motives by Jeroboam. How the consequent wars between the two kingdoms necessarily weakened both; how they led to calling in the stranger to their aid whenever their power

^a De Wette's reasons for reckoning Kings as a separate work seem to the writer quite inconclusive. On the other hand, the book of Joshua seems to be an independent book. Ewald classes these books together exactly as is done above (*Gesch.* i. 175), and calls them

"the great Book of the Kings."

^b Eichhorn attributes Ruth to the author of the books of Samuel (Th. Parker's *De Wette*, ii. 320).

^c In Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, it repeatedly occurs.

was equally balanced, of which the result was the destruction first of one kingdom and then of the other; how a further evil of these foreign alliances was the adoption of the idolatrous superstitions of the heathen nations whose friendship and protection they sought, by which they forfeited the Divine protection—all this is with great clearness and simplicity set forth in these books, which treat equally of the two kingdoms while they lasted. The doctrine of the Theocracy is also clearly brought out (see *e. g.* 1 K. xiv. 7-11, xv. 29, 30, xvi. 1-7), and the temporal prosperity of the pious kings, as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, stands in contrast with the calamitous reigns of Rehoboam, Ahaziah, Ahaz, Manasseh, Jehoiahin, and Zedekiah. At the same time the continuance of the kingdom of Judah, and the permanence of the dynasty of David, are contrasted with the frequent changes of dynasty, and the far shorter duration of the kingdom of Israel, though the latter was the more populous and powerful kingdom of the two (2 Sam. xxiv. 9). As regards the affairs of foreign nations, and the relation of Israel to them, the historical notices in these books, though in the earlier times scanty, are most valuable, and, as has been lately fully shown (Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures*, 1859), in striking accordance with the latest additions to our knowledge of contemporary profane history. Thus the patronage extended to Hadad the Edomite by Psinaches king of Egypt (1 K. xi. 19, 20); the alliance of Solomon with his successor Psusennes, who reigned 35 years; the accession of Shishak, or Sesonchis I., towards the close of Solomon's reign (1 K. xi. 40), and his invasion and conquest of Judaea in the reign of Rehoboam, of which a monument still exists on the walls of Karnac (*Königsb.* p. 114); the time of the Ethiopian kings So (Sabak) and Tirhakah, of the 25th dynasty; the rise and speedy fall of the power of Syria; the rapid growth of the Assyrian monarchy which overshadowed it; Assyria's struggles with Egypt, and the sudden ascendancy of the Babylonian empire under Nebuchadnezzar, to the destruction both of Assyria and Egypt, as we find these events in the books of Kings, fit in exactly with what we now know of Egyptian, Syrian, Assyrian, and Babylonian history. The names of Omri, Jehu, Menahem, Hoshea, Hezekiah, &c., are believed to have been deciphered in the cuneiform inscriptions, which also contain pretty full accounts of the campaigns of Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon: Shalmaneser's name has not yet been discovered, though two inscriptions in the British Museum are thought to refer to his reign. These valuable additions to our knowledge of profane history, which we may hope will shortly be increased both in number and in certainty, together with the fragments of ancient historians, which are now becoming better understood, are of great assistance in explaining the brief allusions in these books, while they afford an irrefragable testimony to their historical truth.

Another most important aid to a right understanding of the history in these books, and to the filling up of its outline, is to be found in the prophets, and especially in Isaiah and Jeremiah. In the former the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah, and

of the contemporary Israelitish and foreign potentates, receive especial illustration; in the latter, and to a still greater extent, the reigns of Jehoiahin and Zedekiah, and those of their heathen contemporaries. An intimate acquaintance with these prophets is of the utmost moment for elucidating the concise narrative of the books of Kings. The two together give us a really full view of the events of the times at home and abroad.

It must, however, be admitted that the chronological details expressly given in the books of Kings form a remarkable contrast with their striking historical accuracy. These details are inexplicable, and frequently entirely contradictory. The very first date of a decidedly chronological character which is given, that of the foundation of Solomon's temple (1 K. vi. 1) is manifestly erroneous, as being irreconcilable with any view of the chronology of the times of the Judges, or with St. Paul's calculation, Acts xiii. 20.^d It is in fact abandoned by almost all chronologists, whatever school they belong to, whether ancient or modern, and is utterly ignored by Josephus. [CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. 323, 324 a, 325.] Moreover, when the text is examined, it immediately appears that this date of 480 years is both unnecessary and quite out of place. The reference to the Exodus is gratuitous, and alien to all the other notes of time, which refer merely to Solomon's accession. If it is left out, the text will be quite perfect without it,^e and will agree exactly with the *resumé* in ver. 37, 38, and also with the parallel passage in 2 Chr. iii. 2. The evidence therefore of its being an interpolation is wonderfully strong. But if so, it must have been inserted by a professed chronologist, whose object was to reduce the Scripture history to an exact system of chronology. It is likely therefore that we shall find traces of the same hand in other parts of the books. Now De Wette (*Einleit.* p. 235), among the evidences which he puts forward as marking the books of Kings as in his opinion a separate work from those of Samuel, mentions, though erroneously, as 2 Sam. v. 4, 5 shows, the sudden introduction of "a chronological system" (*die genauere zeit-rechnung*). When therefore we find that the very first date introduced is erroneous, and that numerous other dates are also certainly wrong, because contradictory, it seems a not unfair conclusion that such dates are the work of an interpolator, trying to bring the history within his own chronological system: a conclusion somewhat confirmed by the alterations and omissions of these dates in the LXX.^f As regards, however, these chronological difficulties, it must be observed they are of two essentially different kinds. One kind is merely the want of the data necessary for chronological exactness. Such is the absence, apparently, of any uniform rule for dealing with the fragments of years at the beginning and end of the reigns. Such might also be a deficiency in the sum of the regal years of Israel as compared with the synchronistic years of Judah, caused by unnoticed interregna, if any such really occurred. And this class of difficulties may probably have belonged to these books in their original state, in which exact scientific chronology was not aimed at. But the other kind of difficulty is of a totally different character, and embraces dates which

^d The MSS. A. B. C. have, however, a different reading, which is adopted by Lachmann and Wordsworth.

^e "And it came to pass . . . in the fourth year of

Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the House of the Lord."

^f See 1 K. xvi. 8, 15, 29; vi. 1.

are *very exact* in their mode of expression, but are erroneous and contradictory. Some of these are pointed out below; and it is such which it seems reasonable to ascribe to the interpolation of later professed chronologists. But it is necessary to give specimens of each of these kinds of difficulty, both with a view to approximating to a true chronology, and also to show the actual condition of the books under consideration.

(1.) When we sum up the years of all the reigns of the kings of Israel as given in the books of Kings, and then all the years of the reigns of the kings of Judah from the 1st of Rehoboam to the 6th of Hezekiah, we find that, instead of the two sums agreeing, there is an excess of 19 or 20 years in Judah—the reigns of the latter amounting to 261 years, while the former make up only 242. But we are able to get somewhat nearer to the seat of this disagreement, because it so happens that the parallel histories of Israel and Judah touch in four or five points where the synchronisms are precisely marked. These points are (1) at the simultaneous accessions of Jeroboam and Rehoboam; (2) at the simultaneous deaths of Jehoram and Ahaziah, or, which is the same thing, the simultaneous accessions of Jehu and Athaliah; (3) at the 15th year of Amaziah, which was the 1st of Jeroboam II. (2 K. xiv. 17); (4) in the reign of Ahaz, which was contemporary with some part of Pekah's, viz. according to the text of 2 K. xvi. 1, the three first years of Ahaz with the three last of Pekah; and (5) at the 6th of Hezekiah, which was the 9th of Hoshea; the two last points, however, being less certain than the others, at least as to the precision of the synchronisms, depending as this does on the correctness of the numerals in the text.

Hence, instead of lumping the whole periods of 261 years and 242 years together, and comparing their difference, it is clearly expedient to compare the different sub-periods, which are defined by common termini. Beginning therefore with the sub-period which commences with the double accession of Rehoboam and Jeroboam, and closes with the double death of Ahaziah and Jehoram, and summing up the number of years assigned to the different reigns in each kingdom, we find that the six reigns in Judah make up 95 years, and the eight reigns in Israel make up 98 years. Here there is an excess of 3 years in the kingdom of Israel, which may, however, be readily accounted for by the frequent changes of dynasty there, and the probability of fragments of years being reckoned as whole years, thus causing the same year to be reckoned twice over. The 95 years of Judah, or even a less number, will hence appear to be the true number of whole years (see too Clinton, *F. H.* ii. 314, &c.).

Beginning, again, at the double accession of Athaliah and Jehu, we have in Judah $7+40+14$ first years of Amaziah = 61, to correspond with $28+17+16=61$, ending with the last year of Jehoash in Israel. Starting again with the 15th of Amaziah = 1 Jeroboam II., we have $15+52+16+3=86$ (to the 3rd year of Ahaz), to correspond with $41+1+10+2+20=74$ (to the close of Pekah's reign), where we at once detect a deficiency on the part of Israel of $(86-74=)$ 12 years, if at least the 3rd of Ahaz really corresponded with the 20th of Pekah. And lastly, starting with the year following that last named, we have 13 last years of Ahaz+7 first of Hezekiah = 20, to correspond with the 9 years of Hoshea, where we find another deficiency in Israel of 11 years.

The two first of the above periods may then be said to agree together, and to give $95+61=156$ years from the accession of Rehoboam and Jeroboam to the 15th of Amaziah in Judah, and the death of Jehoash in Israel, and we observe that the discrepancy of 12 years first occurs in the third period, in which the breaking up of the kingdom of Israel began at the close of Jehu's dynasty. Putting aside the synchronistic arrangement of the years as we now find them in 2 K. xv. *seq.*, there would be no difficulty whatever in supposing that the reigns of the kings of Israel at this time were not continuous, and that for several years after the death of Zachariah, or Shallum, or both, the government may either have been in the hands of the king of Syria, or broken up amongst contending parties, till at length Menahem was able to establish himself on the throne by the help of Pul, king of Assyria, and transmit his tributary throne to his son Pekahiah.

But there is another mode of bringing this third period into harmony, which violates no historical probability, and is in fact strongly indicated by the fluctuations of the text. We are told in 2 K. xv. 8 that Zachariah began to reign in the 38th of Uzziah, and (xiv. 23) that his father Jeroboam began to reign in the 15th of Amaziah. Jeroboam must therefore have reigned 52 or 53 years, not 41: for the idea of an interregnum of 11 or 12 years between Jeroboam and his son Zachariah is absurd. But the addition of these 12 years to Jeroboam's reign exactly equalizes the period in the two kingdoms, which would thus contain 86 years, and makes up 242 years from the accession of Rehoboam and Jeroboam to the 3rd of Ahaz and 20th of Pekah, supposing always that these last-named years really synchronize.

As regards the discrepancy of 11 years in the last period, nothing can in itself be more probable than that either during some part of Pekah's lifetime, or after his death, a period, not included in the regnal years of either Pekah or Hoshea, should have elapsed, when there was either a state of anarchy, or the government was administered by an Assyrian officer. There are also several passages in the contemporary prophets Isaiah and Hosea, which would fall in with this view, as Hos. x. 3. 7; Is. ix. 9-19. But it is impossible to assert peremptorily that such was the case. The decision must await some more accurate knowledge of the chronology of the times from heathen sources. The addition of these last 20 years makes up for the whole duration of the kingdom of Israel, 261 or 262 years, more or less. Now the interval, according to Lepsius's tables, from the accession of Sesonchis, or Shishak, to that of Sabacon, or So (2 K. xvii. 4), is 245 years. Allowing Sesonchis to have reigned 7 years contemporaneously with Solomon, and Sabacon, who reigned 12 years, to have reigned 9 before Shalmaneser came up the second time against Samaria ($245+7+9=261$), the chronology of Egypt would exactly tally with that here given. It may, however, turn out that the time thus allowed for the duration of the Israelitish monarchy is somewhat too long, and that the time indicated by the years of the Israelitish kings, without any interregnum, is nearer the truth. If so, a ready way of reducing the sum of the reigns of the kings of Judah would be to assign 41 years to that of Uzziah, instead of 52 (as if the numbers of Uzziah and Jeroboam had been:

* Lepsius, *Äinigsb.* p. 57.

accidentally interchanged): an arrangement which interferes with no known historical truth, though it would disturb the doubtful synchronism of the 3rd of Ahaz with the 20th of Pekah, and make the 3rd of Ahaz correspond with about the 9th or 10th of Pekah. Indeed it is somewhat remarkable that if we neglect this synchronism, and consider as one the period from the accession of Athaliah and Jehu to the 7th of Hezekiah and 9th of Hoshea, the sums of the reigns in the two kingdoms agree exactly, when we reckon 41 years for Uzziah, and 52 for Jeroboam, viz. 155 years, or 250 for the whole time of the Israelitish monarchy. Another advantage of this arrangement would be to reduce the age of Uzziah at the birth of his son and heir Jotham from the improbable age of 42 or 43 to 31 or 32. It may be added that the date in 2 K. xv. 1, which assigns the 1st of Uzziah to the 27th of Jeroboam, seems to indicate that the author of it only reckoned 41 years for Uzziah's reign, since from the 27th of Jeroboam to the 1st of Pekah is just 41 years (see Lepsius's table, *Königsb.* p. 103^b). Also that 2 K. xvii. 1, which makes the 12th of Ahaz = 1st of Hoshea, implies that the 1st of Ahaz = 9th of Pekah.

(2.) Turning next to the other class of difficulties mentioned above, the following instances will perhaps be thought to justify the opinion that the dates in these books which are intended to establish a precise chronology are the work of a much later hand or hands than the books themselves.

The date in 1 K. vi. 1 is one which is obviously intended for strictly chronological purposes. If correct, it would, taken in conjunction with the subsequent notes of time in the books of Kings, supposing them to be correct also, give to a year the length of the time from the Exodus to the Babylonian captivity, and establish a perfect connexion between sacred and profane history. But so little is this the case, that this date is quite irreconcilable with Egyptian history, and is, as stated above, by almost universal consent rejected by chronologists, even on purely Scriptural grounds. This date is followed by precise synchronistic definitions of the parallel reigns of Israel and Judah, the effect of which would be, and must have been designed to be, to supply the want of accuracy in stating the length of the reigns without reference to the odd months. But these synchronistic definitions are in continual discord with the statement of the length of reigns. According to 1 K. xxii. 51 Ahaziah succeeded Ahab in the 17th year of Jehoshaphat. But according to the statement of the length of Ahab's reign in xvi. 29, Ahab died in the 18th of Jehoshaphat; while according to 2 K. i. 17, Jehoram the son of Ahaziah succeeded his brother (after his 2 years' reign) in the second year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, though, according to the length of the reigns, he must have succeeded in the 18th or 19th of Jehoshaphat (see 2 K. iii. 1), who reigned in all 25 years (xxii. 42). [JEHORAM.] As regards Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat, the statements are so contradictory that Archbishop Usher actually makes three distinct beginnings to his regnal era: the first when he was made prorex, to meet 2 K. i. 17; the second when he was associated with his father, 5 years later, to meet 2 K. viii. 16; the third when his sole reign commenced,

to meet 1 K. xxii. 50, compared with 42. But as the only purpose of these synchronisms is to give an accurate measure of time, nothing can be more absurd than to suppose such variations in the time from which the commencement of the regnal year is dated. It may also here be remarked that the whole notion of these joint reigns has not the smallest foundation in fact, and unluckily does not come into play in the only cases where there might be any historical probability of their having occurred, as in the case of Asa's illness and Uzziah's leprosy. From the length of Amaziah's reign, as given 2 K. xiv. 2, 17, 23, it is manifest that Jeroboam II. began to reign in the 15th year of Amaziah, and that Uzziah began to reign in the 16th of Jeroboam. But 2 K. xv. 1 places the commencement of Uzziah's reign in the 27th of Jeroboam, and the accession of Zachariah = the close of Jeroboam's reign, in the 38th of Uzziah—statements utterly contradictory and irreconcilable.

Other grave chronological difficulties seem to have their source in the same erroneous calculations on the part of the Jewish chronologist. For example, one of the cuneiform inscriptions tells us that Menahem paid tribute to Assyria in the 8th year of Tiglath-Pileser (Rawl. *Herod.* i. 469), and the same inscription passes on directly to speak of the overthrow of Rezin, who we know was Pekah's ally. Now this is scarcely compatible with the supposition that the remainder of Menahem's reign, the 2 years of Pekahiah, and 18 or 19 years of Pekah's reign intervened, as must have been the case according to 2 K. xvi. 1, xv. 32. But if the invasion of Judea was one of the early acts of Pekah's reign, and the destruction of Rezin followed soon after, then we should have a very intelligible course of events as follows. Menahem paid his last tribute to Assyria in the 8th of Tiglath-Pileser, his suzerain (2 K. xv. 19), which, as he reigned for some time under Pul, and only reigned 10 years in all, we may assume to have been his own last year. On the accession of his son Pekahiah, Pekah, one of his captains, rebelled against him, made an alliance with Rezin king of Syria to throw off the yoke of Assyria, in the course of a few months dethroned and killed Pekahiah, and reigned in his stead, and rapidly followed up his success by a joint expedition against Judah, the object of which was to set up a king who should strengthen his hands in his rebellion against Assyria. The king of Assyria, on learning this, and receiving Ahaz's message for help, immediately marches to Syria, takes Damascus, conquers and kills Rezin, invades Israel, and carries away a large body of captives (2 K. xv. 29), and 'avec Pekah to reign as tributary king over the enfeebled remnant, till a conspiracy deprived him of his life. Such a course of events would be consistent with the cuneiform inscription, and with everything in the Scripture narrative, except the synchronistic arrangement of the reigns. But of course it is impossible to affirm that the above was the true state of the case. Only at present the text and the cuneiform inscription do not agree, and few people will be satisfied with the explanation suggested by Mr. Rawlinson, that "the official who composed, or the workman who engraved, the Assyrian document, made a mistake in the name,"

^b Lepsius suggests that Azariah and Uzziah may possibly be different and successive kings, the former of whom reigned 11 years, and the latter 41. But

beyond the confusion of the names there is nothing to support such a notion.

and put Menahem when he should have put Pécach (*Bampt. Lect.* pp. 136, 409; *Herod.* i. 468-471). Again: "Scripture places only 8 years between the fall of Samaria and the first invasion of Judaea by Sennacherib" (i. e. from the 6th to the 14th of Hezekiah). "The inscriptions (cuneiform) assigning the fall of Samaria to the first year of Sargon, giving Sargon a reign of at least 15 years, and assigning the first attack on Hezekiah to Sennacherib's third year, put an interval of at least 18 years between the two events" (*Rawl. Herod.* i. 479). This interval is further shown by reference to the canon of Ptolemy to have amounted in fact to 22 years. Again, Lepsius (*Königsb.* p. 95-97) shows with remarkable force of argument that the 14th of Hezekiah could not by possibility fall earlier than B.C. 692, with reference to Tirhakah's accession; but that the additional date of the 3rd of Sennacherib furnished by the cuneiform inscriptions, coupled with the fact given by Berossus that the year B.C. 693 was the year of Sennacherib's accession, fixes the year B.C. 691 as that of Sennacherib's invasion, and consequently as the 14th of Hezekiah. But from B.C. 691 to B.C. 586, when Jerusalem was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, is an interval of only 105 years; whereas the sum of the regal years of Judah for the same interval amounts to 125 years.¹ From which calculations it necessarily follows, both that there is an error in those figures in the book of Kings which assign the relative positions of the destruction of Samaria and Sennacherib's invasion, and also in those which measure the distance between the invasion of Sennacherib and the destruction of Jerusalem. It should however be noted that there is nothing to fix the fall of Samaria to the reign of Hezekiah but the statement of the synchronism; and 2 Chr. xxx. 6, 18, &c., seems rather to indicate that the kingdom of Israel had quite ceased in the 1st of Hezekiah. Many other numbers have the same stamp of incorrectness. Rehoboam's age is given as 41 at his accession, 1 K. xiv. 21, and yet we read at 2 Chr. xiii. 7 that he was "young and tender-hearted" when he came to the throne. Moreover, if 41 when he became king, he must have been born before Solomon came to the throne, which seems improbable, especially in connexion with his Ammonitish mother. In the apocryphal passage moreover in the Cod. Vat. of the LXX, which follows 2 K. xii. 24, his age is said to have been 16 at his accession, which is much more probable. According to the statement in 2 K. xv. 33, compared with ver. 2, Uziah's son and heir Jotham was not born till his father was 42 years old; and according to 2 K. xxi. 1, compared with ver. 19, Manasseh's son and heir Amon was not born till his father was in his 45th year. Still more improbable is the statement in 2 K. xviii. 2, compared with xvi. 2, which makes Hezekiah to have been born when his father was 11 years old: a statement which Bochart has endeavoured to defend with his usual vast erudition, but with little success (*Opera*, i. 921). But not only does the incorrectness of the numbers testify against their genuineness, but in some passages the structure of the sentence seems to betray the fact of a later insertion of the chronological element. We have seen one instance in 1 K. vi. 1. In like

manner at 1 K. xiv. 31, xv. 1, 2, we can see that at some time or other xv. 1 has been inserted between the two other verses. So again ver. 9 has been inserted between 8 and 10; and xv. 24 must have once stood next to xxii. 42, as xxii. 50 did to 2 K. viii. 17, at which time the corrupt ver. 16 had no existence. Yet more manifestly viii. 24, 26, were once consecutive verses, though they are now parted by 25, which is repeated, with a variation in the numeral, at ix. 29. So also xvi. 1 has been interposed between xv. 38 and xvi. 2. xviii. 2 is consecutive with xvi. 20. But the plainest instance of all is 2 K. xi. 21, xii. 1 (xii. 1, *seq.*, Heb.), where the words "In the seventh year of Jehu, Jehoash began to reign," could not possibly have formed part of the original sentence, which may be seen in its integrity 2 Chr. xxiv. 1. The disturbance caused in 2 K. xii. by the intrusion of this clause is somewhat disguised in the LXX, and the A. V. by the division of Heb. xii. 1 into two verses, and separate chapters, but is still palpable. A similar instance is pointed out by Movers in 2 Sam. v., where ver. 3 and 6 are parted by the introduction of ver. 4, 5 (p. 190). But the difficulty remains of deciding in which of the above cases the insertion was by the hand of the original compiler, and in which by a later chronologist.

Now when to all this we add that the pages of Josephus are full, in like manner, of a multitude of inconsistent chronological schemes, which prevent his being of any use, in spite of Hales's praises, in clearing up chronological difficulties, the proper inference seems to be, that no authoritative, correct, systematic chronology was originally contained in the books of Kings, and that the attempt to supply such afterwards led to the introduction of many erroneous dates, and probably to the corruption of some true ones which were originally there. Certainly the present text contains what are either conflicting calculations of antagonistic chronologists, or errors of careless copyists, which no learning or ingenuity has ever been able to reduce to the consistency of truth.

II. The peculiarities of diction in them, and other features in their literary history, may be briefly disposed of. The words noticed by De Wette, §185, as indicating their modern date, are the following:—**אָתִי** for **אֵת**, 1 K. xiv. 2. (But this form is also found in Judg. xvii. 2, Jer. iv. 30, Ez. xxxvi. 13, and not once in the later books.) **אָתוֹ** for **אֵתוֹ**, 2 K. i. 15. (But this form of **אֵת** is found in Lev. xv. 18, 24; Josh. xiv. 12; 2 Sam. xxiv. 24; Is. lix. 21; Jer. x. 5, xii. 1, xix. 10, xx. 11, xxiii. 9, xxxv. 2; Ez. xiv. 4, xxvii. 26.) **יֵשׁוּם** for **יֵשׁוּם**, 1 K. ix. 8. (But Jer. xix. 8, xlix. 17, are identical in phrase and orthography.) **רָצִין** for **רָצִין**, 2 K. xi. 13. (But everywhere else in Kings, e. g. 2 K. xi. 6, &c., **רָצִים**, which is also universal in Chronicles, an avowedly later book; and here, as in **צִרְיִין**, 1 K. xi. 33, there is every appearance of the **י** being a clerical error for the copulative **י**; see Thenius, *l. c.*) **מְדִינֹת**, 1 K. xx. 14. (But this word occurs Lam. i. 1, and there is every appearance of its being a technical word in 1 K. xx. 14, and therefore as old as the reign of Ahab.) **חָמֵר** for **חָמֵר**, 1 K. iv. 22. (But **חָמֵר**

¹ Lepsius proposes reducing the reign of Manasseh to 35 years. He observes with truth the improbability of Amon having been born in the 45th year

of his father's life. Mr. Bosanquet would lower the date of the destruction of Jerusalem to the year B.C. 555.

is used by Ez. xiv. 14, and *homer* seems to have been then already obsolete.) הָרוּם, 1 K. xxi. 8. 11. (Occurs in Is. and Jer.) רֶב, 2 K. xxv. 8. (But as the term evidently came in with the Chaldees, as seen in Rab-shakeh, Rab-saris, Rab-mag, its application to the Chaldee general is no evidence of a time later than the person to whom the title is given.) שָׁלֵם, 1 K. viii. 61, &c. (But there is not a shadow of proof that this expression belongs to late Hebr. It is found, among other places, in Is. xxxviii. 3; a passage against the authenticity of which there is also not a shadow of proof, except upon the presumption that prophetic intimations and supernatural interventions on the part of God are impossible.) הַשִּׁבּוּל, 2 K. xviii. 7. (On what grounds this word is adduced it is impossible to guess, since it occurs in this sense in Josh., Is., Sam., and Jer.: vid. Gesen.) בְּטָחוֹן, 2 K. xviii. 19. (Is. xxxvi. 4, Eccles. ix. 4.) הַזְּדוּרֹת, 2 K. xviii. 26. (But why should not a *Jew*, in Hezekiah's reign, as well as in the time of Nehemiah, have called his mother-tongue "the *Jews*' language," in opposition to the *Aramean*? There was nothing in the Babylonish captivity to give it the name, if it had it not before; nor is there a single earlier instance—Is. xix. 18 might have furnished one—of any name given to the language spoken by all the Israelites, and which in later times was called Hebrew: Ἑβραϊστί, Prolog. Ecclus.; Luke xxiii. 38; John v. 2, &c.)^k דְּבַר מִשְׁפַּט אֵת, 2 K. xxv. 6. (Frequent in Jer. iv. 12, xxxix. 5, &c.) Theod. Parker adds פָּחָה (see, too, Thenius, *Eintl.* §6), 1 K. x. 15, xx. 24; 2 K. xviii. 24, on the presumption probably of its being of Persian derivation; but the etymology and origin of the word are quite uncertain, and it is repeatedly used in Jer. li., as well as Is. xxxvi. 9. With better reason might בְּדָא have been adduced, 1 K. xii. 33. The expression עֵבֶר הַנְּהָר, in 1 K. iv. 24 is also a difficult one to form an impartial opinion about. It is doubtful, as De Wette admits, whether the phrase necessarily implies its being used by one to the east of the Euphrates, because the use varies in Num. xxxii. 19, xxxv. 14; Josh. i. 14 *seq.*, v. 1, xii. 1, 7, xxii. 7; 1 Chr. xxvi. 30; Deut. i. 1, 5, &c. It is also conceivable that the phrase might be used as a mere geographical designation by those who belonged to one of "the provinces beyond the river" subject to Babylon; and at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, Judaea had been such a province for at least 23 years, and probably longer. We may safely affirm therefore, that on the whole the peculiarities of diction in these books do not indicate a time after the captivity, or towards the close of it, but on the contrary point pretty distinctly to the age of Jeremiah. And it may be added, that the marked and systematic differences between the language of Chronicles and that of Kings, taken with the fact that all attempts to prove the Chronicles later than Ezra have utterly failed, lead to the same conclusion. (See many examples in Movers, p. 200, *seq.*) Other peculiar or rare expressions in these books are the proverbial ones: כִּישְׁתִּין בְּקִיר, found only in them and in 1 Sam. xxv. 22, 34, "slept with his fathers," "him that dieth in the city, the dogs

^k See Rödiger's *Gesen. Heb. Gramm.* Eng. tr. p. 6; Keil, *Chron.* p. 40.

shall eat," &c.; כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה אֵל, 1 K. ii. 23, &c.; also קָרְיָה, 1 K. i. 41, 45; elsewhere only in poetry, and in the composition of proper names, except Deut. ii. 36. וְחָלַת, i. 9. בְּרַבְרִים, "fowl," iv. 25 אָרוֹת, "stalls," v. 6; 2 Chr. ix. 25. הָעֵלָה מִם, r. 13, ix. 15, 21. מִפְּסֵעַ, "a stone-quarry," (Gesen.) vi. 7. לַפְנֵי, vi. 17. לְתֵתָן, 19. פְּקָעִים and פְּקָעוֹת, "wild cucumbers," vi. 18, vii. 24, 2 K. iv. 39. אֶתְנִים, x. 28; the names of the months מִקְוָה, viii. 2, בּוּל, vi. 37, 38. בְּדָא, "to invent," xii. 33, Neh. vi. 8, in both cases joined with מִלְכָּב. הַבְּעִיר וּבָעַר, "an idol," xv. 13. אֶחָדִי, "to destroy," xiv. 10, xvi. 3, xxi. 21. דְּבָקִים, "joints of the armour," xxii. 34. שִׁיג, "a pursuit," xviii. 27. גָּהַר, "to bend oneself," xviii. 42, 2 K. iv. 34, 35. שָׁנַם, "to gird up," xviii. 46. אָפֶר, "a head-band," xx. 38, 42. שָׁפַק, "to suffice," xx. 10. חָלַט, incert. signif. xx. 33. עֵשָׂה מְלוּכָה, "to reign," xxi. 7. צֵלְחִית, "a dish," 2 K. ii. 20. גָּלַם, "to fold up," ib. 8. נִגְדָּר, "a herdsman," iii. 4, Am. i. 1. חָרַד אֵל, "an oil-cup," iv. 2. חָרַד אֵל, "to have a care for," 13; חָרַר, "to sneeze," 35; צִקְלוֹן, "a bag," 42. חָרִיט, "a money-bag," v. 23. תַּחְנָה, "an encamping" (?) vi. 8; בָּרָה, "a feast," 23; נַחַת, "descending," 9; קַב, "a cab," 25; חָרֵי יוֹנִים, "dove's dung," ib. מִכְבֵּר, perhaps "a fly-net," viii. 15. נָרַם (in sense of "self," as in Chald. and Samar.), ix. 13. צִבּוּר, "a heap," x. 8; מִלְתַּחַח, "a vestry," 22; מַחְרָאָה, "a draught-house," 27. פְּרִי, "Cherethites," xi. 4, 19, and 2 Sam. xx. 23, cethib. מִפְּסָח, "a keeping off," xi. 6. מִפֶּר, "an acquaintance," xii. 6. The form יוֹר, from יָרָה, "to shoot," xiii. 17. בְּנֵי הַתְּעַרְבוֹת, "hostages," xiv. 14, 2 Chr. xxv. 24. בֵּית הַחֲפָשִׁיחַ, "sick house," xv. 5, 2 Chr. xxvi. 21. קִבְּלָה, "before," xv. 10. דַּמּוּשֶׁק, "Damascus," xvi. 10 (perhaps only a false reading). מַרְצֵפֶת, "a pavement," xvi. 17. מוּסָף, or מוּסָף, "a covered way," xvi. 18. חָפֵא in Pih. "to do secretly," xvii. 9. אֲשִׁירָה, with י, 16, only besides Deut. vii. 5, Mic. v. 14. נָרָה, i. 9. נָרָה, xvii. 21 (Cethib) שְׁמָרְנִים, "Samaritans," 29. נַחְשְׁתָּן, "Nehustan," xviii. 4. אֲמִנָּה, "a pillar," 16. עֵשָׂה בְרִכָּה, "to make peace," 31, Is. xxxvi. 16. סַחֲיִשׁ, "that which grows up the third year," xix. 29, Is. xxxvii. 30. בֵּית נֹכַח, "treasure-house," xx. 13, Is. xxxix. 2. מִשְׁנֵה, part of Jerusalem so called, xxi. 14, Zeph. i. 10, Neh. xi. 9. מְזוֹלוֹת, "signs of the Zodiac," xxii. 2. פְּרוּר, "a suburb," xxiii. 11. נְבִים, "ploughmen," xxv. 12, cethib. שָׁנָה, for שָׁנָה, "to change," xxv. 9. To which may be added the architectural terms in 1 K. vi., vii., and

the names of foreign idols in 2 K. xvii. The general character of the language is, most distinctly, that of the time before the Babylonish captivity. But it is worth consideration whether some traces of dialectic varieties in Judah and Israel, and of an earlier admixture of Syriacisms in the language of Israel, may not be discovered in those portions of these books which refer to the kingdom of Israel. As regards the text, it is far from being perfect. Besides the errors in numerals, some of which are probably to be traced to this source, such passages as 1 K. xv. 6; v. 10, compared with v. 2; 2 K. xv. 30, viii. 16, xvii. 34, are manifest corruptions of transcribers. In some instances the parallel passage in Chronicles corrects the error, as 1 K. iv. 26 is corrected by 2 Chr. ix. 25; 2 K. xiv. 21, &c., by 2 Chr. xxvi. 1, &c. So the probable misplacement of the section 2 K. xxiii. 4-20 is corrected by 2 Chr. xxxiv. 3-7. The substitution of Azariah for Uzziah in 2 K. xiv. 21, and throughout 2 K. xv. 1-30, except ver. 13, followed by the use of the right name, Uzziah, in vers. 30, 32, 34, is a very curious circumstance. In Isaiah, in Zechariah (xiv. 5), and in the Chronicles (except 1 Chr. iii. 12), it is uniformly Uzziah. Perhaps no other cause is to be sought than the close resemblance between עזריה and עזריה, and the fact that the latter name, Azariah, might suggest itself more readily to a Levitical scribe. There can be little doubt that Uzziah was the king's true name, Azariah that of the high-priest. (But see Thénius on 1 K. xiv. 21.)

In connexion with these literary peculiarities may be mentioned also some remarkable variations in the version of the LXX. These consist of *transpositions*, *omissions*, and some considerable *additions*, of all which Thénius gives some useful notices in his Introduction to the book of Kings.

The most important *transpositions* are the history of Shimei's death, 1 K. ii. 36-46, which in the LXX. (Cod. Vat.) comes after iii. 1, and divers scraps from chs. iv., v., and ix., accompanied by one or two remarks of the translators.

The sections 1 K. iv. 20-25, 2-6, 26, 21, 1, are strung together and precede 1 K. iii. 2-28, but are many of them repeated again in their proper places.

The sections 1 K. iii. 1, ix. 16, 17, are strung together, and placed between iv. 34 and v. 1.

The section 1 K. vii. 1-12 is placed after vii. 51.

Section viii. 12, 13, is placed after 53.

Section ix. 15-22 is placed after x. 22.

Section xi. 43, xii. 1, 2, 3, is much transposed and confused in LXX. xi. 43, 44, xii. 1-3.

Section xiv. 1-21 is placed in the midst of the long addition to Chr. xii. mentioned below.

Section xxii. 42-50 is placed after xvi. 28. Chaps. xx. and xxi. are transposed.

Section 2 K. iii. 1-3 is placed after 2 K. i. 18.

The *omissions* are few.

Section 1 K. vi. 11-14 is entirely omitted, and 37, 38, are only slightly alluded to at the opening of ch. iii. The erroneous clause 1 K. xv. 6 is omitted; and so are the dates of Asa's reign in xvi. 8 and 15; and there are a few verbal omissions of no consequence.

The chief interest lies in the *additions*, of which the principal are the following. The supposed mention of a fountain as among Solomon's works in the Temple in the passage after 1 K. ii. 35; of a paved causeway on Lebanon, iii. 46; of Solomon pointing to the sun at the dedication of the Temple, before he uttered the prayer, "The Lord said he

would dwell in the thick darkness," &c., viii. 12, 13 (after, 53 LXX.), with a reference to the βίβλιον τῆς φωνῆς, a passage on which Thénius relies as proving that the Alexandrian had access to original documents now lost; the information that "Joram his brother" perished with Tibni, xvi. 22; an additional date "in the 24th year of Jeroboam," xv. 8; numerous verbal additions, as xi. 29, xvii. 1, &c.; and lastly, the long passage concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat, inserted between xii. 24 and 25. There are also many glosses of the translator, explanatory, or necessary in consequence of transpositions, as *c. g.* 1 K. ii. 35, viii. 1, xi. 43, xvii. 20, xix. 2, &c. Of the above, from the recapitulatory character of the passage after 1 K. ii. 35, containing in brief the sum of the things detailed in ch. vii. 24-23, it seems far more probable that ΚΙΜΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΔΗΣ is only a corruption of ΚΡΙΝΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΛΑΜ, there mentioned. The obscure passage about Lebanon after iii. 46, seems no less certainly to represent what in the Heb. is ix. 18, 19, as appears by the triple concurrence of Tadmor, Lebanon, and δυναστεύματα, representing כמשתחו.

The strange mention of the sun seems to be introduced by the translator to give significance to Solomon's mention of the House which he had built for God, who had said He would dwell in the *thick darkness*; not therefore under the unveiled light of the sun; and the reference to "the book of song" can surely mean nothing else than to point out that the passage to which Solomon referred was Ps. xvii. 2. Of the other additions the mention of Tibni's brother Joram is the one which has most the semblance of an historical fact, or makes the existence of any other source of history probable. See too 1 K. xx. 19, 2 K. xv. 25. There remains only the long passage about Jeroboam. That this account is only an apocryphal version made up of the existing materials in the Hebrew Scriptures, after the manner of 1 Esdras, Bel and the Dragon, the apocryphal Esther, the Targums, &c., may be inferred on the following grounds. The frame-work of the story is given in the very words of the Hebrew narrative, and that very copiously, and the new matter is only worked in here and there. Demonstrably therefore the Hebrew account existed when the Greek one was framed, and was the original one. The principal new facts introduced, the marriage of Jeroboam to the sister of Shishak's wife, and his request to be permitted to return, is a manifest imitation of the story of Hadad. The misplacement of the story of Abijah's sickness, and the visit of Jeroboam's wife to Abijah the Shilonite, makes the whole history out of keeping—the disguise of the queen, the rebuke of Jeroboam's idolatry (which is accordingly left out from Abijah's prophecy, as is the mention at v. 2 of his having told Jeroboam he should be king), and the king's anxiety about the recovery of his son and heir. The embellishments of the story, Jeroboam's chariots, the amplification of Abijah's address to Anō, the request asked of Pharaoh, the new garment *not washed in water*, are precisely such as an embroiderer would add, as we may see by the apocryphal books above cited. Then the fusing down the three Hebrew names צרעה, צרעה, תרצה, into one *Σαρυά*, thus giving the same name to the mother of Jeroboam, and to the city where she dwelt, shows how comparatively modern the story is, and how completely of Greek growth. A yet plainer indication is the

confounding Shemaiah of 1 K. xii. 22, with Shemaiah the Nehelamite of Jer. xxix. 24, 31, and putting Ahijah's prophecy into his mouth. For beyond all question Ἐρλαμί, 1 K. xii., is only another form of Αἰλαμίτης (Jer. xxvi. 24, LXX.). Then again the story is self-contradictory. For if Jeroboam's child Abijam was not born till a year or so after Solomon's death, how could "any good thing toward the Lord God of Israel" have been found in him before Jeroboam became king? The one thing in the story that is more like truth than the Hebrew narrative is the age given to Rehoboam, 16 years, which may have been preserved in the MS. which the writer of this romance had before him. The calling Jeroboam's mother γυνὴ πόρνη, instead of γυνὴ χήρα, was probably accidental.

On the whole then it appears that the great variations in the LXX. contribute little or nothing to the elucidation of the history contained in these books, nor much even to the text. The Hebrew text and arrangement is not in the least shaken in its main points, nor is there the slightest cloud cast on the accuracy of the history, or the truthfulness of the prophecies contained in it. But these variations illustrate a characteristic tendency of the Jewish mind to make interesting portions of the Scriptures the groundwork of separate religious tales, which they altered or added to according to their fancy, without any regard to history or chronology, and in which they exercised a peculiar kind of ingenuity in working up the Scripture materials, or in inventing circumstances calculated as they thought to make the main history more probable. The story of Zerubbabel's answer in 1 Esdr. about truth, to prepare the way for his mission by Darius; of the discovery of the imposture of Bel's priests by Daniel, in Bel and the Dragon; of Mordecai's dream in the Apoc. Esther, and the paragraph in the Talmud inserted to connect 1 K. xvi. 34, with xvii. 1 (Smith's *Sacr. Ann.*, vol. ii. p. 421), are instances of this. And the reign of Solomon,^m and the remarkable rise of Jeroboam were not unlikely to exercise this propensity of the Hellenistic Jews. It is to the existence of such works that the variations in the LXX. account of Solomon and Jeroboam may most probably be attributed.

Another feature in the literary condition of our books must just be noticed, viz. that the compiler, in arranging his materials, and adopting the very words of the documents used by him, has not always been careful to avoid the appearance of contradiction. Thus the mention of the staves of the ark remaining in their place "unto this day," 1 K. viii. 8, does not accord with the account of the destruction of the Temple 2 K. xxv. 9. The mention of Elijah as the only prophet of the Lord left, 1 K. xviii. 22, xix. 10, has an appearance of disagreement with xx. 13, 28, 35, &c., though xviii. 4, xix. 18, supply, it is true, a ready answer. In 1 K. xxi. 13, only Naboth is mentioned, while in

2 K. ix. 26, his sons are added. The prediction in 1 K. xix. 15-17 has no perfect fulfilment in the following chapters. 1 K. xxii. 38, does not seem to be a fulfilment of xxi. 19.ⁿ The declaration in 1 K. ix. 22 does not seem in harmony with xi. 28. There are also some singular repetitions, as 1 K. xiv. 21 compared with 31; 2 K. ix. 29 with viii. 25; xiv. 15, 16 with xiii. 12, 13. But it is enough just to have pointed these out, as no real difficulty can be found in them.

III. As regards the authorship of these books, but little difficulty presents itself. The Jewish tradition which ascribes them to Jeremiah, is borne out by the strongest internal evidence, in addition to that of the language. The last chapter, especially as compared with the last chapter of the Chronicles, bears distinct traces of having been written by one who did not go into captivity, but remained in Judea, after the destruction of the Temple. This suits Jeremiah.^o The events singled out for mention in the concise narrative, are precisely those of which he had personal knowledge, and in which he took special interest. The famine in 2 K. xxv. 3 was one which had nearly cost Jeremiah his life (Jer. xxxviii. 9). The capture of the city, the flight and capture of Zedekiah, the judgment and punishment of Zedekiah and his sons at Riblah, are related in 2 K. xxv. 1-7, in almost the identical words which we read in Jer. xxxix. 1-7. So are the breaking down and burning of the Temple, the king's palace, and the houses of the great men, the deportation to Babylon of the fugitives and the surviving inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judea. The intimate knowledge of what Nebuzar-adan did, both in respect to those selected for capital punishment, and those carried away captive, and those poor whom he left in the land, displayed by the writer of 2 K. xxv. 11, 12, 18-21, is fully explained by Jer. xxxix. 10-14, xl. 1-5, where we read that Jeremiah was actually one of the captives who followed Nebuzar-adan as far as Ramah, and was very kindly treated by him. The careful enumeration of the pillars and of the sacred vessels of the Temple which were plundered by the Chaldeans, tallies exactly with the prediction of Jeremiah concerning them, xxvii. 19-22. The paragraph concerning the appointment of Gedaliah as governor of the remnant, and his murder by Ishmael, and the flight of the Jews into Egypt, is merely an abridged account of what Jeremiah tells us more fully, xl.-xliii. 7, and are events in which he was personally deeply concerned. The writer in Kings has nothing more to tell us concerning the Jews or Chaldees in the land of Judah, which exactly agrees with the hypothesis that he is Jeremiah, who we know was carried down to Egypt with the fugitives. In fact, the date of the writing and the position of the writer, seem as clearly marked by the termination of the narrative at v. 26, as in the case of the Acts of the Apostles.^p It may be added, though the argument

^m A late tale of Solomon's wisdom, in imitation of the judgment of the two women, told in the Talmud, may be seen in *Curiosities of Literature*, l. 226. The Talmud contains many more.

ⁿ For a discussion of this difficulty see [NABOTH] [JEZREEL]. The simplest explanation is that Naboth was stoned at Samaria, since we find the elders of Jezreel at Samaria, 2 K. x. 1. Thus both the spot where Naboth's blood flowed, and his vineyard at Jezreel, were the scene of righteous retribution.

^o De Wette cites from Hævernick and Movers, 1 K. ix. 8, 9, comp. with Jer. xxii. 8; 2 K. xvii. 13,

14, comp. with Jer. vii. 13, 24; 2 K. xxi. 12, comp. with Jer. xix. 3; and the identity of Jer. lii. with 2 K. xxiv. 18, seq. xxv., as the strongest passages in favour of Jeremiah's authorship, which, however, he repudiates, on the ground that 2 K. xxv. 27-30 could not have been written by him. A weaker ground can scarcely be imagined. Jer. xv. 1 may also be cited as connecting the compilation of the books of Samuel with Jeremiah. Compare further 1 K. viii. 51 with Jer. xi. 4.

^p The four last verses, relative to Jehoiachin, are equally a supplement whether added by the author or

be of less weight, that the annexation of this chapter to the writings of Jeremiah so as to form Jer. lii. (with the additional clause contained 28-30) is an evidence of a very ancient, if not a contemporary belief, that Jeremiah was the author of it. Again, the special mention of Seraiah the high-priest, and Zephaniah the second priest, as slain by Nebuzardan (v. 18), together with three other priests,⁹ is very significant when taken in connexion with Jer. xxi. 1, xxix. 25-29, passages which show that Zephaniah belonged to the faction which opposed the prophet, a faction which was headed by priests and false prophets (Jer. xxvi. 7, 8, 11, 16). Going back to the xxivth chapter, we find in ver. 14 an enumeration of the captives taken with Jehoiachin identical with that in Jer. xxiv. 1; in ver. 13, a reference to the vessels of the Temple precisely similar to that in Jer. xxvii. 18-20, xxviii. 3, 6, and in ver. 3, 4, a reference to the idolatries and bloodshed of Manasseh very similar to those in Jer. ii. 34, xix. 4-8, &c., a reference which also connects ch. xxiv. with xxi. 6, 13-16. In ver. 2 the enumeration of the hostile nations, and the reference to the prophets of God, point directly to Jer. xxv. 9, 20, 21, and the reference to Pharaoh Necho in ver. 7 points to ver. 19, and to xlv. 1-12. Brief as the narrative is, it brings out all the chief points in the political events of the time which we know were much in Jeremiah's mind; and yet, which is exceedingly remarkable, Jeremiah is never once named (as he is in 2 Chr. xxxvi. 12, 21), although the manner of the writer is frequently to connect the sufferings of Judah with their sins and their neglect of the Word of God, 2 K. xvii. 13, *seq.*, xxiv. 2, 3, &c. And this leads to another striking coincidence between that portion of the history which belongs to Jeremiah's times, and the writings of Jeremiah himself. De Wette speaks of the superficial character of the history of Jeremiah's times as hostile to the theory of Jeremiah's authorship. Now, considering the nature of these annals, and their conciseness, this criticism seems very unfounded as regards the reigns of Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. It must, however, be acknowledged that as regards Jehoiakim's reign, and especially the latter part of it, and the way in which he came by his death, the narrative is much more meagre than one would have expected from a contemporary writer, living on the spot. But exactly the same paucity of information is found in those otherwise copious notices of contemporary events with which Jeremiah's prophecies are interspersed. Let any one open, *e. g.* Townshend's "*Arrangement*," or Geneste's "*Parallel Histories*," and he will see at a glance how remarkably little light Jeremiah's narrative or prophecies throw upon the latter part of Jehoiakim's

by some later hand. There is nothing impossible in the supposition of Jeremiah having survived till the 37th of Jehoiachin's captivity, though he would have been between 80 and 90. There is something touching in the idea of this gleam of joy having reached the prophet in his old age, and of his having added these few words to his long-finished history of his nation.

⁹ These priests, of very high rank, called שְׁמָרֵי הַדֶּשֶׁת, "keepers of the door," *i. e.* of the three principal entrances to the Temple, are not to be confounded with the porters, who were Levites. We are expressly told in 2 K. xii. 10 (9, A. V.) that these "keepers" were priests. 2 K. xxii. 4, xxiii. 4, with xii. 10 and xxv. 18, clearly point out the rank of

reign. The cause of this silence may be difficult to assign, but whatever it was, whether absence from Jerusalem, possibly on the mission described, Jer. xiii. 7, or imprisonment, or any other impediment, it operated equally on Jeremiah and on the writer of 2 K. xxiv. When it is borne in mind that the writer of 2 K. was a contemporary writer, and, if not Jeremiah, must have had independent means of information, this coincidence will have great weight.

Going back to the reign of Josiah, in the xxiii. and xxii. chapters, the connexion of the destruction of Jerusalem with Manasseh's transgressions, and the comparison of it to the destruction of Samaria, ver. 26, 27, lead us back to xxi. 10-13, and that passage leads us to Jer. vii. 15, xv. 4, xix. 3, 4, &c. The particular account of Josiah's pass-over, and his other good works, the reference in ver. 24, 25 to the law of Moses, and the finding of the Book by Hilkiah the priest, with the fuller account of that discovery in ch. xxii., exactly suit Jeremiah, who began his prophetic office in the 13th of Josiah; whose xith chap. refers repeatedly to the book thus found; and who showed his attachment to Josiah by writing a lamentation on his death (2 Chr. xxxv. 25), and whose writings show how much he made use of the copy of Deuteronomy so found. [JEREMIAH, HILKIAH.] With Josiah's reign (although we may even in earlier times hit upon occasional resemblances, such for instance as the silence concerning Manasseh's repentance in both), necessarily cease all strongly marked characters of Jeremiah's authorship. For though the general unity and continuity of plan (which, as already observed, pervades not only the books of Kings, but those of Samuel, Ruth, and Judges likewise) lead us to assign the whole history in a certain sense to one author, and enable us to carry to the account of the whole book the proofs derived from the closing chapters, yet it must be borne in mind that the authorship of those parts of the history of which Jeremiah was not an eye-witness, that is, of all before the reign of Josiah, would have consisted merely in selecting, arranging, inserting the connecting phrases, and, when necessary, slightly modernising (see Thenius, *Einleit.* § 2) the old histories which had been drawn up by contemporary prophets through the whole period of time. See *e. g.* 1 K. xiii. 32. For, as regards the sources of information, it may truly be said that we have the narrative of contemporary writers throughout. It has already been observed [CHRONICLES] that there was a regular series of state-annals both for the kingdom of Judah and for that of Israel, which embraced the whole time comprehended in the Books of Kings, or at least to the end of the reign of Jehoiakim,

these officers as next in dignity to the second priest, or sagan. [HIGH-PRIEST, vol. i. p. 808.] Josephus calls them τοὺς φυλάσσοντας τὸ ἱερόν ἡγεμόνας. The expression שְׁמָרֵי הַדֶּשֶׁת is however also applied to the Levites in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 9, 1 Chr. ix. 19. [KORAHITE.] The prophet does not tell us that he returned to Jerusalem after hiding his girdle in the Euphrates. The "many days" spoken of in ver. 6 may have been spent among the captivity at Babylon. [JEREMIAH, p. 969 a.] He may have returned just after Jehoiakim's death; and "the king and the queen," in ver. 18, may mean Jehoiachin and his mother. Comp. 2 K. xxiv. 12, 15, which would be the fulfilment of Jer. xiii. 18, 1.

2 K. xxiv. 5. These annals are constantly cited by name as "the Book of the Acts of Solomon," 1 K. xi. 41; and, after Solomon, "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, or, Israel," *c. g.* 1 K. xiv. 29, xv. 7, xvi. 5, 14, 20; 2 K. x. 34, xxiv. 5, &c., and it is manifest that the author of Kings had them both before him, while he drew up his history, in which the reigns of the two kingdoms are harmonised, and these annals constantly appealed to. But in addition to these national annals, there were also extant, at the time that the Books of Kings were compiled, separate works of the several prophets who had lived in Judah and Israel, and which probably bore the same relation to the annals, which the historical parts of Isaiah and Jeremiah bear to those portions of the annals preserved in the Books of Kings, *i. e.* were, in some instances at least, fuller and more copious accounts of the current events, by the same hands which drew up the more concise narrative of the annals, though in others perhaps mere duplicates. Thus the acts of Uzziah, written by Isaiah, were very likely identical with the history of his reign in the national chronicles; and part of the history of Hezekiah we know was identical in the chronicles and in the prophet. The chapter in Jeremiah relating to the destruction of the Temple (lii.) is identical with that in 2 K. xxiv. xxv. In later times we have supposed that a chapter in the prophecies of Daniel was used for the national chronicles, and appears as *Ezr.* ch. i. [*EZRA, BOOK OF.*] Compare also 2 K. xvi. 5, with *Is.* vii. 1; 2 K. xviii. 8, with *Is.* xiv. 28-32. As an instance of verbal agreement, coupled with greater fullness in the prophetic account, see 2 K. xi. compared with *Is.* xxxviii., in which latter alone is Hezekiah's *writing* given.

These other works, then, as far as the memory of them has been preserved to us, were as follows (see *Kell's Apolog. Vers.*). For the time of David, the book of Samuel the seer, the book of Nathan the prophet, and the book of Gad the seer (2 Sam. xxi.-xxiv. with 1 K. i., being probably extracted from Nathan's book), which seem to have been collected—at least that portion of them relating to David—into one work called "the Acts of David the King," 1 Chr. xxix. 29. For the time of Solomon, "the Book of the Acts of Solomon," 1 K. xi. 41, consisting probably of parts of the "Book of Nathan the prophet, the prophecy of Abijah the Shilonite, and the visions of Iddo the seer," 2 Chr. ix. 29. For the time of Rehoboam, "the words of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies," 2 Chr. xii.

15. For the time of Abijah, "the story (מִדְּרָשׁ) of the prophet Iddo," 2 Chr. xiii. 22. For the time of Jehoshaphat, "the words of Jehu the son of Hanani," 2 Chr. xx. 34. For the time of Uzziah, "the writings of Isaiah the prophet," 2 Chr. xxvi. 22. For the time of Hezekiah, "the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz," 2 Chr. xxxii. 22. For the time of Manasseh, a book called "the sayings of the seers," as the *A. V.*, following the LXX., *Vulg.*, *Kimchi*, &c., rightly renders the passage, in accordance with *ver.* 18, 2 Chr. xxxiii. 19, though others, following the grammar too servilely, make *Chozai* a proper name, because of the absence of the article.

² Movers thinks the term מִדְּרָשׁ implies translation from older works.

³ Thenius comes to the same conclusion (*Einleit.*

[*CHRONICLES*, vol. i. p. 310." For the time of Jeroboam II., a prophecy of "Jonah, the son of Amittai the prophet, of Gath-hepher," is cited, 2 K. xiv. 25; and it seems likely that there were books containing special histories of the acts of Elijah and Elisha, seeing that the times of these prophets are described with such copiousness. Of the latter Gehazi might well have been the author, to judge from 2 K. viii. 4, 5, as Elisha himself might have been of the former. Possibly too the prophecies of Azariah the son of Oded, in Asa's reign, 2 Chr. xv. 1, and the son of Hanani (2 Chr. xvi. 7), (unless this latter is the same as Jehu son of Hanani, as Oded is put for Azariah in xv. 8), and Micaiah the son of Imlah, in Ahab's reign; and Eliezer the son of Dodavah, in Jehoshaphat's; and Zechariah the son of Jehoiada, in Jehoash's; and Oded, in Pekah's; and Zechariah, in Uzziah's reign; of the prophetess Huldah, in Josiah's, and others, may have been preserved in writing, some or all of them. These works, or at least many of them, must have been extant at the time when the Books of Kings were compiled, as they certainly were much later when the Books of Chronicles were put together by Ezra. But whether the author used them all, or only those duplicate portions of them which were embodied in the national chronicles, it is impossible to say, seeing he quotes none of them by name except the acts of Solomon, and the prophecy of Jonah. On the other hand, we cannot infer from his silence that these books were unused by him, seeing that neither does he quote by name the Vision of Isaiah as the Chronicler does, though he must, from its recent date, have been familiar with it, and that so many parts of his narrative have every appearance of being extracted from these books of the prophets, and contain narratives which it is not likely would have found a place in the chronicles of the kings. (See 1 K. xiv. 4, &c., xvi. 1, &c., xi.; 2 K. xvii., &c.)

With regard to the work so often cited in the Chronicles as "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah," 1 Chr. ix. 1; 2 Chr. xvi. 11, xxvii. 7, xxviii. 26, xxxii. 32, xxxv. 27, xxxvi. 8, it has been thought by some that it was a separate collection containing the joint histories of the two kingdoms; by others that it is our Books of Kings which answer to this description; but by Eichhorn, that it is the same as the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah so constantly cited in the Books of Kings, and this last opinion seems the best founded. For in 2 Chr. xvi. 11, the same book is called "the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel," which in the parallel passage, 1 K. xv. 23, is called "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah." So again, 2 Chr. xxvii. 7, comp. with 2 K. xv. 36; 2 Chr. xxviii. 26, comp. with 2 K. xvi. 19; 2 Chr. xxxii. 32, comp. with 2 K. xx. 20; 2 Chr. xxxv. 27, with 2 K. xxiii. 28; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 8, with 2 K. xxiv. 5. Moreover the book so quoted refers exclusively to the affairs of Judah; and even in the one passage where reference is made to it as "the Book of the Kings of Israel," 2 Chr. xx. 34, it is for the reign of Jehoshaphat that it is cited. Obviously therefore it is the same work which is elsewhere described as the *Chr. of Israel and Judah*, and of *Judah and Israel*. Nor is this an unreasonable title to give to these chrono-

§3). It is cited in 2 Chr. xxiv. 27 as "the story"—the Midrash—מִדְּרָשׁ, of the book of the Kings Comp. 2 K. xii. 19.

nicles. Saul, David, Solomon, and in some sense Hezekiah, 2 Chr. xxx. 1, 5, 6, and all his successors were kings of Israel as well as of Judah, and therefore it is very conceivable that in Ezra's time the chronicles of Judah should have acquired the name of the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah. Even with regard to a portion of Israel in the days of Rehoboam, the chronicler remarks, apparently as a matter of gratulation, that "Rehoboam reigned over them," 2 Chr. x. 17; he notices Abijah's authority in portions of the Israelitish territory, 2 Chr. xiii. 18, 19, xv. 8, 9; he is not unfrequently speaks of Israel, when the kingdom of Judah is the matter in hand, as 2 Chr. xii. 1, xxi. 4, xxiii. 2, &c., and even calls Jehoshaphat "King of Israel," 2 Chr. xxi. 2, and distinguishes "Israel and Judah," from "Ephraim and Manasseh," xxx. 1; he notices Hezekiah's authority from Dan to Beersheba, 2 Chr. xxx. 5, and Josiah's destruction of idols throughout all the land of Israel, xxxiv. 6-9, and his passage over for all Israel. xxxv. 17, 18, and seems to parade the title "*King of Israel*" in connexion with David and Solomon, xxxv. 3, 4, and the relation of the Levites to "all Israel," ver. 3; and therefore it is only in accordance with the feeling displayed in such passages that the name, "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah" should be given to the chronicles of the Jewish kingdom. The use of this term in speaking of the "Kings of Israel and Judah" who were carried away to Babylon for their transgression," 1 Chr. ix. 1, would be conclusive, if the construction of the sentence were certain. But though it is absurd to separate the words "and Judah" from Israel, as Bertheau does (*Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb.*), following the Masoretic punctuation, seeing that the "*Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah*," is cited in at least six other places in Chr., still it is possible that Israel and Judah might be the antecedent to the pronoun understood before הנלך. It seems, however, much more likely that the antecedent to אשר is "יה" מלכי יש"ו.

On the whole therefore there is no evidence of the existence in the time of the chronicler of a history, since lost, of the two kingdoms, nor are the Books of Kings the work so quoted by the chronicler, seeing he often refers to it for "the rest of the acts" of Kings, when he has already given all that is contained in our Books of Kings. He refers therefore to the chronicles of Judah. From the above authentic sources then was compiled the history in the books under consideration. Judging from the facts that we have in 2 K. xviii. xix., xx., the history of Hezekiah in the very words of Isaiah, xxxvi.—xxxix.; that, as stated above, we have several passages from Jeremiah in duplicate in 2 K., and the whole of Jer. lii. in 2 K. xxiv. 18, &c., xxv.; that so large a portion of the Books of Kings is repeated in the Books of Chronicles, though the writer of Chronicles had the original Chronicles also before him, as well as from the whole internal character of the narrative, and even some of the blemishes referred to under the 2nd head; we may conclude with certainty that we have in the Books of Kings, not only in the main the history faithfully preserved to us from the ancient chronicles, but most frequently whole passages transferred verbatim into them. Occasionally, no doubt, we have the compiler's own comments, or reflexions thrown in, as at 2 K. xxi. 10-16, xvii. 10-15, xiii. 23, xvii. 7-41,

&c. We connect the insertion of the prophecy in 1 K. xiii, with the fact that the compiler himself was an eye-witness of the fulfilment of it, and can even see how the words ascribed to the old prophet are of the age of the compiler." We can perhaps see his hand in the frequent repetition on the review of each reign of the remark, "the high places were not taken away, the people still sacrificed and burnt incense on the high places," 1 K. xxii. 43; 2 K. xii. 3, xiv. 4, xv. 4, 35; cf. 1 K. iii. 3, and in the repeated observation that such and such things, as the staves by which the ark was borne, the revolt of the 10 tribes, the rebellion of Edom, &c., continue "unto this day," though it may be perhaps doubted in some cases whether these words were not in the old chronicle (2 Chr. v. 9). See 1 K. viii. 8, ix. 13, 21, x. 12, xii. 19; 2 K. ii. 22, viii. 22, x. 27, xiii. 23, xiv. 7, xvi. 6, xvii. 23, 34, 41, xxiii. 25. It is however remarkable that in no instance does the use of this phrase lead us to suppose that it was penned after the destruction of the Temple: in several of the above instances the phrase necessarily supposes that the Temple and the kingdom of Judah were still standing. If the phrase then is the compiler's, it proves him to have written before the Babylonish captivity; if it was a part of the chronicle he was quoting, it shows how exactly he transferred its contents to his own pages.

IV. As regards the relation of the Books of Kings to those of Chronicles, it is manifest, and is universally admitted, that the former is by far the older work. The language, which is quite free from the Persicisms of the Chronicles and their late orthography, and is not at all more Aramaic than the language of Jeremiah, as has been shown above (II.), clearly points out its relative superiority in regard to age. Its subject also, embracing the kingdom of Israel as well as Judah, is another indication of its composition before the kingdom of Israel was forgotten, and before the Jewish enmity to Samaria, which is apparent in such passages as 2 Chr. xx. 37, xxv., and in those chapters of Ezra (i.—vi.) which belong to Chronicles, was brought to maturity. While the Books of Chronicles therefore were written especially for the Jews after their return from Babylon, the Book of Kings was written for the whole of Israel, before their common national existence was hopelessly quenched.

Another comparison of considerable interest between the two histories may be drawn in respect to the main design, that design having a marked relation both to the individual station of the supposed writers, and the peculiar circumstances of their country at the times of their writing.

Jeremiah was himself a prophet. He lived while the prophetic office was in full vigour, in his own person, in Ezekiel, and Daniel, and many others, both true and false. In his eyes, as in truth, the main cause of the fearful calamities of his countrymen was their rejection and contempt of the Word of God in his mouth and that of the other prophets; and the one hope of deliverance lay in their hearkening to the prophets who still continued to speak to them in the name of the Lord. Accordingly, we find in the Books of Kings great prominence given to the prophetic office. Not only are some fourteen chapters devoted more or less to the history of Elijah and Elisha, the former of whom is but once named, and the latter not once in the Chronicles; but besides the many passages in which the names and sayings of prophets are recorded alike in both histories, the following may be cited

* V. 32. The phrase "the cities of Samaria" of course cannot belong to the age of Jeroboam.

as instances in which the compiler of Kings has notices of the prophets which are peculiar to himself. The history of the prophet who went from Judah to Bethel in the reign of Jeroboam, and of the old prophet and his sons who dwelt at Bethel, 1 K. xiii.; the story of Ahijah the prophet and Jeroboam's wife in 1 K. xiv.; the prophecy of Jehu the son of Hanani concerning the house of Baasha, 1 K. xvi.; the reference to the fulfilment of the Word of God in the termination of Jehu's dynasty, in 2 K. xv. 12; the reflexions in 2 K. xvii. 7-23; and above all, as relating entirely to Judah, the narrative of Hezekiah's sickness and recovery in 2 K. xx. as contrasted with that in 2 Chr. xxxii., may be cited as instances of that prominence given to prophecy and prophets by the compiler of the book of Kings, which is also especially noticed by De Wette, §183, and Parker, transl. p. 233.

This view is further confirmed if we take into account the lengthened history of Samuel the prophet, in 1 Sam. (while he is but barely named two or three times in the Chronicles), a circumstance, by the way, strongly connecting the books of Samuel with those of Kings.

Ezra, on the contrary, was only a priest. In his days the prophetic office had wholly fallen into abeyance. That evidence of the Jews being the people of God, which consisted in the presence of prophets among them, was no more. But to the men of his generation, the distinctive mark of the continuance of God's favour to their race was the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem, the restoration of the daily sacrifice and the Levitical worship, and the wonderful and providential renewal of the Mosaic institutions. The chief instrument, too, for preserving the Jewish remnant from absorption into the mass of Heathenism, and for maintaining their national life till the coming of Messiah, was the maintenance of the Temple, its ministers, and its services. Hence we see at once that the chief care of a good and enlightened Jew of the age of Ezra, and all the more if he were himself a priest, would naturally be to enhance the value of the Levitical ritual, and the dignity of the Levitical caste. And in compiling a history of the past glories of his race, he would as naturally select such passages as especially bore upon the sanctity of the priestly office, and showed the deep concern taken by their ancestors in all that related to the honour of God's House, and the support of His ministering servants. Hence the Levitical character of the Books of Chronicles, and the presence of several detailed narratives not found in the Books of Kings, and the more frequent reference to the Mosaic institutions, may most naturally and simply be accounted for, without resorting to the absurd hypothesis that the ceremonial law was an invention subsequent to the captivity. 2 Chr. xxix., xxx., xxxi. compared with 2 K. xviii. is perhaps as good a specimen as can be selected of the distinctive spirit of the Chronicles. See also 2 Chr. xxvi. 16-21, comp. with 2 K. xv. 5; 2 Chr. xi. 13-17, xiii. 9-20, xv. 1-15, xxiii. 2-8, comp. with 2 K. xi. 5-9, and vers. 18, 19, comp. with ver. 18, and many other passages. Moreover, upon the principle that the sacred writers were influenced by natural feelings in their selection of their materials, it seems most appropriate that while the prophetic writer in Kings deals very fully with the kingdom of Israel, in which the prophets were much more illustrious than in Judah, the Levitical writer, on the contrary, should concentrate all his thoughts round Jerusalem where

alone the Levitical caste had all its power and functions, and should dwell upon all the instances preserved in existing monuments of the deeds and even the minutest ministrations of the priests and Levites, as well as of their faithfulness and sufferings in the cause of truth. This professional bias is so true to nature, that it is surprising that any one should be found to raise an objection from it. Its subserviency in this instance to the Divine purposes and the instruction of the Church, is an interesting example of the providential government of God. It may be further mentioned as tending to account simply and naturally for the difference in some of the narratives in the books of Kings and Chronicles respectively, that whereas the compiler of Kings usually quotes the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, the writer of Chronicles very frequently refers to those books of the contemporary prophets which we presume to have contained more copious accounts of the same reigns. This appears remarkably in the parallel passages in 1 K. xi. 41; 2 Chr. ix. 29, where the writer of Kings refers for "the rest of Solomon's acts" to the "book of the acts of Solomon," while the writer of Chronicles refers to "the book of Nathan the prophet" and "the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite," and "the visions of Iddo the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat;" and in 1 K. xiv. 29, and 2 Chr. xii. 15, where the writer of Kings sums up his history of Rehoboam with the words, "Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam and all that he did, are they not written in the *Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?*" whereas the chronicler substitutes "*in the Book of Shemaiah the prophet, and of Iddo the seer concerning genealogies;*" and in 1 K. xxii. 45, where "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" stands instead of "the Book of Jehu the son of Hanani," in 2 Chr. xx. 34. Besides which, the very formula so frequently used, "the rest of the acts of so and so, and all that he did," &c., necessarily supposes that there were in the chronicles of each reign, and in the other works cited, many things recorded which the compiler did not transcribe, and which of course it was open to any other compiler to insert in his narrative if he pleased. If then the chronicler, writing with a different motive and different predilections, and in a different age, had access to the same original documents from which the author of Kings drew his materials, it is only what was to be expected, that he should omit or abridge some things given in detail in the Book of Kings, and should insert, or give in detail, some things which the author of Kings had omitted, or given very briefly. The following passages which are placed side by side are examples of these opposite methods of treating the same subject on the part of the two writers:—

Full in Kings.

1 K. i. ii. give in detail the circumstances of Solomon's accession, the conspiracy of Adonijah, Joab, Abiathar, &c., and substitution of Zadok in the priest's office in room of Abiathar, the submission of Adonijah and all his party, Joab's death, &c.

Short in Chronicles.

1 Chr. xxix. 22-24. "And they made Solomon the son of David king the second time, and anointed him unto the Lord to be the chief governor, and Zadok to be priest. Then Solomon sat on the throne of the Lord as king instead of David his father, and prospered, and all Israel obeyed him. And all the princes and the mighty men, and all the sons likewise of king David, submitted themselves unto Solomon the king."

Full in Kings.

1 K. iii. 5-14.

Ver. 6. "And Solomon said, Thou hast showed unto thy servant David my father great mercy, according as he walked before Thee in truth, and in righteousness, and in uprightness of heart with Thee; and Thou hast kept for him this great kindness, that Thou hast given him a son to sit on his throne, as it is this day."

7, 8, 9, 10 "And the speech pleased the Lord, that Solomon had asked this thing."

11. "And God said unto him," &c.

13. "... like unto thee all thy days."

14. "And if thou wilt walk in my ways, and keep my statutes and my commandments as thy father David did walk, then I will lengthen thy days."

15. "And Solomon awoke, and behold it was a dream. And he came to Jerusalem, and stood before the ark of the covenant of the Lord, and offered up burnt-offerings, and offered peace-offerings, and made a feast to all his servants."

16-23. Solomon's judgment.

iv. 1. "So king Solomon was king over all Israel."

2-19. Containing a list of Solomon's officers.

xi. 1-40. Containing history of Solomon's idolatry, and the enmity of Hadad, and Rezon, and Jeroboam against him.

xii. 2. "Who was yet in Egypt." The omission of the word "yet" in Chron. is of course accounted for by his flight to Egypt not having been narrated by the chronicler.

1 K. xiv. 22-24.

A detailed account of the idolatries of Judah in the reign of Rehoboam.

1 K. xv. 18.

"Then Asa took all the silver and the gold that were left in the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the King's house, and delivered them into the hand of his servants; and king Asa sent them to Benhadad the son of Tabrimon, the son of Hezion, king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying, There is a league," &c.

2 K. xvi. 10-16.

A detailed account of Ahaz's visit to Damascus, and setting up an altar in the temple at Jerusalem after the pattern of one at Damascus. Urijah's subterfuge, &c.

Short in Chronicles.

2 Chr. i. 7-12.

Ver. 8. "And Solomon said unto God, Thou hast showed great mercy unto David my father,

and hast made me to reign in his stead."

11. "And God said to Solomon," &c.

12. "... any after thee have the like."

13. "Then Solomon came from his journey to the high place that was at Gibeon to Jerusalem, from before the tabernacle of the congregation,

and reigned over Israel."

Omitted in Chronicles.

Wholly omitted in Chronicles, except the allusion in 2 Chr. x. 2. "It came to pass, when Jeroboam the son of Nebat, who was in Egypt, whither he had fled from the presence of Solomon the king," &c.

2 Chr. xii. 1.

"And it came to pass when Rehoboam had established the kingdom, and had strengthened himself, he forsook the law of the Lord, and all Israel with him."

2 Chr. xvi. 2.

"Then Asa brought out silver and gold out of the treasures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house, and

sent to Benhadad

king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus, saying, There is a league," &c.

2 Chr. xxviii. 22, 23.

"And in the time of his distress did he trespass yet more against the Lord: this is that king Ahaz. For he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus which smote him. And he said, Because the gods of Syria help them, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me."

Full in Kings.

xx. 1-19.

Hezekiah's sickness, prayer, and recovery, with Isaiah's prophecy, and the sign of the shadow on the dial; the visit of the Babylonish ambassadors; Hezekiah's pride, Isaiah's rebuke, and Hezekiah's submission. Throughout the history of Hezekiah the narrative in 2 K. and Isaiah is much fuller than in Chronicles.

xxi. 10-16.

Message from God to Manasseh by His prophets. Manasseh's sin.

2 K. xxiii. 4-25.

Detailed account of the destruction of Baal-worship and other idolatrous rites and places in Judah and Israel, by Josiah, "that he might perform the words of the law which were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest found in the house of the Lord."

In like manner a comparison of the history of the reigns of Jehoahaz, Jehoikim, Jehoichin, and Zedekiah, will show, that, except in the matter of Jehoikim's capture in the 4th year of his reign, and deportation to (or towards) Babylon, in which the author of Chronicles follows Daniel and Ezekiel (Dan. i. 1, 2; Ez. xix. 9), the narrative in Chronicles is chiefly an abridgment of that in Kings. Compare 2 K. xxiii. 30-37, with 2 Chr. xxxvi. 1-5; 2 K. xxiv. 1-7, with 2 Chr. xxxvi. 6-8; 2 K. xxiv. 10-17, with 2 Chr. xxxvi. 10. From 2 Chr. xxxvi. 13, however, to the end of the chapter, is rather a comment upon the history in 2 K. xxv. 1-21, than an abridgment of it.

Under this head should be noticed also what may be called systematic abridgments; as when the statements in Kings concerning high-place worship in the several reigns (2 K. xii. 2, 3; xiv. 3, 4; xv. 3, 4, 35) are either wholly omitted, or more cursorily glanced at, as at 2 Chr. xxv. 2, xxvii. 2; or when the name of the queen-mother is omitted, as in the case of the seven last kings from Manasseh downwards, whose mothers are given by the author of Kings, but struck out by the author of Chronicles.*

* The annexed list of kings' mothers shows which are named in Kings and Chronicles, which in Kings alone:—

Solomon	son of Bathsheba, K. and Chr. (1. iii. 5).
Rehoboam	" Naamah, K. and Chr.
Abijah	" Maachah or Michatah, K. and Chr.
Asa	" Maachah, da of Absalom, K. and Chr.
Jehoshaphat	" Azubah, K. and Chr.
Jehoram	" ———
Ahaziah	" Athallah, K. and Chr.
Joash	" Zibiah, K. and Chr.
Amaziah	" Jehoaddan, K. and Chr.

Uzziah
D

There is something systematic also in the omitted or abbreviated accounts of the idolatries in the reigns of Solomon, Rehoboam, and Ahaz. It may not always be easy to assign the exact motives which influence a writer, who is abbreviating, in his selection of passages to be shortened or left out; but an obvious motive in the case of these idolatries, as well as the high-places, may be found in the circumstance that the idolatrous tendencies of the Jews had wholly ceased during the captivity, and that the details and repetition of the same remark relating to them were therefore less suited to the requirements of the age. To see a design on the part of the Chronicler to deceive and mislead, is to draw a conclusion not from the facts before us, but from one's own prejudices. It is not criticism, but invention.

On the other hand, the subjoined passages present some instances in which the Books of Kings give the short account, and the Books of Chronicles the full one.

Short in Kings.

1 K. viii.
Ver. 10. "And it came to pass when the priests were come out of the holy place,

Full in Chronicles.

2 Chr. v.
Ver. 11. "And it came to pass when the priests were come out of the holy place: (for all the priests that were present were sanctified, and did not then wait by course:

12. "Also the Levites which were the singers, all of them of Asaph, of Heman, of Jeduthun, with their sons and their brethren, being arrayed in white linen, having cymbals and psalteries and harps, stood at the east end of the altar, and with them 120 priests, sounding with trumpets:)

13. "It came even to pass, as the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord; and when they lifted up their voice with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music, and praised the Lord, saying, For He is good, for His mercy endureth for ever, that then the house was filled with a cloud, even the house of the Lord.

that the cloud filled the house of the Lord.

11. "So that the priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud: for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of the Lord.

12. "Then said Solomon," &c.

14. "So that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud: for the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God. Then said Solomon," &c.

1 K. viii.
Ver. 52 corresponds with 2 Chr. vi. 40. Ver. 53 is omitted in Chr.

2 Chr. vi., vii.
Ver. 41. "Now therefore arise, O Lord God, into thy resting place, thou, and the ark of thy strength: let thy priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and thy saints rejoice in goodness.
42. "O Lord God, turn

Uzziah	son of Jeoliah, K. and Chr.
Jotham	" Jerusha, K. and Chr.
Ahaz	" "
Hezekiah	Abi, K. and Chr.
Manasseh	Hepzibab, K.
Amon	Meshullenneth, K.
Josiah	Jedidah, K.
Jehoshaphat	Hamutal, K.
Jehoiakim	Zebudah, K.
Jehoiachin	Nehushta, K.
Zedekiah	Hamutal, K.

54. "And it was so that when Solomon had made an end of praying all this prayer and supplication unto the Lord he arose from before the altar of the Lord, from kneeling on his knees with his hands spread up to heaven."

55-61. "And he stood and blessed all the congregation," &c.

62. "And the king, and all Israel with him, offered sacrifices before the Lord."

1 K. xii. 24 corresponds with 2 Chr. xi. 4.

Wholly omitted in Kings, where from xii. 25 to xiv. 20 is occupied with the kingdom of Israel, and seems to be not improbably taken from the book of Ahijah the Shilonite.

xiv. 25, 26.
A very brief mention of Shishak's invasion, and plunder of the sacred and royal treasures.

2 Chr. xi. 5-23.
Containing particulars of the reign of Rehoboam, and the gathering of priests and Levites to Jerusalem, during his three first years, very likely from the book of Iddo, as this passage has a genealogical form.

xii. 2-9.
A more detailed account of Shishak's invasion, of the number and nature of his troops, the capture of the fenced cities of Judah, and the prophecying of Shemaiah on the occasion; evidently extracted from the book of Shemaiah.

1 K. xv.
Ver. 7. "And there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam."

2 Chron. xlii.
Ver. 2. "And there was war between Abijah and Jeroboam."

3-21 contains a detailed account of the war between the two kings; of Abijah's speech to the Israelites, upbraiding them with forsaking the Levitical worship, and glorying in the retention of the same by Judah; his victories, and his family.

7. "And the rest of the acts of Abijah, and all that he did, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," &c.

22. "And the rest of the acts of Abijah, and his ways and his sayings, are written in the story (midrash) of the prophet Iddo."

8. "And Abijah slept with his fathers," &c.

23. "And Abijah slept with his fathers, &c. (xiv. 1, A. V.)

1 K. xv.
12. (Asa) "took away the sodomites out of the

xiv. 3-15, xv. 1-16.
A detailed account of the removal of the idols; the

* A curious incidental confirmation of the fact of this copious use of musical instruments in Solomon's time may be found in 1 K. x. 11, 12, where we read that Solomon made of the "great plenty of almg-trees" which came from Ophir "harps and psalteries for singers." Several able critics (as Ewald) have inferred from the frequent mention of the Levitical musical services, that the author of Chronicles was one of the singers of the tribe of Levi himself.

* This is obviously repeated here, because at this moment the priests ought to have entered into the house but could not because of the glory.

Short in Kings.

land, and removed all the idols that his fathers had made."

Entirely omitted.

16-23. His war with Baasha.

23. "Nevertheless in the time of his old age he was diseased in his feet."

24. "And Asa slept with his fathers."

1 K. xxii. 41-50.

"Jehoshaphat was 35 years old when he began to reign," &c. These few verses are all the account of Jehoshaphat's reign, except what is contained in the history of Israel.

All omitted in Kings.

1 K. xxii. (from history of Israel) = 2 Chr. xviii.

All omitted in Kings.

All omitted in Kings.

1 K. xxii. 48, 49, 50 = 2 Chr. xx. 35, 36, xxi. 1.

Omitted in Kings. The refusal of Jehoshaphat was after the prophecy of Eliezer.

Omitted in Kings.

Omitted in Kings.

2 K. ix. 27.

"And when Ahaziah the king of Judah saw this, he fled by the way of the garden-house. And Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot. And they did so at the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there. And his servants carried him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and buried him in his sepulchre

Full in Chronicles.

fortifying the cities of Judah; of Asa's army; the invasion of Zerah the Ethiopian; Asa's victory; Azariah the son of Oded's prophecy; Asa's further reforms in the 15th year of his reign.

xvi. 7-14.

Hanani's prophecy against Asa, for calling in the aid of Tabrimon king of Syria: Asa's wrath, disease, death, embalming, and burial.

"And Asa slept with his fathers, and died in the 41st year of his reign."

2 Chr. xvii.

1. "And Jehoshaphat his son reigned in his stead."

2-19 describes how the King strengthened himself against Israel by putting garrisons in the fortified towns of Judah, and some in Ephraim; his wealth; his zeal in destroying idolatry; his measures for instructing the people in the law of the Lord by means of priests and Levites; his captains, and the numbers of his troops.

2 Chr. xix.

Jehoshaphat's reproof by Jehu the son of Hanani. His renewed zeal against idolatry. His appointment of judges, and his charge to them. Priests and Levites appointed as judges at Jerusalem under Amariah the high-priest.

2 Chr. xx. 1-30.

Invasion of Moabites and Ammonites. Jehoshaphat's fast; his prayer to God for aid. The prophecy of Jahaziel. Ministration of the Levites with the army. Discomfiture and plunder of the enemy. Return to Jerusalem. Levitical procession.

2 Chr. xx. 37.

Prophecy of Eliezer.

2 Chr. xxi. 2-4.

Additional history of Jehoshaphat's family.

2 Chr. xxi. 11-19, xxii. 1. Idolatries of Jehoram. Writing of Elijah. Invasion of Judah by Philistines and Arabians. Slaughter of the king's sons. Miserable sickness and death of Jehoram.

2 Chr. xxii. 7-9.

"And the destruction of Ahaziah was of God by coming to Joram; for when he was come, he went out with Jehoram against Jehu the son of Nimshi, whom the Lord had anointed to cut off the house of Ahab. And it came to pass that when Jehu was executing judgment upon the house of Ahab, and found the princes of Judah and the sons of the brethren of

Short in Kings.

with his fathers in the city of David."

Full in Chronicles.

Ahaziah, that ministered to Ahaziah, he slew them. And he sought Ahaziah and they caught him (for he was hid in Samaria), and they brought him to Jehu; and when they had slain him they buried him, because said they he is the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought the Lord with all his heart. So the house of Ahaziah had no power still to keep the kingdom."

With reference to the above two accounts of the death of Ahaziah, which have been thought irreconcilable (Ewald, iii. 529; Parker's *De Wette*, 270; Thenius, &c.), it may be here remarked, that the order of the events is sufficiently intelligible if we take the account in Chronicles, where the kingdom of Judah is the main subject, as explanatory of the brief notice in Kings, where it is only incidentally mentioned in the history of Israel. The order is clearly as follows:—Ahaziah was with Jehoram at Jezreel when Jehu attacked and killed him. Ahaziah escaped and fled by the Beth-gan road to Samaria, where the partisans of the house of Ahab were strongest, and where his own brethren were, and there concealed himself. But when the sons of Ahab were all put to death in Samaria, and the house of Ahab had hopelessly lost the kingdom, he determined to make his submission to Jehu, and sent his brethren to salute the children of Jehu (2 K. x. 13), in token of his acknowledgment of him as king of Israel. Jehu, instead of accepting this submission, had them all put to death, and hastened on to Samaria to take Ahaziah also, who he had probably learnt from some of the attendants, or as he already knew, was at Samaria. Ahaziah again took to flight northwards, towards Megiddo, perhaps in hope of reaching the dominions of the king of the Sidonians, his kinsman, or more probably to reach the coast where the direct road from Tyre to Egypt would bring him to Judah. [CAESAREA.] He was hotly pursued by Jehu and his followers, and overtaken near Ibleam, and mortally wounded, but managed to get as far as Megiddo, where it should seem Jehu followed in pursuit of him, and where he was brought to him as his prisoner. There he died of his wounds. In consideration of his descent from Jehoshaphat, "who sought Jehovah with all his heart," Jehu, who was at this time very forward in displaying his zeal for Jehovah, handed over the corpse to his followers, with permission to carry it to Jerusalem, which they did, and buried him in the city of David. The whole difficulty arises from the account in Kings being abridged, and so bringing together two incidents which were not consecutive in the original account. But if 2 K. ix. 27 had been even divided into two verses, the first ending at "garden-house," and the next beginning "and Jehu followed after him," the difficulty would almost disappear. Jehu's pursuit of Ahaziah would only be interrupted by a day or two, and there would be nothing the least unusual in the omission to notice this interval of time in the concise abridged narrative. We should then understand that the word *also* in the original narrative referred not to Jehoram, but to the brethren of Ahaziah, who had

* Not, as Thenius and others, the children of Jehoram, and of Jezebel the queen-mother.

away plain historical statements of a trustworthy historian, who cites contemporary documents as his authority (let alone the peculiar character of the Bible histories as "given by inspiration of God"), cannot reasonably be accepted. There is doubtless some reason why the repentance of Manasseh for his dreadful and heinous wickedness was not recorded in the Book of Kings, and why it was recorded in Chronicles; just as there is some reason why the repentance of the thief on the cross is only recorded by one evangelist, and why the raising of Lazarus is passed over in silence in the three first Gospels. It may be a moral reason: it may have been that Manasseh's guilt being permanent in its fatal effects upon his country, he was to be handed down to posterity in the national record as the SINFUL KING, though, having obtained mercy as a penitent man, his repentance and pardon were to have a record in the more private chronicle of the church of Israel. But, whatever the cause of this silence in the Book of Kings may be, there is nothing to justify the rejection as non-historical of any part of this narrative in the Book of Chronicles.

Passing over several other minor additions, such as 2 Chr. xxxiv. 12-14, xxxv. 25, xxxvi. 6, 7, 13, 17, it may suffice to notice in the last place the circumstantial account of JOSIAH'S PASSOVER in 2 Chr. xxxv. 1-19, as compared with 2 K. xxiii. 21-23. This addition has the same strong Levitical character that appears in some of the other additions; contains the names of many Levites, and especially, as in so many other passages of Chronicles, the names of singers; but is in every respect, except as to the time,* confirmatory of the brief account in Kings. It refers, curiously enough, to a great Passover held in the days of Samuel (thus defining the looser expressions in 2 K. xxiii. 22, "the days of the judges"), of which the memorial, like that of Joab's terrible campaign in Edom (1 K. xi. 15, 16), has not been preserved in the books of Samuel, and enables us to reconcile one of those little verbal apparent discrepancies which are jumped at by hostile and unscrupulous criticism. For the detailed account of the two Passovers in the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah enables us to see, that, while Hezekiah's was most remarkable for the extensive feasting and joy with which it was celebrated, Josiah's was more to be praised for the exact order in which everything was done, and the fuller union of all the tribes in the celebration of it (2 Chr. xxx. 26, xxxv. 18; 2 K. xxiii. 22). As regards discrepancies which have been imagined to exist between the narratives in Kings and Chronicles, besides those already noticed, and besides those which are too trifling to require notice, the account of the repair of the Temple by King Joash, and that of the invasion of Judah by Hazael in the same reign may be noticed. For the latter, see JOASH. As regards the former, the only real difficulty is the position of the chest for receiving the contributions. The writer of 2 K. xii. 9, seems to place it in the inner court, close to the brazen altar, and says that the priests who kept the door put therein all the money that was brought into the house of Jehovah. The writer of 2 Chr. xxiv. 8, places it apparently in the

outer court, at the entrance into the inner court, and makes the princes and people cast the money into it themselves. Bertheau thinks there were two chests. Lightfoot, that it was first placed by the altar, and afterwards removed outside at the gate (ix. 374-5), but whether either of these be the true explanation, or whether rather the same spot be not intended by the two descriptions, the point is too unimportant to require further consideration in this place.

From the above comparison of parallel narratives in the two books, which, if given at all, it was necessary to give somewhat fully, in order to give them fairly, it appears that the results are precisely what would naturally arise from the circumstances of the case. The writer of Chronicles, having the books of Kings before him,^f and to a great extent making those books the basis of his own, but also having his own personal views, predilections, and motives in writing, writing for a different age, and for people under very different circumstances; and, moreover, having before him the original authorities from which the books of Kings were compiled, as well as some others, naturally rearranged the older narrative as suited his purpose, and his tastes; gave in full passages which the other had abridged, inserted what had been wholly omitted, omitted some things which the other had inserted, including everything relating to the kingdom of Israel, and showed the colour of his own mind, not only in the nature of the passages which he selected from the ancient documents, but in the reflections which he frequently adds upon the events which he relates, and possibly also in the turn given to some of the speeches which he records. But to say, as has been said or insinuated, that a different view of supernatural agency and Divine interposition, or of the Mosaic institutions and the Levitical worship, is given in the two books, or that a less historical character belongs to one than to the other, is to say what has not the least foundation in fact. Supernatural agency, as in the cloud which filled the temple of Solomon, 1 K. viii. 10, 11, the appearance of the Lord to Solomon, iii. 5, 11, ix. 2, *seg.*; the withering of Jeroboam's hand, xiii. 3-6; the fire from heaven which consumed Elijah's sacrifice, xviii. 38, and numerous other incidents in the lives of Elijah and Elisha; the smiting of Sennacherib's army, 2 K. xix. 35; the going back of the shadow on the dial of Ahaz, xx. 11, and in the very frequent prophecies uttered and fulfilled, is really more often adduced in these books than in the Chronicles. The selection therefore of one or two instances of miraculous agency which happen to be mentioned in Chronicles and not in Kings, as indications of the superstitious credulous disposition of the Jews after the captivity, can have no effect but to mislead. The same may be said of a selection of passages in Chronicles in which the mention of Jewish idolatry is omitted. It conveys a false inference, because the truth is that the Chronicler does expose the idolatry of Judah as severely as the author of Kings, and traces the destruction of Judah to such idolatry quite as clearly and forcibly (2 Chr. xxxvi. 14, *seg.*). The author of Kings again is quite as explicit in his references to the law of Moses, and

* See above, under II.

^f This appears by comparing the parallel passages, and especially noticing how the formula, "Now the rest of the acts," &c., comes in in both books. See, e. g. 1 K. xv. 23, 24, and 2 Chr. xvi. 11, 12. Of

this 1 K. xiv. 31, xv. 1, compared with 2 Chr. xii. 16, xiii. 1, 2, is another striking proof. So is the repetition of rare words found in K. by the Chronicler. Comp. 2 xiv. 14 with 2 Chr. xxv. 24, xv. 5, with xxvi. 21, 1 r. 6, with 2 ix. 25.

has many allusions to the Levitical ritual, though he does not dwell so copiously upon the details. See e.g. 1 K. ii. 3, iii. 14, viii. 2, 4, 9, 53, 56, ix. 3, 20, x. 12, xi. 2, xii. 31, 32; 2 K. xi. 5-7, 12, xii. 5, 11, 13, 16, xiv. 6, xvi. 13, 15, xvii. 7-12, 13-15, 34-39, xviii. 4, 6, xxii. 4, 5, 8, *seq.*, xxiii. 21, &c., besides the constant references to the Temple, and to the illegality of high-place worship. So that remarks on the Levitical tone of Chronicles, when made for the purpose of supporting the notion that the law of Moses was a late invention, and that the Levitical worship was of post-Babylonian growth, are made in the teeth of the testimony of the books of Kings, as well as those of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel. The opinion that these books were compiled "towards the end of the Babylonian exile," is doubtless also adopted in order to weaken as much as possible the force of this testimony (De Wette, ii. p. 248; Th. Parker's transl.). As regards the weight to be given to the judgment of critics "of the liberal school," on such questions, it may be observed by the way that they commence every such investigation with this axiom as a starting point, "Nothing supernatural can be true." All prophecy is of course comprehended under this axiom. Every writing therefore containing any reference to the captivity of the Jews, as 1 K. viii. 46, 47, ix. 7, 8, must have been written after the events referred to. No events of a supernatural kind could be attested in contemporary historical documents. All the narratives therefore in which such events are narrated do not belong to the ancient annals, but must be of later growth, and so on. How far the mind of a critic, who has such an axiom to start with, is free to appreciate the other and more delicate kinds of evidence by which the date of documents is decided it is easy to perceive. However, these remarks are made here solely to assist the reader in coming to a right decision on questions connected with the criticism of the Books of Kings.

V. The last point for our consideration is the place of these books in the Canon, and the references to them in the N. T. Their canonical authority having never been disputed, it is needless to bring forward the testimonies to their authenticity which may be found in Josephus, Eusebius, or Jerome, Augustine, &c., or in Ep. Cosin, or any other modern work on the Canon of Scripture. [CANON.] They are reckoned, as has been already noticed, among the Prophets [BIBLE, vol. i. 211a], in the threefold division of the Holy Scriptures; a position in accordance with the supposition that they were compiled by Jeremiah, and contain the narratives of the different prophets in succession. They are frequently cited by our Lord and by the Apostles. Thus the allusions to Solomon's glory (Matt. vi. 29); to the queen of Sheba's visit to Solomon to hear his wisdom (xii. 42); to the Temple (Acts vii. 47, 48); to the great drought in the days of Elijah, and the widow of Sarepta (Luke iv. 25, 26); to the cleansing of Naaman the Syrian (ver. 27); to the charge of Elisha to Gehazi (2 K. iv. 29, comp. with Luke x. 4); to the dress of Elijah (Mark i. 6, comp. with 2 K. i. 8); to the complaint of Elijah, and God's answer to him (Rom. xi. 3, 4); to the raising of the Shunnamite's son from the dead (Heb. xi. 35); to the giving and with-

holding the rain in answer to Elijah's prayer (Jam. v. 17, 18; Rev. xi. 6); to Jezebel (Rev. ii. 20) are all derived from the Books of Kings, and, with the statement of Elijah's presence at the Transfiguration, are a striking testimony to their value for the purpose of religious teaching, and to their authenticity as a portion of the Word of God.

On the whole then, in this portion of the history of the Israelitish people to which the name of the *Books of Kings* has been given, we have (if we except those errors in numbers, which are either later additions to the original work, or accidental corruptions of the text), a most important and accurate account of that people during upwards of four hundred years of their national existence, delivered for the most part by contemporary writers, and guaranteed by the authority of one of the most eminent of the Jewish prophets. Considering the conciseness of the narrative, and the simplicity of the style, the amount of knowledge which these books convey of the characters, conduct, and manners of kings and people during so long a period is truly wonderful. The insight they give us into the aspect of Judah and Jerusalem, both natural and artificial, into the religious, military, and civil institutions of the people, their arts and manufactures, the state of education and learning among them, their resources, commerce, exploits, alliances, the causes of their decadence, and finally of their ruin, is most clear, interesting, and instructive. In a few brief sentences we acquire more accurate knowledge of the affairs of Egypt, Tyre, Syria, Assyria, Babylon, and other neighbouring nations, than had been preserved to us in all the other remains of antiquity up to the recent discoveries in hieroglyphical and cuneiform monuments. If we seek in them a system of scientific chronology, we may indeed be disappointed; but if we are content to read accurate and truthful history, ready to fit into its proper place whenever the exact chronology of the times shall have been settled from other sources, then we shall assuredly find they will abundantly repay the most laborious study which we can bestow upon them.

But it is for their deep religious teaching, and for the insight which they give us into God's providential and moral government of the world, that they are above all valuable. The books which describe the wisdom and the glory of Solomon, and yet record his fall; which make us acquainted with the painful ministry of Elijah, and his translation into heaven; and which tell us how the most magnificent temple ever built for God's glory, and of which He vouchsafed to take possession by a visible symbol of His presence, was consigned to the flames and to desolation, for the sins of those who worshipped in it, read us such lessons concerning both God and man, as are the best evidence of their divine origin, and make them the richest treasure to every Christian man.

On the points discussed in the preceding article see Ussher's *Chronologia Sacra*; Hales' *Analysis*; Clinton's *Fust. Hellen.* vol. i.; Lepsius, *Königsbuch d. Ägypt.*; Bertheau's *Büch. d. Chronik.*; Keil, *Chronik*; Movers, *Krit. Untersuch. ü. d. Bibl. Chronik*; De Wette, *Einleitung*; Ewald's *Geschichte des Isr. Volk.*; Bunsen, *Ägypt's Place in Hist.*; Geneste's *Parallel Histories*; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, and *Bampton Lect.*; J. W. Bosan-

* The miracle of the loaves and fishes (Luke ix. 13, 2 K. iv. 42. John vi. 9, 2 K. iv. 43), and the catching away of Philip, Acts ix. 39, 40, as compared with

1 K. xviii. 12, 2 K. ii. 16, are also, in a different way, N. T. references to the Books of Kings.

quet, *Chronology of Times of Ezr.*, *Transact. of Brooklyn Instit.* No. iii.; Maurice, *Kings and Prophets*. [A. C. H.]

KIR (קִיר; Χαλδῆν: *Cyrene*) is mentioned by Amos (ix. 7) as the land from which the Syrians (Arameans) were once "brought up;" i. e. apparently, as the country where they had dwelt before migrating to the region north of Palestine. It was also, curiously enough, the land to which the captive Syrians of Damascus were removed by Tiglath-Pileser on his conquest of that city (2 K. xvi. 9; comp. Am. i. 5). Isaiah joins it with Elam in a passage where Jerusalem is threatened with an attack from a foreign army (xxii. 6). These notices, and the word itself, are all the data we possess for determining the site. A variety of conjectures have been offered on this point, grounded on some similarity of name. Rennell suggested *Kurdistan* (*Geography of Herodotus*, p. 391); Vitrina, *Carine*, a town of Media; Bochart (*Phaloc*, iv. 32, p. 293), *Curena* or *Curna*, likewise in Media. But the common opinion among recent commentators has been that a tract on the river *Kur* or *Cyrus* (Κύρος) is intended. This is the view of Rosenmüller, Michaelis, and Gesenius. Winer sensibly remarks that the tract to which these writers refer "never belonged to Assyria," and so cannot possibly have been the country whereto Tiglath-Pileser transported his captives (*Reiseörterbuch*, i. 658). He might have added, that all we know of the Semites and their migrations is repugnant to a theory which would make Northern Armenia one of their original settlements. The Semites, whether Arameans, Assyrians, Phoenicians, or Jews, seem to have come originally from lower Mesopotamia—the country about the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. Here exactly was Elam or Elymais, with which Kir is so closely connected by Isaiah. May not *Kir* then be a variant for *Kish* or *Kush* (Cush), and represent the eastern Ethiopia, the Cissia (Κισσία) of Herodotus? [G. R.]

KIR-HARA'SETH (קִיר הַרְשֵׁת) τοὺς λίθους τοῦ τοίχου καθρημένους; Alex. . . καθηράους: *murus fictilis*, 2 K. iii. 25.

KIR-HA'RESH (קִיר הַרֶשֶׁת) i. e. *Kir-hares*: τῆχος ἐνεκείνας; Alex. τῆχος δ' ἐνεκείνας: *ad murum cocti lateris*, Is. xvi. 11.

KIR-HARE'SETH (קִיר הַרְשֵׁת) τοῖς κατοικοῖσι δὲ Σιθ μελετήσεις: *murus cocti lateris*, Is. xvi. 7.

KIR-HERES (קִיר הֶרֶשֶׁת) κειράδες αὐχμοῦ: *murus fictilis*, Jer. xlviii. 31, 36. This name and the three preceding, all slight variations of it, are all applied to one place, probably **KIR-MOAB**. Whether Cheres refers to a worship of the sun carried on there is uncertain; we are without clue to the meaning of the name.

KIR'IAH (קִירְיָה), apparently an ancient or archaic word, meaning a city or town. The grounds for considering it a more ancient word than **IR** (עִיר) or **AR** (עָר) are—(1.) Its more frequent occurrence in the names of places existing in the country at the time of the conquest. These will be found below. (2.) Its rare occurrence as a mere appellative, except in poetry, where old words and forms are often preserved after they become obsolete in

ordinary language. Out of the 36 times that it is found in the O. T. (both in its original and its Chaldee form) 4 only are in the narrative of the earlier books (Deut. ii. 56, iii. 4, 1 K. i. 41, 45), 24 are in poetical passages (Num. xxi. 28; Ps. xlviii. 2; Is. i. 26, &c. &c.), and 8 in the book of Ezra, either in speaking of Samaria (iv. 10), or in the letter of the Samaritans (iv. 12-21), implying that it had become a provincialism. In this it is unlike **Ir**, which is the ordinary term for a city in narrative or chronicle, while it enters into the composition of early names in a far smaller proportion of cases. For illustration—though for that only—**Kiryah** may perhaps be compared to the word "burg," or "bury," in our own language.

Closely related to **Kiryah** is **Kereth** (קֶרֶת), apparently a Phoenician form, which occurs occasionally (Job xxix. 7; Prov. viii. 3). This is familiar to us in the Latin garb of *Carthago*, and in the Parthian and Armenian names *Cirta*, *Tigrano Certu* (Bochart, *Chanaan*, ii. cap. x; Gesenius, *Thes.* 1236-7).

As a proper name it appears in the Bible under the forms of **Kerioth**, **Kartah**, **Kartan**; besides those immediately following. [G.]

KIRIATHA'IM (קִירְיָתַיִם), but in the *Cethib* of Ez. xxv. 9, קִירְיָתַיִם: *Kariathém*, in Vat. of Jer. xlviii. 1; elsewhere with Alex. *Kariathaim*: *Cariathaim*, one of the towns of Moab which were the "glory of the country;" named amongst the denunciations of Jeremiah (xlviii. 1, 23) and Ezekiel (xxv. 9). It is the same place as **KIRJATHAIM**, in which form the name elsewhere occurs in the A. V. Taken as a Hebrew word this would mean "double city;" but the original reading of the text of Ez. xxv. 9, *Kiriatham*, taken with that of the Vat. LXX. at Num. xxxii. 37, prompts the suspicion that that may be nearer its original form, and that the *ain*—the Hebrew dual—is a later accommodation, in obedience to the ever-existing tendency in the names of places to adopt an intelligible shape. In the original edition (A. D. 1611) of the A. V. the name **Kirjath**, with its compounds, is given as **Kiriath**, the *yod* being there, as elsewhere in that edition, represented by *i*. **Kiriathaim** is one of the few of these names which in the subsequent editions have escaped the alteration of *i* to *j*. [G.]

KIRIATHIA'RIOUS (Καριαθίριος; Alex. *Kariathários*: *Crearpatos*), 1 Esd. v. 19. [**KIRJATH-JEARIM**, and **K. ARIM**.]

KIR'IOTH (קִירְיֹתַיִם), with the definite article, i. e. *hak-Keriyoth*: αἱ πόλεις αὐτῆς; *Carioth*, a place in Moab the palaces of which were denounced by Amos with destruction by fire (Am. ii. 2); unless indeed it be safer to treat the word as meaning simply "the cities"—which is probably the case also in Jer. xlviii. 41, where the word is in the original exactly similar to the above, though given in the A. V. "Kerioth." [**KERIOTH**] [G.]

KIR'JATH (קִירְיָתַיִם: *Iarim*; Alex. *πόλις Iarim*: *Cariath*), the last of the cities enumerated as belonging to the tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28), one of the group which contains both **Gibeon** and **Jerusalem**. It is named with **Gibeath**, but without any copulative—"Gibeath, **Kirjath**," a circumstance which, in the absence of any further mention of the place, has given rise to several explanations. (1.) That of Eusebius in the *Onomasticon* (*Kariath*), that it was under the protection of **Gibeath**

(עַבְיֵי מִצְרַיִם וְאֵלֶּיךָ דַּבְּרָה). This, however, seems to be a mere supposition. (2.) That of Schwanz and others, that the two names form the title of one place, "Gibeah-Kirjath" (the hill-town). Against this is the fact that the towns in this group are summed up as 14; but the objection has not much force, and there are several considerations in favour of the view. [See GIBEAH, 6895.] But whether there is any connexion between these two names or not, there seems a strong probability that Kirjath is identical with the better-known place KIRJATH-JEARIM, and that the latter part of the name has been omitted by copyists at some very early period. Such an omission would be very likely to arise from the fact that the word for "cities," which in Hebrew follows Kirjath, is almost identical with Jearim; and that it has arisen we have the testimony of the LXX. in both MSS. (the Alex. most complete), as well as of some Hebrew MSS. still existing (Davidson, *Hebr. Text*, ad loc.). In addition, it may be asked why Kirjath should be in the "construct state" if no word follows it to be in construction with? In that case it would be Kirjath. True, Kirjath-jearim is enumerated as a city of Judah (Josh. xv. 9, 60, xviii. 14), but so are several towns which were Simeon's and Dan's, and it is not to be supposed that these places never changed hands. [G.]

KIRJATHAIM (כִּרְיַתַּיִם), the name of two cities of ancient Palestine.

1. (Καριαθαίμα* (in Num.), Καριαθαίμα: *Cariat-Heim*.) On the east of the Jordan, one of the places which were taken possession of and rebuilt by the Reubenites, and had fresh names conferred on them (Num. xxxii. 37, and see 38). Here it is mentioned between Elealeh, Nebo, and Baal-meon, the first and last of which are known with some tolerable degree of certainty. But on its next occurrence (Josh. xii. 19) the same order of mention is not maintained, and it appears in company with MICHHAATH and SIBMAH, of which at present nothing is known. It is possibly the same place as that which gave its name to the ancient Shaveh-Kirjathaim, though this is mere conjecture. It existed in the time of Jeremiah (xlviii. 1, 23) and Ezekiel (xv. 9)—in these three passages the A. V. gives the name KIRIATHAIM. Both these prophets include it in their denunciations against Moab, in whose hands it then was, prominent among the cities which were "the glory of the country" (Ez. xiv. 9).

By Eusebius it appears to have been well known. He describes it (ὄνομα Καριαθαίμα) as a village entirely of Christians, 10 miles west of Medeba, "close to the Baris" (ἐπί τῶν Βάρις). Burckhardt (p. 367, July 13) when at Medeba (Medeba) was

* The text now stands כִּרְיַת עֵינַם; in the above view it originally stood כִּרְיַת יְעָרִים עֵינַם.

It is as well to observe, though we may not be able yet to draw any inference from the fact, that on both occasions of its being attributed to Judah, it is called by another name,—KIRJATH-BAAL, which is Kirjath-jearim.

This reading of the LXX. suggests that the dual termination "aim" may have been a later accommodation of the name to Hebrew forms, as was possibly the case with Jerushalaim (vol. I. 982a). It is supported by the Hebrew text: cf. Ez. xxv. 9, and the Vat. LXX. of Jer. xlviii. 1. [KIRIATHAIM.]

There is some uncertainty about Burckhardt's name of this part. In order to see Medeba, which is

told by his guide^d of a place, *et-Teym*, about half an hour (1½ mile English, or barely 2 miles Roman) therefrom, which he suggests was identical with Kirjathaim. This is supported by Gesenius (see his notes on Burckhardt in the Germ. transl. p. 1063), who passes by the discrepancy in the distance by saying that Eusebius's measurements are seldom accurate. Seetzen also names half an hour as the distance (*Reisen*, i. 408).

But it must be admitted that the evidence for the identity of the two is not very convincing, and appears to rest entirely on the similarity in sound between the termination of Kirjathaim and the name of *et-Teym*. In the time of Eusebius the name was Karias—having retained, as would be expected, the first and chief part of the word. Porter (*Hdbook*, 300) pronounces confidently for *Kureiyath*, under the southern side of *Jebel Attarus*, as being identical both with Kirjathaim and Kirjath-Huzoth; but he adduces no arguments in support of his conclusion, which is entirely at variance with Eusebius; while the name, or a similar one (see ΚΕΡΙΟΤΗ, KIRIOTH, in addition to those named already), having been a common one east of the Jordan, as it still is (witness *Kureiyeh*, *Kureiyetein*, &c.), *Kureiyath* may be the representative of some other place.

What was the "Baris" which Eusebius places so close to Kirjathaim? Was it a palace or fortress (בְּרִיךְ, Βάρις), or is it merely the corruption of a name? If the latter, then it is slightly in accordance with Beresha, the reading of the Targum Pseudojon. at Num. xxxii. 37.^e But where to find Beresha we do not at present know. A village named *Birazin* is marked in the maps of Robinson (1856) and Van de Velde, but about 9 miles east of *Hesbân*, and therefore not in a suitable position.

2. (ἡ Καριαθαίμα.) A town in Naphtali not mentioned in the original lists of the possession allotted to the tribe (see Josh. xix. 32-39), but inserted in the list of cities given to the Gershonite Levites, in 1 Chr. (vi. 76), in place of KARTAN in the parallel catalogue, Kartan being probably only a contraction thereof. [G.]

KIRJATH-AR'BA (עַבְיֵי אַרְבָּה, and once, Neh.

xi. 25, אַרְבֵּי ד': πόλις Ἀρβόκ, π. Ἀργόβ; Alex.

Ἀρβό and Ἀρβόδ; ἡ Καριαθαρβόκ; Καριαθαρβοκσεφέρ, but Mai Καριαβόξ Ἐφέρ; Alex. Καριαρβόκ σεφέρ: *Civitas Arbec, Cariat-Arbe*), an early name of the city which after the conquest is generally known as HEBRON (Josh. xiv. 15; Judg. i. 10). Possibly, however, not Kirjath-arba, but MAMRE, was its earliest appellation (Gen. xxxv. 27), though the latter name may have been that of the sacred grove near the town, which would

shewn on the maps as nearly S. of *Hesbân*, he left the great road at the latter place, and went through *Djebout*, *es-Sameh*, and other places which are shewn as on the road eastward, in an entirely different direction from *Medeba*, and then after 8 hours, without noting any change of direction, he arrives at *Medeba*, which appears from the maps to be only about 1½ hour from *Hesbân*.

The following is the full synonymy of this Targum for Kirjathaim:—"And the city of two streets paved with marble, the same is Beresha" (בְּרִיךְ אֶשֶׁן). This is almost identical with the rendering given in the same Targum on Num. xxii. 39, for Kirjath-Huzoth. Can Beresha contain an allusion to Gerasa, which the modern *Jerash*?

occasionally transfer its title to the whole spot. [MAMRE.]

The identity of Kirjath-Arba with Hebron is constantly asserted (Gen. xxiii. 2, xxv. 27; Josh. xiv. 15, xv. 13, 54, xx. 7, xxi. 11),^a the only mention of it without that qualification being, as is somewhat remarkable, after the return from the captivity (Neh. xi. 25), a date so late that we might naturally have supposed the aboriginal name would have become extinct. But it lasted far longer than that, for when Sir John Maundeville visited the place (cir. 1322) he found that "the Saracens call the place in their language Karicarba, but the Jews call it Arbotha" (*Early Trav.* 161). Thus too in Jerome's time would Debir seem to have been still called by its original title, Kirjath-Sepher. So impossible does it appear to extinguish the name originally bestowed on a place!^b

The signification of Kirjath-Arba is, to say the least, doubtful. In favour of its being derived from some ancient hero is the statement that "Arba was the great man among the Anakim" (Josh. xiv. 15)—the "father of Anak" (xxi. 11). Against it are (a) the peculiarity of the expression in the first of these two passages, where the term *Adam* (אָדָם הַגָּדוֹל)—usually employed for the species, the human race—is used instead of *Ish*, which commonly denotes an individual. (b) The consideration that the term "father" is a metaphor frequently employed in the Bible—as in other Oriental writings—for an originator or author, whether of a town or a quality, quite as often as of an individual. The LXX. certainly so understood both the passages in Joshua, since they have in each *μητρόπολις*, "mother-city." (c) The constant tendency to personification so familiar to students of the topographical philology of other countries than Palestine, and which in the present case must have had some centuries in which to exercise its influence. In the lists of 1 Chron. Hebron itself is personified (ii. 42) as the son of Mareshah, a neighbouring town, and the father of Tappuah and other places in the same locality; and the same thing occurs with Beth-zur (ver. 45), Ziph (42), Madimannah and Gibeon (43), &c. &c. (d) On more than one occasion (Gen. xxv. 27; Josh. xv. 13; Neh. xi. 25) the name Arba has the definite article prefixed to it. This is very rarely, if ever, the case with the name of a man (see *Reland, Pal.* 724). (e) With the exception of the *Ir-David*—the city of David, Zion—the writer does not recall any city of Palestine named after a man. Neither Joshua, Caleb, Solomon, nor any other of the heroes or kings of Israel, conferred their names on places; neither did Og, Jabin, or other Canaanite leaders. The "city of Sihon," for Heshbon (Num. xxi. 27), is hardly an exception, for it occurs in a very fervid burst of poetry, differing entirely from the matter-of-fact documents we are now considering. (f) The general consent of the Jewish writers in a different interpretation is itself a strong argument against the personality of Arba, however absurd

(according to our ideas) may be their ways of accounting for that interpretation. They take *Arba* to be the Hebrew word for "four," and Kirjath-Arba therefore to be the "city of four;" and this they explain as referring to four great saints who were buried there—Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Adam—whose burial there they prove by the words already quoted from Josh. xiv. 15 (*Beresh, rabba*, quoted by Beer, *Loben Abrahams*, 189, and by Keil, *ad loc.*; Bochart, *Phaleg*, iv. 34, &c.). In this explanation Jerome constantly concurs, not only in commentaries (as *Quæst. in Genesim*, xxiii. 2; *Comm. in Matt.* xviii.; *Epit. Paulæ*, § 11; *Onomast.* "Arboch" and "Cariatharbe," &c.), but also in the text of the Vulgate in this passage—*Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est*. With this too agrees the Veneto-Greek version, *πόλις τῶν τεττάρων* (Gen. xxiii. 2, xxv. 27). It is also adopted by Bochart (*Chanaan*, i. 1), in whose opinion the "four" are Anak, Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai.

The fact at the bottom of the whole matter probably is, that Arba was neither a man nor a numeral, but that (as we have so often had occasion to remark in similar cases) it was an archaic Canaanite name, most likely referring to the situation or nature of the place, which the Hebrews adopted, and then explained in their own fashion. [See *JEGAR-SAHADUTHA*, &c.]

In Gen. xxiii. 2, the LXX. (both MSS.) insert *ἡ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κοιλώματι*; and in xxv. 27 they render K. Arba by *εἰς πόλιν τοῦ πεδίου*. In the former of these the addition may be an explanation of the subsequent words, "in the land of Canaan"—the explanation having slipped into the text in its wrong place. Its occurrence in both MSS. shows its great antiquity. It is found also in the Samaritan Codex and Version. In xxv. 27 *πεδίου* may have arisen from the translators reading *עַרְבָּה* for *עָרְבָּה*. [G.]

KIRJATH-A'RIM (אֶרֶם יְרֵמֹה: *Kariathiarim*, Alex. *Kariatharim*: *Cariathiarim*), an abbreviated form of the name KIRJATH-JEARIM, which occurs only in *Ex. ii. 25*. In the parallel passage of Nehemiah the name is in its usual form, and in *Esdra* it is KIRIATHIARIUS. [G.]

KIRJATH-BA'AL (בְּעַל יְרֵמֹה = town of Baal: *Kariath Baal*: *Cariathbaal*), an alternative name of the place usually called Kirjath-jearim (Josh. xv. 60, xviii. 14), but also BAALAH, and once BAALIM OF-JUDAH. These names doubtless point to the existence of a sanctuary of Baal at this spot before the conquest. They were still attached to it considerably later, for they alone are used, to the exclusion of the (probably) newly-bestowed name of Kirjath-jearim, in the description of the removal of the ark thence (2 Sam. vi). [G.]

KIRJATH-HUZOTH (חֻצוֹת יְרֵמֹה: *πάλις ἐπαύλων*: *urbs quæ in extremis regni ejus finibus erat*), a place to which Balak accompanied

^a In Gen. xxv. 27, the A. V. has "the city of Arba;" in Josh. xv. 13, and xxi. 11, "the city of Arba."

^b A curious parallel to this tenacity is found in our own country, where many a village is still known to its rustic inhabitants by the identical name by which it is inscribed in Domesday Book, while they are actually unaware of the later name by which the place has been currently known in maps and docu-

ments, and in the general language of all but their own class for centuries. If this is the case with Kirjath-Arba and Hebron, the occurrence of the former in Nehemiah, noticed above, is easily understood. It was simply the effort of the original name to assert its rights and assume its position, as soon as the temporary absence of the Israelites at Babylon had left the Canaanite rustics to themselves.

Balaam immediately after his arrival in Moab (Num. xxi. 39), and which is nowhere else mentioned. It appears to have lain between the ARNON and *Wady Moqan* and BATHOTH-BAAL (comp. ver. 36 and 41), probably north of the former, since there is some, though only slight, ground for supposing that Bathoth-Baal lay between Dibon and Beth-baal-meon (see Josh. xiii. 17). The passage (Num. xxi. 39) is obscure in every way. It is not obvious why sacrifices should have been offered there, or how, when Balaam accompanied Balak thither, Balak could have "sent" thence to him and to the princes who were with him (40).

No trace of the name has been discovered in later times. It is usually interpreted to mean "city of streets," from the Hebrew word *קָרְיָהּ, qiryah*, which has sometimes this meaning (Genesis, *Theo.* 456a; margin of A. V.; and so Luther, *die Gassenstadt*; so also the Veneto-Greek); but Jerome, in the Vulgate, has adopted another signification of the root. The LXX. seem to have read *קָרְיָהּ, "villages,"* the word which they usually render by *κωμῆται*, and which is also the reading of the Peshito. The Samaritan Codex and Version, the former by its reading *קָרְיָהּ, "visions,"* and the latter, *קָרְיָהּ, "mysteries,"* seem to favour the idea—which is perhaps the explanation of the sacrifices there—that Kirjath-Chutath was a place of sacred or oracular reputation. The Targum Pseudojon. gives it as "the streets of the great city, the city of Sibon, the same is Beroa," apparently identifying it with Kirjathaim (see note to p. 405). [G.]

KIRJATH-JEARIM (דִּירְיָהּ דִּירְיָהּ: πόλις Ἰαρὶμ

and Ἰαρὶμ, *Kariathiarim*, and once πόλις *Kariathiarim*; Alex. the name, excepting the termination *ia*; Joseph *Kariathiarim*: *Cariathiarim*), a city which played a not unimportant part in the history of the Chosen People. We first encounter it as one of the four cities of the Gibeonites (Josh. ix. 17); it next occurs as one of the landmarks of the northern boundary of Judah (xv. 9), and as the point at which the western and southern boundaries of Benjamin coincided (xviii. 14, 15); and in the two last passages we find that it bore another, perhaps earlier, name—that of the great Canaanite deity Baal, namely BAALAH* and KIRJATH-BAAL. It is included among the towns of Judah (xv. 60), and there is some reason for believing that under the shortened form of KIRJATH it is also named among those of Benjamin, as might almost be expected from the position it occupied on the confines of each. Some considerations bearing on this will be found under KIRJATH and GIBEON. It is included in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 50, 52) as founded by, or descended from, SHOBAL, the son of Caleb-ben-Hur, and as having in its turn sent out the colonies of the Ithrites, Puhites, Shumathites, and Mishrites, and those of Zerah and Eshtael. "Behind Kirjath-jearim" the band of Danites pitched their camp before their expedition to Mount Ephraim and Laish, leaving their name attached to the spot for long after (Judg. xviii. 12). [MANASSEH DAN.] Hitherto, beyond the early

* In 1 Chr. xiii. 6, the Vulgate has *collis Cariathiarim* for the *Baalah* of the Hebrew text.

* Kirjath-jearim is not stated to have been allotted to the Levites, but it is difficult to suppose that Abi-salah and Eleazar were not Levites. This question, and the force of the word rendered "sanctified" (vii. 1), will be noticed under LEVITES. On the other hand

sanctity implied in its bearing the name of BAAL, there is nothing remarkable in Kirjath-jearim. It was no doubt this reputation for sanctity which made the people of Beth-shemesh appeal to its inhabitants to relieve them of the Ark of Jehovah, which was bringing such calamities on their untutored inexperience. From their place in the valley they looked anxiously for some eminence, which, according to the belief of those days, should be the appropriate seat for so powerful a Deity—"Who is able to stand before the face of Jehovah, this holy God, and to whom shall He (or, LXX., the ark of Jehovah) go up from us?" "And they sent to the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim, saying, the Philistines have brought back the ark of Jehovah, come ye down and fetch it up to you" (1 Sam. vi. 20, 21). In this high-place—"the hill" (*הַרְבֵּיטָה*)—under the charge of Eleazar, son

of Abinadab,^b the ark remained for twenty years (vii. 2), during which period the spot became the resort of pilgrims from all parts, anxious to offer sacrifices and perform vows to Jehovah (Joseph. *Ant.* vi. 2, §1). At the close of that time Kirjath-jearim lost its sacred treasure, on its removal by David to the house of Obed-edom the Gittite (1 Chr. xiii. 5, 6; 2 Chr. i. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2, &c.). It is very remarkable and suggestive that in the account of this transaction the ancient and heathen name Baal is retained. In fact, in 2 Sam. vi. 2—probably the original statement—the name Baale is used without any explanation, and to the exclusion of that of Kirjath-jearim. In the allusion to this transaction in Ps. cxxiii. 6, the name is obscurely indicated as the "wood"—*yaur*, the root of Kirjath-jearim. We are further told that its people, with those of Cephirah and Beeroth, 743 in number, returned from captivity (Neh. vii. 29; and see Ezra ii. 25, where the name is K-ARIM, and 1 Esdr. v. 19, KIRIATHIARIUS). We also hear of a prophet URIJAH-ben-Shemaiah, a native of the place, who enforced the warnings of Jeremiah, and was cruelly murdered by Jehoikim (Jer. xxvi. 20, &c.), but of the place we know nothing beyond what has been already said. A tradition is mentioned by Adrichomius (*Descr. T. S. Dan.* §17), though without stating his authority, that it was the native place of "Zechariah, son of Jehoiahi, who was slain between the altar and the Temple."^c

To Eusebius and Jerome (*Onom. Cariathiarim*) it appears to have been well known. They describe it as a village at the ninth (or, s. v. "Baal," tenth) mile between Jerusalem and Diospolis (Lydda). With this description, and the former of these two distances agrees Procopius (see Reland, 503). It was reserved for Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 11) to discover that these requirements are exactly fulfilled in the modern village of *Kuriat-el-Enab*—now usually known as *Abu Gosh*, from the robber-chief whose head-quarters it was—at the eastern end of the *Wady Aly*, on the road from Jalla to Jerusalem. And, indeed, if the statement of Eusebius contained the only conditions to be met, the identification would be certain. It does not, however so

it is remarkable that Beth-shemesh, from which the Ark was sent away, was a city of the priests.

^c The mention of *Kariathiarim* (Alex. *Kariathiarim*) in the LXX. of Josh. iii. 16, possibly proceeds from a corruption of the Hebrew Kirjath-Adam, "the city Adam," as has been pointed out under ADAM, vol. I. 206.

well agree with the requirements of 1 Sam. vi. The distance from Beth-shemesh (*Ain Shems*) is considerable—not less than 10 miles—through a very uneven country, with no appearance of any road ever having existed (Rob. iii. 157). Neither is it at all in proximity to Bethlehem (Ephrath), which would seem to be implied in Ps. cxxiii. 6; though this latter passage is very obscure. Williams (*Holy City*) endeavours to identify Kirjath-jerim with *Deir-el-Howa*, east of *Ain Shems*. But this, though sufficiently near the latter place, does not answer to the other conditions. We may therefore, for the present, consider *Kiriet-el-Enab* as the representative of Kirjath-jerim.

The modern name, differing from the ancient only in its latter portion, signifies the "city of grapes;" the ancient name, if interpreted as Hebrew, the "city of forests." Such interpretations of these very antique names must be received with great caution on account of the tendency which exists universally to alter the names of places and persons so that they shall contain a meaning in the language of the country. In the present case we have the play on the name in Ps. cxxiii. 6, already noticed, the authority of Jerome (*Comm. in Is.* xxix. 1), who renders it *villa silvarum*, and the testimony of a recent traveller (Tobler, *Dritte Wanderung*, 178. 187), who in the immediate neighbourhood, on the ridge probably answering to MOUNT JEARIM, states that, "for real genuine (*echtes*) woods, so thick and so solitary, he had seen nothing like them since he left Germany."

It remains yet to be seen if any separate or definite eminence answering to the hill or high-place on which the ark was deposited is recognisable at *Kiriet-el-Enab*. [G.]

KIRJATH-SAN'NAH (כִּרְיַת סַנְנַח): πόλις γραμμῶν; *Cariathenna*, a name which occurs once only (Josh. xv. 49), as another, and probably an earlier, appellation for DEBIR, an important place in the mountains of Judah, not far from Hebron, and which also bore the name of KIRJATH-SEPHER. Whence the name is derived we have no clue, and its meaning has given rise to a variety of conjectures (see Keil, *Josua*, on x. 40; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 324 note). That of Gesenius (*Thes.* 962) is, that *sannah* is a contraction of *sansannah* = a palm-branch, and thus that Kirjath-sannah is the "city of palms." But this, though adopted by Stanley (*S. & P.* 161, 524), is open to the objection that palms were not trees of the mountain district, where Kirjath-sannah was situated, but of the valleys (*S. & P.* 145).

It will be observed that the LXX. interpret both this name and Kirjath-sepher alike. [G.]

KIRJATH-SEPHER (כִּרְיַת שֵׁפֶר): in Judg. i. 11, *Καριαθσεφὴρ πόλις Γραμμῶν*; in ver. 12, and in Josh. the first word is omitted: *Cariath-sepher*, the early name of the city DEBIR, which further had the name—doubtless also an early one—of KIRJATH-SANNAH. Kirjath-sepher occurs only in the account of the capture of the place by Othniel, who gained thereby the hand of his wife Achsah, Caleb's daughter (Josh. xv. 15, 16; and in the exact

repetition of the narrative, Judg. i. 11, 12). In this narrative, a document of unmistakably early character (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 373, 4), it is stated that "the name of Debir before was Kirjath-sepher." Ewald conjectures that the new name was given it by the conquerors on account of its retired position on the back*—the south or south-western slopes—of the mountains, possibly at or about the modern *el-Burj*, a few miles W. of *ed-Dhoberiyen* (*Gesch.* ii. 373 note). But whatever the interpretation of the Hebrew name of the place may be, that of the Canaanite name must certainly be more obscure. It is generally assumed to mean "city of book" (from the Hebrew word *Sepher* = book), and it has been made the foundation for theories of the amount of literary culture possessed by the Canaanites (Keil, *Josua*, x. 39; Ewald, i. 324). But such theories are, to say the least, premature during the extreme uncertainty as to the meaning of these very ancient names.^b

The old name would appear to have been still in existence in Jerome's time, if we may understand his allusion in the epitaph of Paula (§11), where he translates it *vinculum litterarum*. [Comp. KIRJATH-ARBA.]

KIR OF MOAB (כִּיר מוֹאָב): τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Μωαβιτιδος; *murus Moab*), one of the two chief strongholds of Moab, the other being AR OF MOAB. The name occurs only in Is. xv. 1, though the place is probably referred to under the names of KIRHERES, KIR-HARASETH, &c. The clue to its identification is given us by the Targum on Isaiah and Jeremiah, which for the above names has כִּרְכַּר, *Cracca*, כִּרְקַר, *Crac*, almost identical with the name *Kerak*, by which the site of an important city in a high and very strong position at the S.E. of the Dead Sea is known at this day. The chain of evidence for the identification of *Kerak* with Kir-Moab is very satisfactory. Under the name of *Χαρακωῶβα* it is mentioned in the Acts of the Council of Jerusalem, A.D. 536 (Reland, *Pal.* 533), by the geographers Ptolemy and Stephanus of Byzantium (Reland, 463, 705). In A.D. 1131, under King Fulco, a castle was built there which became an important station for the Crusaders. Here, in A.D. 1183, they sustained a fruitless attack from Saladin and his brother (Bohaeddin, *Vit. Sal.* ch. 25), the place being as impregnable as it had been in the days of Elisha (2 K. iii. 25). It was then the chief city of *Arabia Secunda* or *Petræensis*; it is specified as in the *Belka*, and is distinguished from "Moab" or "Rabbat," the ancient AR-MOAB, and from the *Mons regalis* (Schultens, *Inle. Geogr.* "Caracha"; see also the remarks of Gesenius, *Jesaja*, 517, and his notes to the German transl. of Burckhardt*). The Crusaders in error believed it to be Petra, and that name is frequently attached to it in the writings of William of Tyre and Jacob de Vitry (see quotations in Rob. *Bib. Res.* ii. 167). This error is perpetuated in the Greek Church to the present day; and the bishop of Petra, whose office, as representative of the Patriarch, it is to produce the holy fire at Easter in the "Church of the Sepulchre" at Jerusalem

* Taking Debir to mean an *adytum*, or innermost recess, as it does in 1 K. vi. 5, 19, &c. (A. V. "oracle").

^b In the Targum it is rendered by כִּרְכַּר, "city of princes" (ἀρχαί). See Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 217.

* Gesenius expresses it as follows: "Ar-Moab, Stadt Moabs gleichsam *αστυ* oder *urbis Moabitaram* . . . und die Burg des Landes Kir-Moab" (Burckhardt von Gesenius, 1064).

(Stanley, *S. & P.* 467), is in reality bishop of Kerak (Seetzen, *Reisen*, ii. 358; Burekh. 387).

The modern *Kerat* is known to us through the descriptions of Burekhardt (379-390), Irby (ch. vii.), Seetzen (*Reisen*, i. 412, 3), and De Saulcy (*La Mer Morte*, i. 355, &c.); and these fully bear out the interpretation given above to the name—the "fortress," as contradistinguished from the "metropolis" (Ar) of the country, *i. e.* Rabbath-Mush, the modern *Rabba*. It lies about 6 miles S. of the last-named place, and some 10 miles from the Dead Sea, upon the plateau of highlands which forms this part of the country, not far from the western edge of the plateau. Its situation is truly remarkable. It is built upon the top of a steep hill, surrounded on all sides by a deep and narrow valley, which again is completely inclosed by mountains rising higher than the town, and overlooking it on all sides. It must have been from these surrounding heights that the Israelite slingers hurled their volleys of stones after the capture of the place had proved impossible (2 K. iii. 25). The town itself is encompassed by a wall, to which, when perfect, there were but two entrances, one to the south and the other to the north, cut or tunneled through the ridge of the natural rock below the wall for a length of 100 to 120 feet. The wall is defended by several large towers, and the western extremity of the town is occupied by an enormous mass of buildings—on the south the castle or keep, on the north the seraglio of El-Melek adh-Dhahir. Between these two buildings is apparently a third exit, leading to the Dead Sea. (A map of the site and a view of part of the keep will be found in the Atlas de Saulcy, *La Mer Morte*, &c., feuilles 8, 20). The latter shows well the way in which the town is inclosed. The walls, and seraglio are mentioned by Lynch (*Report*, May 2, p. 18, 20), whose account, though interesting, contains nothing new. The elevation of the town can hardly be less than 3000 feet above the sea (Porter, *Hdbk.* 60). From the heights immediately outside it, near a ruined mosque, a view is obtained of the Dead Sea, and in clear weather of Bethlehem and Jerusalem (Seetzen, *Reisen*, i. 413; Schwarz, 217). [G.]

KISH קִישׁ: Kis: Cis, Vulg. and A. V., Acta xiii. 21). 1. A man of the tribe of Benjamin and the family of Matri, according to 1 Sam. x. 21, though descended from Becher according to 1 Chr. vii. 8, compared with 1 Sam. ix. 1. [BECHER.] He was son of Ner, brother to Abner, and father to King Saul. Gibeah or Gibeon seems to have been the seat of the family from the time of Jehiel, otherwise called Abiel (1 Sam. xiv. 51), Kish's grandfather (1 Chr. ix. 35).

2. Son of Jcniel, and uncle to the preceding (1 Chr. ix. 36).

3. A Benjamite, great grandfather of Mordecai, who was taken captive at the time that Jeconiah was carried to Babylon (Esth. ii. 5).

4. A Merarite, of the house of Mahli, of the tribe of Levi. His sons married the daughters of his brother Eleazar (1 Chr. xxiii. 21, 22, xxiv. 28, 29), apparently about the time of King Saul, or

* Kishon is from קִישׁ, to be bent, or tortuous; Kishion from קִישׁ, to be hard (*Theb.* 1211, 1243).

† By some this was—with the usual craving to make the name of a place mean something—developed into χ . τὴν Κισίων. "the torrent of the ivy bushes"

early in the reign of David, since Jeduthun the singer was the son of Kish (1 Chr. vi. 44, A. V., compared with 2 Chr. xxix. 12). In the last cited place, "Kish the son of Abdi," in the reign of Hezekiah, must denote the Levitical house or division, under its chief, rather than an individual. [JESHUA.] The genealogy in 1 Chr. vi. shows that, though Kish is called "the son of Mahli" (1 Chr. xxiii. 21), yet eight generations intervened between him and Mahli. In the corrupt text of 1 Chr. xv. the name is written *Kushaiah* at ver. 17, and for *Jeduthun* is written *Ethan*. [JEDUTHUN.] At 1 Chr. vi. 29 (44, A. V.) it is written *Kishi*. It is not improbable that the name Kish may have passed into the tribe of Levi from that of Benjamin, owing to the residence of the latter in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which might lead to intermarriages (1 Chr. viii. 28, 32). [A. C. H.]

KISH'I (קִישִׁי: Kisá; Alex. Κεισάν: Cusi), a Merarite, and father or ancestor of Ethan the minstrel (1 Chr. vi. 44). The form in which his name appears in the Vulg. is supported by 22 of Kennicott's MSS. In 1 Chr. xv. 17 he is called *KUSHAIAH*, and *KISH* in 1 Chr. xxiii. 21, xxiv. 29.

KISH'ION (קִישִׁיֹן: Kisáon; Alex. Κεισίων: Cesion), one of the towns on the boundary of the tribe of Issachar (Josh. xix. 20), which with its suburbs was allotted to the Gershonite Levites (xxi. 28; though in this place the name—identical in the original—is incorrectly given in the A. V. *KISHON*). If the judgment of Gesenius may be accepted, there is no connexion between the name *Kishion* and that of the river *Kishon*, since as Hebrew words they are derivable from distinct roots.^a But it would seem very questionable how far so archaic a name as that of the *Kishon*, mentioned, as it is, in one of the earliest records we possess (Judg. v.) can be treated as Hebrew. No trace of the situation of *Kishion* however exists, nor can it be inferred so as to enable us to ascertain whether any connexion was likely to have existed between the town and the river.

KISH'ON (קִישִׁיֹן: ἡ Κισίων; Alex. ἡ Κισίων: Cesion), an inaccurate mode of representing (Josh. xxi. 28) the name which on its other occurrence is correctly given as *KISHION*. In the list of Levitical cities in 1 Chr. vi. its place is occupied by *KEDESH* (ver. 72).

KISH'ON, THE RIVER (קִישִׁיֹן לַגֹּזֶן: ὁ χειμάρρηνος Κισίων, Κισίων, and Κεισίων; Alex. usually Κεισίων: *torrens Cision*), a torrent or winter stream of central Palestine, the scene of two of the grandest achievements of Israelite history—the defeat of Sisera, and the destruction of the prophets of Baal by Elijah.

Unless it be alluded to in Josh. xix. 11, as "the torrent facing Jokneam"—and if *Kaimán* be *Jokneam*, the description is very accurate—the *Kishon* is not mentioned in describing the possessions of the tribes. Indeed its name occurs only in connexion with the two great events just referred to (Judg. iv. 7, 13, v. 21; * Ps. lxxxiii. 9—here inaccurately "Kison;" and 1 K. xviii. 40).

The *Nahr Mukáttá*, the modern representative

(Saldas, *s. v.* 'Ιαβύ), just as the name of *Kidror* (Κέδρων) was made τὴν Κέδρων, "of the cedars." [Κέδρον; Κέδρον.]

* The term coupled with the *Kishon* in Judg. v. 21, קִישִׁיֹן הַקָּדָמִי, in A. V. "that ancient river," has been

of the Kishon, is the drain by which the waters of the plain of Esdraelon, and of the mountains which enclose that plain, namely, Carmel and the Samaria range on the south, the mountains of Galilee on the north, and Gilboa, "Little Hermon" (so called), and Tabor on the east, find their way to the Mediterranean. Its course is in a direction nearly due N.W. along the lower part of the plain nearest the foot of the Samarian hills, and close beneath the very cliffs of Carmel (Thomson, *L. & B.* 2nd ed. 436), breaking through the hills which separate the plain of Esdraelon from the maritime plain of Acre, by a very narrow pass, beneath the eminence of *Harosheth* or *Harti*, which is believed still to retain a trace of the name of Harosheth of the Gentiles (Thomson, 437). It has two principal feeders: the first from *Deburieh* (Daberath), on Mount Tabor, the N.E. angle of the plain; and secondly, from *Jalbán* (Gilboa) and *Jenin* (Engannim) on the S.E. The very large perennial spring of the last-named place may be said to be the origin of the remote part of the Kishon (Thomson, 435). It is also fed by the copious spring of *Lejjun*, the stream from which is probably the "waters of Megiddo" (Van de Velde, 353; Porter, *Handbook*, 385). During the winter and spring, and after sudden storms of rain the upper part of the Kishon flows with a very strong torrent; so strong, that in the battle of Mount Tabor, April 16, 1799, some of the circumstances of the defeat of Sisera were reproduced, many of the fugitive Turks being drowned in the wady from *Deburieh*, which then inundated a part of the plain (Burekhardt, 339). At the same seasons the grounds about *Lejjun* (Megiddo) where the principal encounter with Sisera would seem to have taken place, becomes a morass, impassable for even single travellers, and truly destructive for a huge horde like his army (Prokesch, in *Rob.* ii. 364; Thomson, 436).

But like most of the so-called "rivers" of Palestine, the perennial stream forms but a small part of the Kishon. During the greater part of the year its upper portion is dry, and the stream confined to a few miles next the sea. The sources of this perennial portion proceed from the roots of Carmel—the "vast fountains called *Sa'adiyah*, about three miles east of Chaifa" (Thomson, 435) and those, apparently still more copious, described by Shaw (*Rob.*

ii. 365),* as bursting forth from beneath the eastern brow of Carmel, and discharging of themselves "a river half as big as the *Isis*." It enters the sea at the lower part of the bay of *Akka*, about two miles east of *Chaifa* "in a deep tortuous bed between banks of loamy soil some 15 feet high, and 15 to 20 yards apart" (Porter, *Handbook*, 383, 4). Between the mouth and the town the shore is lined by an extensive grove of date-palms, one of the finest in Palestine (Van de Velde, 289).

The part of the Kishon at which the prophets of Baal were slaughtered by Elijah was doubtless close below the spot on Carmel where the sacrifice had taken place. This spot is now fixed with all but certainty, as at the extreme east end of the mountain, to which the name is still attached of *El-Mahrakah*, "the burning." [CARMEL.] Nowhere does the Kishon run so close to the mountain as just beneath this spot (Van de Velde, i. 324). It is about 1000 feet above the river, and a precipitous ravine leads directly down, by which the victims were perhaps hurried from the sacred precincts of the altar of Jehovah to their doom in the torrent bed below, at the foot of the mound, which from this circumstance may be called *Tell Kish*, the hill of the priests. Whether the Kishon contained any water at this time we are not told; that required for Elijah's sacrifice was in all probability obtained from the spring on the mountain side below the plateau of *El-Mahrakah*. [CARMEL, vol. i. 279b.]

Of the identity of the Kishon with the present *Nahr Mukhatta* there can be no question. The existence of the sites of Taanach and Megiddo along its course, and the complete agreement of the circumstances just named with the requirements of the story of Elijah, are sufficient to satisfy us that the two are one and the same. But it is very remarkable what an absence there is of any continuous or traditional evidence on the point. By Josephus the Kishon is never named, neither does the name occur in the early Itineraries of Antoninus Augustus, or the Bourdeaux Pilgrim. Eusebius and Jerome dismiss it in a few words, and note only its origin in Tabor (*Onom.* "Cison"), or such part of it as can be seen thence (*Ep. ad Eustochium*, §13), passing by entirely its connexion with Carmel. Benjamin of Tudela visited Akka and Carmel. He mentions the river by name as "*Nachal Kishon*;"† but only in the

very variously rendered by the old interpreters. 1. It is taken as a proper name, and thus apparently that of a distinct stream—in some MSS. of the LXX., *Kadymia* (see Barbd't's *Hexapla*); by Jerome in the Vulgate, *torrens Cadumim*; in the Peshito and Arabic versions, *Carmin*. This view is also taken by Benjamin of Tudela, who speaks of the river close to Acre (doubtless meaning thereby the Belus) as the נחל קרומים. 2. As an epithet of the Kishon itself: LXX., *χειμάρριος ἀρχαῖων*; Aquila, *καυρόων*, perhaps intending to imply a scorching wind or simoom as accompanying the rising of the waters; Symmachus, *εὐχάων* or *αἰχάων*, perhaps alluding to the swift springing of the torrent (*αἶψα* is used for high waves by Artemidorus). The Targum, adhering to the signification "ancient," expands the sentence—"the torrent in which were shown signs and wonders to Israel of old;" and this miraculous torrent a later Jewish tradition (preserved in the *Commentarius in Canticum Deborahae*, ascribed to Jerome) would identify with the Red Sea, the scene of the greatest marvels in Israel's history. The rendering of the A. V. is supported by Mendelssohn, Gesenius, Ewald, and other eminent modern scholars. But is it not pos-

sible that the term may refer to an ancient tribe of Kedumim—wanderers from the Eastern deserts—who had in remote antiquity settled on the Kishon or one of its tributary wadys!

‡ "The Kishon, considered, on account of its quicksands, the most dangerous river in the land" (Van de Velde, i. 289).

* The report of Shaw that this spring is called by the people of the place *Kas el-Kishon*, though dismissed with contempt by Robinson in his note, on the ground that the name K. is not known to the Arabs, has been confirmed to the writer by the Rev. W. Lea, who recently visited the spot.

† The English reader should be on his guard not to rely on the translation of Benjamin contained in the edition of Asher (Berlin, 1840). In the part of the work above referred to two serious errors occur.

(1) נחל קרומים is rendered "*Nahr el Kelb*;" most erroneously, for the *N. el Kelb* (Lycus) is more than 80 miles farther north. (2) נחל קישון is rendered "*the river Mukattua*." Other renderings so less inexact occur elsewhere, which need not be noted here.

most curious manner. Brocardus (cir. 1500) describes the western portion of the stream with a little more fullness, but enlarges most on its upper or eastern part, which, with the victory of Barak, he places on the east of Tabor and Hermon, as discharging the water of those mountains into the Sea of Galilee (*Descr. Terræ S.* cap. 6, 7). This has been shown by Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 364) to allude to the *Wady el Birek*, which runs down to the Jordan a few miles above Seythopolis. For the descriptions of modern travellers, see Maundrell (*Early Trav.* 439); Robinson (*ib.* 362, &c., iii. 116, 17); Van de Velde (324, &c.); Stanley (336, 339, 355); and Thomson (*Land and Book*, chap. xxix.). [G.]

KISON (כִּיסוֹן; *Kisôn*; Alex. *Kisôn*; *Cisôn*), an inaccurate mode of representing the name elsewhere correctly given in the A. V. **KISHON** (*Ps.* lxxvii. 9 only). An additional inconsistency is the expression "the brook of Kison"—the word "of" being redundant both here and in *Judg.* iv. 13, and v. 21. [G.]

KISS.^a Kissing the lips by way of affectionate salutation was not only permitted, but customary, amongst near relatives of both sexes, both in Patriarchal and in later times (*Gen.* xxix. 11; *Cant.* viii. 1). Between individuals of the same sex, and in a limited degree between those of different sexes, the kiss on the cheek as a mark of respect or an act of salutation has at all times been customary in the East, and can hardly be said to be extinct even in Europe. Mention is made of it (1) between parents and children (*Gen.* xxvii. 26, 27, xxxi. 28, 55, xlviii. 10, l. 1; *Ex.* xviii. 7; *Ruth* i. 9, 14; 2 *Sam.* xiv. 33; 1 *K.* xix. 20; *Luke* xv. 20; *Tob.* vii. 6, x. 12); (2) between brothers or near male relatives or intimate friends (*Gen.* xxix. 13, xxxiii. 4, xlv. 15; *Ex.* iv. 27; 1 *Sam.* xx. 41); (3) the same mode of salutation between persons not related, but of equal rank, whether friendly or deceitful, is mentioned (2 *Sam.* xx. 9; *Ps.* lxxv. 10; *Prov.* xxvii. 6; *Luke* vii. 45 (1st clause), xxii. 48; *Acts* xx. 37); (4) as a mark of real or affected condescension (2 *Sam.* xv. 5, xix. 39); (5) respect from an inferior (*Luke* vii. 38, 45, and perhaps viii. 44).

In the Christian Church the kiss of charity was practised not only as a friendly salutation, but as an act symbolical of love and Christian brotherhood (*Rom.* xvi. 16; 1 *Cor.* xvi. 20; 2 *Cor.* xiii. 12; 1 *Thess.* v. 26; 1 *Pet.* v. 14). It was embodied in the early Christian offices, and has been continued in some of those now in use (*Apost. Constit.* ii. 57, viii. 11; *Just. Mart. Apol.* i. 65; *Palmer, On Lit.* ii. 102, and note from Du Cange; *Bingham, Christ. Antiq.* b. xii. c. iv. §5, vol. iv. 49, b. ii. c. xi. §10, vol. i. 161, b. ii. c. xix. §17, vol. i. 272, b. iv. c. vi. §14, vol. i. 526, b. xiii. c. iii. §6, vol. vii. 316; see also *Cod. Just. V. Tit.* iii. 16, *de Don. ante Nupt.*; *Brunde, Pop. Antiq.* ii. 87).

Between persons of unequal rank, the kiss, as a mark either of condescension on the one hand, or of respect on the other, can hardly be said to survive in Europe except in the case of royal personages. In the East it has been continued with little diminution to the present day. The ancient

Persian custom among relatives is mentioned by Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. 4, §27), and among inferiors towards superiors, whose feet and hands they kissed (*ib.* vii. 5, §32; *Dion Cass.* lix. 27). Among the Arabs the women and children kiss the beards of their husbands or fathers. The superior returns the salute by a kiss on the forehead. In Egypt an inferior kisses the hand of a superior, generally on the back, but sometimes, as a special favour, on the palm also. To testify abject submission, and in asking favours, the feet are often kissed instead of the hand. "The son kisses the hand of his father, the wife that of her husband, the slave, and often the free servant, that of the master. The slaves and servants of a grandee kiss their lord's sleeve or the skirt of his clothing" (*Lane, Mod. Eg.* ii. 9; *Arvieux, Trav.* p. 151; *Burckhardt, Trav.* i. 369; *Niebuhr, Voy.* i. 329, ii. 93; *Layard, Nin.* i. 174; *Wellsted, Arabia*, i. 341; *Malcolm, Sketches of Persia*, p. 271; see above (5)).

The written decrees of a sovereign are kissed in token of respect; even the ground is sometimes kissed by Orientals in the fulness of their submission (*Gen.* xli. 40; 1 *Sam.* xxiv. 8; *Ps.* lxxii. 9; *Is.* xlix. 23; *Mic.* vii. 17; *Matt.* xxviii. 9; *Wilkinson, Anc. Eg.* ii. 203; *Layard, Nin.* i. 274; *Harmer, Obs.* i. 336).

Friends saluting each other join the right hand, then each kisses his own hand, and puts it to his lips and forehead, or breast, after a long absence they embrace each other, kissing first on the right side of the face or neck, and then on the left, or on both sides of the beard (*Lane*, ii. 9, 10; *Irby and Mangles*, p. 116; *Chardin, Voy.* iii. 421; *Arvieux, l. c.*; *Burckhardt, Notes*, i. 369; *Russell, Aleppo*, i. 240).

Kissing is spoken of in Scripture as a mark of respect or adoration to idols (1 *K.* xix. 18; *Hos.* xiii. 2; comp. *Cic. Verr.* iv. 43; *Tacitus*, speaking of an Eastern custom, *Hist.* iii. 24, and the Mohammedan custom of kissing the Kaaba at Mecca; *Burckhardt, Travels*, i. 250, 298, 323; *Crichton, Arabia*, ii. 215). [H. W. P.]

KITE (כִּיטָא, *ayyâh*: *ικτίνος*, *γόψ*: *vultur*, *milvus*?). The Hebrew word thus rendered occurs in three passages, *Lev.* xi. 14, *Deut.* xiv. 13, and *Job* xxviii. 7: in the two former it is translated "kite" in the A. V., in the latter "vulture." It is enumerated among the twenty names of birds mentioned in *Deut.* xiv.^b (belonging for the most part to the order *Raptore*s), which were considered unclean by the Mosaic Law, and forbidden to be used as food by the Israelites. The allusion in *Job* alone affords a clue to its identification. The deep mines in the recesses of the mountains from which the labour of man extracts the treasures of the earth are there described as "a track which the bird of prey hath not known, nor hath the eye of the *ayyâh* looked upon it." Among all birds of prey, which are proverbially clear-sighted, the *ayyâh* is thus distinguished as possessed of peculiar keenness of vision, and by this attribute alone is it marked. Translators have been singularly at variance with regard to this bird. In the LXX. of *Lev.* and *Deut.* *ayyâh* is rendered

^a 1. *Verb.* כִּסּוּת: LXX. and N. T. *φίλειν*, *καταφίλειν*: *ocular*, *deocular*. 2. *Subst.* כִּיסוֹן, the notion being of extension, or possibly from the sound, *Gesen.* p. 924: LXX. and N. T. *φίλαμα*: *oculum*.

^b In the parallel passage of *Lev.* xi. the *gled* (כִּיטָא) is omitted; but the Hebrew word has in all probability crept into the text by an error of some transcriber. (See *Gesen.* s. v., and *GLDBE.*)

"kite,"* while in Job it is "vulture," which the A. V. has followed. The Vulg. give "vulture" in all three passages, unless, as Druasin suggests (on Lev. xi. 14), the order of the words in Lev. and Deut. is changed; but even in this case there remains the rendering "vulture" in Job, and the reason advanced by Druasin for the transposition is not conclusive. The Targ. Onkelos vaguely renders it "bird of prey;" Targ. Pseudo-Jonathan, "black vulture;" Targ. Jerus. by a word which Buxtorf translates "a pie," in which he is supported by the authority of Kimchi, but which Bochart considers to be identical in meaning with the preceding, and which is employed in Targ. Onkelos as the equivalent of the word rendered "heron" in A. V. of Lev. xi. 19. It is impossible to say what the rendering of the Peshito Syriac in Lev. and Deut. may be, in consequence of an evident confusion in the text; in Job *ayyah* is translated by *datho*,^b "a kite" or "vulture" as some have it, which is the representative of "vulture" in the A. V. of Is. xxxiv. 15. The Arabic versions of Saadias and Abulwalid give "the night-owl;" and Aben Ezra, deriving it from a root^c signifying "an island," explains it as "the island bird," without however identifying it with any individual of the feathered tribes. Robertson (*Clavis Pentateuchi*) derives *ayyah* from the Heb. *איה*, an obsolete root, which he connects with an Arabic word,^d the primary meaning of which, according to Schultens, is "to turn." If this derivation be the true one, it is not improbable that "kite" is the correct rendering. The habit which birds of this genus have of "sailing in circles, with the rudder-like tail by its inclination governing the curve," as Yarrell says, accords with the Arabic derivation.^e

Bochart, regarding the etymology of the word, connected it with the Arabic *al yuyu*, a kind of hawk so called from its cry *yáyá*, described by Damir as a small bird with a short tail, used in hunting, and remarkable for its great courage, the swiftness of its flight, and the keenness of its vision, which is made the subject of praise in an Arabic stanza quoted by Damir. From these considerations Bochart identifies it with the merlin, or *Falco aesalon* of Linnaeus, which is the same as the Greek *αετάλων* and Latin *aesalo*. It must be confessed, however, that the grounds for identifying the *ayyah* with any individual species are too slight to enable us to regard with confidence any conclusions which may be based upon them; and from the expression which follows in Lev. and Deut., "after its kind," it is evident that the term is generic. The Talmud goes so far as to assert that the four Hebrew words rendered in A. V. "vulture," "glede," and "kite," denote one and the same bird (Lewysohn, *Zoologie des Talmuds*, §196). Seetzen (i. 310) mentions a species of falcon used in Syria for hunting gazelles and hares, and a smaller kind for hunting hares in the desert. Russell (*Aleppo*, ii. 196) enumerates seven different kinds employed by the natives for the same purpose.

* In ornithological language "kite" = "glede" (*Milvus vulgaris*); but "glede" is applied by the common people in Ireland to the common buzzard (*Buteo vulgaris*), the "kite" not being indigenous to that country. So, too, the translators of the A. V. considered the terms "kite" and "glede" as distinct, for they render *איה* "glede," *איה* "kite," and the glede and the kite" (Deut. xiv. 13).

^b דתו.

^c איה.

Two persons are mentioned in the O. T. whose names are derived from this bird. [AJAH.] First (*Handic. s. v.*) compares the parallel instances of *Shebin*, a kind of falcon, used as a proper name by the Persians and Turks, and the Latin *Milvius*. To these we may add *Falco* and *Falconia* among the Romans, and the *נַרְסִי* of *Hawke*, *Falcon*, *Falconer*, *Kite*, &c. &c., in our own language (see Lower's *Historical Essays on English Surnames*).

[W. A. W.]



Kite.

KITH'LISH (כִּתְלִישׁ, i. e. Cithlish: Μααχώς; Alex. χαθλώς; *Cethlis*), one of the towns of Judah, in the Shefelah or lowland (Josh. xv. 40), named in the same group with Eglon, Gederoth, and Makkedah. It is not named by Eusebius or Jerome, nor does it appear to have been either sought or found by any later traveller. [G.]

KIT'RON (קִטְרוֹן; Κέτρον; Alex., with unusual departure from the Heb. text, Χεβρών; *Cetron*), a town which, though not mentioned in the specification of the possessions of Zebulun in Josh. xix., is catalogued in Judg. i. 30 as one of the towns from which Zebulun did not expel the Canaanites. It is here named next to Nahalol, a position occupied in Josh. xix. 15, by Kattath. Kitron may be a corruption of this, or it may be an independent place omitted for some reason from the other list. In the Talmud (*Megillah*, as quoted by Schwarz, 173) it is identified with "Zippori," i. e. Sepphoris, now *Sefurieh*. [G.]

KIT'TIM (כִּתִּים; Κήτιοι, Gen. x. 4; Κίτιοι, 1 Chr. i. 7; *Cethin*). Twice written in the A. V. for CHITTIM.

KNEADING-TROUGHS. [BREAD.]

KNIFE! 1. The knives of the Egyptians, and of other nations in early times, were probably only of hard stone, and the use of the flint or stone

^a *אוי*

^e Gesenius traces the word to the unused root

איה = Arab. *عوي*, "to howl like a dog or wolf."

^f 1. *חַרְב*, Gesen. p. 516: *μάχαρα*: *gladius*, *cultor*.

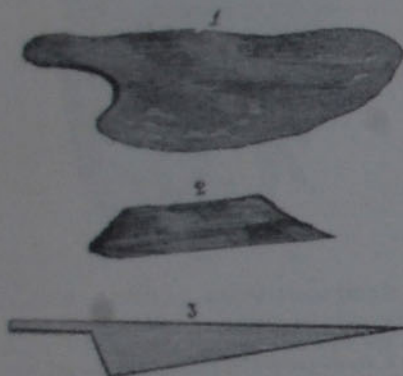
2. *כַּנְפֵי*, from *אכל*, "eat," Gesen. pp. 89, 92:

δόρυφαα: *gladius*.

knife was sometimes retained for sacred purposes after the introduction of iron and steel (Plin. *H. N.* xxiv. 12, §165). Herodotus (ii. 86) mentions knives both of iron and of stone* in different stages of the same process of embalming. The same may perhaps be said to some extent of the Hebrews.^b

2. In their meals the Jews, like other Orientals, made little use of knives, but they were required both for slaughtering animals either for food or sacrifice, as well as cutting up the carcass (Lev. vii. 33, 34, viii. 15, 20, 25, ix. 13; Num. xviii. 18; 1 Sam. ix. 24; Ex. xxiv. 4; Exr. i. 9; Matt. xxvi. 25; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 172; Wilkinson, i. 169; Muehn. *Tamid.* iv. 3).

3. Smaller knives were in use for paring fruit (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 7; *B. J.* i. 33, §7) and for sharpening pens^c (Jer. xxxvi. 23).



1. Egyptian Flat Knives in Museum at Berlin.
2. Egyptian Knife represented in Hieroglyphics.

4. The razor^d was often used for Nazaritic purposes, for which a special chamber was reserved in the Temple (Num. vi. 5, 9, 19; Ex. v. 1; Is. vii. 20; Jer. xxxvi. 23; Acts xviii. 18, xxi. 24; Mischn. *Midd.* ii. 5).



5. Egyptian Knife. (Birkb. *N. S.* 22.)

5. The pruning-hooks of Is. xviii. 5* were probably curved knives.

* *Αἰθες Αἰθυσίων.*

^b צר (Ex. iv. 25) is in LXX. *κρητός*, in which Syr. and other versions agree; as also תרבות צרים, Ges. p. 1160; *αὐτοματὸς περιτῆρας ἐκ πέτρης ἀποριθῆσθαι*, Josh. v. 2. See Wilkinson, *Arch. Eg.* ii. 164; Prescott, *Mexico*, i. 82.

^c תער הכסר, "the knife of a scribe."

6. The lancets^f of the priests of Baal were doubtless pointed knives (1 K. xviii. 28).



Assyrian Knives. (From Originals in British Museum.)

Asiatics usually carry about with them a knife or dagger, often with a highly ornamented handle, which may be used when required for eating purposes (Judg. iii. 21; Layard, *Nim.* ii. 342, 299; Wilkinson, i. 358, 360; Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 18; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. 340, pl. 71). [H. W. P.]

ENOP, that is KNOB (A. S. *cnaep*). A word employed in the A. V. to translate two terms, of the real meaning of which all that we can say with certainty is that they refer to some architectural or ornamental object, and that they have nothing in common.

1. *Caphtor* (כַּפְתּוֹר). This occurs in the description of the candlestick of the sacred tent in Ex. xxv. 31-36, and xxxvii. 17-22, the two passages being identical. The knobs are here distinguished from the shaft, branches, bowls, and flowers of the candlestick; but the knob and the flower go together, and seem intended to imitate the produce of an almond-tree. In another part of the work they appear to form a boss, from which the branches are to spring out from the main stem. In Am. ix. 1 the same word is rendered, with doubtful accuracy, "lintel." The same rendering is used in Zeph. ii. 14, where the reference is to some part of the palaces of Nineveh, to be exposed when the wooden upper story—the "cedar work"—was destroyed. The Hebrew word seems to contain the sense of "covering" and "crowning" (Gesenius, *Thes.* 709). Josephus's description (*Ant.* iii. 6, §7) names both balls (*σφαίρα*) and pomegranates (*βοτάνοι*), either of which may be the *caphtor*. The Targum^g agrees with the latter, the LXX. (*σφαίρωτηρες*) with the former. [LINTEL.]

2. The second term, *Peka'im* (פִּקְעִים), is found only in 1 K. vi. 18 and vii. 24. It refers in the former to carvings executed in the cedar wainscot of the interior of the Temple, and, as in the preceding word, is associated with flowers. In the latter case it denotes an ornament cast round the

^d תער הנקבים, Gesen. p. 1069.

^e כַּוְנָרוֹת, Gesen. p. 421; *δρένανα*: *falce*.

^f רִמְחִים: *σφαίραται*: *lanceoli*.

^g תֹּזֶר, an apple, or other fruit of a round form; both in Onkelos and Pseudojon.

great vase or "sea" of Solomon's Temple below the brim: there was a double row of them, ten to a cubit, or about 2 inches from centre to centre.

The word no doubt signifies some globular thing resembling a small gourd,^a or an egg,^b though as to the character of the ornament we are quite in the dark. The following woodcut of a portion of a richly ornamented door-step or slab from Kouyunjik, probably represents something approximating to the "knop and the flower" of Solomon's Temple. But as the building from which this is taken was the work of a king at least as late as the son of Esarhaddon, contemporary with the latter part of the reign of Manasseh, it is only natural to suppose that the character of the ornament would have undergone considerable modification from what it was in the time of Solomon. We must await some future happy discovery in Assyrian or Egyptian art, to throw clearer light on the meaning of these and a hundred other terms of detail in the descriptions of the buildings and life of the Israelites. [G.]



Basrelief of a Slab from Kouyunjik. (Perugini's Architecture.)

KOA (קוא: קוא) is a word which occurs only in Ez. xliii. 23:—"The Babylonians and all the Chaldeans, Pekod, and Shoa, and Kos, and all the Assyrians with them." It is uncertain if the word is a proper name or no. It may perhaps designate a place otherwise unknown, which we must suppose to have been a city or district of Babylonia. Or it may be a common noun, signifying "prince" or "nobleman," as the Vulgate takes it, and some of the Jewish interpreters. [G. R.]

^a Compare the similar word קוא, *Pakkouth*, "gourds," in 2 K. iv. 39.

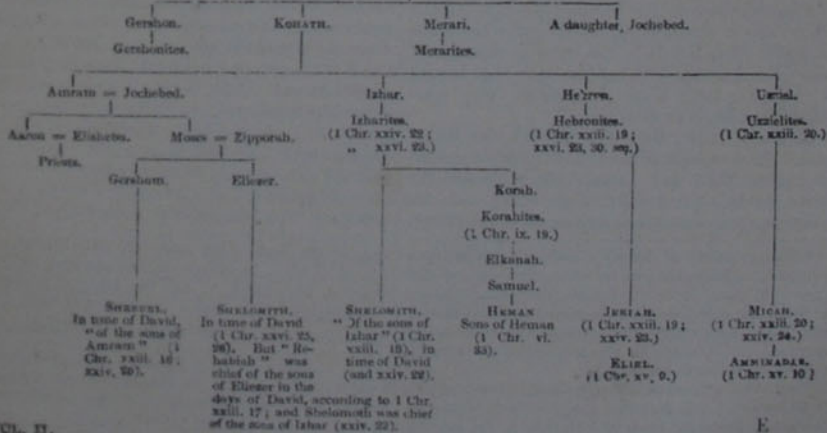
^b This is the rendering of the Targum.

^c The conjunction being taken as part of the name.

KOHATH^d (קֹהַת: and, Num. xvi. 1, &c., קֹהַת: Kāth and Kāth: *Cathath*: "assembly"), second of the three sons of Levi (Gershon, Kohath Merari), from whom the three principal divisions of the Levites derived their origin and their name (Gen. xvi. 11; Exod. vi. 16, 18; Num. iii. 17; 2 Chr. xxxiv. 12, &c.). Kohath was the father of Amram, and he of Moses and Aaron. From him, therefore, were descended all the priests; and hence those of the Kohathites who were not priests were of the highest rank of the Levites, though not the sons of Levi's first-born. Korah, the son of Izhar, was a Kohathite, and hence, perhaps, his impudence of the superiority of his relatives, Moses and Aaron. In the journeyings of the Tabernacle the sons of Kohath had charge of the most holy portion of the vessels, to carry them by staves, as the vail, the ark, the tables of show-bread, the golden-altar, &c. (Num. iv.); but they were not to touch them or look upon them "lest they die." These were all previously covered by the priests, the sons of Aaron. In the reign of Hezekiah the Kohathites are mentioned first (2 Chr. xxix. 12), as they are also 1 Chr. xv. 5-7, 11, when Urie, their chief assisted, with 120 of his brethren, in bringing up the ark to Jerusalem in the time of David. It is also remarkable that in this last list of those whom David calls "chief of the fathers of the Levites," and couples with "Zadok and Abiathar the priests," of six who are mentioned by name four are descendants of Kohath; viz., besides Uriel, Shemaiah the son of Elzaphan, with 200 of his brethren; Eliel, the son of Hebron, with 80 of his brethren; and Amminadab, the son of Uzziel, with 112 of his brethren. For it appears from Ex. vi. 18-22, compared with 1 Chr. xxiii. 12, xxvi. 23-32, that there were four families of sons of Kohath—Amramites, Izharites, Hebronites, and Uzzielites; and of the above names Elzaphan and Amminadab were both Uzzielites (Ex. vi. 22), and Eliel a Hebronite. The verses already cited from 1 Chr. xxvi.; Num. iii. 19, 27; 1 Chr. xxiii. 12,

^d It is not apparent why the form Kohath, which occurs but occasionally, should have been chosen in the A. V. in preference to the more usual one of Kethath, sanctioned both by LXX. and Vulg.

LEVI.



also disclose the wealth and importance of the Kohathites, and the important offices filled by them as keepers of the dedicated treasures, as judges, officers, and rulers, both secular and sacred. In 2 Chr. xx. 18, they appear as singers, with the Korhites.

The number of the sons of Kohath between the ages of 30 and 50, at the first census in the wilderness, was 2750, and the whole number of males from a month old was 8600 (Num. iii. 28, iv. 36). Their number is not given at the second numbering (Num. xxvi. 57), but the whole number of Levites had increased by 1300, viz. from 22,000 to 23,300 (Num. iii. 39, xxvi. 62). The place of the sons of Kohath in marching and encampment was south of the tabernacle (Num. iii. 29), which was also the situation of the Reubenites. Samuel was a Kohathite, and so of course were his descendants, Heman the singer and the third division of the singers which was under him. [HEMAN; ASAPH; JEHOATHAN.] The inheritance of those sons of Kohath who were not priests lay in the half tribe of Manasseh, in Ephraim (1 Chr. vi. 61-70), and in Dan (Josh. xxi. 5, 20-26). Of the personal history of Kohath we know nothing, except that he came down to Egypt with Levi and Jacob (Gen. xlvi. 11), that his sister was Jochebed (Ex. vi. 20), and that he lived to the age of 133 years (Ex. vi. 18). He lived about 80 or 90 years in Egypt during Joseph's lifetime, and about 30 more after his death. He may have been some 20 years younger than Joseph's uncle. The table of the preceding page shows the principal descents from Kohath; a fuller table may be seen in *Burrington's Genealogies*, Tab. X. No. 1. [LEVITES.] [A. C. H.]

KOLAHIAH (קֹלָהִיאִהוּ; *KoLahia*; Cod. Fr. Aug. *KoLela*; *Coloia*). 1. A Benjamite whose descendants settled in Jerusalem after the return from the captivity (Neh. xi. 7).

2. The father of Ahab the false prophet, who was burnt by the king of Babylon (Jer. xxix. 21).

KORAH (קֹרַח; "baldness": *Koré*; *Core*).

1. Third son of Esau by Aholibamah (Gen. xxxvi. 5, 14, 18; 1 Chr. i. 35). He was born in Canaan before Esau migrated to Mount Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 5-9), and was one of the "dukes" of Edom.

2. Another Edomitish duke of this name, sprung from Eliphaz, Esau's son by Adah (Gen. xxxvi. 16); but this is not confirmed by ver. 11, nor by the list in 1 Chr. i. 36, nor is it probable in itself.

3. One of the "sons of Hebron" in 1 Chr. ii. 43; but whether, in this obscure passage, Hebron is the name of a man or of a city, and whether, in the latter case, Korah is the same as the son of Izhar (No. 4), whose children may have been located at Hebron among those Kohathites who were priests, is difficult to determine.

4. Son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi. He was leader of the famous rebellion against his cousins Moses and Aaron in the wilderness, for which he paid the penalty of perishing with his followers by an earthquake and flames of fire (Num.

* The meaning of Korah's name (baldness) has supplied a ready handle to some members of the Church of Rome to banter Calvin (Calvinus, Calvin), as being homonymous with his predecessor in schism; and it has been retorted that Korah's baldness has a more suitable antitype in the tonsure of the Romish priests (*Simonis, Osmis*, s. v.).

† *ἀντιλογία*, "contradiction," alluding to his speech in Num. xvi. 3, and accompanying rebellion. Compare the use of the same word in Heb. xii. 5, Ps. cvi. 32,

xvi. xxvi. 9-11). The details of this rebellion are too well known to need repetition here, but it may be well to remark, that the particular grievance which rankled in the mind of Korah and his company was their exclusion from the office of the priesthood, and their being confined—those among them who were Levites—to the inferior service of the tabernacle, as appears clearly, both from the words of Moses in ver. 9, and from the test resorted to with regard to the censurers and the offering of incense. The same thing also appears from the subsequent confirmation of the priesthood to Aaron (ch. xvii.). The appointment of Elizaphan to be chief of the Kohathites (Num. iii. 30) may have further inflamed his jealousy. Korah's position as leader in this rebellion was evidently the result of his personal character, which was that of a bold, haughty, and ambitious man. This appears from his address to Moses in ver. 3, and especially from his conduct in ver. 19, where both his daring and his influence over the congregation are very apparent. Were it not for this, one would have expected the Gershonites—as the elder branch of the Levites—to have supplied a leader in conjunction with the sons of Reuben, rather than the family of Izhar, who was Amram's younger brother. From some cause which does not clearly appear, the children of Korah were not involved in the destruction of their father, as we are expressly told in Num. xxvi. 11, and as appears from the continuance of the family of the Korahites to the reign, at least of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xx. 19), and probably till the return from the captivity (1 Chr. ix. 19, 31). [KORAHITES.] Perhaps the fissure of the ground which swallowed up the tents of Dathan and Abiram did not extend beyond those of the Reubenites. From ver. 27 it seems clear that Korah himself was not with Dathan and Abiram at the moment. His tent may have been one pitched for himself, in contempt of the orders of Moses, by the side of his fellow-rebels, while his family continued to reside in their proper camp nearer the tabernacle; or it must have been separated by a considerable space from those of Dathan and Abiram. Or, even if Korah's family resided amongst the Reubenites, they may have fled, at Moses's warning, to take refuge in the Kohathite camp, instead of remaining, as the wives and children of Dathan and Abiram did (ver. 27). Korah himself was doubtless with the 250 men who bare censurers nearer the tabernacle (ver. 19), and perished with them by the "fire from Jehovah" which accompanied the earthquake. It is nowhere said that he was one of those who "went down quick into the pit" (comp. Ps. cvi. 17, 18), and it is natural that he should have been with the censor-bearers. That he was so is indeed clearly implied by Num. xvi. 16-19, 35, 40, compared with xxvi. 9, 10. In the N. T. (Jude ver. 11) Korah is coupled with Cain and Balaam, and seems to be held out as a warning to those who "despise dominion and speak evil of dignities," of whom it is said that they "perished in the gainsaying of Core."*

and of the verb, John xix. 12, and Is. xxii. 22, ixv. 2 (LXX.), in which latter passage, as quoted Rom. x. 21, the A. V. has the same expression of "gainsaying" as in Jude. The Son of Sirach, following Ps. cvi. 16, קֹרַח לְמִשְׁחָה, &c. (otherwise rendered however by LXX., Ps. cvi. 16, παρώτρυσαν), describes Korah and his companions as envious or jealous of Moses, where the English "maligned" is hardly an equivalent for ἐχθροσύναν.

Nothing more is known of Korah's personal character or career previous to his rebellion. [A. C. H.]

KORAHITE (1 Chr. ix. 19, 31), **KORHITE**, or **KORATHITE** (in Hebrew always קֹרַחִי, or in plur. קֹרַחִים: never expressed at all by the LXX., but paraphrased *κόρη*, *δημοῖς*, or *γενεῖς Κορέ*: *Cordae*), that portion of the Kohathites who were descended from Korah, and are frequently styled by the synonymous phrase Sons of Korah. [KOHATH.] It would appear, at first sight, from Ex. vi. 24, that Korah had three sons—Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph—was Winer, Rosenmüller, &c., also understood it; but as we learn from 1 Chr. vi. 22, 23, 37, that Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph, were respectively the son, grandson, and great-grandson of Korah, it seems obvious that Ex. vi. 24, gives us the chief houses sprung from Korah, and not his actual sons, and therefore that Elkanah and Abiasaph were not the sons, but later descendants of Korah. If, however, Abiasaph was the grandson of Assir his name must have been added to this genealogy in Exodus later, as he could not have been born at that time. Elkanah might, being of the same generation as Phinehas (Ex. vi. 25).

The offices filled by the sons of Korah, as far as we are informed, are the following. They were an important branch of the *singers* in the Kohathite division, Heman himself being a Korahite (1 Chr. vi. 33), and the Korahites being among those who, in Jehoshaphat's reign, "stood up to praise the Lord God of Israel with a loud voice on high" (2 Chr. xx. 19). [HEMAN.] Hence we find eleven Psalms (or twelve, if Ps. 43 is included under the same title as Ps. 42) dedicated or assigned to the sons of Korah, viz. Ps. 42, 44-49, 84, 85, 87, 88. Winer describes them as some of the most beautiful in the collection, from their high lyric tone. Origen says it was a remark of the old interpreters that all the Psalms inscribed with the name of the sons of Korah are full of pleasant and cheerful subjects, and free from anything sad or harsh (*Homil. on 1 Kings, i. e. 1 Sam.*), and on Matt. xviii. 20, he ascribes the authorship of these Psalms to "the three sons of Korah," who, "because they agreed together had the Word of God in the midst of them" (*Homil. xiv.*).^a Of moderns, Rosenmüller thinks that the sons of Korah, especially Heman, were the authors of these Psalms, which, he says, rise to greater sublimity and breathe more vehement feelings than the Psalms of David, and quotes Hensler and Eichhorn as agreeing. De Wette also considers the sons of Korah as the authors of them (*Einkl. 335-339*), and so does Just. Olshausen on the Psalms (*Exeg. Handb. Einkl. p. 22*). As, however, the language of several of these Psalms—as the 42nd, 84th, &c.—is manifestly meant to apply to David, it seems much simpler to explain the title "for the sons of Korah," to mean that they were given to them to sing in the temple-services. If their style of music, vocal and instrumental, was of a more sublime and lyric character than that of the sons of Merari or Gershon, and Heman had more fire in his execution than Asaph and Jeduthun, it is perfectly natural that David should have given his more poetic and elevated

strains to Heman and his choir, and the simpler and quieter psalms to the other choirs. J. van Iperen (sp. Rosenm.) assigns these psalms to the times of Jehoshaphat; others to those of the Maccabees; Ewald attributes the 42nd Psalm to Jeremiah. The purpose of many of the German critics seems to be to reduce the antiquity of the Scriptures as low as possible.

Others, again, of the sons of Korah were "porters," i. e. doorkeepers, in the temple, an office of considerable dignity. In 1 Chr. ix. 17-19, we learn that Shallum, a Korahite of the line of Ebiasaph, was chief of the doorkeepers, and that he and his brethren were over the work of the service, keepers of the gates of the tabernacle (comp. 2 K. xxv. 18) apparently after the return from the Babylonish captivity. [KINGS.] See also 1 Chr. ix. 22-29; Jer. xxxv. 4; and Ezr. ii. 42. But in 1 Chr. xxvi. we find that this official station of the Korahites dated from the time of David, and that their chief was then Shelemiah or Meshelemiah, the son of (Abi)asaph, to whose custody the east gate fell by lot, being the principal entrance. Shelemiah is doubtless the same name as Shallum in 1 Chr. ix. 17, and, perhaps, Meshullam, 2 Chr. xxxiv. 12, Neh. xii. 25, where, as in so many other places, it designates, not the individuals, but the house or family. In 2 Chr. xxxi. 14, Kore, the son of Imnah the Levite, the doorkeeper towards the east, who was over the freewill offerings of God to distribute the oblations of the Lord and the most holy things, was probably a Korahite, as we find the name Kore in the family of Korah in 1 Chr. ix. 19. In 1 Chr. ix. 31, we find that Mattithiah, the first-born of Shallum the Korahite, had the set office over the things that were made in the pans (Burrington's *Genealogies*; Patrick, *Comment. on Num.*; Lyell's *Princ. of Geol.*, ch. 23. 24, 25, on Earthquakes; Rosenmüller and Olshausen, *On Psalms*; De Wette, *Einkl.*). [A. C. H.]

KORATHITES, THE (קֹרַחִיִּים), Num. xxvi. 58. [KORAHITE.]

KORHITES, THE (קֹרַחִיִּים), Ex. vi. 24, xxvi. 1; 1 Chr. xii. 6; 2 Chr. xx. 19. [KORAHITE.]

KO'RE (קֹרַחִי: *Koré*; Alex. *Κορή* in 1 Chr. ix. 19; Alex. *Κορηέ*, 1 Chr. xxvi. 1: *Core*). 1. A Korahite, ancestor of Shallum and Meshelemiah, chief porters in the reign of David.

2. (*Koré*: Alex. *Κορή*.) Son of Imnah, a Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, appointed over the free-will offerings and most holy things, and a gatekeeper on the eastern side of the Temple after the reform of worship in Judah (2 Chr. xxxi. 14).

3. In the A. V. of 1 Chr. xxvi. 19, "the sons of KORE" (following the Vulg. *Core*), should properly be "the sons of the Korhite."

KOZ (קֹז: *'Akkóús* in Ezr. ii. 61; *'Akkóús*, Neh. iii. 4, 21: *Accos* in Ezr., *Accus* in Neh. iii. 4, *Haccos* in Neh. iii. 21) = ACCOZ = COZ = HAKKOZ.

KUSHIAH (קִישִׁיָּה: *Kushias*: *Casatás*), The same as KISH or KISHI, the father of Ethan the Merarite (1 Chr. xv. 17).

^a St. Augustine has a still more fanciful conceit, which he thinks it necessary to repeat in almost every homily on the eleven psalms inscribed to the sons of Korah. Adverting to the interpretation of Korah, *Oseities*, he finds in it a great mystery: under this term is set forth Christ, who is inticed Calvus,

because He was crucified on Calvary, and was mocked by the bystanders, as Elisah had been by the children who cried after him "Calve, calve!" and who, when they said "Go up, thou bald pate," had prefigured the crucifixion. The sons of Korah are therefore the children of Christ the bridegroom (*Homil. on Psalms*)

L

LA ADAH (לָאָדָה): **Λααδᾶ**: *Laada*, the son of Shelah, and grandson of Judah. He is described as the "father," or founder, of **MARESHAH** in the lowlands of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 21).

LA'ADAN (לָאָדָן): **Λααδᾶν**: Alex. **Γαλααδᾶν** and **Λααδᾶ**: *Laadan*. 1. An Ephraimite, ancestor of Joshua the son of Nun (1 Chr. vii. 26).

2. (**Ἐδᾶν**; Alex. **Λεαδᾶν**; *Leedan*, 1 Chr. xxiii. 7, 8, 9: **Λαδᾶν**; Alex. **Λεδᾶν** and **Λααδᾶ**: *Ledan*, 1 Chr. xxvi. 21.) The son of Gershom, elsewhere called **LITNI**. His descendants in the reign of David were among the chief fathers of his tribe, and formed part of the Temple-choir.

LABAN (לָבָן, **Λάβαν**; Joseph. **Λάβανος**: *Laban*), son of Bethuel, grandson of Nahor and Mikah, grand-nephew of Abraham, brother of Rebekah, and father of Leah and Rachel; by whom and their handmaids Bilhah and Zilpah he was the natural progenitor of three-fourths of the nation of the Jews, and of our Blessed Lord, and the legal ancestor of the whole.

The elder branch of the family remained at Haran when Abraham removed to the land of Canaan, and it is there that we first meet with Laban, as taking the leading part in the betrothal of his sister Rebekah to her cousin Isaac (Gen. xxiv. 10, 29-60, xxvii. 43, xxix. 4). Bethuel, his father, plays so insignificant a part in the whole transaction, being in fact only mentioned once, and that after his son (xxiv. 50), that various conjectures have been formed to explain it. Josephus asserts that Bethuel was dead, and that Laban was the head of the house and his sister's natural guardian (*Ant.* i. 16, §2); in which case "Bethuel" must have crept into the text inadvertently, or be supposed, with some (Adam Clarke, *in loc.*), to be the name of another brother of Rebekah. Le Clerc (*in Pent.*) mentions the conjecture that Bethuel was absent at first, but returned in time to give his consent to the marriage. The mode adopted by Prof. Blunt (*Undesigned Coincidences*, p. 35) to explain what he terms "the consistent insignificance of Bethuel," viz., that he was incapacitated from taking the management of his family by age or imbecility, is most ingenious; but the prominence of Laban may be sufficiently explained by the custom of the country, which then, as now (see Niebuhr, quoted by Rosenmüller *in loc.*), gave the brothers the main share in the arrangement of their sister's marriage, and the defence of her honour (comp. Gen. xxiv. 13; Judg. xxi. 22; 2 Sam. xiii. 20-29). [**BETHUEL.**]

The next time Laban appears in the sacred narrative it is as the host of his nephew Jacob at Haran (Gen. xxix. 13, 14). The subsequent transactions by which he secured the valuable services of his nephew for fourteen years in return for his two daughters, and for six years as the price of his cattle, together with the disgraceful artifice by which he palmed off his elder and less attractive daughter on the unsuspecting Jacob, are familiar to all (Gen. xxix., xxx.).

Laban was absent shearing his sheep, when Jacob, having gathered together all his possessions, started with his wives and children for his native land; and it was not till the third day that he heard of their stealthy departure. In hot haste he sets off in

pursuit of the fugitives, his indignation at the prospect of losing a servant, the value of whose services he had proved by experience (xxx. 27), and a family who he hoped would have increased the power of his tribe, being increased by the discovery of the loss of his teraphim, or household gods, which Rachel had carried off, probably with the view of securing a prosperous journey. Jacob and his family had crossed the Euphrates, and were already some days' march in advance of their pursuers; but so large a caravan, encumbered with women and children, and cattle, would travel but slowly (comp. Gen. xxxiii. 13), and Laban and his kinsmen came up with the retreating party on the east side of the Jordan, among the mountains of Gilead. The collision with his irritated father-in-law might have proved dangerous for Jacob but for a divine intimation to Laban, who, with characteristic hypocrisy, passes over in silence the real ground of his displeasure at Jacob's departure, urging only its clandestine character, which had prevented his sending him away with marks of affection and honour, and the theft of his gods. After some sharp mutual recrimination, and an unsuccessful search for the teraphim, which Rachel, with the cunning which characterized the whole family, knew well how to hide, a covenant of peace was entered into between the two parties, and a cairn raised about a pillar-stone set up by Jacob, both as a memorial of the covenant, and a boundary which the contracting parties pledged themselves not to pass with hostile intentions. After this, in the simple and beautiful words of Scripture, "Laban rose up and kissed his sons and his daughters, and blessed them, and departed, and returned to his place;" and he thenceforward disappears from the Biblical narrative.

Few Scriptural characters appear in more repulsive colours than Laban, who seems to have concentrated all the duplicity and acquisitiveness which marked the family of Haran. The leading principle of his conduct was evidently self-interest, and he was little scrupulous as to the means whereby his ends were secured. Nothing can excuse the abominable trick by which he deceived Jacob in the matter of his wife, and there is much of harshness and mean selfishness in his other relations with him. At the same time it is impossible, on an unbiased view of the whole transactions, to acquit Jacob of blame, or to assign him any very decided superiority over his uncle in fair and generous dealing. In the matter of the flocks each was evidently seeking to outwit the other; and though the whole was divinely overruled to work out important issues in securing Jacob's return to Canaan in wealth and dignity, our moral sense revolts from what Chalmers (*Daily Scr. Readings*, i. 60) does not shrink from designating the "sneaking artifices for the promotion of his own selfishness," adopted for his own enrichment and the impoverishment of his uncle; while we can well excuse Laban's mortification at seeing himself outdone by his nephew in cunning, and the best of his flocks changing hands. In their mistaken zeal to defend Jacob, Christian writers have unduly depreciated Laban; and even the ready hospitality shewn by him to Abraham's servant, and the affectionate reception of his nephew (Gen. xxiv. 30, 31, xxix. 13, 14), have been misconstrued into the acts of a selfish man, eager to embrace an opportunity of a lucrative connexion. No man, however, is wholly selfish; and even Laban was capable of generous impulses, however mean and unprincipled his general conduct. [E. V.]

LA'BAN (לָבָן; Λαβάν: *Laban*), one of the landmarks named in the obscure and disputed passage, Deut. i. 1: "Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di-zabab." The mention of Hazeroth has perhaps led to the only conjecture regarding Laban led to the only conjecture regarding Laban led to the only conjecture regarding Laban led to the only conjecture regarding Laban, namely, that it is identical with LIBNAH (Num. xxxiii. 20), which was the second station from Hazeroth.

The Syriac Peschito understands the name as Lebanon. The Targums, from Onkelos downward, play upon the five names in this passage, connecting them with the main events of the wanderings. Laban in this way suggests the manna, because of its white colour, that being the force of the word in Hebrew. [G.]

LAB'ANA (Λαβανά: *Labana*), 1 Esd. v. 29. [LEBANA.]

LACEDEMONIANS (Σπαρτιάται; once Λακεδαιμόνιοι, 2 Macc. v. 9: *Spartiatæ*, *Spartiani*, *Lacedæmoniacæ*), the inhabitants of Sparta or Lacedæmon, with whom the Jews claimed kindred (1 Macc. xii. 2, 5, 6, 20, 21; xiv. 20, 23; xv. 23; 2 Macc. v. 9). [SPARTA.]

LA'CHISH (לָחִישׁ; Λαχίς; but in Vat. of Josh. xv. Μαχίς; * Joseph. Ἀχίσα: *Lachis*), a city of the Amorites, the king of which joined with four others, at the invitation of Adonizedek king of Jerusalem, to chastise the Gibeonites for their league with Israel (Josh. x. 3, 5). They were however routed by Joshua at Beth-horon, and the king of Lachish fell a victim with the others under the trees at Makkedah (ver. 26). The destruction of the town seems to have shortly followed the death of the king: it was attacked in its turn, immediately after the fall of Libnah, and notwithstanding an effort to relieve it by Hiram king of Gezer, was taken, and every soul put to the sword (ver. 31-33). In the special statement that the attack lasted two days, in contradistinction to the other cities which were taken in one (see ver. 35), we gain our first glimpse of that strength of position for which Lachish was afterwards remarkable. In the catalogue of the kings slain by Joshua (xii. 10-12),

Lachish occurs in the same place with regard to the others as in the narrative just quoted; but in Josh. xv., where the towns are separated into groups, it is placed in the Shefelah, or lowland district, and in the same group with Eglon and Makkedah (ver. 39), apart from its former companions. It should not be overlooked that, though included in the lowland district, Lachish was a town of the Amorites, who appear to have been essentially mountaineers. Its king is expressly named as one of the "kings of the Amorites who dwell in the mountains" (Josh. x. 6). A similar remark has already been made of JARMUTH; KEILAH, and others; and see JUDAH, vol. i. 1156 b. Its proximity to Libnah is implied many centuries later (2 K. xix. 8). Lachish was one of the cities fortified and garrisoned by Rehoboam after the revolt of the northern kingdom (2 Chr. xi. 9). What was its fate during the invasion of Shishak—who no doubt advanced by the usual route through the maritime lowland, which would bring him under its very walls—we are not told. But it is probable that it did not materially suffer, for it was evidently a place of security later, when it was chosen as a refuge by Amaziah king of Judah from the conspirators who threatened him in Jerusalem, and to whom he at last fell a victim at Lachish (2 K. xiv. 19, 2 Chr. xxv. 27). Later still, in the reign of Hezekiah, it was one of the cities taken by Sennacherib when on his way from Phœnicia to Egypt (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 477). It is specially mentioned that he laid siege to it "with all his power" (2 Chr. xxxii. 9); and here "the great King" himself remained, while his officers only were dispatched to Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxxii. 9; 2 K. xviii. 17).

This siege is considered by Layard and Hincks to be depicted on the slabs found by the former in one of the chambers of the palace at Kouyunjik, which bear the inscription "Sennacherib, the mighty king, king of the country of Assyria, sitting on the throne of judgment before (or at the entrance of) the city of Lachish (Lakhisha). I give permission for its slaughter" (Layard, *N. & B.* 149-52, and 153, note). These slabs contain a view of a city which, if the inscription is correctly interpreted, must be Lachish itself.

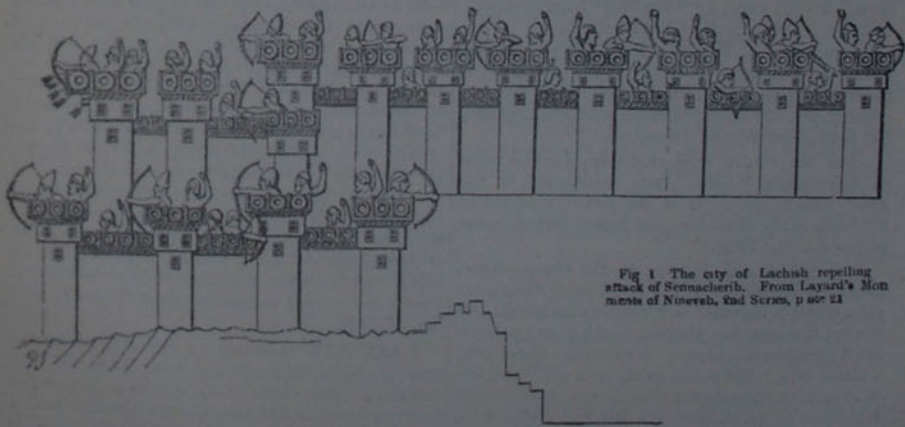


Fig. 1. The city of Lachish repelling attack of Sennacherib. From Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*, 2nd Series, p. 21

* The ordinary editions of the Vatican LXX., Tischendorf's included, give Λαχίς, and the Alex. Λαχίς; but the edition of the former by Cardinal Mai has the Ἀχίς

throughout. In Josh. xv. 39, all trace of Lachish has disappeared in the common editions; but in Mai's, Μαχίς is inserted between Τακαρέλ and καλ Βαράσαβ.

Another slab seems to show the ground-plan of the same city after its occupation by the conquerors—the Assyrian tents pitched within the walls, and the foreign worship going on. The features of the town appear to be accurately given. At any rate there is considerable agreement between the two views in the character of the walls and towers, and both are unlike those represented on other slabs. Both support in a remarkable manner the conclusions above drawn from the statement of

the Bible as to the position of Lachish. The elevation of the town, fig. 1, shows that it was on hilly ground, one part higher than the other. This is also testified to by the background of the scene in fig. 2, which is too remote to be included in the limits of the woodcut, but which in the original shows a very hilly country covered with vineyards and fig-trees. On the other hand the palms round the town in fig. 2 point to the proximity of the maritime plain, in which palms flourished—and still

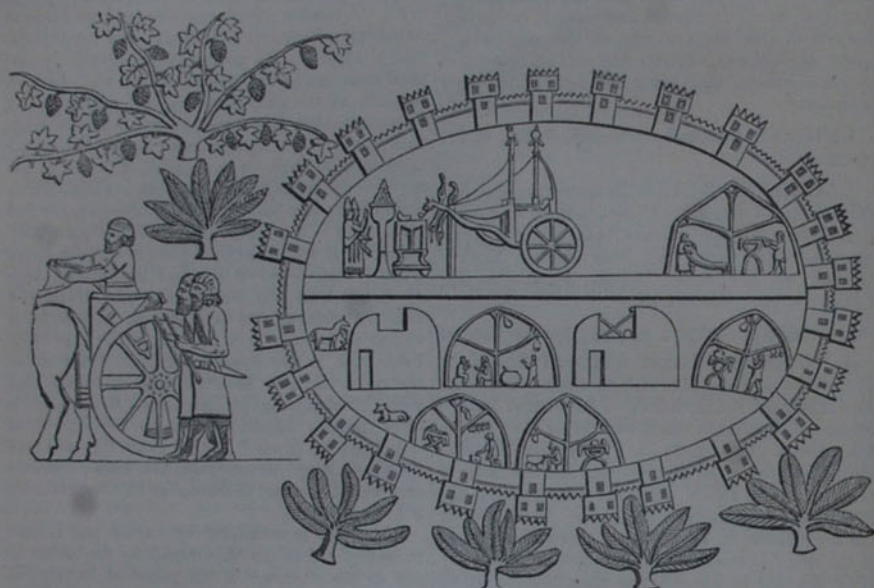


Fig. 2. Plan of Lachish (?) after its capture. From the same work, plate 24

floish—more than in any other region of Palestine. But though the Assyrian records thus appear^b to assert the capture of Lachish, no statement is to be found either in the Bible or Josephus that it was taken. Indeed some expressions in the former would almost seem to imply the reverse (see “thought to win them,” 2 Chr. xxxii. 1; “departed^c from Lachish,” 2 K. xix. 8; and especially Jer. xxxiv. 7).

The warning of Micah (i. 13)^d was perhaps delivered at this time. Obscure as the passage is, it plainly implies that from Lachish some form of idolatry, possibly belonging to the northern kingdom, had been imported into Jerusalem.

After the return from captivity, Lachish with its surrounding “fields” was re-occupied by the Jews (Neh. xi. 30). It is not however named in the books of the Maccabees, nor indeed does its name reappear in the Bible.

By Eusebius and Jerome, in the *Onomasticon*, Lachish is mentioned as “7 miles from Eleutheropolis, towards Daroma,” i. e. towards the south. No trace of the name has yet been found in any position at all corresponding to this. A site called *Um-Lâkis*, situated on a “low round swell or knoll,” and displaying a few columns and other fragments of ancient buildings, is found between Gaza and *Beit-Jibrin*, probably the ancient Eleutheropolis, at the distance

of 11 miles (14 Roman miles), and in a direction not S., but about W.S.W. from the latter. Two miles east of *Um-Lâkis* is a site of similar character, called *Ajlân* (Rob. ii. 46, 7). Among modern travellers, these sites appear to have been first discovered by Dr. Robinson. While admitting the identity of *Ajlân* with EGLON, he disputes that of *Um-Lâkis*, on the ground that it is at variance with the statement of Eusebius, as above quoted; and further that the remains are not those of a fortified city able to brave an Assyrian army (47). On the other hand, in favour of the identification are the proximity of Eglon (if *Ajlân* be it), and the situation of *Um-Lâkis* in the middle of the plain, right in the road from Egypt. By “Daroma” also Eusebius may have intended, not the southern district, but a place of that name, which is mentioned in the Talmud, and is placed by the accurate old traveller hap-Parchi as two hours south of Gaza (Zunz in *Benj. of Tudela*, by Asher, ii. 442). With regard to the weakness of *Um-Lâkis*, Mr. Porter has a good comparison between it and Ashdod (*Handbk.* 261).

[G.]

LACUNUS (*Λακωνός*: *Caleus*), one of the sons of Addi, who returned with Ezra, and had married a foreign wife (1 Esd. ix. 31). The name does not occur in this form in the parallel lists of Ezr. x., but it apparently occupies the place of

^b Col. Rawlinson seems to read the name as Lubana, i. e. Libnah (Layard, *N. & B.* 153, note).

^c This is also the opinion of Rawlinson (*Herod.* 1. 480 note 6).

^d The play of the words is between Lachish and Reccah (*רַכַּשׁ*, A. V. “swift beast”), and the exhortation is to flight.

CHELAL (ver. 30), as is indicated by the *Catena* of the Vulg.

LADAN (Δαδάν, Tisch., but 'Αδάν in Mai's ed.; *Dalarus*), 1 Ed. v. 37. [DELAIAH, 2.]

LADDER OF TYRUS. THE (ἡ κλίμαξ Τύρου: a *terminus Tyri*, possibly reading κλίμαξ), one of the extremities (the northern) of the district over which Simon Maccabæus was made captain (σπαραγῆς) by Antiochus VI. (or Thess), very shortly after his coming to the throne; the other being "the borders of Egypt" (1 Macc. xi. 59). The Ladder of Tyre,* or of the Tyrians, was the local name for a high mountain, the highest in that neighbourhood, a hundred stadia north of Ptolemais, the modern Akko or Acè (Joseph. B. J. ii. 10, §2). The position of the *Ras-en-Nakhurah* agrees very nearly with this, as it lies 10 miles, or about 120 stadia, from Akko, and is characterised by travellers from Parchi downwards as very high and steep. Both the *Ras-en-Nakhurah*, and the *Ras-el-Abyad*, i. e. the White Cape, sometimes called Cape Blanco, a headland 6 miles still farther north, are surmounted by a path cut in zigzags; that over the latter is attributed to Alexander the Great. It is possibly from this circumstance that the *Ras-el-Abyad*,^b is by some travellers (Irby, Van de Velde, &c.) treated as the ladder of the Tyrians. But by the early and accurate Jewish traveller, hap-Parchi* (Zanz, 40c), and in our own times by Robinson (iii. 89), Mislin (*Les Saints Lieux*, ii. 9), Porter (*Hibb.* 389), Schwarz (76), Stanley (*S. & P.* 264), the *Ras-en-Nakhurah* is identified with the ladder; the last-named traveller pointing out well that the reason for the name is the fact of its "differing from Carmel in that it leaves no bench between itself and the sea, and thus, by cutting off all communication round its base, acts as the natural barrier between the Bay of Acè and the maritime plain to the north—in other words, between Palestine and Phœnicia" (comp. p. 266). [G.]

LA'EL (לֵאֵל: Δαήλ: *Laël*), the father of Eliasaph, prince of the Gershonites at the time of the Exodus (Num. iii. 24).

LAHAD (לָהָד: Λαδδ; Alex. Λάδ: *Laad*), son of Jahath, one of the descendants of Judah, from whom sprung the Zorathites, a branch of the tribe who settled at Zorah, according to the Targ. of R. Joseph (1 Chr. iv. 2).

LAHA'I-ROI, THE WELL (לְחַיִּי רֹאִי: τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ὀφθαλμοῦ: *puteus, cujus nomen est Vicentis et Vicentis*). In this form is given in the A. V. of Gen. xxiv. 62, and xxv. 11, the name of the famous well of Hagar's relief, in the oasis of verdure round which Isaac afterwards resided. In xvi. 14—the only other occurrence of the name—it is represented in the full Hebrew form of BEER-LAHAI-ROI. In the Mussulman traditions the well *Zemzem* in the *Beit-allah* of Mecca is identical with it. [LEHI.] [G.]

* This name is found in the Talmud, סלמה רצון. See Zanz (*Disp.* of Tnd. 402).

^b Mendels., ordinarily so exact (March 17), places "the mountain climax" at an hour and a quarter south of the *Nahr Bebekim Buzza* (Adonis River), meaning therefore the headland which encloses on the north the bay of Junch above *Beirut*. On the other hand, Irby and Mangin (Oct. 21) with equally unusual inaccuracy, give the name of Cape Blanco to the *Ras Nakhurah*—an boat's ride from *Be-Be*, the ancient Sidonia. Wilson also (i. 232) has

LAHMAM (לַחְמָם: Μαχάμ και Μαχάμ; Alex. Λαμάμ: *Lahemam, Leemam*), a town in the lowland district of Judah (Josh. xv. 46) named between CARSON and KITHLESH, and in the same group with LACHISH. It is not mentioned in the *Onomasticon*, nor does it appear that any traveller has sought for or discovered its site.

In many MSS. and editions of the Hebrew Bible, amongst them the Rec. Text of Van der Hooght, the name is given with a final *s*—Lachmam.^a Corrupt as the LXX. text is here, it will be observed that both MSS. exhibit the *s*. This is the case also in the Targum and the other Oriental versions. The ordinary copies of the Vulgate have *Lahemam*, but the text published in the Benedictine Edition of Jerome *Leemam*. [G.]

LAHMI (לַחְמִי: τὸν Ἐλαμί; Alex. τὸν Λαμί; *Beth-lahem-ites*), the brother of Goliath the Gittite, slain by Elhanan the son of Jaic, or Jaic (1 Chr. xi. 5). In the parallel narrative (2 Sam. xxi. 19), amongst other differences, Lahmi disappears in the word *Beth-hai-lachmi*, i. e. the Bethlehemitite. This reading is imported into the Vulgate of the Chron. (see above). What was the original form of the passage has been the subject of much debate; the writer has not however seen cause to alter the conclusion to which he came under ELHANAN—that the text of Chronicles is the more correct of the two. In addition to the LXX., the Peschito and the Targum both agree with the Hebrew in reading Lahmi. The latter contains a tradition that he was slain on the same day with his brother. [G.]

LA'ISH (לַיִשׁ: in Isaiah, לַיִשָּׁה: Λαῖσα; Judg. xviii. 29, Ὀβλαμαῖ; Alex. Λαῖς: *Laís*), the city which was taken by the Danites, and under its new name of DAN became famous as the northern limit of the nation, and as the depository, first of the graven image of Micah (Judg. xviii. 7, 14, 27, 29), and subsequently of one of the calves of Jeroboam. In another account of the conquest the name is given, with a variation in the form, as LESHEM (Josh. xix. 47). It is natural to presume that Laish was an ancient sanctuary, before its appropriation for that purpose by the Danites, and we should look for some explanation of the mention of Dan instead of Laish in Gen. xiv.; but nothing is as yet forthcoming on these points. There is no reason to doubt that the situation of the place was at or very near that of the modern *Banias*. [DAN.]

In the A. V. Laish is again mentioned in the graphic account by Isaiah of Sennacherib's march on Jerusalem (Is. x. 30):—"Lift up thy voice, O daughter of Gallim! cause it to be heard unto Laish, oh poor Anathoth!"—that is, cry so loud that your shrieks shall be heard to the very confines of the land. This translation—in which our translators followed the version of Junius and Tremellius, and the comment of Grotius—is adopted because the last syllable of the name which appears here as Laishah is taken to be the Hebrew particle of mo-

fallen into a curious confusion between the two.

^a He gives the name as *Ab-Namah*, probably a mere corruption of *Be-Namah*.

^b לחמם לחמם, by interchange of מ and ח.

^c The LXX. have here transferred literally the

Hebrew words לַיִשׁ וְלַחְמִי, "and indeed Laish." Exactly the same thing is done in the case of *Laz*, Gen. xxviii. 18.

tion, "to Laish," as is undoubtedly the case in Judg. xviii. 7. But such a rendering is found neither in any of the ancient versions, nor in those of modern scholars, as Gesenius, Ewald, Zunz, &c.; nor is the Hebrew word here rendered "cause it to be heard," found elsewhere in that voice, but always absolute—"hearken," or "attend." There is a certain violence in the sudden introduction amongst these little Benjaminite villages of the frontier town so very far remote, and not less in the use of its ancient name, elsewhere so constantly superseded by Dan. (See Jer. viii. 16.) On the whole it seems more consonant with the tenor of the whole passage to take Laishah as the name of a small village lying between Gallim and Anathoth, and of which hitherto, as is still the case with the former, and until 1831 was the case with the latter, no traces have been found.

In 1 Macc. ix. 5 a village named Alasa (Mai, and Alex. 'Αλασα; A. V. Eleasa) is mentioned as the scene of the battle in which Judas was killed. In the Vulgate it is given as *Laisa*. If the Berea at which Demetrius was encamped on the same occasion was Beeroth—and from the Peschito reading this seems likely—then Alasa or Laisha was somewhere on the northern road, 10 or 12 miles from Jerusalem, about the spot at which a village named Adasa existed in the time of Eusebius and Jerome. D (Δ) and L (Λ) are so often interchanged in Greek manuscripts, that the two names may indicate one and the same place, and that the Laishah of Isaiah. Such an identification would be to a certain extent consistent with the requirements of Is. x. 30, while it would throw some light on the uncertain topography of the last struggle of Judas Maccabaeus. But it must be admitted that at present it is but conjectural; and that the neighbourhood of Beeroth is at the best somewhat far removed from the narrow circle of the villages enumerated by Isaiah. [G.]

LAISH (לַיִשׁ); in 2 Sam. the orig. text, *Cethib*, has לַיִשׁ: 'Ameis, Σελλῆς; Alex. Λαῖς, Λαῖς: *Lais*, father of Phaltiel, to whom Saul had given Michal, David's wife (1 Sam. xxv. 44; 2 Sam. iii. 15). He was a native of GALLIM. It is very remarkable that the names of Laish (Laishah) and Gallim should be found in conjunction at a much later date (Is. x. 30). [G.]

LAKES. [PALESTINE.]

LAKUM (לַקוּם), *i. e.* Lakkûm: Δωδύμ; Alex. —unusually wide of the Hebrew — ἕως Ἀκροῦ: *Lecum*, one of the places which formed the landmarks of the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33), named next to Jabneel, and apparently between it and the Jordan: but the whole statement is exceedingly obscure, and few, if any, of the names have yet been recognised. Lakkum is but casually named in the *Onomasticon*, and no one since has discovered its situation. The rendering of the Alex. LXX. is worth remark. [G.]

LAMB. 1. אִמְרָא, *innar*, is the Chaldee equivalent of the Hebrew *cebes*. See below, No. 3 (Ezr. vi. 9, 17; vii. 17).

2. טֹלֵה, *tâleh* (1 Sam. vii. 9; Is. lxxv. 25), a young sucking lamb; originally the young of any animal. The noun from the same root in Arabic signifies "a fawn," in Ethiopic "a kid," in Samaritan "a boy;" while in Syriac it denotes "a boy," and in the fem. "a girl." Hence "Talitha

יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, hiphil imp., from קָשַׁב.

kumi," "Damsel, arise!" (Mark v. 41). The plural of a cognate form occurs in Is. xl. 11.

3. צֶבֶשׁ, *cebes*, צֶשֶׁב, *ceseb*, and the feminines צֶבֶשָׁה, *cibshâh*, or צֶבֶשָׁה, *cabsâh*, and צֶשֶׁבָה, *cibshâh*, respectively denote a male and female lamb from the first to the third year. The former perhaps more nearly coincide with the provincial term *hog* or *hogget*, which is applied to a young ram before he is shorn. The corresponding word in Arabic, according to Gesenius, denotes a ram at that period when he has lost his first two teeth and four others make their appearance, which happens in the second or third year. Young rams of this age formed an important part of almost every sacrifice. They were offered at the daily morning and evening sacrifice (Ex. xxix. 38-41), on the sabbath day (Num. xxviii. 9), at the feasts of the new moon (Num. xxviii. 11), of trumpets (Num. xxix. 2), of tabernacles (Num. xxix. 13-40), of Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 18-20), and of the Passover (Ex. xii. 5). They were brought by the princes of the congregation as burnt-offerings at the dedication of the tabernacle (Num. vii.), and were offered on solemn occasions like the consecration of Aaron (Lev. ix. 3), the coronation of Solomon (1 Chr. xxix. 21), the purification of the temple under Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 21), and the great passover held in the reign of Josiah (2 Chr. xxxv. 7). They formed part of the sacrifice offered at the purification of women after childbirth (Lev. xii. 6), and at the cleansing of a leper (Lev. xiv. 10-25). They accompanied the presentation of first-fruits (Lev. xxiii. 12). When the Nazarites commenced their period of separation they offered a he-lamb for a trespass-offering (Num. vi. 12); and at its conclusion a he-lamb was sacrificed as a burnt-offering, and an ewe-lamb as a sin-offering (v. 14). An ewe-lamb was also the offering for the sin of ignorance (Lev. iv. 32).

4. צֶר, *car*, a fat ram, or more probably "wether," as the word is generally employed in opposition to *ayil*, which strictly denotes a "ram" (Deut. xxxii. 14; 2 K. iii. 4; Is. xxxiv. 6). Mesha king of Moab sent tribute to the king of Israel 100,000 fat wethers; and this circumstance is made use of by R. Joseph Kimchi to explain Is. xvi. 1, which he regards as an exhortation to the Moabites to renew their tribute. The Tyrians obtained their supply from Arabia and Kedar (Ez. xxvii. 21), and the pastures of Bashan were famous as grazing grounds (Ez. xxxix. 18).

5. צֶנֶן, *tsôn*, rendered "lamb" in Ex. xii. 21, is properly a collective term denoting a "flock" of small cattle, sheep and goats, in distinction from herds of the larger animals (Eccl. ii. 7; Ez. xlv. 15). In opposition to this collective term the word

6. שֶׁה, *seh*, is applied to denote the individuals of a flock, whether sheep or goats; and hence, though "lamb" is in many passages the rendering of the A. V., the marginal reading gives "kid" (Gen. xxii. 7, 8; Ex. xii. 3, xxii. 1, &c.). [SHEEP.]
On the Paschal Lamb see PASSOVER. [W. A. W.]

LAMECH (לָמֶךְ): Λαμέχ: *Lamech*, properly Lemech, the name of two persons in antediluvian history. 1. The fifth lineal descendant from Cain (Gen. iv. 18-24). He is the only one except Enoch, of the posterity of Cain, whose history is related with some detail. He is the first polygamist on record. His two wives, Adah and Zillah, and his daughter Naamah, are, with Eve, the only antedi-

Iranian women whose names are mentioned by Moses. His three sons—JABAL, JUBAL, and TUBAL-CAIN, are celebrated in Scripture as authors of useful inventions. The Targum of Jonathan adds, that his daughter was "the mistress of sounds and songs," i. e. the first poetess. Josephus (*Ant. i. 2, § 2*) relates that the number of his sons was seventy-seven, and Jerome records the same tradition, adding that they were all cut off by the Deluge, and that this was the seventy-and-sevenfold vengeance which Lamech imprecated.

The remarkable poem which Lamech uttered has not yet been explained quite satisfactorily. It is the subject of a dissertation by Hilliger in *Thesaurus Theologico-Philol. i. 141*, and is discussed at length by the various commentators on Genesis. The history of the descendants of Cain closes with a song, which at least threatens bloodshed. Delitzsch observes, that as the arts which were afterwards consecrated by pious men to a heavenly use, had their origin in the family of Cain, so this early effort of poetry is composed in honour, not of God, but of some deadly weapon. It is the only extant specimen of anteiluvian poetry; it came down, perhaps as a popular song, to the generation for whom Moses wrote, and he inserts it in its proper place in his history. Delitzsch traces in it all the peculiar features of later Semitic poetry; rhythm, assonance, parallelism, strophe, and poetic diction. It may be rendered:—

Adah and Zillah! hear my voice,
Ye wives of Lamech! give ear unto my speech;
For a man had I slain for smiting me,
And a youth for wounding me:
Surely sevenfold shall Cain be avenged,
But Lamech seventy and seven.

The A. V. makes Lamech declare himself a murderer, "I have slain a man to my wounding," &c. This is the view taken in the LXX. and the Vulgate. Chrysostom (*Hom. xx. in Gen.*) regards Lamech as a murderer stung by remorse, driven to make public confession of his guilt solely to ease his conscience, and afterwards (*Hom. in Ps. vi.*) obtaining mercy. Theodoret (*Quaest. in Gen. xlv.*) sets him down as a murderer. Basil (*Ep. 260 [317], § 5*) interprets Lamech's words to mean that he had committed two murders, and that he deserved a much severer punishment than Cain, as having sinned after plainer warning; Basil adds, that some persons interpret the last lines of the poem as meaning, that whereas Cain's sin increased, and was followed after seven generations by the punishment of the Deluge washing out the foulness of the world, so Lamech's sin shall be followed in the seventy-seventh (see St. Luke iii. 23-38) generation by the coming of Him who taketh away the sin of the world. Jerome (*Ep. xxxvi. ad Damasum, t. i. p. 161*) relates as a tradition of his predecessors and of the Jews, that Cain was accidentally slain by Lamech in the seventh generation from Adam. This legend is told with fuller details by Jarchi. According to him, the occasion of the poem was the refusal of Lamech's wives to associate with him in consequence of his having killed Cain and Tubal-cain; Lamech, it is said, was blind, and was led about by Tubal-cain; when the latter saw in the thicket what he supposed to be a wild-beast, Lamech, by his son's direction, shot an arrow at it, and thus slew Cain; in alarm and indignation at the deed, he killed his son; hence his wives refused to associate with him; and he excuses himself as having acted without

a vengeful or murderous purpose. Luther considers the occasion of the poem to be the deliberate murder of Cain by Lamech. Lightfoot (*Decas Chorogr. Marc. praem. § iv.*) considers Lamech as expressing remorse for having, as the first polygamist, introduced more destruction and murder than Cain was the author of into the world. Pfeiffer (*Diff. Scrip. Loc. p. 25*) collects different opinions with his usual diligence, and concludes that the poem is Lamech's vindication of himself to his wives, who were in terror for the possible consequences of his having slain two of the posterity of Seth. Lowth (*De S. Poesi Heb. iv.*) and Michaelis think that Lamech is excusing himself for some murder which he had committed in self-defence, "for a wound inflicted on me."

A rather milder interpretation has been given to the poem by some, whose opinions are perhaps of greater weight than the preceding in a question of Hebrew criticism. Onkelos, followed by Pseudo-jonathan, paraphrases it, "I have not slain a man that I should bear sin on his account." The Arab. Ver. (Saadia) puts it in an interrogative form, "Have I slain a man?" &c. These two versions, which are substantially the same, are adopted by De Dieu and Bishop Patrick. Alen-Ezra, Calvin, Drusius, and Cartwright, interpret it in the future tense as a threat, "I will slay any man who wounds me." This version is adopted by Herder; whose hypothesis as to the occasion of the poem was partly anticipated by Hess, and has been received by Rosenmüller, Ewald, and Delitzsch. Herder regards it as Lamech's song of exultation on the invention of the sword by his son Tubal-cain, in the possession of which he foresaw a great advantage to himself and his family over any enemies. This interpretation appears, on the whole, to be the best that has been suggested. But whatever interpretation be preferred, all persons will agree in the remark of Bp. Kidder that the occasion of the poem not being revealed, no man can be expected to determine the full sense of it; thus much is plain, that they are vaunting words in which Lamech seems, from Cain's indemnity, to encourage himself in violence and wickedness.

2. The father of Noah (*Gen. v. 29*). Chrysostom (*Serm. ix. in Gen. and Hom. xxi. in Gen.*), perhaps thinking of the character of the other Lamech, speaks of this as an unrighteous man, though moved by a divine impulse to give a prophetic name to his son. Buttman and others, observing that the names of Lamech and Enoch are found in the list of Seth's, as well as in the list of Cain's family, infer that the two lists are merely different versions or recensions of one original list,—traces of two conflicting histories of the first human family. This theory is deservedly repudiated by Delitzsch on *Gen. v.* [W. T. B.]

LAMENTATIONS. The Hebrew title of this Book, *Echah* (עֲכָה), is taken, like those of the five Books of Moses, from the Hebrew word with which it opens, and which appears to have been almost a received formula for the commencement of a song of wailing (comp. 2 Sam. i. 19-27). The Septuagint translators found themselves obliged, as in the other cases referred to, to substitute some title more significant, and adopted *θρήνοι Ἰσραήλ* as the equivalent of *Kinoth* קִינֹת, "lamentations", which they found in Jer. vii. 29, ix. 10, 20, 2 Chr. xxxv. 25, and which had probably been applied

familiarly, as it was afterwards by Jewish commentators, to the Book itself. The Vulgate gives the Greek word and explains it (*Threni, id est, Lamentationes Jeremiae Prophetas*). Luther and the A. V. have given the translation only, in *Klaglieder* and *Lamentations* respectively.

The poems included in this collection appear in the Hebrew canon with no name attached to them, and there is no direct external evidence that they were written by the prophet Jeremiah earlier than the date given in the prefatory verse which appears in the Septuagint.^a This represents, however, the established belief of the Jews after the completion of the canon. Josephus (*Ant. x. 5, §1*) follows, as far as the question of authorship is concerned, in the same track, and the absence of any tradition or probable conjecture to the contrary, leaves the consensus of critics and commentators almost undisturbed.^b An agreement so striking rests, as might be expected, on strong internal evidence. The poems belong unmistakably to the last days of the kingdom, or the commencement of the exile. They are written by one who speaks, with the vividness and intensity of an eye-witness, of the misery which he bewails. It might almost be enough to ask who else then living could have written with that union of strong passionate feeling and entire submission to Jehovah which characterises both the Lamentations and the Prophecy of Jeremiah. The evidences of identity are, however, stronger and more minute. In both we meet, once and again, with the picture of the "Virgin-daughter of Zion," sitting down in her shame and misery (Lam. i. 15, ii. 13; Jer. xiv. 17). In both there is the same vehement out-pouring of sorrow. The prophet's eyes flow down with tears (Lam. i. 16, ii. 11, iii. 48, 49; Jer. ix. 1, xiii. 17, xiv. 17). There is the same haunting feeling of being surrounded with fears and terrors on every side (Lam. ii. 22; Jer. vi. 25, xvi. 5).^c In both the worst of all the evils is the iniquity of the prophets and the priests (Lam. ii. 14, iv. 13; Jer. v. 30, 31, xiv. 13, 14). The sufferer appeals for vengeance to the righteous Judge (Lam. iii. 64-66; Jer. xi. 20). He bids the rival nation that exulted in the fall of Jerusalem prepare for a like desolation (Lam. iv. 21; Jer. xlix. 12). We can well understand, with all these instances before us, how the scribes who compiled the Canon after the return from Babylon should have been led, even in the absence of external testimony, to assign to Jeremiah the authorship of the Lamentations.

Assuming this as sufficiently established, there come the questions—(1.) When, and on what occasion did he write it? (2.) In what relation did it stand to his other writings? (3.) What light does it throw on his personal history, or on that of the time in which he lived?

1. The earliest statement on this point is that of Josephus (*Ant. x. 5, §1*). He finds among the books which were extant in his own time the lamentations on the death of Josiah, which are mentioned in 2 Chr. xxxv. 25. As there are no traces of any other poem of this kind in the later Jewish litera-

^a "And it came to pass that after Israel was led captive and Jerusalem was laid waste, Jeremiah sat weeping, and lamented with this lamentation over Jerusalem, and said."

^b The question whether all the five poems were by the same writer has however been raised by Theinius, *Die Klaglieder erklärt: Vorbemerk.* quoted in Davidson's *Introd.* to *O. T.*, p. 888.

ture, it has been inferred naturally enough, that he speaks of this. This opinion was maintained also by Jerome, and has been defended by some modern writers (Ussher, Dathe, Michaelis,^d *Notes to Lowth, Praef. xxii.*; Calovius, *Prolegom. ad Thren.*; De Wette, *Einkl. in das A. T., Klagl.*). It does not appear, however, to rest on any better grounds than a hasty conjecture, arising from the reluctance of men to admit that any work by an inspired writer can have perished, or the arbitrary assumption (De Wette, *l. c.*) that the same man could not, twice in his life, have been the spokesman of a great national sorrow.^e And against it we have to set (1) the tradition on the other side embodied in the preface of the Septuagint, (2) the contents of the book itself. Admitting that some of the calamities described in it may have been common to the invasions of Necho and Nebuchadnezzar, we yet look in vain for a single word distinctive of a funeral dirge over a devout and zealous reformer like Josiah, while we find, step by step, the closest possible likeness between the pictures of misery in the Lamentations and the events of the closing years of the reign of Zedekiah. The long siege had brought on the famine in which the young children fainted for hunger (Lam. ii. 11, 12, 20, iv. 4, 9; 2 K. xxv. 3). The city was taken by storm (Lam. ii. 7, iv. 12; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 17). The Temple itself was polluted with the massacre of the priests who defended it (Lam. ii. 20, 21; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 17), and then destroyed (Lam. ii. 6; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 19). The fortresses and strongholds of Judah were thrown down. The anointed of the Lord, under whose shadow the remnant of the people might have hoped to live in safety, was taken prisoner (Lam. iv. 20; Jer. xxxix. 5). The chief of the people were carried into exile (Lam. i. 5, ii. 9; 2 K. xxv. 11). The bitterest grief was found in the malignant exultation of the Edomites (Lam. iv. 21; Ps. cxxxvii. 7). Under the rule of the stranger the Sabbaths and solemn feasts were forgotten (Lam. i. 4, ii. 6), as they could hardly have been during the short period in which Jerusalem was in the hands of the Egyptians. Unless we adopt the strained hypothesis that the whole poem is prophetic in the sense of being predictive, the writer seeing the future as if it were actually present, or the still wilder conjecture of Jarchi, that this was the roll which Jehoiachin destroyed, and which was re-written by Baruch or Jeremiah (Carpov, *Introd. ad lib. V. T. iii. c. iv.*), we are compelled to come to the conclusion that the coincidence is not accidental, and to adopt the later, not the earlier of the dates. At what period after the capture of the city the prophet gave this utterance to his sorrow we can only conjecture, and the materials for doing so with any probability are but scanty. The local tradition which pointed out a cavern in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem as the refuge to which Jeremiah withdrew that he might write this book (Del Rio, *Prolegom. in Thren.*, quoted by Carpov, *Introd. l. c.*), is as trustworthy as most of the other legends of the time of Helena. The ingenuity which aims at attaching each individual poem to some definite

^c More detailed coincidences of words and phrases are given by Keil (quoting from Pareau) in his *Einkl. in das A. T.* §129.

^d Michaelis and Dathe, however, afterwards abandoned this hypothesis, and adopted that of the later date.

^e The argument that iii. 27 implies the youth of the writer hardly needs to be confuted.

event in the prophet's life, is for the most part simply wasted.^f He may have written it immediately after the attack was over, or when he was with Gedaliah at Mizpeh, or when he was with his countrymen at Tahpanes.

II. It is well, however, to be reminded by these conjectures that we have before us, not a book in five chapters, but five separate poems, each complete in itself, each having a distinct subject, yet brought at the same time under a plan which includes them all. It is clear, before entering on any other characteristics, that we find, in full predominance, that strong personal emotion which mingled itself, in greater or less measure, with the whole prophetic work of Jeremiah. There is here no "word of Jehovah," no direct message to a sinful people. The man speaks out of the fulness of his heart, and though a higher Spirit than his own helps him to give utterance to his sorrows, it is yet the language of a sufferer rather than of a teacher. There is this measure of truth in the technical classification which placed the Lamentations among the Hagiographa of the Hebrew Canon, in the feeling which led the Rabbinic writers (Kimchi, *Pref. in Psalm.*) to say that they and the other books of that group, were written indeed by the help of the Holy Spirit, but not with the special gift of prophecy.

Other differences between the two books that bear the prophet's name grew out of this. Here there is more attention to form, more elaboration. The rhythm is more uniform than in the prophecies. A complicated alphabetic structure pervades nearly the whole book. It will be remembered that this acrostic form of writing was not peculiar to Jeremiah. Whatever its origin, whether it had been adopted as a help to the memory, and so fitted especially for didactic poems, or for such as were to be sung by great bodies of people (Lowth, *Prael.* xxii.),^g it had been a received, and it would seem popular, framework for poems of very different characters, and extending probably over a considerable period of time. The 119th Psalm is the great monument which forces itself upon our notice; but it is found also in the 25th, 34th, 37th, 111th, 112th, 145th—and in the singularly beautiful fragment appended to the book of Proverbs (Prov. xxxi. 10-31). Traces of it, as if the work had been left half-finished (De Wette, *Psalmen*, ad loc.) appear in the 9th and 10th. In the Lamentations (confusing ourselves for the present to the structure) we meet with some remarkable peculiarities.

(1.) Ch. i., ii., and iv. contain 22 verses each, arranged in alphabetic order, each verse falling into

three nearly balanced clauses (Ewald, *Poet. Büch.* p. 147); ii. 19 forms an exception as having a fourth clause, the result of an interpolation, as if the writer had shaken off for a moment the restraint of his self-imposed law. Possibly the inversion of the usual order of Ψ and Φ in ch. ii., iii., iv., may have arisen from a like forgetfulness. Grotius, *ad loc.*, explains it on the assumption that here Jeremiah followed the order of the Chaldaean alphabet.^h

(2.) Ch. iii. contains three short verses under each letter of the alphabet, the initial letter being three times repeated.

(3.) Ch. v. contains the same number of verses as ch. i., ii., iv., but without the alphabetic order. The thought suggests itself that the earnestness of the prayer with which the book closes may have carried the writer beyond the limits within which he had previously confined himself; but the conjecture (of Ewald) that we have here, as in Ps. ix. and x., the rough draught of what was intended to have been finished afterwards in the same manner as the others, is at least a probable one.

III. The power of entering into the spirit and meaning of poems such as these depends on two distinct conditions. We must seek to see, as with our own eyes, the desolation, misery, confusion, which came before those of the prophet. We must endeavour also to feel as he felt when he looked on them. And the last is the more difficult of the two. Jeremiah was not merely a patriot-poet, weeping over the ruin of his country. He was a prophet who had seen all this coming, and had foretold it as inevitable. He had urged submission to the Chaldaeans as the only mode of diminishing the terrors of that "day of the Lord." And now the Chaldaeans were come, irritated by the perfidy and rebellion of the king and princes of Judah; and the actual horrors that he saw, surpassed, though he had predicted them, all that he had been able to imagine. All feeling of exultation in which, as mere prophet of evil, he might have indulged at the fulfilment of his forebodings, was swallowed up in deep overwhelming sorrow. Yet sorrow, not less than other emotions, works on men according to their characters, and a man with Jeremiah's gifts of utterance could not sit down in the mere silence and stupor of a hopeless grief. He was compelled to give expression to that which was devouring his heart and the heart of his people. The act itself was a relief to him. It led him on (as will be seen hereafter) to a calmer and serener state. It revived the faith and hope which had been nearly crushed out.

^f Pareau (quoted by De Wette, *l. c.*) connects the poems in the life as follows:—

C. I. During the siege (Jer. xxxvii. 5).
C. II. After the destruction of the Temple.
C. III. At the time of Jeremiah's imprisonment in the dungeon (Jer. xxxviii. 6, with Lam. iii. 55).
C. IV. After the capture of Zedekiah.
C. V. After the destruction, later than c. ii.

^g De Wette maintains (*Comment. über die Psalm.* p. 56) that this acrostic form of writing was the outgrowth of a feeble and degenerate age dwelling on the outer structure of poetry when the soul had departed. His judgment as to the origin and character of the alphabetic form is shared by Ewald (*Poet. Buch.* l. p. 140). It is hard, however, to reconcile this estimate with the impression made on us by such Psalms as the 25th and 24th; and Ewald himself, in his translation of the Alphabetic Psalms

and the Lamentations, has shown how compatible such a structure is with the highest energy and beauty. With some of these, too, it must be added, the assignment of a later date than the time of David rests on the foregone conclusion that the acrostic structure is itself a proof of it. (Comp. Delitzsch, *Commentar über den Psalter*, on Ps. ix., x.). De Wette however allows, condescendingly, that the Lamentations, in spite of their degenerate taste, "have some merit in their way" ("sind zwar in ihrer Art von einigen Werthe").

^h Similar anomalies occur in Ps. xxxvii., and have received a like explanation (De Wette, *Ps.* p. 57). It is however a mere hypothesis that the Chaldaean alphabet differed in this respect from the Hebrew; nor is it easy to see why Jeremiah should have chosen the Hebrew order for one poem, and the Chaldaean for the other three.

It has to be remembered too, that in thus speaking he was doing that which many must have looked for from him, and so meeting at once their expectations and their wants. Other prophets and poets had made themselves the spokesmen of the nation's feelings on the death of kings and heroes. The party that continued faithful to the policy and principles of Josiah remembered how the prophet had lamented over his death. The lamentations of that period (though they are lost to us) had been accepted as a great national dirge. Was he to be silent now that a more terrible calamity had fallen upon the people? Did not the exiles in Babylon need this form of consolation? Does not the appearance of this book in their Canon of Sacred writings, after their return from exile, indicate that during their captivity they had found that consolation in it?

The choice of a structure so artificial as that which has been described above, may at first sight appear inconsistent with the deep intense sorrow of which it claims to be the utterance. Some wilder less measured rhythm would seem to us to have been a fitter form of expression. It would belong, however, to a very shallow and hasty criticism to pass this judgment. A man true to the gift he has received will welcome the discipline of self-imposed rules for deep sorrow as well as for other strong emotions. In proportion as he is afraid of being carried away by the strong current of feeling, will he be anxious to make the laws more difficult, the discipline more effectual. Something of this kind is traceable in the fact that so many of the master-minds of European literature have chosen, as the fit vehicle for their deepest, tenderest, most impassioned thoughts, the complicated structure of the sonnet; in Dante's selection of the *terza rima* for his vision of the unseen world. What the sonnet was to Petrarch and to Milton, that the alphabetic verse-system was to the writers of Jeremiah's time, the most difficult among the recognised forms of poetry, and yet one in which (assuming the earlier date of some of the Psalms above referred to) some of the noblest thoughts of that poetry had been uttered. We need not wonder that he should have employed it as fitter than any other for the purpose for which he used it. If these Lamentations were intended to assuage the bitterness of the Babylonian exile, there was, besides this, the subsidiary advantage that it supplied the memory with an artificial help. Hymns and poems of this kind, once learnt, are not easily forgotten, and the circumstances of the captives made it then, more than ever, necessary that they should have this help afforded them.¹

An examination of the five poems will enable us to judge how far each stands by itself, how far they are connected as parts forming a whole. We must deal with them as they are, not forcing our own meanings into them; looking on them not as propædæic, or didactic, or historical, but simply as lamentations, exhibiting, like other elegies, the different phases of a pervading sorrow.

I. The opening verse strikes the key-note of the whole poem. That which haunts the prophet's mind is the solitude in which he finds himself,

¹ The re-appearance of this structure in the later literature of the East is not without interest. Alphabetic poems are found among the hymns of Ephraem Syrus (Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. p. 68) and other writers; sometimes, as in the case of Ebed-jesus, with

She that was "princess among the nations" (1) sits (like the *JUDAEA CAPTA* of the Roman medals), "solitary," "as a widow." Her "lovers" (the nations with whom she had been allied) hold aloof from her (2). The heathen are entered into the sanctuary, and mock at her Sabbaths (7, 10). After the manner so characteristic of Hebrew poetry, the personality of the writer now recedes and now advances, and blends by hardly perceptible transitions with that of the city which he personifies, and with which he, as it were, identifies himself. At one time, it is the daughter of Zion that asks "Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?" (12). At another, it is the prophet who looks on her, and portrays her as "spreading forth her hands, and there is none to comfort her" (17). Mingling with this outburst of sorrow there are two thoughts characteristic both of the man and the time. The calamities which the nation suffers are the consequences of its sins. There must be the confession of those sins: "The Lord is righteous, for I have rebelled against His commandment" (18). There is also, at any rate, this gleam of consolation that Judah is not alone in her sufferings. Those who have exulted in her destruction shall drink of the same cup. They shall be like unto her in the day that the Lord shall call (21).

II. As the solitude of the city was the subject of the first lamentation, so the destruction that had laid it waste is that which is most conspicuous in the second. Jehovah had thrown down in his wrath the strongholds of the daughter of Judah (2). The rampart and the wall lament together (8). The walls of the palace are given up into the hand of the enemy (7). The breach is great as if made by the inrushing of the sea (13). With this there had been united all the horrors of the famine and the assault:—young children fainting for hunger in the top of every street (19); women eating their own children, and so fulfilling the curse of Deut. xxviii. 53 (20); the priest and the prophet slain in the sanctuary of the Lord (*ibid.*). Added to all this, there was the remembrance of that which had been all along the great trial of Jeremiah's life, against which he had to wage continual war. The prophets of Jerusalem had seen vain and foolish things, false burdens, and causes of banishment (14). A righteous judgment had fallen on them. The prophets found no vision of Jehovah (9). The king and the princes who had listened to them were captive among the Gentiles.

III. The difference in the structure of this poem which has been already noticed, indicates a corresponding difference in its substance. In the two preceding poems, Jeremiah had spoken of the misery and destruction of Jerusalem. In the third he speaks chiefly, though not exclusively, of his own. He himself is the man that has seen affliction (1), who has been brought into darkness and not into light (2). He looks back upon the long life of suffering which he has been called on to endure, the scorn and derision of the people, the bitterness as of one drunken with wormwood (14, 15). But that experience was not one which had ended in darkness and despair. Here, as in the prophecies, we find a Gospel for the weary and heavy-laden, a

a much more complicated plan than any of the O. T. poems of this type (*ibid.* iii. p. 325), and these chiefly in hymns to be sung by boys at solemn festivals, or in confessions of faith which were meant for their instruction.

trust, not to be shaken, in the mercy and righteousness of Jehovah. The mercies of the Lord are new every morning (22, 23). He is good to them that wait for Him (25). And the retrospect of that sharp experience showed him that it all formed part of the discipline which was intended to lead him on to a higher blessedness. It was good for a man to bear the yoke in his youth, good that he should both hope and quietly wait (26, 27). With this, equally characteristic of the prophet's individuality, there is the protest against the wrong which had been or might hereafter be committed by rulers and princes (34-36), the confession that all that had come on him and his people was but a righteous retribution, to be accepted humbly, with searchings of heart, and repentance (39-42). The closing verses may refer to that special epoch in the prophet's life when his own sufferings had been sharpest (53-56) and the cruelties of his enemies most triumphant. If so, we can enter more fully, remembering this, into the thanksgiving with which he acknowledges the help, deliverance, redemption, which he had received from God (57, 58). And feeling sure that, at some time or other, there would be for him a yet higher lesson, we can enter with some measure of sympathy, even into the terrible earnestness of his appeal from the unjust judgment of earth to the righteous Judge, into his cry for a retribution without which it seemed to him that the Eternal Righteousness would fail (64-66).

IV. It might seem, at first, as if the fourth poem did but reproduce the pictures and the thoughts of the first and second. There come before us, once again, the famine, the misery, the desolation, that had fallen on the holy city, making all faces gather blackness. One new element in the picture is found in the contrast between the past glory of the consecrated families of the kingly and priestly stocks (Nazarites in A. V.) and their later misery and shame. Some changes there are, however, not without interest in their relation to the poet's own life and to the history of his time. All the facts gain a new significance by being seen in the light of the personal experience of the third poem. The declaration that all this had come "for the sins of the prophets and the iniquities of the priests" is clearer and sharper than before (13). There is the giving up of the last hope which Jeremiah had cherished, when he urged on Zedekiah the wisdom of submission to the Chaldeans (20). The closing words indicate the strength of that feeling against the Edomites which lasted all through the captivity^k (21, 22). She, the daughter of Edom, had rejoiced in the fall of her rival, and had pressed on the work of destruction. But for her too there was the doom of being drunken with the cup of the Lord's wrath. For the daughter of Zion there was hope of pardon, when discipline should have done its work and the punishment of her iniquity should be accomplished.

V. One great difference in the fifth and last section of the poem has been already pointed out. It obviously indicates either a deliberate abandonment of the alphabetic structure, or the unfinished character of the concluding elegy. The title prefixed in the Vulgate, "*Oratio Jeremiae Prophetæ*," points

to one marked characteristic which may have occasioned this difference. There are signs also of a later date than that of the preceding poems. Though the horrors of the famine are ineffaceable, yet that which he has before him is rather the continued protracted suffering of the rule of the Chaldeans. The mountain of Zion is desolate, and the foxes walk on it (18). Slaves have ruled over the people of Jehovah (8). Women have been subjected to intolerable outrages (11). The young men have been taken to grind,^m and the children have fallen under the wood (13). But in this also, deep as might be the humiliation, there was hope, even as there had been in the dark hours of the prophet's own life. He and his people are sustained by the old thought which had been so fruitful of comfort to other prophets and psalmists. The periods of suffering and struggle which seemed so long, were but as moments in the lifetime of the Eternal (19); and the thought of that eternity brought with it the hope that the purposes of love which had been declared so clearly should one day be fulfilled. The last words of this lamentation are those which have risen so often from broken and contrite hearts, "Turn thou us, O Lord, and we shall be turned. Renew our days as of old" (21). That which had begun with wailing and weeping ends (following Ewald's and Michaelis's translation) with the question of hope, "Wilt thou utterly reject us? Wilt thou be very wroth against us?"

There are perhaps few portions of the O. T. which appear to have done the work they were meant to do more effectually than this. It has presented but scanty materials for the systems and controversies of theology. It has supplied thousands with the fullest utterance for their sorrows in the critical periods of national or individual suffering. We may well believe that it soothed the weary years of the Babylonian exile (comp. Zech. i. 6, with Lam. ii. 17). When they returned to their own land, and the desolation of Jerusalem was remembered as belonging only to the past, this was the book of remembrance. On the ninth day of the month of Ab (July), the Lamentations of Jeremiah were read, year by year, with fasting and weeping, to commemorate the misery out of which the people had been delivered. It has come to be connected with the thoughts of a later devastation, and its words enter, sometimes at least, into the prayers of the pilgrim Jews who meet at the "place of wailing" to mourn over the departed glory of their city.ⁿ It enters largely into the nobly-constructed order of the Latin Church for the services of Passion-week (*Breviar. Rom. Feris Quinta*. "In Cœna Domini"). If it has been comparatively in the background in times when the study of Scripture had passed into casuistry and speculation, it has come forward, once and again, in times of danger and suffering, as a messenger of peace, comforting men, not after the fashion of the friends of Job, with formal moralizings, but by enabling them to express themselves, leading them to feel that they might give utterance to the deepest and saddest feelings by which they were overwhelmed. It is striking, as we cast our eye over the list of writers who have treated specially of the book, to notice

^k Comp. with this Obad. ver. 10, and Ps. cxxxvii. 7.

^m The Vulgate imports into this verse also the thought of a shameful infamy. It must be remembered, however, that the literal meaning conveyed to the mind of an Israelite one of the lowest offices of slave-labour (comp. Judg. xvi. 21).

ⁿ Is there any uniform practice in these devotions? The writer hears from some Jews that the only prayers said are those that would have been said, as the prayer of the day, elsewhere; from others, that the Lamentations of Jeremiah are frequently employed.

how many must have passed through scenes of trial not unlike in kind to that of which the Lamentations speak. The book remains to do its work for any future generation that may be exposed to analogous calamities.

A few facts connected with the external history of the Book remain to be stated. The position which it has occupied in the canon of the O. T. has varied from time to time. In the received Hebrew arrangement it is placed among the *Kethubim* or Hagiographa, between Ruth and *Kohelah* (Ecclesiastes). In that adopted for synagogue use, and reproduced in some editions, as in the Bomberg Bible of 1521, it stands among the five *Megilloth* after the books of Moses. The LXX. group the writings connected with the name of Jeremiah together, but the Book of Baruch comes between the prophecy and the Lamentation. On the hypothesis of some writers that Jer. lii. was originally the introduction to the poem, and not the conclusion of the prophecy, and that the preface of the LXX. (which is not found either in the Hebrew, or in the Targum of Jonathan) was inserted to diminish the abruptness occasioned by this separation of the book from that with which it had been originally connected, it would follow that the arrangement of the Vulg. and the A. V. corresponds more closely than any other to that which we must look on as the original one.

Literature.—Theodoret, *Opp.* ii. p. 286; Jerome, *Opp.* v. 165; Special Commentaries by Calvin (*Prolog. in Thren.*); Bullinger (Tigur. 1575); Peter Martyr (Tigur. 1629); Oecolampadius (Argent. 1558); Zuinglius (Tigur. 1544); Maldonatus; Pareau (*Threni Jeremiae*, Lugd. Bat. 1790); Tarnovius (1624); Kalkar (1836); Neumann (*Jeremias u. Klagelieder*, 1858). Translated by Ewald, in *Poet. Büch.* part i. [E. H. P.]

LAMP.^a 1. That part of the golden candlestick belonging to the Tabernacle which bore the light; also of each of the ten candlesticks placed by Solomon in the Temple before the Holy of Holies (Ex. xxv. 37; 1 K. vii. 49; 2 Chr. iv. 20, xiii. 11; Zech. iv. 2). The lamps were lighted every evening, and cleansed every morning (Ex. xxx. 7, 8; Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* i. v. 9, and vii. 8). The primary sense of light (Gen. xv. 17) gives rise to frequent metaphorical usages, indicating life, welfare, guidance, as *e. g.* 2 Sam. xxi. 17; Ps. cxix. 105; Prov. vi. 23, xiii. 9.

2. A torch or flambeau, such as was carried by the soldiers of Gideon (Judg. vii. 16, 20; comp. xv. 4). See vol. i. p. 695, note.

3. In N. T. *λαμπάδες* is in A. V., Acts xx. 8, "lights;" in John xviii. 3, "torches;" in Matt. xxv. 1, Rev. iv. 5, "lamps."

Herodotus, speaking of Egyptian lamps used at a festival, describes them as vessels filled with salt and olive oil, with floating wicks, but does not mention the material of the vessels (Herod. ii. 62; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg. Abridg.* i. 298, ii. 71).

The use of lamps fed with oil at marriage processions is alluded to in the parable of the ten virgins (Matt. xxv. 1).

^a נֵר, once נֵרִי (2 Sam. xxii. 29), from נָר, "to shine," Ges. p. 867; *λύχνος*: *lucerna*.

Modern Egyptian lamps consist of small glass vessels with a tube at the bottom containing a cotton-wick twisted round a piece of straw. Some water is poured in first, and then oil. For night-travelling, a lantern composed of waxed cloth strained over a sort of cylinder of wire-rings, and a top and bottom of perforated copper. This would, in form at least, answer to the lamps within pitchers of Gideon. On occasions of marriage the street or quarter where the bridegroom lives is illuminated with lamps suspended from cords drawn across. Sometimes the bridegroom is accompanied to a mosque by men bearing flambeaux, consisting of frames of iron fixed on staves, and filled with burning wood; and on his return, by others bearing frames with many lamps suspended from them (Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 202, 215, 224, 225, 230; Mrs. Poole, *Englishw. in Eg.* iii. 131). [H. W. P.]

LANCET. This word is found in 1 K. xviii. 28 only. The Hebrew term is *Romach*, which is elsewhere rendered, and appears to mean a javelin, or light spear. [See ARMS, vol. i. p. 110 b.] In the original edition of the A. V. (1611) this meaning is preserved, the word being "lancers."

LANGUAGE. [TONGUES, CONFUSION OF.]

LANGUAGES, SEMITIC. [SHEM.]

LANTERN (*φανάρις*) occurs only in John xviii. 3. See *Dict. of Ant.* art. *LATERNA*.

LAODICEA (*Λαοδικεία*). The two passages in the N. T. where this city is mentioned define its geographical position in harmony with other authorities. In Rev. i. 11, iii. 14, it is spoken of as belonging to the general district which contained Ephesus, Smyrna, Thyatira, Pergamus, Sardis, and Philadelphia. In Col. iv. 13, 15, it appears in still closer association with Colossae and Hierapolis. And this was exactly its position. It was a town of some consequence in the Roman province of ASIA; and it was situated in the valley of the Maeander, on a small river called the Lycus, with COLOSSAE and HIERAPOLIS a few miles distant to the west.

Built, or rather rebuilt, by one of the Seleucid monarchs, and named in honour of his wife, Laodicea became under the Roman government a place of some importance. Its trade was considerable: it lay on the line of a great road; and it was the seat of a *conventus*. From Rev. iii. 17, we should gather it was a place of great wealth. The damage which was caused by an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27) was promptly repaired by the energy of the inhabitants. It was soon after this occurrence that Christianity was introduced into Laodicea, not however, as it would seem, through the direct agency of St. Paul. We have good reason for believing that when, in writing from Rome to the Christians of Colossae, he sent a greeting to those of Laodicea, he had not personally visited either place. But the preaching of the Gospel at Ephesus (Acts xviii. 19–xix. 41) must inevitably have resulted in the formation of churches in the neighbouring cities, especially where Jews were settled: and there were Jews in Laodicea (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, §4; xiv. 10, §20). In subsequent times it became a Christian city of eminence, the see of a bishop, and a meeting-place of councils. It is often mentioned by the Byzantine writers. The Mohammedan invaders destroyed it; and it is now a scene of utter desolation: but the extensive ruins near *Denislu* justify all that we read of Laodicea in Greek and Roman writers. Many travellers



Egyptian Lamp.

(Pococke, Chandler, Leake, Arundell, Fellows) have visited and described the place, but the most elaborate and interesting account is that of Hamilton.

One Biblical subject of interest is connected with Laodicea. From Col. iv. 16 it appears that St. Paul wrote a letter to this place (*ἡ ἐκ Λαοδικείας*) when he wrote the letter to Colossae. The question arises whether we can give any account of this Laodicean epistle. Wieseler's theory (*Apost. Zeit-alt.* p. 450) is that the Epistle to Philemon is meant; and the tradition in the *Apostolical Constitutions* that he was bishop of this see is adduced in confirmation. Another view, maintained by Paley and others, and suggested by a manuscript variation in Eph. i. 1, is that the Epistle to the Ephesians is intended. Ussher's view is that this last epistle was a circular letter sent to Laodicea among other places (see *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ii. 488, with Alford's *Protogomena*, G. T. v. iii. 13-18). None of these opinions can be maintained with much confidence. It may however be said, without hesitation, that the apocryphal *Epistola ad Laodicenses* is a late and clumsy forgery. It exists only in Latin MSS., and is evidently a cento from the Galatians and Ephesians. A full account of it is given by Jones (*On the Canon* ii. 31-49).

The subscription at the end of the First Epistle to Timothy (*ἐγγράφη ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας, ἥτις ἐστὶ μνηρόπολις Φρυγίας τῆς Πακατιανῆς*) is of no authority; but it is worth mentioning, as showing the importance of Laodicea. [J. S. H.]

LAODICEANS (*Λαοδικεῖς*: *Laodicenses*), the inhabitants of Laodicea (Col. iv. 16; Rev. iii. 14).

LAPIDOTH (לִפְדִּיּוֹת, *i. e.* Lappidoth: *Λαφειδάθ*: *Lapidoth*), the husband of Deborah the prophetess (Judg. iv. 4 only). The word rendered "wife" in the expression "wife of Lapidoth" has simply the force of "woman;" and thus *lappidoth* ("torches") has been by some understood as descriptive of Deborah's disposition, and even of her occupations. [DEBORAH.] But there is no real ground for supposing it to mean anything but wife, or for doubting the existence of her husband. True, the termination of the name is feminine; but this is the case in other names undoubtedly borne by men, as MEBEMOTH, MAHAZIOTH, &c. [G.]

LAPWING (דְּקִיפָת, *dukiphath*: *ἔσφο*: *upupa*) occurs only in Lev. xi. 19, and in the parallel passage of Deut. xiv. 18, amongst the list of those birds which were forbidden by the law of Moses to be eaten by the Israelites. Commentators generally agree with the LXX. and Vulg. that the *Hoopoe* is the bird intended, and with this interpretation the Arabic versions* coincide: all these three versions give one word, *Hoopoe*, as the meaning of *dukiphath*; but one cannot definitely say whether the Syriac reading,^b the Targums of Jerusalem, Onkelos, and

Jonathan,^c and the Jewish doctors, indicate any particular bird or not, for they merely appear to resolve the Hebrew word into its component parts. *dukiphath* being by them understood as the "mountain-cock," or "woodland-cock." This translation has, as may be supposed, produced considerable discussion as to the kind of bird represented by these terms—expressions which would, before the date of acknowledged scientific nomenclature, have a very wide meaning. According to Bochart, these four different interpretations have been assigned to *dukiphath*:—1. The Sadducees supposed the bird intended to be the *common hen*, which they therefore refused to eat. 2. Another interpretation understands the *cock of the woods* (*tetrao urogallus*). 3. Other interpreters think the *attagen* is meant. 4. The last interpretation is that which gives the *Hoopoe* as the rendering of the Hebrew word.^d



The Hoopoe (*Upupa Epops*)

As to the value of *l*, nothing can be urged in its favour except that the first part of the word *duk* or *dik* does in Arabic mean a *cock*.^e 2. With almost as little reason can the *cock of the woods*, or *capercaillie*, be considered to have any claim to be the bird indicated; for this bird is an inhabitant of the northern parts of Europe and Asia, and although it has been occasionally found, according to M. Temminck, as far south as the Ionian Islands, yet such occurrences are rare indeed, and we have no record of its ever having been seen in Syria or Egypt. The *capercaillie* is therefore a bird not at all likely to come within the sphere of the observation of the Jews. 3. As to the third theory, it is certainly at least as much a question what is signified by *attagen*, as by *dukiphath*.^f

Many, and curious in some instances, are the derivations proposed for the Hebrew word, but the most probable one is that which was alluded to above, viz. the *mountain-cock*. Aeschylus speaks of the *Hoopoe* by name, and expressly calls it the

ADAMANT, in Appendix, and Buxtorf, *Lex. Chald.* Talm. s. v. דְּקִיפָת.)

^b There can be no doubt that the *Hoopoe* is the bird intended by *dukiphath*; for the Coptic *Kukupha*, the Syriac *Kikupha*, which stand for the *Upupa Epops*, are almost certainly allied to the Hebrew דְּקִיפָת *dukiphath*.

^c דִּיק : *gallina, gallus*.

^d By *attagen* is here of course meant the *arrayaz* of the Greeks, and the *attagen* of the Romans; not that name as sometimes applied locally to the *tarnigan*, or *white grouse*.

* *الهدهد*, *alhudhud*, from root *هدهد*, "to moon as a dove." *Hudhud* is the modern Arabic name for the hoopoe. At Cairo the name of this bird is *hidhid* (vid. Forskal, *Descr. Animal.* p. vii.).

^b *لڤهه دان* (Syriac), *woodland-cock*.

^c *גָּרְרָא מוֹרְנָא* (Chaldee), *artifex montis*; German, *bergmeister* (then, *gallus montanus*): from the Rabbinical story of the Hoopoe and the Shào ir (See

bird of the rocks (*Fragm.* 291, quoted by Arist. *H. A.* ix. 49). Aelian (*N. A.* iii. 26) says that these birds build their nests in lofty rocks. Aristotile's words are to the same effect, for he writes, "Now some animals are found in the mountains, as the hoopoe for instance" (*H. A.* i. 1). When the two lawsuit-wearied citizens of Athens, Euelpides and Pisthetaerus, in the comedy of the *Birds* of Aristophanes (20, 54), are on their search for the home of Epops, king of birds, their ornithological conductors lead them through a wild desert tract terminated by mountains and rocks, in which is situated the royal aviary of Epops.

It must, however, be remarked that the observations of the habits of the hoopoe recorded by modern zoologists do not appear to warrant the assertion that it is so pre-eminently a mountain-bird as has been implied above. Marshy ground, ploughed land, wooded districts, such as are near to water, are more especially its favourite haunts; but perhaps more extended observation on its habits will hereafter confirm the accuracy of the statements of the ancients.

The hoopoe was accounted an unclean bird by the Mosaic law, nor is it now eaten^a except occasionally in those countries where it is abundantly found—Egypt, France, Spain, &c. &c. Many and strange are the stories which are told of the hoopoe in ancient Oriental fable, and some of these stories are by no means to its credit. It seems to have been always regarded, both by Arabians and Greeks, with a superstitious reverence^b—a circumstance which it owes no doubt partly to its crest (Aristoph. *Birds*, 94; comp. *Ov. Met.* vi. 672), which certainly gives it a most imposing appearance, partly to the length of its beak, and partly also to its habits. "If any one anointed himself with its blood, and then fell asleep, he would see demons suffocating him"—"if its liver were eaten with rue, the eater's wits would be sharpened, and pleasing memories be excited"^c—are superstitions held respecting this bird. One more fable narrated of the hoopoe is given, because its origin can be traced to a peculiar habit of the bird. The Arabs say that the hoopoe is a betrayer of secrets; that it is able moreover to point out hidden wells and fountains under ground. Now the hoopoe, on settling upon the ground, has a strange and portentous-looking habit of bending the head downwards till the point of the beak touches the ground, raising and depressing its crest at the same time.^d Hence with much probability arose the Arabic fable.

These stories, absurd as they are, are here mentioned because it was perhaps in a great measure owing, not only to the uncleanly habits of the bird, but also to the superstitious feeling with which the hoopoe was regarded by the Egyptians and heathen generally, that it was forbidden as food to the Israelites, whose affections Jehovah wished to wean from the land of their bondage, to which, as we know, they fondly clung.

^a See Macgillivray's *British Birds*, vol. iii. 43; Yarrell, *Brit. B.* ii. 178, 2nd ed.; Lloyd's *Scandinavian Adventures*, ii. 321; Tristram in *Ibis*, vol. i. The chief grounds for all the filthy habits which have been ascribed to this much-maligned bird are to be found in the fact that it resorts to dunghills, &c., in search of the worms and insects which it finds there.

^b A writer in *Ibis*, vol. i. p. 49, says, "We found the Hoopoe a very good bird to eat."

^c Such is the case even to this day. The Rev. H.

The word *Hoopoe* is evidently onomatopoeic, being derived from the voice of the bird, which resembles the words "hoop, hoop," softly but rapidly uttered. The Germans call the bird *Eir Hoop*, the French *Ja Huppe*, which is particularly appropriate, as it refers both to the crest and note of the bird. In Sweden it is known by the name of *Här-Fogel*, the army-bird, because, from its ominous cry, frequently heard in the wilds of the forest, while the bird itself moves off as any one approaches, the common people have supposed that seasons of scarcity and war are impending (Lloyd's *Scand. Advent.* ii. 321).

The *Hoopoe* is an occasional visitor to this country, arriving for the most part in the autumn, but instances are on record of its having been seen in the spring. Col. Hamilton Smith has supposed that there are two Egyptian species of the genus *Upupa*, from the fact that some birds remain permanently resident about human habitations in Egypt, while others migrate: he says that the migratory species is eaten in Egypt, but that the stationary species is considered inedible (Kitto's *Cycl.* art. 'Lapwing'). There is, however, but one species of Egyptian hoopoe known to ornithologists, viz. *Upupa Epops*. Some of these birds migrate northwards from Egypt, but a large number remain all the year round; all, however, belong to the same species. The hoopoe is about the size of the *missel-thrush* (*Turdus viscivorus*). Its crest is very elegant, the long feathers forming it are each or them tipped with black. It belongs to the family *Upupidae*, sub-order *Tenuirostres*, and order *Passereres*. [W. H.]

LASAEA (Λασαία). Four or five years ago it would have been impossible to give any information regarding this Cretan city, except indeed that it might be presumed (Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, ii. 394, 2nd ed.) to be identical with the "Lisia" mentioned in the *Peutinger Table* as 16 miles to the east of GORTYNA. This corresponds sufficiently with what is said in Acts xxvii. 8 of its proximity to FAIR HAVENS. The whole matter, however, has been recently cleared up. In the month of January, 1856, a yachting party made inquiries at Fair Havens, and were told that the name Lasaea was still given to some ruins a few miles to the eastward. A short search sufficed to discover these ruins, and independent testimony confirmed the name. A full account of the discovery, with a plan, is given in the 2nd ed. of Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, App. iii. pp. 262, 263. Captain Spratt, R.N., had previously observed some remains, which probably represent the harbour of Lasaea (see pp. 80, 82, 245). And it ought to be noticed that in the *Descrizione dell' Isola di Candia*, a Venetian MS. of the 16th century, as published by Mr. E. Falkener in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*, Sept. 1852 (p. 287), a place called Lapsea, with a "temple in ruins," and "other vestiges near the harbour," is

B. Tristram, who visited Palestine in the spring of 1858, says of the *Hoopoe* (*Ibis*, i. 27): "The Arabs have a superstitious reverence for this bird, which they believe to possess marvellous medicinal qualities, and call it 'the Doctor.' Its head is an indispensable ingredient in all charms, and in the practice of witchcraft."

^d This habit of inspecting probably first suggested the Greek word ἐνοψ.

mentioned as being close to Fair Havens. This also is undoubtedly St. Luke's Lasaea; and we see how needless it is (with Cramer, *Ancient Greece*, iii. 374, and the *Edinburgh Review*, No. civ. 176) to resort to Lachmann's reading, "Alassa," or to the "Thalassa" of the Vulgate. [CRETE.] [J.S.H.]

LASHA (לָשָׁה, *i. e.* Lasha: Λασά: *Lessa*), a place noticed in Gen. x. 19 only, as marking the limit of the country of the Canaanites. From the order in which the names occur, combined with the expression "even unto Lasha," we should infer that it lay somewhere in the south-east of Palestine. Its exact position cannot, in the absence of any subsequent notice of it, be satisfactorily ascertained, and hence we can neither absolutely accept or reject the opinion of Jerome and other writers, who identify it with Callirhoë, a spot famous for hot springs near the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. It may indeed be observed, in corroboration of Jerome's view, that the name Lasha, which signifies, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 764), "a fissure," is strikingly appropriate to the deep chasm of the *Zerka Main*, through which the waters of Callirhoë find an outlet to the sea (Lynch's *Expéd.* p. 370). No town, however, is known to have existed in the neighbourhood of the springs, unless we place there Machaerus, which is described by Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 6, §3) as having hot springs near it. That there was some sort of a settlement at Callirhoë may perhaps be inferred from the fact that the springs were visited by Herod during his last illness (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6, §5); and this probability is supported by the discovery of tiles, pottery, and coins on the spot. But no traces of buildings have as yet been discovered; and the valley is so narrow as not to offer a site for any thing like a town (Irby and Mangles (ch. viii. June 8). [W. L. B.]

LASHARON (לָשָׁרוֹן, *i. e.* Lasharon: LXX. omits: *Saron*; but in the Benedictine text *Lassaron*), one of the Canaanite towns whose kings were killed by Joshua (Josh. xii. 18). Some difference of opinion has been expressed as to whether the first syllable is an integral part of the name or the Hebrew possessive particle. (See Keil, *Joua*, ad loc.) But there seems to be no warrant for supposing the existence of a particle before this one name, which certainly does not exist before either of the other thirty names in the list. Such at least is the conclusion of Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. ch. 31), Reland (*Pal.* 871), and others, a conclusion supported by the reading of the Targum,* and the Arabic version, and also by Jerome, if the Benedictine text can be relied on. The opposite conclusion of the Vulgate, given above, is adopted by Gesenius (*Thes.* 642 b), but not on very clear grounds, his chief argument being apparently that, as the name of a town, Sharon would not require the article affixed, which, as that of a district, it always bears. But this appears to be begging the question. The name has vanished from both MSS. of the LXX., unless a trace exists in the Ὀφρακη-σαράκ of the Vat. [G.]

LASTHENES (Λασθένης; cf. Λάμαχος), an officer who stood high in the favour of Demetrius II. Nicator. He is described as "cousin" (συγγενής, 1 Macc. xi. 31), and "father" (1 Macc. xi. 32; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 3, §9) of the king. Both words may be taken as titles of high nobility (comp. Grimm on

1 Macc. x. 89; Diod. xvii. 59; Ges. *Thes.* s. v. 28, §4). It appears from Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4, §3) that he was a Cretan, to whom Demetrius was indebted for a large body of mercenaries (cf. 1 Macc. x. 67), when he asserted his claim to the Syrian throne. The service which he thus rendered makes it likely (Vales. *ad loc.*) that he was the powerful favourite whose evil counsels afterwards issued in the ruin of his master (Diod. *Exc.* xxxii. p. 592). But there is not the slightest ground for identifying him with the nameless *Cnidian* to whose charge Demetrius I. committed his sons (Just. xxxv. 2).

[B. F. W.]

LATCHET, the thong or fastening by which the sandal was attached to the foot. The English word is apparently derived from the A. Saxon *laecan*, "to catch" or "fasten" (Old Eng. "to latch"), as "hatchet" from *haccan*, "to hack;" whence "latch," the fastening of a door, "lock," and others. The Fr. *laçet* approaches most nearly in form to the present word. The Hebrew לָשָׁרֶט, *serêc*, is derived from a root which signifies "to twist." It occurs in the proverbial expression in Gen. xiv. 23, and is there used to denote something trivial or worthless. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v. 702) compares the Lat. *hilum* = *filum*, and quotes two Arabic proverbs from the Hamasa and the Kamûs, in which a corresponding word is similarly employed. In the poetical figure in Is. v. 27 the "latchet" occupies the same position with regard to the shoes as the girdle to the long flowing Oriental dress, and was as essential to the comfort and expedition of the traveller. Another semi-proverbial expression in Luke iii. 16 points to the fact that the office of bearing and unfastening the shoes of great personages fell to the meanest slaves. [SHOE.] [W. A. W.]

LATIN, the language spoken by the Romans, is mentioned only in John xix. 20, and Luke xxiii. 38; the former passage being a translation of Ῥωμαϊστὶ, "in the Roman tongue," *i. e.* Latin; and the latter of the adjective Ῥωμαϊκοῖς (ῥωμαϊστικόν).

LATTICE. The rendering in A. V. of three Hebrew words.

1. לָשָׁנֶב, *eshnâb*, which occurs but twice, Judg. v. 28, and Prov. vii. 6, and in the latter passage is translated "casement" in the A. V. In both instances it stands in parallelism with "window." Gesenius, following Schultens, connects it with an Arab. root, which signifies "to be cool," esp. of the day, and thus attaches to *eshnâb* the signification of a "latticed window," through which the cool breezes enter the house, such as is seen in the illustrations to the article HOUSE (vol. i. p. 837). But Fuerst and Meier attach to the root the idea of twisting, twining, and in this case the word will be synonymous with the two following, which are rendered by the same English term, "lattice," in the A. V. The LXX. in Judg. v. 28 render *eshnâb* by τοξικόν, which is explained by Jerome (*ad Ex.* xl. 16) to mean a small arrow-shaped aperture, narrow on the outside, but widening inwards, by which light is admitted. Others conjecture that it denoted a narrow window, like those in the castles of the Middle Ages, from which the archers could discharge their arrows in safety. It would then correspond with the "shot-window" of Chaucer ("Miller's Tale"), according to the interpretation which some give to that obscure phrase.

* מלכה דלִּישָׁרוֹן = "king of Lasharon."

2. **חֲרָצִים**, *khāracīm* (Cant. ii. 9), is apparently synonymous with the preceding, though a word of later date. The Targum gives it, in the Chaldee form, as the equivalent of *esthāb* in Prov. vii. 6. Fuerst (*Conc.* s. v.), and Michaelis before him, assign to the root the same notion of twisting or weaving, so that *khāracīm* denotes a network or jalouse before a window.

3. **שֶׁבַחָה**, *sebācāh*, is simply "a network" placed before a window or balcony. Perhaps the network through which Ahaziah fell and received his mortal injury was on the parapet of his palace (2 K. i. 2). [HOUSE, vol. i. 838 b, 839 a.] The root involves the same idea of weaving or twisting as in the case of the two preceding words. *Sebācāh* is used for "a net" in Job xviii. 8, as well as for the network ornaments on the capitals of the columns in the Temple. [WINDOW.] [W. A. W.]

LAVER. 1. In the Tabernacle, a vessel of brass containing water for the priests to wash their hands and feet before offering sacrifice. It stood in the court between the altar and the door of the Tabernacle, and, according to Jewish tradition, a little to the south (Ex. xxx. 19, 21; Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* pt. i. ch. iv. 9; Clemens, *de Labro Aeneo*, iii. 9; ap. Ugolini, *Thes.* vol. xix.). It rested on a basis,^a i. e. a foot, though by some explained to be a cover (Clemens, *ibid.* c. iii. 5), of copper or brass, which, as well as the laver itself, was made from the mirrors^c of the women who assembled^d at the door of the Tabernacle-court (Ex. xxxviii. 8). The notion held by some Jewish writers, and reproduced by Franzius, Bähr (*Symb.* i. 484), and others, founded on the omission of the word "women," that the brazen vessel, being polished, served as a mirror to the Levites, is untenable.^e

The form of the laver is not specified, but may be assumed to have been circular. Like the other vessels belonging to the Tabernacle, it was, together with its "foot," consecrated with oil (Lev. viii. 10, 11). No mention is found in the Hebrew text of the mode of transporting it, but in Num. iv. 14 a passage is added in the LXX., agreeing with the Samaritan Pent. and the Samaritan version, which prescribes the method of packing it, viz. in a purple cloth, protected by a skin covering. As no mention is made of any vessel for washing the flesh of the sacrificial victims, it is possible that the

laver may have been used for this purpose also (Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* i. iv. 9).

2. In Solomon's Temple, besides the great molten sea, there were ten lavers^f of brass, raised on bases^g (1 K. vii. 27, 39), five on the N. and S. sides respectively of the court of the priests. Each laver contained 40 of the measures called "bath" (*χόας*, LXX. and Josephus). They were used for washing the animals to be offered in burnt-offerings (2 Chr. iv. 6; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, §6). The bases were mutilated by Ahaz, and carried away as plunder, or at least what remained of them, by Nebuzar-adan, after the capture of Jerusalem (2 K. xvi. 17; xxv. 13). No mention is made in Scripture of the existence of the lavers in the second Temple, nor by Josephus in his account of Herod's restoration (Joseph. *B. J.* v. 5). [MOLTEN SEA.]

The dimensions of the bases with the lavers, as given in the Hebrew text, are 4 cubits in length and breadth, and 3 in height. The LXX. gives 4 × 4 × 6 in height. Josephus, who appears to have followed a var. reading of the LXX., makes them 5 in length, 4 in width, and 6 in height (1 K. vii. 28; Thenius, *ad loc.*; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, §3). There were to each 4 wheels of 1½ cubit in diameter, with spokes, &c., all cast in one piece. The principal parts requiring explanation may be thus enumerated:—(a) "Borders,"^h probably panels. Gesenius (*Thes.* 938) supposes these to have been ornaments like square shields with engraved work. (b) "Ledges,"ⁱ joints in corners of bases or fillets covering joints.^k (c) "Additions,"^m probably festoons; Lightfoot translates, "marginē oblique descendentes." (d) Plates,ⁿ probably axles, cast in the same piece as the wheels. (e) Underseters,^o either the naves of the wheels, or a sort of handles for moving the whole machine; Lightfoot renders "columnae fulcrites lavacrum." (f) Naves.^p (g) Spokes.^q (h) Felloes.^r (i) Chapter,^s perhaps the rim of the circular opening ("mouth," ver. 31) in the convex top. (k) A round compass,^t perhaps the convex roof of the base. To these parts Josephus adds chains, which may probably be the festoons above mentioned (*Ant.* viii. 3, §6).

Thenius, with whom Keil in the main agrees, both of them differing from Ewald, in a minute examination of the whole passage, but not without some transposition, chiefly of the greater part of ver. 31 to ver. 35, deduces a construction of the

^a כִּיּוֹר and בִּיּוֹר, from כָּבַד, "to boil," Ges. p. 671; *λουτήριον*: *labrum*.

^b בַּיִת, *bāyit*, basis, and so also A. V.

^c מִרְאוֹת, *kātōtra*, *specula*.

^d LXX. τῶν ἡγουμένων.

^e See the parallel passage, 1 Sam. ii. 22, where נִשְׂיִים, *gynaiκῶν*, is inserted; Gesenius on the prep. *ב*, p. 172; Keil, *Bibl. Arch.* pt. i. c. 1, §19; Glassius, *Phil. Sacr.* i. p. 580, ed. Dathe; Lightfoot, *Descr. Templ.* c. 37, 1; Jennings, *Jew. Antiq.* p. 302; Knöbel, *Kurtz. Exeg. Handb.* Exod. xxxviii. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 15, li. 156, ed. Mangey.

^f כִּיּוֹרֹת.

^g כִּבּוֹנוֹת, pl. of כִּבּוֹנָה or כִּבּוֹנָה, from כָּבַד, "stand upright," Ges. pp. 665, 670; *μεχωνῶθ*; *bases*.

^h מַסְגְּרוֹת, *συγκλείσματα*; *aculpturæ*.

ⁱ שְׁלָבִים, *ἐξέχόμενα*, *juncturæ*, from שָׁלַב, "cut in notches," Ges. p. 1411.

^k Josephus says: κιονίσκοι τετράγωνοι, τὰ πλευρὰ τῆς βάσεως ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἐξηγῆσθαι.

^m לִיּוֹת, from לָוָה, "twine," Ges. p. 746; *χῶραι*; *lora*; whence Thenius suggests *λωροι* or *λωρα* as the true reading.

ⁿ סֻרְיִים, *προέχοντα*, *axes*, Ges. 972; Lightfoot, *massæ æreæ tetragonæ*.

^o כַּתְּפוֹת, *ὀμῖαι*, *humeruli*, Ges. 724.

^p הַשְּׂרִיִּים, *modioli*; and

^q הַשְּׂקִיִּים, *radii*; the two words combined in LXX. ἡ πραγματεία, Ges. p. 536; Schleusner, *Lex. V. T.*, *πραγμα*.

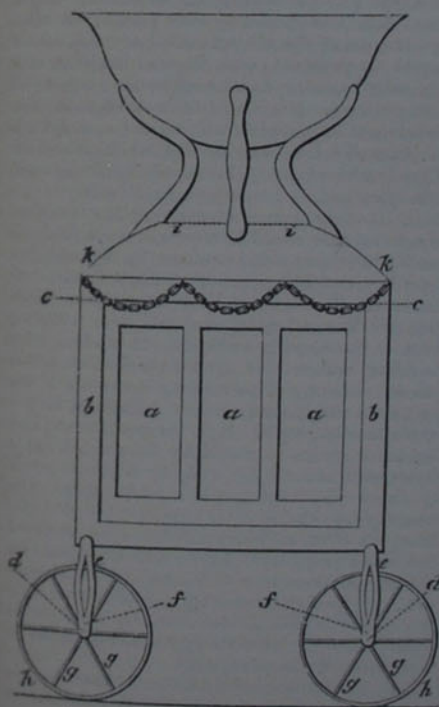
^r גְּבִיִּים, *νώτοι*, *canthi*, Ges. p. 256.

^s כַּתְּרֵת, *κεφαλῆς*, *summitas*, Ges. p. 725.

^t עֲגֻלָּה סְבִיבָה, Ges. 935, 989; *στρογγύλον κύκλω* *stunditas*.

bases and lavers, which seems fairly to reconcile the very great difficulties of the subject. Following chiefly his description, we may suppose the base to have been a quadrangular hollow frame, connected at its corners by pilasters (ledges), and moved by 4 wheels or high castors, one at each corner, with handles (plates) for drawing the machine. The sides of this frame were divided into 3 vertical panels or compartments (borders), ornamented with bas-reliefs of lions, oxen, and cherubim. The top of the base was convex, with a circular opening of $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubit diameter. The top itself was covered with engraved cherubim, lions, and palm-trees or branches. The height of the convex top from the upper plane of the base was $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit, and the space between this top and the lower surface of the laver $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit more. The laver rested on supports (undersetters) rising from the 4 corners of the base. Each laver contained 40 "baths," or about 300 gallons. Its dimensions, therefore, to be in proportion to 7 feet (4 cubits, ver. 38) in diameter, must have been about 30 inches in depth. The great height of the whole machine was doubtless in order to bring it near the height of the altar (2 Chr. iv. 1; Arias Montanus, *de Templi Fabrica, Crit. Sacr.* viii. 626; Lightfoot, *Descr. Templi*, c. xxxvii. 3, vol. i. 646; Thenius, in *Kurzg. Exeg. Handb.* on 1 K. vii., and App. p. 41; Ewald, *Geschichte*, iii. 313; Keil, *Handb. der Bibl. Arch.* §24, p. 128, 129; Winer, *s. v. Handfass*).

[H. W. P.]



Conjectural Diagram of the Laver. (After Thenius.)

a, borders; b, ledges; c, additions; d, plates; e, undersetters; f, pivots; g, spokes; h, felloes; i, claspnet; k, round compass.

LAW (תורה: *Nómos*). The word is properly used, in Scripture as elsewhere, to express a definite commandment laid down by any recognised authority. The commandment may be general, or (as

in Lev. vi. 9, 14, &c., "the law of the burnt-offering," &c.) particular in its bearing; the authority either human or divine. But when the word is used with the article, and without any words of limitation, it refers to the expressed will of God, and, in nine cases out of ten, to the Mosaic Law, or to the Pentateuch, of which it forms the chief portion.

The Hebrew word (derived from the root נָתַן , "to point out," and so "to direct and lead") lays more stress on its moral authority, as teaching the truth, and guiding in the right way; the Greek *Nómos* (from *νόμος*, "to assign or appoint"), on its constraining power, as imposed and enforced by a recognised authority. But in either case it is a commandment proceeding from without, and distinguished from the free action of its subjects, although not necessarily opposed thereto.

The sense of the word, however, extends its scope, and assumes a more abstract character in the writings of St. Paul. *Nómos*, when used by him with the article, still refers in general to the Law of Moses; but when used without the article, so as to embrace any manifestation of "Law," it includes all powers which act on the will of man by compulsion, or by the pressure of external motives, whether their commands be or be not expressed in definite forms. This is seen in the constant opposition of *ἔργα νόμου* ("works done under the constraint of law") to faith, or "works of faith," that is, works done freely by the internal influence of faith. A still more remarkable use of the word is found in Rom. vii. 23, where the power of evil over the will, arising from the corruption of man, is spoken of as a "law of sin," that is, an unnatural tyranny proceeding from an evil power without.

The occasional use of the word "law" (as in Rom. iii. 27, "law of faith;" in vii. 23, "law of my mind," *τοῦ νοῦς*; in viii. 2, "law of the spirit of life;" and in Jam. i. 25, ii. 12, "a perfect law, the law of liberty") to denote an internal principle of action, does not really militate against the general rule. For in each case it will be seen, that such principle is spoken of in contrast with some formal law, and the word "law" is consequently applied to it "improperly," in order to mark this opposition, the qualifying words which follow guarding against any danger of misapprehension of its real character.

It should also be noticed that the title "the Law" is occasionally used loosely to refer to the whole of the Old Testament (as in John x. 34, referring to Ps. lxxxii. 6; in John xv. 25, referring to Ps. xxxv. 19; and in 1 Cor. xiv. 21, referring to Is. xxviii. 11, 12). This usage is probably due, not only to desire of brevity and to the natural prominence of the Pentateuch, but also to the predominance in the older Covenant (when considered separately from the New, for which it was the preparation) of an external and legal character. [A. B.]

LAW OF MOSES. It will be the object of this article, not to enter into the history of the giving of the Law (for which see *MOSES, THE EXODUS, &c.*), nor to examine the authorship of the books in which it is contained (for which see *PENTATEUCH, EXODUS, &c.*), nor to dwell on particular ordinances, which are treated of under their respective heads; but to give a brief analysis of its substance, to point out its main principles, and to explain the position which it occupies in the progress of Divine Revelation. In order to do this

the more clearly, it seems best to speak of the Law, 1st, in relation to the past 2ndly, in its own intrinsic character; and, 3rdly, in its relation to the future.

(1.) (a.) In reference to the past, it is all-important, for the proper understanding of the Law, to remember its *entire dependence on the Abrahamic Covenant*, and its adaptation thereto (see Gal. iii. 17-24). That covenant had a twofold character. It contained the "spiritual promise" of the Messiah, which was given to the Jews as representatives of the whole human race, and as guardians of a treasure in which "all families of the earth should be blessed." This would prepare the Jewish nation to be the centre of the unity of all mankind. But it contained also the temporal promises subsidiary to the former, and needed in order to preserve intact the nation, through which the race of man should be educated and prepared for the coming of the Redeemer. These promises were special, given distinctively to the Jews as a nation, and, so far as they were considered in themselves, calculated to separate them from other nations of the earth. It follows that there should be in the Law a corresponding duality of nature. There would be much in it of the latter character, much (that is) peculiar to the Jews, local, special, and transitory; but the fundamental principles on which it was based must be universal, because expressing the will of an unchanging God, and springing from relations to Him, inherent in human nature, and therefore perpetual and universal in their application.

(b.) The nature of this *relation of the Law to the promise* is clearly pointed out. The belief in God as the Redeemer of man, and the hope of His manifestation as such in the person of the Messiah, involved the belief that the Spiritual Power must be superior to all carnal obstructions, and that there was in man a spiritual element which could rule his life by communion with a Spirit from above. But it involved also the idea of an antagonistic Power of Evil, from which man was to be redeemed, existing in each individual, and existing also in the world at large. The promise was the witness of the one truth, the Law was the declaration of the other. It was "added because of transgressions." In the individual, it stood between his better and his worsed self; in the world, between the Jewish nation, as the witness of the spiritual promise, and the heathendom, which groaned under the power of the flesh. It was intended, by the gift of guidance and the pressure of motives, to strengthen the weakness of good, while it curbed directly the power of evil. It followed inevitably, that, in the individual, it assumed somewhat of a coercive, and, as between Israel and the world, somewhat of an antagonistic and isolating character; and hence that, viewed without reference to the promise (as it was viewed by the later Jews), it might actually become a hindrance to the true revelation of God, and to the mission for which the nation had been made a "chosen people."

(c.) Nor is it less essential to remark the *period of the history* at which it was given. It marked and determined the transition of Israel from the condition of a tribe to that of a nation, and its definite assumption of a distinct position and office in the history of the world. It is on no unreal metaphor that we base the well-known analogy between the stages of individual life and those of national or universal existence. In Israel the pa-

triarchal time was that of childhood, ruled chiefly through the affections and the power of natural relationship, with rules few, simple, and unsystematic. The national period was that of youth, in which this indirect teaching and influence give place to definite assertions of right and responsibility, and to a system of distinct commandments, needed to control its vigorous and impulsive action. The fifty days of their wandering alone with God in the silence of the wilderness represent that awakening to the difficulty, the responsibility, and the nobleness of life, which marks the "putting away of childish things." The Law is the sign and the seal of such an awakening.

(d.) Yet, though new in its general conception, it was probably *not wholly new in its materials*. Neither in His material nor His spiritual providence does God proceed *per saltum*. There must necessarily have been, before the Law, commandments and revelations of a fragmentary character, under which Israel had hitherto grown up. Indications of such are easily found, both of a ceremonial and moral nature; as, for example, in the penalties against murder, adultery, and fornication (Gen. ix. 6, xxxviii. 24), in the existence of the Levirate law (Gen. xxxviii. 8), in the distinction of clean and unclean animals (Gen. viii. 20), and probably in the observance of the Sabbath (Ex. xvi. 23, 27-29). But, even without such indications, our knowledge of the existence of Israel as a distinct community in Egypt would necessitate the conclusion, that it must have been guided by some laws of its own, growing out of the old patriarchal customs, which would be preserved with Oriental tenacity, and gradually becoming methodised by the progress of circumstances. Nor would it be possible for the Israelites to be in contact with an elaborate system of ritual and law, such as that which existed in Egypt, without being influenced by its general principles, and, in less degree, by its minutest details. As they approached nearer to the condition of a nation they would be more and more likely to modify their patriarchal customs by the adoption from Egypt of laws which were fitted for national existence. This being so, it is hardly conceivable that the Mosaic legislation should have embodied none of these earlier materials. It is clear, even to human wisdom, that the only constitution, which can be efficient and permanent, is one which has grown up slowly, and so been assimilated to the character of a people. It is the peculiar mark of legislative genius to mould by fundamental principles, and animate by a higher inspiration, materials previously existing in a cruder state. The necessity for this lies in the nature, not of the legislator, but of the subjects; and the argument therefore is but strengthened by the acknowledgment in the case of Moses of a divine and special inspiration. So far therefore as they were consistent with the objects of the Jewish law, the customs of Palestine and the laws of Egypt would doubtless be traceable in the Mosaic system.

(e.) In close connexion with and almost in consequence of this reference to antiquity we find an *accommodation of the Law* to the temper and circumstances of the Israelites, to which our Lord refers in the case of divorce (Matt. xix. 7, 8) as necessarily interfering with its absolute perfection. In many cases it rather should be said to guide and modify existing usages than actually to sanction them; and the ignorance of their existence may lead to a conception of its ordinances not only

erroneous, but actually the reverse of the truth. Thus the punishment of filial disobedience appears severe (Deut. xxi. 18-21); yet when we refer to the extent of parental authority in a patriarchal system, or (as at Rome) in the earlier periods of national existence, it appears more like a limitation of absolute parental authority by an appeal to the judgment of the community. The Levirate Law again appears (see *Mos. Recht*, bk. iii. ch. 6, art. 98) to have existed in a far more general form in the early Asiatic peoples, and to have been rather limited than favoured by Moses. The law of the Avenger of blood is a similar instance of merciful limitation and distinction in the exercise of an immemorial usage, probably not without its value and meaning, and certainly too deep-seated to admit of any but gradual extinction. Nor is it less noticeable that the degree of prominence, given to each part of the Mosaic system, has a similar reference to the period at which the nation had arrived. The ceremonial portion is marked out distinctly and with elaboration; the moral and criminal law is clearly and sternly decisive; even the civil law, so far as it relates to individuals, is systematic: because all these were called for by the past growth of the nation, and needed in order to settle and develop its resources. But the political and constitutional law is comparatively imperfect; a few leading principles are laid down, to be developed hereafter; but the law is directed rather to sanction the various powers of the state, than to define and balance their operations. Thus the existing authorities of a patriarchal nature in each tribe and family are recognised; while side by side with them is established the priestly and Levitical power, which was to supersede them entirely in sacerdotal, and partly also in judicial functions. The supreme civil power of a "Judge," or (hereafter) a King, is recognised distinctly, although only in general terms, indicating a sovereign and summary jurisdiction (Deut. xvii. 14-20); and the prophetic office, in its political as well as its moral aspect, is spoken of still more vaguely as future (Deut. xviii. 15-22). These powers, being recognised, are left, within due limits, to work out the political system of Israel, and to ascertain by experience their proper spheres of exercise. On a careful understanding of this adaptation of the Law to the national growth and character of the Jews (and of a somewhat similar adaptation to their climate and physical circumstances) depends the correct appreciation of its nature, and the power of distinguishing in it what is local and temporary from that which is universal.

(f) In close connexion with this subject we observe also the gradual process by which the Law was revealed to the Israelites. In Ex. xx-xxiii., in direct connexion with the revelation from Mount Sinai, that which may be called the rough outline of the Mosaic Law is given by God, solemnly recorded by Moses, and accepted by the people. In Ex. xxv-xxxi. there is a similar outline of the Mosaic ceremonial. On the basis of these it may be conceived that the fabric of the Mosaic system gradually grew up under the requirements of the time. In certain cases indeed (as e. g. in Lev. x. 1, 2, compared with 8-11; Lev. xxiv. 11-16; Num. ix. 6-12; xv. 32-41; xxvii. 1-11 compared with xxxvi. 1-12) we actually see how general rules, civil, criminal, and ceremonial, originated in special circumstances; and the unconnected nature of the records of laws in the earlier books suggests the

idea that this method of legislation extended to many other cases.

The first revelation of the Law in anything like a perfect form is found in the book of Deuteronomy, at a period when the people, educated to freedom and national responsibility, were prepared to receive it, and carry it with them to the land which was now prepared for them. It is distinguished by its systematic character and its reference to first principles; for probably even by Moses himself, certainly by the people, the Law had not before this been recognised in all its essential characteristics, and to it we naturally refer in attempting to analyze its various parts. [DEUTERONOMY.] Yet even then the revelation was not final; it was the duty of the prophets to amend and explain it in special points (as in the well-known example in Ez. xviii.), and to bring out more clearly its great principles, as distinguished from the external rules in which they were embodied; for in this way, as in others, they prepared the way of Him, who "came to fulfil" (*πληρῶσαι*) the Law of old time.

The relation, then, of the Law to the Covenant, its accommodation to the time and circumstances of its promulgation, its adaptation of old materials, and its gradual development, are the chief points to be noticed under the first head.

(II.) In examining the nature of the Law in itself, it is customary to divide it into the Moral, Political, and Ceremonial. But this division, although valuable, if considered as a distinction merely subjective (as enabling us, that is, to conceive the objects of Law, dealing as it does with man in his social, political, and religious capacity), is wholly imaginary, if regarded as an objective separation of various classes of Laws. Any single ordinance might have at once a moral, a ceremonial, and a political bearing; and in fact, although in particular cases one or other of these aspects predominated, yet the whole principle of the Mosaic institutions is to obliterate any such supposed separation of laws, and refer all to first principles, depending on the Will of God and the nature of man.

In giving an analysis of the substance of the Law, it will probably be better to treat it, as any other system of laws is usually treated, by dividing it into—(1) Laws Civil; (2) Laws Criminal; (3) Laws Judicial and Constitutional; (4) Laws Ecclesiastical and Ceremonial.

(I.) LAWS CIVIL.

(A) OF PERSONS.

(a) FATHER AND SON.

The power of a Father to be held sacred; cursing, or smiting (Ex. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9), or stubborn and wilful disobedience to be considered capital crimes. But uncontrolled power of life and death was apparently refused to the father, and vested only in the congregation (Deut. xxi. 18-21).

Right of the first-born to a double portion of the inheritance not to be set aside by partiality (Deut. xxi. 15-17).*

Inheritance by Daughters to be allowed in default of sons, provided (Num. xxvii. 6-8, comp. xxxvi.) that heresses married in their own tribe.

Daughters unmarried to be entirely dependent on their father (Num. xxx. 3-5).

* For an example of the authority of the first-born see 1 Sam. xx. 29 ("my brother, he hath commanded me to be there").

(b) HUSBAND AND WIFE.

The power of a Husband to be so great that a wife could never be *sui juris*, or enter independently into any engagement, even before God (Num. xxx. 6-15). A widow or divorced wife became independent, and did not again fall under her father's power (ver. 9).

Divorce (for uncleanness) allowed, but to be formal and irrevocable (Deut. xxiv. 1-4).

Marriage within certain degrees forbidden (Lev. xviii. &c.).

A Slave Wife, whether bought or captive, not to be actual property, nor to be sold; if ill-treated, to be *ipso facto* free (Ex. xxi. 7-9; Deut. xxi. 10-14).

Slander against a wife's virginity, to be punished by fine, and by deprivation of power of divorce; on the other hand, ante-conjugal uncleanness in her to be punished by death (Deut. xxii. 13-21).

The raising up of seed (Levirate law) a formal right to be claimed by the widow, under pain of infamy, with a view to preservation of families (Deut. xxv. 5-10).

(c) MASTER AND SLAVE.

Power of Master so far limited, that death under actual chastisement was punishable (Ex. xxi. 20); and maiming was to give liberty *ipso facto* (ver. 26, 27).

The Hebrew Slave to be freed at the sabbatical year,^b and provided with necessaries (his wife and children to go with him only if they came to his master with him), unless by his own formal act he consented to be a perpetual slave (Ex. xxi. 1-6; Deut. xv. 12-18). In any case (it would seem) to be freed at the jubilee (Lev. xxv. 10), with his children. If sold to a resident alien, to be always redeemable, at a price proportional to the distance of the jubilee (Lev. xxv. 47-54).

Foreign Slaves to be held and inherited as property for ever (Lev. xxv. 45, 46); and fugitive slaves from foreign nations not to be given up (Deut. xxiii. 15).

(d) STRANGERS.

They seem never to have been *sui juris*, or able to protect themselves, and accordingly protection and kindness towards them are enjoined as a sacred duty (Ex. xxii. 21; Lev. xix. 33, 34).

(B) LAW OF THINGS.

(a) LAWS OF LAND (AND PROPERTY).

(1) All Land to be the property of God alone, and its holders to be deemed His tenants (Lev. xxv. 23).

(2) All sold Land therefore to return to its original owners at the jubilee, and the price of sale to be calculated accordingly; and redemption on equitable terms to be allowed at all times (xxv. 25-27).

A House sold to be redeemable within a year; and, if not redeemed, to pass away altogether (xxv. 29, 30).

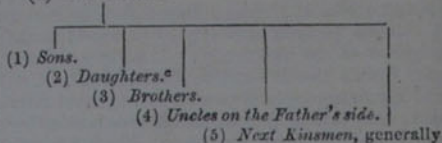
But the Houses of the Levites, or those in un-walled villages to be redeemable at all times, in the same way as land; and the Levitical suburbs to be inalienable (xxv. 31-34).

(3) Land or Houses sanctified, or tithes, or unclean firstlings to be capable of being redeemed, at full value (calculated according to the distance from the jubilee-year by the priest); if devoted by the owner

^b The difficulty of enforcing this law is seen in Jer. xxxiv. 8-16.

and unredeemed, to be hallowed at the jubilee for ever, and given to the priests; if only by a possessor, to return to the owner at the jubilee (Lev. xxvii. 14-34).

(4) Inheritance.



(b) LAWS OF DEBT.

(1) All Debts (to an Israelite) to be released at the 7th (sabbatical) year; a blessing promised to obedience, and a curse on refusal to lend (Deut. xv. 1-11).

(2) Usury (from Israelites) not to be taken (Ex. xxii. 25-27; Deut. xxiii. 19, 20).

(3) Pledges not to be insolently or ruinously exacted (Deut. xxiv. 6, 10-13, 17, 18).

(c) TAXATION.

(1) Census-money, a poll-tax (of a half-shekel), to be paid for the service of the tabernacle (Ex. xxx. 12-16).

All spoil in war to be halved; of the combatant's half, $\frac{1}{50}$ th, of the people's, $\frac{1}{10}$ th, to be paid for a "heave-offering" to Jehovah.

(2) Tithes.

(a) Tithes of all produce to be given for maintenance of the Levites (Num. xviii. 20-24).

(Of this $\frac{1}{10}$ th to be paid as a heave-offering (for maintenance of the priests) 24-32).

(b) Second Tithe to be bestowed in religious feasting and charity, either at the Holy Place, or every 3rd year at home (?) (Deut. xiv. 22-28).

(c) First-Fruits of corn, wine, and oil (at least $\frac{1}{10}$ th, generally $\frac{1}{10}$ th, for the priests) to be offered at Jerusalem, with a solemn declaration of dependence on God the King of Israel (Deut. xxvi. 1-15; Num. xviii. 12, 13).

Firstlings of clean beasts; the redemption-money (5 shekels) of man, and ($\frac{1}{2}$ shekel, or 1 shekel) of unclean beasts, to be given to the priests after sacrifice (Num. xviii. 15-18).

(3) Poor-Laws.

(a) Gleanings (in field or vineyard) to be a legal right of the poor (Lev. xix. 9, 10; Deut. xxiv. 19-22).

(b) Slight Trespass (eating on the spot) to be allowed as legal (Deut. xxiii. 24, 25).

(c) Second Tithe (see 2 b) to be given in charity.

(d) Wages to be paid day by day (Deut. xxiv. 15).

(4) Maintenance of Priests (Num. xviii. 8-32).

(a) Tenth of Levites' Tithe. (See 2 a).

(b) The heave and wave-offerings (breast and right shoulder of all peace-offerings).

(c) The meat and sin-offerings, to be eaten solemnly, and only in the holy place.

(d) First-Fruits and redemption money. (See 2 c).

^c Heiresses to marry in their own tribe (Num. xxvii. 6-8, xxxvi.).

- (c) *Price of all devoted things*, unless specially given for a sacred service. A man's service, or that of his household, to be redeemed at 50 shekels for man, 30 for woman, 20 for boy, and 10 for girl.

(II.) LAWS CRIMINAL.

(A) OFFENCES AGAINST GOD (of the nature of treason).

1st Command. Acknowledgment of false gods (Ex. xxii. 20), as e. g. Moloch (Lev. xx. 1-5), and generally all idolatry (Deut. xiii., xvii. 2-5).

2nd Command. *Witchcraft and false prophecy* (Ex. xxii. 18; Deut. xviii. 9-22; Lev. xix. 31).

3rd Command. *Blasphemy* (Lev. xxiv. 15, 16).

4th Command. *Sabbath-breaking* (Num. xv. 32-36).

Punishment in all cases, death by stoning. Idolatrous cities to be utterly destroyed.

(B) OFFENCES AGAINST MAN.

5th Command. *Disobedience to or cursing or smiting of parents* (Ex. xxi. 15, 17; Lev. xx. 9; Deut. xxi. 18-21), to be punished by death by stoning, publicly adjudged and inflicted; so also of disobedience to the priests (as judges) or Supreme Judge. Comp. 1 K. xxi. 10-14 (Naboth); 2 Chr. xxiv. 21 (Zechariah).

6th Command. (1) *Murder*, to be punished by death without sanctuary or reprieve, or satisfaction (Ex. xxi. 12, 14; Deut. xix. 11-13). Death of a slave, actually under the rod, to be punished (Ex. xxi. 20, 21).

(2) *Death by negligence*, to be punished by death (Ex. xxi. 28-30).

(3) *Accidental Homicide*; the avenger of blood to be escaped by flight to the cities of refuge till the death of the high-priest (Num. xxxv. 9-28; Deut. iv. 41-43, xix. 4-10).

(4) *Uncertain Murder*, to be expiated by formal disavowal and sacrifice by the elders of the nearest city (Deut. xxi. 1-9).

(5) *Assault* to be punished by *lex talionis*, or damages (Ex. xxi. 18, 19, 22-25; Lev. xxiv. 19, 20).

7th Command. (1) *Adultery* to be punished by death of both offenders; the rape of a married or betrothed woman, by death of the offender (Deut. xxii. 13-27).

(2) *Rape or Seduction* of an unbetrothed virgin, to be compensated by marriage, with dowry (50 shekels), and without power of divorce; or, if she be refused, by payment of full dowry (Ex. xxii. 16, 17; Deut. xxii. 28, 29).

(3) *Unlawful Marriages* (incestuous, &c.), to be punished, some by death, some by childlessness (Lev. xx.).

8th Command. (1) *Theft* to be punished by fourfold or double restitution; a nocturnal robber might be slain as an outlaw (Ex. xxii. 1-4).

(2) *Trespass* and injury of things lent to be compensated (Ex. xxii. 5-15).

(3) *Perversion of Justice* (by bribes, threats, &c.), and especially oppression of strangers, strictly forbidden (Ex. xxiii. 9, &c.).

(4) *Kidnapping* to be punished by death (Deut. xxiv. 7).

9th Command. *False Witness*; to be punished by *lex talionis* (Ex. xxiii. 1-3; Deut. xix. 16-21). Slander of a wife's chastity, by fine and loss of power of divorce (Deut. xxii. 18, 19).

A fuller consideration of the tables of the Ten Commandments is given elsewhere. [TEN COMMANDMENTS.]

(III.) LAWS JUDICIAL AND CONSTITUTIVE.

(A) JURISDICTION.

(a) *Local Judges* (generally Levites, as more skilled in the Law) appointed, for ordinary matters, probably by the people with approbation of the supreme authority (as of Moses in the wilderness) (Ex. xviii. 25; Deut. i. 15-18), through all the land (Deut. xvi. 18).

(b) *Appeal to the Priests* (at the holy place), or to the judge; their sentence final, and to be accepted under pain of death. See Deut. xvii. 8-13 (comp. appeal to Moses, Ex. xviii. 26).

(c) *Two witnesses* (at least) required in capital matters (Num. xxxv. 30; Deut. xvi. 6, 7).

(d) *Punishment* (except by special command) to be personal, and not to extend to the family (Deut. xxiv. 16).

Stripes allowed and limited (Deut. xxv. 1-3), so as to avoid outrage on the human frame.

All this would be to a great extent set aside—

1st. By the summary jurisdiction of the king. See 1 Sam. xxii. 11-19 (Saul); 2 Sam. xii. 1-5, xiv. 4-11; 1 K. iii. 16-28; which extended even to the deposition of the high-priest (1 Sam. xxii. 17, 18; 1 K. ii. 26, 27).

The practical difficulty of its being carried out is seen in 2 Sam. xv. 2-6, and would lead of course to a certain delegation of his power.

2nd. By the appointment of the Seventy (Num. xi. 24-30) with a solemn religious sanction. (In later times there was a local Sanhedrim of 23 in each city, and two such in Jerusalem, as well as the Great Sanhedrim, consisting of 70 members, besides the president, who was to be the high-priest if duly qualified, and controlling even the king and high-priest. The members were priests, scribes (Levites), and elders (of other tribes). A court of exactly this nature is noticed, as appointed to supreme power by Jehoshaphat. (See 2 Ch. xix. 8-11).)

(B) ROYAL POWER.

The King's Power limited by the Law, as written and formally accepted by the king; and directly forbidden to be despotic (Deut. xvii. 14-20; comp. 1 Sam. x. 25). Yet he had power of taxation (to 1/10th); and of compulsory service (1 Sam. viii. 10-18; the declaration of war (1 Sam. xi.), &c. There are distinct traces of a "mutual contract" (2 Sam. v. 3 (David); a "league" (Joash), 2 K. xi. 17); the remonstrance with Rehoboam being clearly not extraordinary (1 K. xii. 1-6).

The Princes of the Congregation. The heads of the tribes (see Josh. ix. 15) seem to have had authority under Joshua to act for the people (comp. 1 Chr. xxvii. 16-22); and in the later times "the princes of Judah" seem to have had power to control both the king and the priests (see Jer. xxvi. 10-24, xxxviii. 4, 5, &c.).

(C) ROYAL REVENUE. (See Mich. b. n. c. 7, art. 59.)

(1) *Tenth of produce.*

(2) *Domain land* (1 Chr. xxvii. 26-29). Note confiscation of criminal's land (1 K. xxi. 15).

⁴ Military conquest discouraged by the prohibition of the use of horses. (See Josh. xi. 6.) For an example of obedience to this law see 2 Sam. viii. 4, and of disobedience to it in 1 K. x. 26-29.

- (3) *Bond service* (1 K. v. 17, 18) chiefly on foreigners (1 K. ix. 20-22; 2 Chr. ii. 16, 17).
 (4) *Flocks and herds* (1 Chr. xxvii. 29-31).
 (5) *Tributes* (gifts) from foreign kings.
 (6) *Commerce*; especially in Solomon's time (1 K. x. 22, 29, &c.).

(IV.) ECCLESIASTICAL AND CEREMONIAL LAW.

- (A) LAW OF SACRIFICE (considered as the sign and the appointed means of the union with God, on which the holiness of the people depended).

(1) ORDINARY SACRIFICES.

- (a) *The whole Burnt-Offering* (Lev. i.) of the herd or the flock; to be offered continually (Ex. xxix. 38-42); and the fire on the altar never to be extinguished (Lev. vi. 8-13).
 (b) *The Meat-Offering* (Lev. ii., vi. 14-23) of flour, oil, and frankincense, unleavened, and seasoned with salt.
 (c) *The Peace-Offering* (Lev. iii., vii. 11-21) of the herd or the flock; either a thank-offering, or a vow, or freewill offering.
 (d) *The Sin-Offering, or Trespass-Offering* (Lev. iv., v., vi.).
 (a) For sins committed in ignorance (Lev. iv.).
 (b) For vows unwittingly made and broken, or uncleanness unwittingly contracted (Lev. v.).
 (c) For sins wittingly committed (Lev. vi. 1-7).

(2) EXTRAORDINARY SACRIFICES.

- (a) *At the Consecration of Priests* (Lev. viii., ix.).
 (b) *At the Purification of Women* (Lev. xii.).
 (c) *At the Cleansing of Lepers* (Lev. xiii., xiv.).
 (d) *On the Great Day of Atonement* (Lev. xvi.).
 (e) *On the great Festivals* (Lev. xxiii.).

- (B) LAW OF HOLINESS (arising from the union with God through sacrifice).

(1) HOLINESS OF PERSONS.

- (a) *Holiness of the whole people* as "children of God" (Ex. xix. 5, 6; Lev. xi.-xv., xvii., xviii.; Deut. xiv. 1-21) shown in
 (a) The Dedication of the first-born (Ex. xiii. 2, 12, 13, xxii. 29, 30, &c.); and the offering of all firstlings and first-fruits (Deut. xxvi., &c.).
 (b) Distinction of clean and unclean food (Lev. xi.; Deut. xiv.).
 (c) Provision for purification (Lev. xii., xiii., xiv., xv.; Deut. xxiii. 1-14).
 (d) Laws against disfigurement (Lev. xix. 27; Deut. xiv. 1; comp. Deut. xxv. 3, against excessive scourging).
 (e) Laws against unnatural marriages and lusts (Lev. xviii., xx.).
 (b) *Holiness of the Priests (and Levites)*.
 (a) Their consecration (Lev. viii. ix.; Ex. xxix.).
 (b) Their special qualifications and restrictions (Lev. xxi., xxii. 1-9).
 (c) Their rights (Deut. xviii. 1-5; Num. xviii.) and authority (Deut. xvii. 8-13).

(2) HOLINESS OF PLACES AND THINGS.

- (a)
- The Tabernacle*
- with the ark, the veil,

the altars, the laver, the priestly robes, &c. (Ex. xxv.-xxviii., xxx).

- (b)
- The Holy Place*
- chosen for the permanent erection of the tabernacle (Deut. xii., xiv. 22-29), where only all sacrifices were to be offered, and all tithes, first-fruits, vows, &c., to be given or eaten.

(3) HOLINESS OF TIMES.

- (a) *The Sabbath* (Ex. xx. 9-11, xxiii. 12, &c.).
 (b) *The Sabbatical Year* (Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, Lev. xxv. 1-7, &c.).
 (c) *The Year of Jubilee* (Lev. xxv. 8-16, &c.).
 (d) *The Passover* (Ex. xii. 3-27; Lev. xxiii. 4-14).
 (e) *The Feast of Weeks* (Pentecost) (Lev. xxiii. 15, &c.).
 (f) *The Feast of Tabernacles* (Lev. xxiii. 33-43).
 (g) *The Feast of Trumpets* (Lev. xxiii. 23-25).
 (h) *The Day of Atonement* (Lev. xxiii. 26-32, &c.).

On this part of the subject, see FESTIVALS, PRIESTS, TABERNACLE, SACRIFICE, &c.

Such is the substance of the Mosaic Law; its details must be studied under their several heads; and their full comprehension requires a constant reference to the circumstances, physical and moral, of the nation, and a comparison with the corresponding ordinances of other ancient codes.

The leading principle of the whole is its THEOCRATIC CHARACTER, its reference (that is) of all action and thoughts of men *directly and immediately* to the will of God. All law, indeed, must ultimately make this reference. If it bases itself on the sacredness of human authority, it must finally trace that authority to God's appointment; if on the rights of the individual and the need of protecting them, it must consider these rights as inherent and sacred, because implanted by the hand of the Creator. But it is characteristic of the Mosaic Law, as also of all Biblical history and prophecy, that it passes over all the intermediate steps, and refers at once to God's commandment as the foundation of all human duty. The key to it is found in the ever-recurring formula, "Ye shall observe all these statutes; I am the LORD."

It follows from this, that it is to be regarded not merely as a law, that is, a rule of conduct, based on known truth and acknowledged authority, but also as a *Revelation of God's nature and His dispensations*. In this view of it, more particularly, lies its connexion with the rest of the Old Testament. As a law, it is definite and (generally speaking) final; as a revelation, it is the beginning of the great system of prophecy, and indeed bears within itself the marks of gradual development, from the first simple declaration ("I am the Lord thy God") in Exodus to the full and solemn declaration of His nature and will in Deuteronomy. With this peculiar character of revelation stamped upon it, it naturally ascends from rule to principle, and regards all goodness in man as the shadow of the Divine attributes, "Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy" (Lev. xix. 2, &c.; comp. Matt. v. 48).

But this theocratic character of the law depends necessarily on the *belief in God*, as not only the Creator and sustainer of the world, but as, by special covenant, the *head of the Jewish nation*. It is not indeed doubted that He is the king of all the

earth, and that all earthly authority is derived from Him; but here again, in the case of the Israelites, the intermediate steps are all but ignored, and the people at once brought face to face with Him as their ruler. It is to be especially noticed, that God's claim (so to speak) on their allegiance is based not on His power or wisdom, but on His special mercy in being their Saviour from Egyptian bondage. Because they were made free by Him, therefore they became His servants (comp. Rom. vi. 19-22); and the declaration, which stands at the opening of the law is, "I am the Lord thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt." (Comp. also the reason given for the observation of the sabbath in Deut. v. 15; and the historical prefaces of the delivery of the second law (Deut. i.-iii.); of the renewal of the covenant by Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 1-13); and of the rebuke of Samuel at the establishment of the kingdom (1 Sam. xii. 6-15).)

This immediate reference to God as their king, is clearly seen as the groundwork of their whole polity. The foundation of the whole law of land, and of its remarkable provisions against alienation, lies in the declaration, "The land is mine, and ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (Lev. xxv. 23). As in ancient Rome, all land belonged properly to the state, and under the feudal system in mediæval Europe to the king; so in the Jewish law the true ownership lay in Jehovah alone. The very system of tithes embodied only a peculiar form of a tribute to their king, such as they were familiar with in Egypt (see Gen. xlvii. 23-26); and the offering of the first-fruits, with the remarkable declaration by which it was accompanied (see Deut. xxvi. 5-10), is a direct acknowledgment of God's immediate sovereignty. And, as the land, so also the persons of the Israelites are declared to be the absolute property of the Lord, by the dedication and ransom of the first-born (Ex. xiii. 2-13, &c.), by the payment of the half-shekel at the numbering of the people, "as a ransom for their souls to the Lord" (Ex. xxx. 11-16); and by the limitation of power over Hebrew slaves, as contrasted with the absolute mastership permitted over the heathen and the sojourner (Lev. xxv. 39-46).

From this theocratic nature of the law follow important deductions with regard to (a) the view which it takes of political society; (b) the extent of the scope of the law; (c) the penalties by which it is enforced; and (d) the character which it seeks to impress on the people.

(a.) *The basis of human society* is ordinarily sought, by law or philosophy, either in the rights of the individual, and the partial delegation of them to political authorities; or in the mutual needs of men, and the relations which spring from them; or in the actual existence of power of man over man, whether arising from natural relationship, or from benefits conferred, or from physical or intellectual ascendancy. The maintenance of society is supposed to depend on a "social compact" between governors and subjects; a compact, true as an abstract idea, but untrue if supposed to have been a historical reality. The Mosaic Law seeks the basis of its polity, first, in the absolute sovereignty of God, next in the relationship of each individual to God, and through God to his countrymen. It is clear that such a doctrine, while it contradicts none of the common theories, yet lies beneath them all, and shows why each of them, being only a secondary deduction from an ultimate truth, cannot be in itself sufficient; and, if it claim to be the whole

truth, will become an absurdity. It is the doctrine which is insisted upon and developed in the whole series of prophecy; and which is brought to its perfection only when applied to that universal and spiritual kingdom for which the Mosaic system was a preparation.

(b.) The law, as proceeding directly from God, and referring directly to Him, is necessarily *absolute in its supremacy and unlimited in its scope*.

It is supreme over the governors, as being only the delegates of the Lord, and therefore it is incompatible with any despotic authority in them. This is seen in its limitation of the power of the master over the slave, in the restrictions laid on the priesthood, and the ordination of the "manner of the kingdom" (Deut. xvii. 14-20; comp. 1 Sam. x. 25). By its establishment of the hereditary priesthood side by side with the authority of the heads of tribes ("the princes"), and the subsequent sovereignty of the king, it provides a balance of powers, all of which are regarded as subordinate. The absolute sovereignty of Jehovah is asserted in the earlier times in the dictatorship of the Judge; but much more clearly under the kingdom by the spiritual commission of the prophet. By his rebukes of priests, princes, and kings, for abuse of their power, he was not only defending religion and morality, but also maintaining the divinely-appointed constitution of Israel. On the other hand, it is supreme over the governed, recognising no inherent rights in the individual, as prevailing against, or limiting the law. It is therefore unlimited in its scope. There is in it no recognition, such as is familiar to us, that there is one class of actions directly subject to the coercive power of law, while other classes of actions and the whole realm of thought are to be indirectly guided by moral and spiritual influence. Nor is there any distinction of the temporal authority which yields the former power, from the spiritual authority to which belongs the other. In fact these distinctions would have been incompatible with the character and objects of the law. They depend partly on the want of foresight and power in the lawgiver; they could have no place in a system traced directly to God: they depend also partly on the freedom which belongs to the manhood of our race; they could not therefore be appropriate to the more imperfect period of its youth.

Thus the law regulated the whole life of an Israelite. His house, his dress, and his food, his domestic arrangements and the distribution of his property, all were determined. In the laws of the release of debts, and the prohibition of usury, the dictates of self-interest and the natural course of commercial transactions are sternly checked. His actions were rewarded and punished with great minuteness and strictness; and that according to the standard, not of their consequences, but of their intrinsic morality; so that, for example, fornication and adultery were as severely visited as theft or murder. His religious worship was defined and enforced in an elaborate and unceasing ceremonial. In all things it is clear, that, if men submitted to it merely as a law, imposed under penalties by an irresistible authority, and did not regard it as a means to the knowledge and love of God, and a preparation for His redemption, it would well deserve from Israelites the description given of it by St. Peter (Acts xv. 10), as "a yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear."

(c.) *The penalties and rewards* by which the

law is enforced are such as depend on the direct theocracy. With regard to individual actions, it may be noticed that, as generally some penalties are inflicted by the subordinate, and some only by the supreme authority, so among the Israelites some penalties came from the hand of man, some directly from the Providence of God. So much is this the case, that it often seems doubtful whether the threat that a "soul shall be cut off from Israel" refers to outlawry and excommunication, or to such miraculous punishments as those of Nadab and Abihu, or Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. In dealing with the nation at large, Moses, regularly and as a matter of course, refers for punishments and rewards to the providence of God. This is seen, not only in the great blessing and curse which enforces the law as a whole, but also in special instances, as, for example, in the promise of unusual fertility to compensate for the sabbatical year, and of safety of the country from attack when left undefended at the three great festivals. Whether these were to come from natural causes, *i. e.* laws of His providence, which we can understand and foresee, or from causes supernatural, *i. e.* incomprehensible and inscrutable to us, is not in any case laid down, nor indeed does it affect this principle of the law.

The bearing of this principle on the inquiry as to the revelation of a future life, in the Pentateuch, is easily seen. So far as the law deals with the nation as a whole, it is obvious that its penalties and rewards could only refer to this life, in which alone the nation exists. So far as it relates to such individual acts as are generally cognizable by human law, and capable of temporal punishments, no one would expect that its divine origin should necessitate any reference to the world to come. But the sphere of moral and religious action and thought to which it extends is beyond the cognizance of human laws, and the scope of their ordinary penalties, and is therefore left by them to the retribution of God's inscrutable justice, which, being but imperfectly seen here, is contemplated especially as exercised in a future state. Hence arises the expectation of a direct revelation of this future state in the Mosaic Law. Such a revelation is certainly not given. Warburton (in his *Divine Legation of Moses*) even builds on its non-existence an argument for the supernatural power and commission of the law-giver, who could promise and threaten retribution from the providence of God in this life, and submit his predictions to the test of actual experience. The truth seems to be that, in a law which appeals directly to God himself for its authority and its sanction, there cannot be that broad line of demarcation between this life and the next, which is drawn for those whose power is limited by the grave. Our Lord has taught us (Matt. xxii. 31, 32) that in the very revelation of God, as the "God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob," the promise of immortality and future retribution was implicitly contained. We may apply this declaration even more strongly to a law in which God was revealed, as entering into covenant with Israel, and in them drawing mankind directly under His immediate government. His blessings and curses, by the very fact that they came from Him, would be felt to be unlimited by time; and the plain and immediate fulfilment, which they found in this life, would be accepted as an earnest of a deeper, though more mysterious completion in the world to come. But the time

for the clear revelation of this truth was not yet come, and, therefore, while the future life and its retribution is implied, yet the rewards and penalties of the present life are those which are plainly held out and practically dwelt upon.

(d.) But perhaps the most important consequence of the theocratic nature of the law was the peculiar character of goodness which it sought to impress on the people. Goodness in its relation to man takes the forms of righteousness and love; in its independence of all relation, the form of purity, and in its relation to God, that of piety. Laws, which contemplate men chiefly in their mutual relations, endeavour to enforce or protect in them the first two qualities; the Mosaic Law, beginning with piety, as its first object, enforces most emphatically the purity essential to those who, by their union with God, have recovered the hope of intrinsic goodness, while it views righteousness and love rather as deductions from these than as independent objects. Not that it neglects these qualities; on the contrary it is full of precepts which show a high conception and tender care of our relative duties to man;⁴ but these can hardly be called its distinguishing features. It is most instructive to refer to the religious preface of the law in Dent. vi.-xi. (especially to vi. 4-13), where all is based on the first great commandment, and to observe the subordinate and dependent character of "the second that is like unto it,"—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; *I am the Lord*" (Lev. xix. 18). On the contrary, the care for the purity of the people stands out remarkably, not only in the enforcement of ceremonial "cleanness," and the multitude of precautions or remedies against any breach of it, but also in the severity of the laws against sensuality and self-pollution, a severity which distinguishes the Mosaic code before all others ancient and modern. In punishing these sins, as committed against a man's own self, without reference to their effect on others, and in recognizing purity as having a substantive value and glory, it sets up a standard of individual morality, such as, even in Greece and Rome, philosophy reserved for its most esoteric teaching.

Now in all this it is to be noticed that the appeal is not to any dignity of human nature, but to the obligations of communion with a Holy God. The subordination, therefore, of this idea also to the religious idea is enforced; and so long as the due supremacy of the latter was preserved, all other duties would find their places in proper harmony. But the usurpation of that supremacy in practice by the idea of personal and national sanctity was that which gave its peculiar colour to the Jewish character. In that character there was intense religious devotion and self-sacrifice; there was a high standard of personal holiness, and connected with these an ardent feeling of nationality, based on a great idea, and, therefore, finding its vent in their proverbial spirit of proselytism. But there was also a spirit of contempt for all unbelievers, and a forgetfulness of the existence of any duties towards them, which gave even to their religion an antagonistic spirit, and degraded it in after-times to a ground of national self-glorification. It is to be traced to a natural, though not justifiable perversion of the law, by those who made it their all; and both in its strength and its weaknesses it has reap-

⁴ See, for example, Ex. xxi. 7-11, 28-36; xxiii. 1-9, Dent. xxii. 1-4; xxiv. 10-22, &c. &c.

peared remarkably among those Christians who have dwelt on the O. T. to the neglect of the New.

It is evident that this characteristic of the Israelites would tend to preserve the seclusion which, under God's providence, was intended for them, and would in its turn be fostered by it. We may notice, in connexion with this part of the subject, many subordinate provisions tending to the same direction. Such are the establishment of an agricultural basis of society and property, and the provision against its accumulation in a few hands; the discouragement of commerce by the strict laws as to usury, and of foreign conquest by the laws against the maintenance of horses and chariots; as well as the direct prohibition of intermarriage with idolaters, and the indirect prevention of all familiar intercourse with them by the laws as to meats—all these things tended to impress on the Israelitish polity a character of permanence, stability, and comparative isolation. Like the nature and position of the country to which it was in great measure adapted, it was intended to preserve in purity the witness-borne by Israel for God in the darkness of heathenism, until the time should come for the gathering in of all nations to enjoy the blessing promised to Abraham.

III. In considering the relation of the Law to the future, it is important to be guided by the general principle laid down in Heb. vii. 19, "The Law made nothing perfect" (*Οὐδὲν ἐτελείωσεν ὁ Νόμος*). This principle will be applied in different degrees to its bearing (a) on the after-history of the Jewish commonwealth before the coming of Christ; (b) on the coming of our Lord Himself; and (c) on the dispensation of the Gospel.

(a) To that after-history the Law was, to a great extent, the key; for in ceremonial and criminal law it was complete and final; while, even in civil and constitutional law, it laid down clearly the general principles to be afterwards more fully developed. It was indeed often neglected, and even forgotten. Its fundamental assertion of the Theocracy was violated by the constant lapses into idolatry, and its provisions for the good of man overwhelmed by the natural course of human selfishness (Jer. xxxiv. 12-17); till at last, in the reign of Josiah, its very existence was unknown, and its discovery was to the king and the people as a second publication: yet still it formed the standard from which they knowingly departed, and to which they constantly returned; and to it therefore all which was peculiar in their national and individual character was due. Its direct influence was probably greatest in the periods before the establishment of the kingdom, and after the Babylonish captivity. The last act of Joshua was to bind the Israelites to it as the charter of their occupation of the conquered land (Josh. xxiv. 24-27); and, in the semi-anarchical period of the Judges, the Law and the Tabernacle were the only centres of anything like national unity. The establishment of the kingdom was due to an impatience of this position, and a desire for a visible and personal centre of authority, much the same in nature as that which plunged them so often in idolatry. The people were warned (1 Sam. xii. 6-25) that it involved much danger of their forgetting and rejecting the main principle of the Law—that "Jehovah their God was their King." The truth of the prediction was soon shown. Even under Solomon, as soon as the monarchy became one of great splendour and power, it assumed a heathenish and polytheistic character, breaking the

Law, both by its dishonour towards God, and its forbidden tyranny over man. Indeed if the Law was looked upon as a collection of abstract rules, and not as a means of knowledge of a Personal God, it was inevitable that it should be overborne by the presence of a visible and personal authority.

Therefore it was, that from the time of the establishment of the kingdom began the prophetic office. Its object was to enforce and to perfect the Law, by bearing witness to the great truths on which it was built, viz. the truth of God's government over all, kings, priests, and people alike, and the consequent certainty of a righteous retribution. It is plain that at the same time this witness went far beyond the Law as a definite code of institutions. It dwelt rather on its great principles, which were to transcend the special forms in which they were embodied. It frequently contrasted (as in Is. i., &c.) the external observance of form with the spiritual homage of the heart. It tended therefore, at least indirectly, to the time when, according to the well-known contrast drawn by Jeremiah, the Law written on the tables of stone should give place to a new Covenant, depending on a law written on the heart, and therefore coercive no longer (Jer. xxxi. 31-34). In this they did but carry out the prediction of the Law itself (Deut. xviii. 9-22), and prepare the way for "the Prophet" who was to come.

Still the Law remained as the distinctive standard of the people. In the kingdom of Israel, after the separation, the deliberate rejection of its leading principles by Jeroboam and his successors was the beginning of a gradual declension into idolatry and heathenism. But in the kingdom of Judah the very division of the monarchy and consequent diminution of its splendour, and the need of a principle to assert against the superior material power of Israel, brought out the Law once more in increased honour and influence. In the days of Jehoshaphat we find, for the first time, that it was taken by the Levites in their circuits through the land, and the people taught by it (2 Chr. xvii. 9). We find it especially spoken of in the oath taken by the king "at his pillar" in the temple, and made the standard of reference in the reformations of Hezekiah and Josiah (2 K. xi. 14, xxiii. 3; 2 Chr. xxx., xxxiv. 14-31).

Far more was this the case after the captivity. The revival of the existence of Israel was hallowed by the new and solemn publication of the Law by Ezra, and the institution of the synagogues, through which it became deeply and familiarly known. [EZRA.] The loss of the independent monarchy, and the cessation of prophecy, both combined to throw the Jews back upon the Law alone, as their only distinctive pledge of nationality, and sure guide to truth. The more they mingled with the other subject-nations under the Persian and Grecian empires, the more eagerly they clung to it as their distinction and safeguard; and opening the knowledge of it to the heathen, by the translation of the LXX., based on it their proverbial eagerness to proselytize. This love for the Law, rather than any abstract patriotism, was the strength of the Maccabean struggle against the Syrians,* and the success of that struggle, enthroning a Levitical power, deepened the feeling from which it sprang. It so entered into the heart of the people that open

* Note here the question as to the lawfulness of war on the Sabbath in this war (1 Macc. ii. 23-41).

idolatry became impossible. The certainty and authority of the Law's commandments amidst the perplexities of paganism, and the spirituality of its doctrine as contrasted with sensual and carnal idolatries, were the favourite boast of the Jew, and the secret of his influence among the heathen. The Law thus became the moulding influence of the Jewish character; and, instead of being looked upon as subsidiary to the promise, and a means to its fulfilment, was exalted to supreme importance as at once a means and a pledge of national and individual sanctity.

This feeling laid hold of and satisfied the mass of the people, harmonising as it did with their ever-increasing spirit of an almost fanatic nationality, until the destruction of the city. The Pharisees, truly representing the chief strength of the people, systematized this feeling; they gave it fresh food, and assumed a predominant leadership over it by the floating mass of tradition which they gradually accumulated around the Law as a nucleus. The popular use of the word "lawless" (*ἀνομος*) as a term of contempt (Acts ii. 23; 1 Cor. ix. 21) for the heathen, and even for the uneducated mass of their followers (John vii. 49), marked and stereotyped their principle.

Against this idolatry of the Law (which when imported into the Christian Church is described and vehemently denounced by St. Paul), there were two reactions. The first was that of the **SADDUCEES**; one which had its basis, according to common tradition, in the idea of a higher love and service of God, independent of the Law and its sanctions; but which degenerated into a speculative infidelity, and an anti-national system of politics, and which probably had but little hold of the people. The other, that of the **ESSENES**, was an attempt to burst the bonds of the formal law, and assert its ideas in all fullness, freedom, and purity. In its practical form it assumed the character of high and ascetic devotion to God; its speculative guise is seen in the school of Philo, as a tendency not merely to treat the commands and history of the Law on a symbolical principle, but actually to allegorise them into mere abstractions. In neither form could it be permanent, because it had no sufficient relation to the needs and realities of human nature, or to the personal Subject of all the Jewish promises; but it was still a declaration of the insufficiency of the Law in itself, and a preparation for its absorption into a higher principle of unity. Such was the history of the Law before the coming of Christ. It was full of effect and blessing, when used as a means; it became hollow and insufficient, when made an end.

(b.) The relation of the Law to the advent of Christ is also laid down clearly by St. Paul. "The Law was the *Παδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστὸν*, the servant (that is), whose task it was to guide the child to the true teacher (Gal. iii. 24); and Christ was "the end" or object "of the Law" (Rom. x. 4). As being subsidiary to the promise, it had accomplished its purpose when the promise was fulfilled. In its national aspect it had existed to guard the faith in the theocracy. The chief hindrance to that faith had been the difficulty of realising the invisible presence of God, and of conceiving a communion with the infinite Godhead which should not crush or absorb the finite creature (comp. Deut. v. 24-27; Num. xvii. 12, 13; Job ix. 32-35, xiii. 21, 22; Is. xlv. 15, lxiv. 1, &c.). From that had come in earlier times open idolatry, and a half-idol-

atrous longing for and trust in the kingdom; it after-times the substitution of the law for the promise. This difficulty was now to pass away for ever, in the Incarnation of the Godhead in One truly and visibly man. The guardianship of the Law was no longer needed, for the visible and personal presence of the Messiah required no further witness. Moreover, in the Law itself there had always been a tendency of the fundamental idea to burst the formal bonds which confined it. In looking to God as especially their King, the Israelites were inheriting a privilege, belonging originally to all mankind, and destined to revert to them. Yet that element of the Law which was local and national, now most prized of all by the Jews, tended to limit this gift to them, and place them in a position antagonistic to the rest of the world. It needed therefore to pass away, before all men could be brought into a kingdom where there was to be "neither Jew nor Gentile, barbarian, Scythian, bond or free."

In its individual, or what is usually called its "moral" aspect, the Law bore equally the stamp of transitoriness and insufficiency. It had, as we have seen, declared the authority of truth and goodness over man's will, and taken for granted in man the existence of a spirit which could recognise that authority; but it had done no more. Its presence had therefore detected the existence and the sinfulness of sin, as alien alike to God's will and man's true nature; but it had also brought out with more vehement and desperate antagonism the power of sin dwelling in man as fallen (Rom. vii. 7-25). It only showed therefore the need of a Saviour from sin, and of an indwelling power which should enable the spirit of man to conquer the "law" of evil. Hence it bore witness of its own insufficiency, and led men to Christ. Already the prophets, speaking by a living and indwelling spirit, ever fresh and powerful, had been passing beyond the dead letter of the law, and indirectly condemning it of insufficiency. But there was need of "the Prophet" who should not only have the fullness of the spirit dwelling in Himself, but should have the power to give it to others, and so open the new dispensation already foretold. When He had come, and by the gift of the Spirit implanted in man a free internal power of action tending to God, the restraints of the Law, needful to train the childhood of the world, became unnecessary and even injurious to the free development of its manhood.

The relation of the Law to Christ in its sacrificial and ceremonial aspect, will be more fully considered elsewhere. [SACRIFICE.] It is here only necessary to remark on the evidently typical character of the whole system of sacrifices, on which alone their virtue depended; and on the imperfect embodiment, in any body of mere men, of the great truth which was represented in the priesthood. By the former declaring the need of Atonement, by the latter the possibility of Mediation, and yet in itself doing nothing adequately to realise either, the Law again led men to Him, who was at once the only Mediator and the true Sacrifice.

Thus the Law had trained and guided man to the acceptance of the Messiah in His threefold character of King, Prophet, and Priest; and then, its work being done, it became, in the minds of those who trusted in it, not only an encumbrance but a snare. To resist its claim to allegiance was therefore a matter of life and death in the days of St. Paul, and, in a less degree, in after-ages of the Church.

(5.) It remains to consider how far it has any obligation or existence under the dispensation of the Gospel. As a means of justification or salvation, it ought never to have been regarded, even before Christ: it needs no proof to show that still less can this be so since He has come. But yet the question remains whether it is binding on Christians, even when they do not depend on it for salvation.

It seems clear enough, that its formal coercive authority as a whole ended with the close of the Jewish dispensation. It is impossible to separate, though we may distinguish, its various elements: it must be regarded as a whole, for he who offended "in one point against it was guilty of all" (James ii. 10). Yet it referred throughout to the Jewish covenant, and in many points to the constitution, the customs, and even the local circumstances of the people. That covenant was preparatory to the Christian, in which it is now absorbed; those customs and observances have passed away. It follows, by the very nature of the case, that the formal obligation to the Law must have ceased with the basis on which it is grounded. This conclusion is stamped most unequivocally with the authority of St. Paul through the whole argument of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians. That we are "not under law" (Rom. vi. 14, 15; Gal. v. 18); "that we are dead to law" (Rom. vii. 4-6; Gal. ii. 19), "redeemed from under law" (Gal. iv. 5), &c., &c., is not only stated without any limitation or exception, but in many places is made the prominent feature of the contrast between the earlier and later covenants. It is impossible, therefore, to make distinctions in this respect between the various parts of the Law, or to avoid the conclusion that the formal code, promulgated by Moses, and sealed with the prediction of the blessing and the curse, cannot, as a law, be binding on the Christian.

But what then becomes of the declaration of our Lord, that He came "not to destroy the Law, but to perfect it," and that "not one jot or one tittle of it shall pass away?" what of the fact, consequent upon it, that the Law has been revered in all Christian churches, and had an important influence on much Christian legislation? The explanation of the apparent contradiction lies in the difference between positive and moral obligation. The positive obligation of the Law, as such, has passed away; but every revelation of God's Will, and of the righteousness and love which are its elements, imposes a moral obligation, by the very fact of its being known, even on those to whom it is not primarily addressed. So far as the Law of Moses is such a revelation of the will of God to mankind at large, occupying a certain place in the education of the world as a whole, so far its declarations remain for our guidance, though their coercion and their penalties may be no longer needed. It is in their general principle, of course, that they remain, not in their outward form; and our Lord has taught us, in the Sermon on the Mount, that these principles should be accepted by us in a more extended and spiritual development than they could receive in the time of Moses.

To apply this principle practically there is need of much study and discretion, in order to distinguish what is local and temporary from what is universal, and what is mere external form from what

is the essence of an ordinance. The moral law undoubtedly must be most permanent in its influence, because it is based on the nature of man generally, although at the same time it is modified by the greater prominence of love in the Christian system. Yet the political law, in the main principles which it lays down as to the sacredness and responsibility of all authorities, and the rights which belong to each individual, and which neither slavery nor even guilt can quite eradicate, has its permanent value. Even the ceremonial law, by its enforcement of the purity and perfection needed in any service offered, and in its disregard of mere costliness on such service, and limitation of it strictly to the prescribed will of God, is still in many respects our best guide. In special cases (as for example that of the sabbatical law and the prohibition of marriage within the degrees) the question of its authority must depend on the further inquiry, whether the basis of such laws is one common to all human nature, or one peculiar to the Jewish people. This inquiry will be difficult, especially in the distinction of the essence from the form; but by it alone can the original question be thoroughly and satisfactorily answered.

For the chief authorities, see Winer, *Realsch. "Gesetz."* Michaelis (*Mos. Gerech.*) is valuable for facts and antiquities, not much so for theory. Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, vol. ii. pp. 124-205, is most instructive and suggestive as to the main ideas of the Law. But after all the most important parts of the subject need little else than a careful study of the Law itself, and the references to it contained in the N. T. [A. B.]

LAWYER (*νομικός*). The title "lawyer" is generally supposed to be equivalent to the title "scribe," both on account of its etymological meaning, and also because the man, who is called a "lawyer" in Matt. xxii. 35 and Luke x. 25, is called "one of the scribes" in Mark xii. 28. If the common reading in Luke xi. 44, 45, 46, be correct, it will be decisive against this; for there, after our Lord's denunciation of the "scribes and Pharisees," we find that a lawyer said, "Master, thus saying, thou reproachest us also. And Jesus said, Woe unto you also ye lawyers." But it is likely that the true reading refers the passage to the Pharisees alone. By the use of the word *νομικός* (in Tit. iii. 9) as a simple adjective, it seems more probable that the title "scribe" was a legal and official designation, but that the name *νομικός* was properly a mere epithet signifying one "learned in the law" (somewhat like the *οἱ ἐκ νόμου* in Rom. iv. 14), and only used as a title in common parlance (comp. the use of it in Tit. iii. 13, "Zenias the lawyer"). This would account for the comparative unfrequency of the word, and the fact that it is always used in connexion with "Pharisees," never, as the word "scribe" so often is, in connexion with "chief priests" and "elders." [SCRIBES.] [A. B.]

LAYING ON OF HANDS. [See Appendix B.*]

LAZARUS (*Ἀδζαρος; Lazarus*). In this name, which meets us as belonging to two characters in the N. T., we may recognize an abbreviated form of the old Hebrew Eleazar (Tertull

* As the "Laying on of hands" was considered in the Ancient Church as the "Supplement of Baptism,"

it is considered better to treat it in connexion with the latter subject, which is reserved for the Appendix.

De Idol, Grotius et al.) The corresponding $\tau\eta\gamma$ appears in the Talmud (Winer, *Realob.* s. v.). In Josephus, and in the historical books of the Apocrypha (1 Macc. viii. 17; 2 Macc. vi. 18), the more frequent form is $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\alpha\varsigma\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma$; but $\lambda\alpha\zeta\alpha\pi\omicron\varsigma$ occurs also (*B. J.* v. 13, §7).

1. Lazarus of Bethany, the brother of Martha and Mary (John xi. 1). All that we know of him is derived from the Gospel of St John, and that records little more than the facts of his death and resurrection. We are able, however, without doing violence to the principles of a true historical criticism, to arrive at some conclusions helping us, with at least some measure of probability, to fill up these scanty outlines. In proportion as we bring the scattered notices together, we find them combining to form a picture far more distinct and interesting than at first seemed possible; and the distinctness in this case, though it is not to be mistaken for certainty, is yet less misleading than that which, in other cases, seems to arise from the strong statements of apocryphal traditions. (1.) The language of John, xi. 1, implies that the sisters were the better known. Lazarus is "of ($\delta\pi\omicron$) Bethany, of the village ($\epsilon\kappa$ τῆς κώμης) of Mary and her sister Martha." No stress can be laid on the difference of the prepositions (Meyer and Lampe, *in loc.*), but it suggests as possible the inference that, while Lazarus was, at the time of St. John's narrative, of Bethany, he was yet described as *from* the κώμη τῆς of Luke x. 38, already known as the dwelling-place of the two sisters (Greswell, *On the Village of Martha and Mary*, Dissert. V. ii. 545).^a From this, and from the order of the three names in John xi. 5, we may reasonably infer that Lazarus was the youngest of the family. The absence of the name from the narrative of Luke x. 38-42, and his subordinate position ($\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ τῶν ἀνακειμένων) in the feast of John xii. 2 lead to the same conclusion. (2.) The house in which the feast is held appears, from John xii. 2, to be that of the sisters. Martha "serves," as in Luke x. 38. Mary takes upon herself that which was the special duty of a hostess towards an honoured guest (comp. Luke vii. 46). The impression left on our minds by this account, if it stood alone, would be that they were the givers of the feast. In Matt. xxvi. 6, Mark xiv. 3, the same fact^b appears as occurring in "the house of Simon the leper:" but a leper, as such, would have been compelled to lead a separate life, and certainly could not have given a feast and received a multitude of guests. Among the conjectural explanations which have been given of this difference,^c the hypothesis that this Simon was the father of the two sisters and of Lazarus, that he had been smitten with leprosy, and that actual death, or the civil death that followed on his disease, had left his

^a By most commentators (Trench, Alford, Tholuck, Lücke) the distinction which Greswell insists on is rejected as utterly untenable. It may be urged, however, (1) that it is the distinction drawn by a scholar like Hermann ("Pontius autem ἀπὸ νομισσῆ δὲ οὐκ ἐκείνου, cum in origine primā usurpetur ἐκ," quoted by Wahl, *Clavis N. T.*); (2) that though both might come to be used apart with hardly any shade of difference, their use in close juxtaposition might still be antithetical, and that this was more likely to be with one who, though writing in Greek, was not using it as his native tongue; (3) that John i. 45 is open to the same doubt as this passage; (4) that our Lord is always said to be ἀπὸ, never ἐκ Ναζαρεθ.

^b In connexion with this verse may be noticed also the

children free to act for themselves, is at least as probable as any other, and has some support in early ecclesiastical traditions (Niceph. *H. E.* i. 27; Theophyl. *in loc.*; comp. Ewald, *Geschichte*, v. 357). Why, if this were so, the house should be described by St. Matthew and St. Mark as it is; why the name of the sister of Lazarus should be altogether passed over, will be questions that will meet us further on. (3.) All the circumstances of John xi. and xii.—the feast for so many guests, the number of friends who come from Jerusalem to condole with the sisters, left with female relations, but without a brother or near kinsman (John xi. 19), the alabaster-box, the ointment of spike-nard very costly, the funeral vault of their own,—point to wealth and social position above the average (comp. Trench, *Miracles*, 29). The peculiar sense which attaches to St. John's use of $\omicron\iota$ Ἰουδαίων (comp. Meyer on John xi. 19), as the leaders of the opposition to the teaching of Christ, in other words as equivalent to Scribes and Elders and Pharisees, suggests the further inference that these visitors or friends belonged to that class, and that previous relations must have connected them with the family of Bethany. (4.) A comparison of Matt. xxvi. 6, Mark xiv. 3, with Luke vii. 36, 44, suggests another conjecture that harmonises with and in part explains the foregoing. To assume the identity of the anointing of the latter narrative with that of the former (*sc.* Grotius), of the woman that was a sinner with Mary the sister of Lazarus, and of one or both of these with Mary Magdalene (Lightfoot, *Harm.* §33, vol. iii. 75), is indeed (in spite of the authorities, critica, and patristic, which may be arrayed on either side) altogether arbitrary and uncritical. It would be hardly less so to infer, from the mere recurrence of so common a name as Simon, the identity of the leper of the one narrative with the Pharisee of the other; nor would the case be much strengthened by an appeal to the interpreters who have maintained that opinion (comp. Chrysost. *Hom. in Matt.* lxxx.; Grotius, *in Matt.* xxvi. 6; Lightfoot, *l. c.*; Winer, *Realob.* s. v. Simon). [Comp. MARY MAGDALENE and SIMON.] There are however some other facts which fall in with this hypothesis, and to that extent confirm it. If Simon the leper were also the Pharisee, it would explain the fact just noticed of the friendship between the sisters of Lazarus and the members of that party in Jerusalem. It would account also for the ready utterance by Martha of the chief article of the creed of the Pharisees (John xi. 24). Mary's lavish act of love would gain a fresh interest for us if we thought of it (as this conjecture would lead us to think) as growing out of the recollection of that which had been offered by the woman that was a sinner. The disease which gave occasion to the later name may

Vulg. translation, "de castello Marthae," and the consequent traditions of a Castle of Lazarus, pointed out to mediæval pilgrims among the ruins of the village which had become famous by a church erected in his honour, and had taken its Arab name (Lazarieh, or El-azarieh) from him. [BETHANY, vol. i. 195 b.]

^b The identity has been questioned by some harmonists; but it will be discussed under SIMON.

^c Meyer assumes (on Matt. xxvi. 6) that St. John, as an eye-witness, gives the true account, St. Matthew and St. Mark an erroneous one. Paulus and Greswell suggest that Simon was the husband, living or deceased, of Martha; Grotius and Kuinöl, that he was a kinsman, or a friend who gave the feast for them.

have supervened after the incident which St. Luke records. The difference between the localities of the two histories (that of Luke vii. being apparently in Galilee near Naim, that of Matt. xxvi. and Mark xiv. in Bethany) is not greater than that which meets us on comparing Luke x. 38 with John xi. 1 (comp. Greswell, *Dis. l. c.*). It would follow on this assumption that the Pharisees, whom we thus far identify with the father of Lazarus, was probably one of the members of that sect, sent down from Jerusalem to watch the new teacher (comp. Elliott's *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 169); that he looked on him partly with reverence, partly with suspicion; that in his dwelling there was a manifestation of the sympathy and love of Christ, which could not cut leave on those who witnessed or heard of it, and had not hardened themselves in formalism, a deep and permanent impression. (5.) One other conjecture, bolder perhaps than the others, may yet be hazarded. Admitting, as must be admitted, the absence at once of all direct evidence and of traditional authority, there are yet some coincidences, at least remarkable enough to deserve attention, and which suggest the identification of Lazarus with the young ruler that had great possessions, of Matt. xix., Mark x., Luke xviii.⁴ The age (*νεαρίαις*, Matt. xix. 20, 22) agrees with what has been before inferred (see above, 1), as does the fact of wealth above the average with what we know of the condition of the family at Bethany (see 2). If the father were an influential Pharisee, if there were ties of some kind uniting the family with that body, it would be natural enough that the son, even in comparative youth, should occupy the position of an ἀρχων. The character of the young ruler, the reverence of his salutation (διδάσκαλε ἀγαθέ, Mark x. 17) and of his attitude (γονυπετήσας, *ibid.*), his eager yearning after eternal life, the strict training of his youth in the commandments of God, the blameless probity of his outward life, all these would agree with what we might expect in the son of a Pharisee, in the brother of one who had chosen "the good part." It may be noticed further, that as his spiritual condition is essentially that which we find about the same period in Martha, so the answer returned to him, "One thing thou lackest," and that given to her, "One thing is needful," are substantially identical.⁵ But further, it is of this rich young man that St. Mark uses the emphatic word ("Jesus, beholding him, loved him," ἠγάπησεν) which is used of no others in the Gospel-history, save of the beloved apostle and of Lazarus and his sisters (John xi. 5). We can hardly dare to believe that that love, with all the yearning pity and the fervent prayer which it implied, would be altogether fruitless. There might be for a time the hesitation of a divided will, but the half-prophetic words "with God all things are possible," "there are last that shall be first," forbid our hasty condemnation, as they forbade that of the disciples, and prepare us to hope that some discipline would yet be found to overcome the evil which was eating into and would otherwise destroy

so noble and beautiful a soul. However strongly the absence of the name of Lazarus, or of the locality to which he belonged, may seem to militate against this hypothesis, it must be remembered that there is just the same singular and perplexing omission in the narrative of the anointing in Matt. xxvi. and Mark xiv.

Combining these inferences then, we get, with some measure of likelihood, an insight into one aspect of the life of the Divine Teacher and Friend, full of the most living interest. The village of Bethany and its neighbourhood were,—probably from the first, certainly at a later period of our Lord's ministry,—a frequent retreat from the controversies and tumults of Jerusalem (John xviii. 2; Luke xxi. 37, xxii. 39). At some time or other one household, wealthy, honourable, belonging to the better or Nicodemus section of the Pharisees (see above, 1, 2, 3) learns to know and reverence him. There may have been within their knowledge or in their presence, one of the most signal proofs of His love and compassion for the outcast (*sup.* 4). Disease or death removes the father from the scene, and the two sisters are left with their younger brother to do as they think right. They appear at Bethany, or in some other village, where also they had a home (Luke x. 38, and Greswell, *l. c.*), as loving and reverential disciples, each according to her character. In them and in the brother over whom they watch, He finds that which is worthy of His love, the craving for truth and holiness, the hungering and thirsting after righteousness which shall assuredly be filled. But two at least need an education in the spiritual life. Martha tends to rest in outward activity and Pharisaic dogmatism, and does not rise to the thought of an eternal life as actually present. Lazarus (see 5) oscillates between the attractions of the higher life and those of the wealth and honour which surround the pathway of his life, and does not see how deep and wide were the commandments which, as he thought, he had "kept from his youth up." The searching words, the loving look and act,⁶ fail to undo the evil which has been corroding his inner life. The discipline which could provide a remedy for it was among the things that were "impossible with men," and "possible with God only." A few weeks pass away, and then comes the sickness of John xi. One of the sharp malignant fevers of Palestine cuts off the life that was so precious. The sisters know how truly the Divine Friend has loved him on whom their love and their hopes centered. They send to Him in the belief that the tidings of the sickness will at once draw Him to them (John xi. 3). Slowly, and in words which (though afterwards understood otherwise) must at the time have seemed to the disciples those of one upon whom the truth came not at once but by degrees, he prepares them for the worst. "This sickness is not unto death"—"Our friend Lazarus sleepeth"—"Lazarus is dead." The work which He was doing as a teacher or a healer (John x. 41, 42) in Bethabara, or the other Bethany (John x. 40, and i. 28), was

beautiful passage by Clement of Alexandria (*Quite Divers* §10).

⁴ By some interpreters the word was taken as = κερφι-
λῆσεν. It was the received Rabbinic custom for the teacher to kiss the brow of the scholar whose answers gave special promise of wisdom and holiness. Comp. Grotius, *ad loc.*

⁵ The character of the disease is inferred from its rapid progress, and from the fear expressed by Martha (John xi. 39). Comp. Lampe, *ad loc.*

³ The arrangement of Greswell, Tischendorf, and other harmonists, which places the inquiry of the rich ruler after the death and resurrection of Lazarus, is of course destructive of this hypothesis. It should be remembered, however, that Greswell assigns the same position to the incident of Luke x. 38-42. The order here followed is that given in the present work by Dr. Thomson under GOSPELS and JESUS CHRIST, by Lightfoot, and by Alford.

⁶ The resemblance is drawn out in a striking and

not interrupted, and continues for two days after the message reaches him. Then comes the journey, occupying two days more. When He and His disciples come, three days have passed since the burial. The friends from Jerusalem, chiefly of the Pharisee and ruler class, are there with their consolations. The sisters receive the Prophet, each according to her character, Martha hastening on to meet Him, Mary sitting still in the house, both giving utterance to the sorrowful, half-reproachful thought, "Lord, if thou hadst been here my brother had not died" (John xi. 21-32). His sympathy with their sorrow leads Him also to weep as if he felt it in all the power of its hopelessness, though He came with the purpose and the power to remove it. Men wonder at what they look on as a sign of the intensity of His affection for him who had been cut off (John xi. 35, 36). They do not perhaps see that with this emotion there mingles indignation (*ἐνεβριχάσατο*, John xi. 33, 38) at their want of faith. Then comes the work of might as the answer of the prayer which the Son offers to the Father (John xi. 41, 42). The stone is rolled away from the mouth of the rock-chamber in which the body had been placed. The Evangelist writes as if he were once again living through every sight and sound of that hour. He records what could never fade from his memory any more than could the recollection of his glance into that other sepulchre (comp. John xi. 44, with xx. 7). "He that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with grave-clothes; and his face was bound about with a napkin."

It is well not to break in upon the silence which hangs over the interval of that "four days' sleep" (comp. Trench, *Miracles*, l. c.). In nothing does the Gospel narrative contrast more strongly with the mythical histories which men have imagined of those who have returned from the unseen world,^a and with the legends which in a later age have gathered round the name of Lazarus (Wright's *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, p. 167), than in this absence of all attempt to describe the experiences of the human soul that had passed from the life of sense to the land of the shadow of death. But thus much at least must be borne in mind in order that we may understand what has yet to come, that the man who was thus recalled as on eagle's wings from the kingdom of the grave (comp. the language of the complaint of Hades in the Apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, Tischendorf, *Evang. Apoc.* p. 305) must have learnt "what it is to die" (comp. a passage of great beauty in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, xxxi. xxxii.). The soul that had looked with open gaze upon the things behind the veil had passed through a discipline sufficient to burn out all selfish love of the accidents of his outward life.^b There may have been an inward resurrection parallel with the outward (comp. Oshausen, *ad loc.*). What men had given over as impossible had been shown in a twofold sense to be possible with God.

^a The return of Eros the Armenian (Plato, *Rep.* x.) and Cunningham of Melrose (Bede, *Ecl. Hist.* v. 12) may be taken as two typical instances, appearing under circumstances the most contrasted possible, yet having not a few features in common.

^b A tradition of more than average interest, bearing on this point, is mentioned (though without an authority) by Trench (*Miracles*, l. c.). The first question asked by Lazarus, on his return to life, was whether he should die again. He heard that he was still subject to the common

One scene more meets us, and then the life of the family which has come before us with such daylight clearness lapses again into obscurity. The fame of the wonder spreads rapidly, as it was likely to do, among the ruling class, some of whom had witnessed it. It becomes one of the proximate occasions of the plots of the Sanhedrim against our Lord's life (John xi. 47-53). It brings Lazarus no less than Jesus within the range of their enmity (John xii. 10), and leads perhaps to his withdrawing for a time from Bethany (Greswell). They persuade themselves apparently that they see in him one who has been a sharer in a great imposture, or who has been restored to life through some demoniac agency.^k But others gather round to wonder and congratulate. In the house which, though it still bore the father's name (*sup.* 1), was the dwelling of the sisters and the brother, there is a supper, and Lazarus is there, and Martha serves, no longer jealously, and Mary pours out her love in the costly offering of the spikenard ointment, and finds herself once again misjudged and hastily condemned. The conjecture which has been ventured on above connects itself with this fact also. The indignant question of Judas and the other disciples implies the expectation of a lavish distribution among the poor. They look on the feast as like that which they had seen in the house of Matthew the publican, the farewell banquet given to large numbers (comp. John xii. 9, 12) by one who was renouncing the habits of his former life. If they had in their minds the recollection of the words, "Sell that thou hast, and give to the poor," we can understand with what a sharpened edge their reproach would come as they contrasted the command which their Lord had given with the "waste" which He thus approved. After this all direct knowledge of Lazarus ceases. We may think of him, however, as sharing in or witnessing the kingly march from Bethany to Jerusalem (Mark xi. 1), "enduring life again that Passover to keep" (Keble, *Christian Year*, Advent Sunday). The sisters and the brother must have watched eagerly, during those days of rapid change and wonderful expectation, for the evening's return to Bethany and the hours during which "He lodged there" (Matt. xxi. 17). It would be as plausible an explanation of the strange fact recorded by St. Mark alone (xiv. 51) as any other, if we were to suppose that Lazarus, whose home was near, who must have known the place to which the Lord "oftentimes resorted," was drawn to the garden of Gethsemane by the approach of the officers "with their torches and lanterns and weapons" (John xviii. 3), and in the haste of the night-alarm, rushed eagerly "with the linen cloth cast about his naked body," to see whether he was in time to render any help. Whoever it may have been, it was not one of the company of professed disciples. It was one who was drawn by some strong impulse to follow Jesus when they, all of them, "forsook him and fled." It was one whom the high-priest's servants were

doom of all men, and was never afterwards seen to smile.

^k The explanation, "He casteth out devils by Beelzebub" (Matt. ix. 34, x. 25; Mark iii. 22, &c.), which originated with the scribes of Jerusalem, would naturally be applied to such a case as this. That it was so applied we may infer from the statement in the *Sepher T. Id. 12. Jehu* (the Rabbinic anticipation of another *Leben Jesu*), that this and other like miracles were wrought by the mystic power of the cabalistic Shemhamphorash, or other magical formula (Lampe, *Comm. in Joan.* xi. 45).

sager to seize, as if destined for a second victim (comp. John xii. 10), when they made no effort to detain any other. The linen-cloth (*συνδάν*), forming, as it did, one of the "soft raiment" of Matt. xi. 8, used in the dress and in the funerals of the rich (Mark xv. 46; Matt. xxvii. 59), points to a form of life like that which we have seen reason to assign to Lazarus (comp. also the use of the word in the LXX. of Judg. xiv. 12, and Prov. xxxi. 24). Uncertain as all inferences of this kind must be, this is perhaps at least as plausible as those which identify the form that appeared so startlingly with St. John (Ambrose, Chrysost., Greg. Mag.); or St. Mark (Olshausen, Lange, Isaac Williams (*On the Passion*, p. 30); or James the brother of the Lord (Epiphanius, *Haer.* p. 87, 13; comp. Meyer, *ad loc.*); and, on this hypothesis, the omission of the name is in harmony with the noticeable reticence of the first three Gospels throughout as to the members of the family at Bethany. We can hardly help believing that to them, as to others ("the five hundred brethren at once," 1 Cor. xv. 6), was manifested the presence of their risen Lord; that they must have been sharers in the Pentecostal gifts, and have taken their place among the members of the infant Church at Jerusalem in the first days of its overflowing love; that then, if not before, the command, "Sell that thou hast and give to the poor," was obeyed by the heir of Bethany, as it was by other possessors of lands or houses (Acts ii. 44, 45). But they had chosen now, it would seem, the better part of a humble and a holy life, and their names appear no more in the history of the N. T. Apocryphal traditions even are singularly scanty and jejune, as if the silence which "sealed the lips of the Evangelists" had restrained others also. We almost wonder, looking at the wild luxuriance with which they gather round other names, that they have nothing more to tell of Lazarus than the meagre tale that follows:—He lived for thirty years after his resurrection, and died at the age of sixty (Epiphanius, *Haer.* i. 632). When he came forth from the tomb, it was with the bloom and fragrance as of a bridegroom (*ἄραρον Πλάτρου*, Thilo, *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* p. 805). He and his sisters, with Mary the wife of Cleophas, and other disciples, were sent out to sea by the Jews in a leaky boat, but miraculously escaped destruction, and were brought safely to Marseilles. There he preached the Gospel, and founded a church, and became its bishop. After many years, he suffered martyrdom, and was buried, some said, there; others, at Citium in Cyprus. Finally his bones and those of Mary Magdalene were brought from Cyprus to Constantinople by the Emperor Leo the Philosopher, and a church erected to his honour. Some apocryphal books were extant bearing his name (comp. Thilo, *Codex Apoc. N. T.* p. 711; Baronius, *ad Martyrol. Rom.* Dec. xvii.; and for some wild Provençal legends as to the later adventures of Martha, Migne, *Dict. de la Bible*, s. v. "Marthe"). These traditions have no personal or historical interest for us. In one instance only do they connect themselves with any fact of importance in the later history of Christendom. The Canons of St. Victor at Paris occupied a Priory dedicated (as one of the chief churches at Marseilles had been) to St. Lazarus. This was assigned, in 1633, to the fraternity of the Congregation founded by St. Vincent de Paul, and the mission-priests sent forth by it consequently became conspicuous as the Lazarists (Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, July xix.).

The question why the first three Gospels omit all mention of so wonderful a fact as the resurrection of Lazarus, has from a comparatively early period forced itself upon interpreters and apologists. Rationalist critics have made it one of their chief points of attack, directly on the trustworthiness of St. John, indirectly on the credibility of the Gospel history as a whole. Spinoza professed to make this the crucial instance by which, if he had but proof of it, he would be determined to embrace the common faith of Christians (Bayle, *Dict. s. v.* "Spinoza"). Woolston, the *maledicentissimus* of English Deists, asserts that the story is "brimfull of absurdities," "a contexture of folly and fraud" (*Dis. on Miracles*, v.; comp. N. Lardner's *Vindications*, Works, ii. 1-54). Strauss (*Leben Jesu*, pt. ii. ch. ix. §103) scatters with triumphant scorn the subtleties of Paulus and the naturalist-interpreters (such, for example, as the hypothesis of suspended animation), and pronounces the narrative to have all the characteristics of a mythus. Ewald (*Gench.* v. p. 404), on the other hand, in marked contrast to Strauss, recognises, not only the tenderness and beauty of St. John's narrative, and its value as a representation of the quickening power of Christ, but also its distinct historical character. The explanations given of the perplexing phenomenon are briefly these: (1) That fear of drawing down persecution on one already singled out for it, kept the three Evangelists, writing during the lifetime of Lazarus, from all mention of him; and that, this reason for silence being removed by his death, St. John could write freely. By some (Grotius, *ad loc.*) this has perhaps been urged too exclusively. By others (Alford, *ad loc.*; Trench, *On Miracles*, l. c.) it has perhaps been too hastily rejected as extravagant. (2) That the writers of the first three Gospels confine themselves, as by a deliberate plan, to the miracles wrought in Galilee (that of the blind man at Jericho being the only exception), and that they therefore abstained from all mention of any fact, however interesting, that lay outside that limit (Meyer, *ad loc.*). This too has its weight, as showing that, in this omission, the three Evangelists are at least consistent with themselves, but it leaves the question, "what led to that consistency?" unanswered. (3) That the narrative, in its beauty and simplicity, its human sympathies and marvellous transparency, carries with it the evidence of its own truthfulness, and is as far removed as possible from the embellishments and rhetoric of a writer of myths, bent upon the invention of a miracle which should outdo all others (Meyer, *l. c.*). In this there is no doubt great truth. To invent and tell any story as this is told would require a power equal to that of the highest artistic skill of our later age, and that skill we should hardly expect to find combined at once with the deepest yearnings after truth and a deliberate perversion of it. There would seem, to any but a rationalist critic, an improbability quite infinite, in the union, in any single writer, of the characteristics of a Goethe, an Ireland, and an à Kempis. (4) Another explanation, suggested by the attempt to represent to one's-self what must have been the sequel of such a fact as that now in question upon the life of him who had been affected by it, may perhaps be added. The history of monastic orders, of sudden conversions after great critical deliverances from disease or danger, offers an analogy which may help to guide us. In such cases it has happened, in a thousand instances, that the man has felt as if the thread of his life was broken, the past buried for ever old things vanished away.

He retires from the world, changes his name, speaks to no one, or speaks only in hints, of all that belongs to his former life, shrinks above all from making his conversion, his resurrection from the death of sin, the subject of common talk. The instance already referred to in Bede offers a very striking illustration of this. Cunningham, in that history, gives up all to his wife, his children, and the poor, retires to the monastery of Melrose, takes the new name of Drithelm, and "would not relate these and other things which he had seen to slothful persons and such as lived negligently." Assume only that the laws of the spiritual life worked in some such way on Lazarus; that the feeling would be strong in proportion to the greatness of the wonder to which it owed its birth; that there was the recollection, in him and in others, that, in the nearest parallel instance, silence and secrecy had been solemnly enjoined (Mark v. 43), and it will seem hardly wonderful that such a man should shrink from publicity, and should wish to take his place as the last and lowest in the company of believers. Is it strange that it should come to be tacitly recognised among the members of the Church of Jerusalem that, so long as he and those dear to him survived, the great wonder of their lives was a thing to be remembered with awe by those who knew it, not to be talked or written about to those who knew it not?

The facts of the case are, at any rate, singularly in harmony with this last explanation. St. Matthew and St. Mark, who (the one writing for the Hebrews, the other under the guidance of St. Peter) represent what may be described as the feeling of the Jerusalem Church, omit equally all mention of the three names. They use words which may indeed have been *φανερά σκευαίσιον*, but they avoid the names. Mary's costly offering is that of "a woman" (Matt. xxvi. 7; Mark xiv. 3). The house in which the feast was made is described so as to indicate it sufficiently to those who knew the place, and yet to keep the name of Lazarus out of sight. The hypotheses stated above would add two more instances of the same reticence. St. Luke, coming later (probably after St. Matthew and St. Mark had left the Church of Jerusalem with the materials afterwards shaped into their Gospels), collecting from all informants all the facts they will communicate, comes across one in which the two sisters are mentioned by name, and records it, suppressing, or not having learnt, that of the locality. St. John, writing long afterwards, when all three had "fallen asleep," feels that the restraint is no longer necessary, and puts on record, as the Spirit brings all things to his remembrance, the whole of the wonderful history. The circumstances of his life, too, his residence in or near Jerusalem as the protector of the bereaved mother of his Lord (John xix. 27), his retirement from prominent activity for so long a period [JOHN THE APOSTLE], the insight we find he had into the thoughts and feelings of those who would be the natural companions and friends of the sisters of Lazarus (John xx. 1, 11-18); all these indicate that he more than any other Evangelist was likely to have lived in that innermost circle of disciples, where these things would be most lovingly and reverently remembered. Thus much of truth there is, as usual, in the idealism of some interpreters, that what to most other disciples would seem simply a miracle (*τίμας*), a work of power (*δύναμις*), like other works, and therefore one which they could without much reluctance omit would be to him a sign (*σημείον*), manifest-

ing the glory of God, witnessing that Jesus was "the resurrection and the life," which he could in no wise pass over, but must when the right time came record in its fulness. (Comp. for this significance of the miracle, and for its probable use in the spiritual education of Lazarus, Olshausen, *ad loc.*) It is of course obvious, that if this supposition accounts for the omission in the three Gospels of the name and history of Lazarus, it accounts also for the chronological dislocation and harmonistic difficulties which were its inevitable consequences.

2. The name Lazarus occurs also in the well-known parable of Luke xvi. 19-31. What is there chiefly remarkable is, that while in all other cases persons are introduced as in certain stations, belonging to certain classes, here, and here only, we meet with a proper name. Is this exceptional fact to be looked on as simply one of the accessories of the parable, giving as it were a dramatic semblance of reality to what was, like other parables, only an illustration? Were the thoughts of men called to the etymology of the name, as signifying that he who bore it had in his poverty no help but God (comp. Germ. "Gotthilf"), or as meaning, in the shortened form, one who had become altogether "helpless"? (So Theophyl. *ad loc.*, who explains it as = *ἀβοήθητος*, recognising possibly the derivation which has been suggested by later critics from

ἡ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ βοήθεια, "there is no help." Comp. Suicer, s. v.; Lampe, *ad loc.*) Or was it again not a parable but, in its starting-point at least, a history, so that Lazarus was some actual beggar, like him who lay at the beautiful gate of the Temple, familiar therefore both to the disciples and the Pharisees? (So Theophyl. *ad loc.*; Chrysost., Maldon.; Suicer, s. v. *Λάζαρος*.) Whatever the merit of either of these suggestions, no one of them can be accepted as quite satisfactory, and it adds something to the force of the hypothesis ventured on above, to find that it connects itself with this question also. The key which has served to open other doors fits into the wards here. If we assume the identity suggested in (5), or if, leaving that as unproved, we remember only that the historic Lazarus belonged by birth to the class of the wealthy and influential Pharisees, as in (3), then, though we may not think of him as among those who were "covetous," and who therefore derided by scornful look and gesture (*ἐξευμκτήριζον*, Luke xvi. 14) Him who taught that they could not serve God and Mammon, we may yet look on him as one of the same class, known to them, associating with them, only too liable, in spite of all the promise of his youth, to be drawn away by that which had corrupted them. Could anything be more significant, if this were so, than the introduction of this name into such a parable? Not Eleazar the Pharisee, rich, honoured, blameless among men, but Eleazar the beggar, full of leprous sores, lying at the rich man's gate, was the true heir of blessedness, for whom was reserved the glory of being in Abraham's bosom. Very striking too, it must be added, is the coincidence between the teaching of the parable and of the history in another point. The Lazarus of the one remains in Abraham's bosom because "if men hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead." The Lazarus of the other returned from it, and yet bears no witness to the unbelieving Jews of the wonders or the terrors of Hades.

In this instance also the name of Lazarus has

been perpetuated in an institution of the Christian Church. The parable did its work, even in the dark days of her life, in leading men to dread simply selfish luxury, and to help even the most loathsome forms of suffering. The leper of the Middle Ages appears as a Lazzaro.* Among the orders, half-military and half-monastic, of the 12th century, was one which bore the title of the Knights of St. Lazarus (A.D. 1119), whose special work it was to minister to the lepers, first of Syria, and afterwards of Europe. The use of *lazaretto* and *lazar-house* for the leper-hospitals then founded in all parts of Western Christendom, no less than that of *lazzarone* for the mendicants of Italian towns, are indications of the effect of the parable upon the mind of Europe in the Middle Ages, and thence upon its later speech. In some cases there seems to have been a singular transfer of the attributes of the one Lazarus to the other. Thus in Paris the prison of St. Lazare (the Clos S. Lazare, so famous in 1848) had been originally a hospital for lepers. In the 17th century it was assigned to the Society of Lazarists, who took their name, as has been said, from Lazarus of Bethany, and St. Vincent de Paul died there in 1660. In the immediate neighbourhood of the prison, however, are two streets, the Rue d'Enfer and Rue de Paradis, the names of which indicate the earlier associations with the Lazarus of the parable.

It may be mentioned incidentally, as there has been no article under the head of DIVES, that the occurrence of this word, used as a quasi-proper name, in our early English literature, is another proof of the impression which was made on the minds of men, either by the parable itself, or by dramatic representations of it in the mediæval mysteries. The writer does not know where it is found for the first time in this sense, but it appears as early as Chaucer ("Lazar and Dives," *Sompnour's Tale*) and Piers Ploughman ("Dives in the deynytes lyvede," l. 9158), and in later theological literature its use has been all but universal. In no other instance has a descriptive adjective passed in this way into the received name of an individual. The name Nimeusis, which Euthymius gives as that of the rich man (Trench, *Parables*, l. c.), seems never to have come into any general use.

[E. H. P.]

LEAD (ἥρασις: μόλιβος, μόλιβδος), one of the most common of metals, found generally in veins of rocks, though seldom in a metallic state, and most commonly in combination with sulphur. It was early known to the ancients, and the allusions to it in Scripture indicate that the Hebrews were well acquainted with its uses. The rocks in the neighbourhood of Sinai yielded it in large quantities, and it was found in Egypt. That it was common in Palestine is shown by the expression in Ecclus. xiv. 18, where it is said, in apostrophising Solomon, "Thou didst multiply silver as lead;" the writer having in view the hyperbolic description of Solomon's wealth in 1 K. x. 27: "the king made the silver to be in Jerusalem as stones." It was among the spoils of the Midianites which the children of Israel brought with them to the plains of Moab, after their return from the slaughter of the tribe (Num. xxxi. 22). The ships of Tarshish supplied the market of Tyre with lead, as with

other metals (Ex. xxvii. 12). Its heaviness, to which allusion is made in Ex. xv. 10, and Ecclus. xxii. 14, caused it to be used for weights, which were either in the form of a round flat cake (Zech. v. 7), or a rough unfashioned lump or "stone" (ver. 8); stones having in ancient times served the purpose of weights (comp. Prov. xvi. 11). This fact may perhaps explain the substitution of "lead" for "stones" in the passage of Ecclesiasticus above quoted; the commonest use of the commonest metal being present to the mind of the writer. If Gesenius is correct in rendering אֲנָח, *ānac*, by "lead," in Am. vii. 7, 8, we have another instance of the purposes to which this metal was applied in forming the ball or bob of the plumb-line. [PLUMB-LINE.] Its use for weighting fishing-lines was known in the time of Homer (*Il.* xxiv. 80). But Bochart and others identify *ānac* with tin, and derive from it the etymology of "Britain."

In modern metallurgy lead is used with tin in the composition of solder for fastening metals together. That the ancient Hebrews were acquainted with the use of solder is evident from the description given by the prophet Isaiah of the processes which accompanied the formation of an image for idolatrous worship. The method by which two pieces of metal were joined together was identical with that employed in modern times; the substances to be united being first clamped before being soldered. No hint is given as to the composition of the solder, but in all probability lead was one of the materials employed, its usage for such a purpose being of great antiquity. The ancient Egyptians used it for fastening stones together in the rough parts of a building, and it was found by Mr. Layard among the ruins at Nimroud (*Nin. and Bab.* p. 357). Mr. Napier (*Metallurgy of the Bible*, p. 130) conjectures that "the solder used in early times for lead, and termed lead, was the same as is now used—a mixture of lead and tin."

But, in addition to these more obvious uses of this metal, the Hebrews were acquainted with another method of employing it, which indicates some advance in the arts at an early period. Job (ix. 24) utters a wish that his words, "with a pen of iron and lead, were graven in the rock for ever." The allusion is supposed to be to the practice of carving inscriptions upon stone, and pouring molten lead into the cavities of the letters, to render them legible, and at the same time preserve them from the action of the air. Frequent references to the use of leaden tablets for inscriptions are found in ancient writers. Pausanias (ix. 31) saw Hesiod's Works and Days graven on lead, but almost illegible with age. Public proclamations, according to Pliny (xiii. 21), were written on lead, and the name of Germanicus was carved on leaden tablets (*Tac. Ann.* ii. 69). Eutychius (*Ann. Alex.* p. 390) relates that the history of the Seven Sleepers was engraved on lead by the Cadi.

Oxide of lead is employed largely in modern pottery for the formation of glazes, and its presence has been discovered in analyzing the articles of earthenware found in Egypt and Nineveh, proving that the ancients were acquainted with its use for the same purpose. The A. V. of Ecclus. xxviii. 30 assumes that the usage was known to the Hebrews

* It is interesting, as connected with the traditions given above under (1), to find that the first occurrence of the name with this generic meaning is in the old Pro-

vençal dialect, under the form Ladro. (Comp. Diez, *Roman. Wörterbuch*, s. v. "Lazzaro.")

though the original is not explicit upon the point. Speaking of the potter's art in finishing off his work, "he applieth himself to lead it over," is the rendering of what in the Greek is simply "he giveth his heart to complete the smearing," the material employed for the purpose not being indicated.

In modern metallurgy lead is employed for the purpose of purifying silver from other mineral products. The alloy is mixed with lead, exposed to fusion upon an earthen vessel, and submitted to a blast of air. By this means the dross is consumed. This process is called the cupelling operation, with which the description in Ez. xli. 18-22, in the opinion of Mr. Napier (*Met. of Bible*, pp. 20-24), accurately coincides. "The vessel containing the alloy is surrounded by the fire, or placed in the midst of it, and the blowing is not applied to the fire, but to the fused metals. . . . And when this is done, nothing but the perfect metals, gold and silver, can resist the scorifying influence." And in support of his conclusion he quotes Jer. vi. 28-30, adding, "This description is perfect. If we take silver having the impurities in it described in the text, namely iron, copper, and tin, and mix it with lead, and place it in the fire upon a cupell, it soon melts; the lead will oxidise and form a thick coarse crust upon the surface, and thus consume away, but effecting no purifying influence. The alloy remains, if anything, worse than before. . . . The silver is not refined, because 'the bellows were burned'—there existed nothing to blow upon it. Lead is the purifier, but only so in connexion with a blast blowing upon the precious metals." An allusion to this use of lead is to be found in Theognis (*Gnom.* 1127, 8; ed. Welcker), and it is mentioned by Pliny (xxxiii. 31) as indispensable to the purification of silver from alloy. [W. A. W.]

LEBANA (לְבָנָה): Λαβανᾶ; Cod. Fr. Aug. Λαβάν: *Lebana*), one of the Nethinim whose descendants returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 48). He is called LABANA in the parallel list of 1 Esdras, and

LEBANA'AH (לְבָנָה אַח): Λαβανᾶ ἄχ: *Lebana*) in Ezr. ii. 45.

LEAF, LEAVES. The word occurs in the A. V. either in the singular or plural number in three different senses—(1) *Leaf* or *leaves* of trees. (2) *Leaves* of the doors of the Temple. (3) *Leaves* of the roll of a book.

1. LEAF (אֵלֶף, אֵלֶף; אֵלֶף, אֵלֶף; אֵלֶף, אֵלֶף): φύλλον, στέλεχος, ἀνάβασις: *folium, frons, cortex*. The olive-leaf is mentioned in Gen. viii. 11. Fig-leaves formed the first covering of our parents in Eden. The barren fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 19; Mark xi. 13) on the road between Bethany and Jerusalem "had on it nothing but *leaves*." The fig-leaf is alluded to by our Lord (Matt. xxiv. 32; Mark xiii. 28): "When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh." The oak-leaf is mentioned in Is. i. 30, and vi. 13. The righteous are often compared to green leaves (Jer. xvii. 8): "her leaf shall be green"—to leaves that fade not (Ps. i. 3)—"his leaf also shall not

* From אֵלֶף, to ascend or grow up. Precisely identical is ἀνάβασις, from ἀναβαίνειν, to ascend.

b Strictly, "a green and tender leaf," "one easily plucked off;" from אֵלֶף, "to tear, or pluck off," whence "all the leaves of her spring" (Ez. xvii. 9).

wither." The ungodly on the other hand are as "an oak whose leaf fadeth" (Is. i. 30); is a tree which "shall wither in all the leaves of her spring" (Ez. xvii. 9); the "sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them" (Lev. xxvi. 36). In Ezekiel's vision of the holy waters, the blessings of the Messiah's kingdom are spoken of under the image of trees growing on a river's bank; there "shall grow all trees for food, whose leaf shall not fade" (Ez. xlvii. 12). In this passage it is said that "the fruit of these trees shall be for food, and the leaf thereof for medicine" (margin, *for bruises and sores*). With this compare (Rev. xxii. 1, 2) St. John's vision of the heavenly Jerusalem. "In the midst of the street of it, and on either side of the river, was there the tree of life. . . . and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations." There is probably here an allusion to some tree whose leaves were used by the Jews as a medicine or ointment; indeed, it is very likely that many plants and leaves were thus made use of by them, as by the old English herbalists.

2. LEAVES of doors (עֲלָמִים, תְּלָחַת, *tselâtim; tselâtim*; תְּלָחַת, *deleth: πτυχή, θύραμα: ostium, ostiolum*). The Hebrew word, which occurs very many times in the Bible, and which in 1 K. vi. 32 (margin) and 34 is translated "leaves" in the A. V., signifies *beams, ribs, sides, &c.* In Ez. xli. 24, "And the doors had two leaves apiece," the Hebrew word *deleth* is the representative of both *doors* and *leaves*. By the expression two-leaved doors, we are no doubt to understand what we term folding-doors.

3. LEAVES of a book or roll (תְּלָחַת, *deleth: σελίς: pagella*) occurs in this sense only in Jer. xxxvi. 23. The Hebrew word (literally *doors*) would perhaps be more correctly translated *columns*. The Latin *columna*, and the English *column*, as applied to a book, are probably derived from resemblance to a column of a building. [W. H.]

LE'AH (לֵאָה): Λεία, Λία: *Lia*), the elder daughter of Laban (Gen. xxix. 16). The dulness or weakness of her eyes was so notable, that it is mentioned as a contrast to the beautiful form and appearance of her younger sister Rachel. Her father took advantage of the opportunity which the local marriage-rite afforded to pass her off in her sister's stead on the unconscious bridegroom, and excused himself to Jacob by alleging that the custom of the country forbade the younger sister to be given first in marriage. Rosenmüller cites instances of these customs prevailing to this day in some parts of the East. Jacob's preference of Rachel grew into hatred of Leah, after he had married both sisters. Leah, however, bore to him in quick succession Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, then Issachar, Zebulun, and Dinah, before Rachel had a child. Leah was conscious and resentful (ch. xxx.) of the smaller share she possessed in her husband's affections; yet in Jacob's differences with his father-in-law, his two wives appear to be attached to him with equal fidelity. In the critical moment when he expected an attack from Esau, his discriminate regard for the several members of his family was shown by his placing Rachel

Comp. the Syr. ܠܝܐ, *folium*, from ܠܝܐ, ܠܝܐ strike off (Castell. *Lex. Hept.* s. v.).

c From the unused root ܠܝܐ, to flower; Syr.

ܠܝܐ; Arab. ܠܝܐ.

and her child hindmost, in the least exposed situation, Leah and her children next, and the two handmaids with their children in the front. Leah probably lived to witness the dishonour of her daughter (ch. xxiv.), so cruelly avenged by two of her sons; and the subsequent deaths of Deborah at Bethel, and of Rachel near Bethlehem. She died some time after Jacob reached the south country in which his father Isaac lived. Her name is not mentioned in the list of Jacob's family (ch. xvi. 5) when they went down into Egypt. She was buried in the family grave in Machpelah (ch. xlix. 31). [W. T. B.]

LEASING, "falsehood." This word is retained in the A. V. of Ps. iv. 2, v. 6, from the older English versions; but the Hebrew word of which it is the rendering is elsewhere almost uniformly translated "lies" (Ps. xl. 4, lviii. 3, &c.). It is derived from the Anglo-Saxon *leas*, "false," whence *leasing*, "leasing," "falsehood," and is of frequent occurrence in old English writers. So in Piers Ploughman's *Vision*, 2113:

"Tel me no tales,
Ne *lesynge* to laughen of."

And in Wiclif's New Testament, John viii. 44, "Whanne he spekith a *lesynge*, he spekith of his owne thingis, for he is a lyiere, and fadir of it." It is used both by Spenser and Shakspeare. [W. A. W.]

LEATHER (עֹר, 'or). The notices of leather in the Bible are singularly few; indeed the word occurs but twice in the A. V., and in each instance in reference to the same object, a girdle (2 K. i. 8; Matt. iii. 4). There are, however, other instances in which the word "leather" might with propriety be substituted for "skin," as in the passages in which vessels (Lev. xi. 32; Num. xxxi. 20) or raiment (Lev. xiii. 48) are spoken of; for in these cases the skins must have been prepared. Though the material itself is seldom noticed, yet we cannot doubt that it was extensively used by the Jews; shoes, bottles, thongs, garments, kneading-troughs, ropes, and other articles, were made of it. For the mode of preparing it see **TANNER**. [W. L. B.]

LEAVEN (שֵׂמֶרֶת, *seor*: ζύμη: fermentum). The Hebrew word *seor* has the radical sense of *effervescence* or *fermentation*, and therefore corresponds in point of etymology to the Greek ζύμη (from ζῶω), the Latin *fermentum* (from *ferreo*), and the English *leaven* (from *levare*). It occurs only five times in the Bible (Ex. xii. 15, 19, xiii. 7; Lev. ii. 11; Deut. xvi. 4), and is translated "leaven" in the first four of the passages quoted, and "leavened bread" in the last. In connexion with it, we must notice the terms *khametz* and *matzôth*,^b the former signifying "fermented" or "leavened," literally "sharpened," bread; the latter "unleavened," the radical force of the word being variously understood to signify *sweetness* or *purity*. The three words appear in juxtaposition in Ex. xiii. 7: "Unleavened bread (*matzôth*) shall be eaten seven days; and there shall no leavened bread (*khametz*) be seen with thee, neither shall there be leaven (*seor*) seen with thee in all thy quarters." Various substances were known to have fermenting qualities; but the ordinary leaven consisted of a lump of old dough in a high state of fermentation, which was inserted into the mass of dough prepared

for baking. [BREAD.] As the process of producing the leaven itself, or even of leavening bread when the substance was at hand, required some time, unleavened cakes were more usually produced on sudden emergencies (Gen. xviii. 6; Judg. vi. 19). The use of leaven was strictly forbidden in all offerings made to the Lord by fire; as in the case of the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 11), the trespass-offering (Lev. vii. 12), the consecration-offering (Ex. xxix. 2; Lev. viii. 2), the Nazarite-offering (Num. vi. 15), and more particularly in regard to the feast of the Passover, when the Israelites were not only prohibited on pain of death from eating leavened bread, but even from having any leaven in their houses (Ex. xii. 15, 19) or in their land (Ex. xiii. 7; Deut. xvi. 4) during seven days commencing with the 14th of Nisan. It is in reference to these prohibitions that Amos (iv. 5) ironically bids the Jews of his day to "offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving *with leaven*;" and hence even honey was prohibited (Lev. ii. 11), on account of its occasionally producing fermentation. In other instances, where the offering was to be consumed by the priests, and not on the altar, leaven might be used, as in the case of the peace-offering (Lev. vii. 13), and the Pentecostal loaves (Lev. xxiii. 17). Various ideas were associated with the prohibition of leaven in the instances above quoted; in the feast of the Passover it served to remind the Israelites both of the haste with which they fled out of Egypt (Ex. xii. 39), and of the sufferings that they had undergone in that land, the insipidity of unleavened bread rendering it a not inapt emblem of affliction (Deut. xvi. 3). But the most prominent idea, and the one which applies equally to all the cases of prohibition, is connected with the *corruption* which leaven itself had undergone, and which it communicated to bread in the process of fermentation. It is to this property of leaven that our Saviour points when he speaks of the "leaven (i. e. the corrupt doctrine) of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees" (Matt. xvi. 6); and St. Paul, when he speaks of the "old leaven" (1 Cor. v. 7). This association of ideas was not peculiar to the Jews; it was familiar to the Romans, who forbade the priest of Jupiter to touch flour mixed with leaven (Gell. x. 15, 19), and who occasionally used the word *fermentum* as = "corruption" (Pers. Sat. i. 24). Plutarch's explanation is very much to the point: "The leaven itself is born from corruption, and corrupts the mass with which it is mixed" (*Quaest. Rom.* 109). Another quality in leaven's noticed in the Bible, viz. its *secretly penetrating* and *diffusive* power—hence the proverbial saying, "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (1 Cor. v. 6; Gal. v. 9). In this respect it was emblematic of moral influence generally, whether good or bad, and hence our Saviour adopts it as illustrating the growth of the kingdom of heaven in the individual heart and in the world at large (Matt. xiii. 33). [W. L. B.]

LEBANON (in prose with the art. הַלְבָנוֹן, 1 K. v. 20; in poetry without the art. לְבָנוֹן, Ps. xxix. 6: Λίβανος: *Libanus*), a mountain range in the north of Palestine. The name *Lebanon* signifies "white," and was applied either on account of the snow, which, during a great part of the year, covers

^a חֶמֶץ. Another form of the same root, *khametz* is applied to sharpened or sour wine

[VINEGAR]: *khametz* is applied exclusively to bread.

^b מַצּוֹת.

its whole summit," or on account of the white colour of its limestone cliffs and peaks. It is the "white mountain"—the *Mont Blanc* of Palestine; an appellation which seems to be given, in one form or another, to the highest mountains in all the countries of the old world. Lebanon is represented in Scripture as lying upon the northern border of the land of Israel (Deut. i. 7, xi. 24; Josh. i. 4). Two distinct ranges bear this name. They both begin in lat. 33° 20', and run in parallel lines from S.W. to N.E. for about 90 geog. miles, enclosing between them a long fertile valley from 5 to 8 miles wide, anciently called *Coele-Syria*. The modern name is *el-Buká'a*,^b "the valley," corresponding exactly to "the valley of Lebanon" in Joshua (xi. 17).^c It is a northern prolongation of the Jordan valley, and likewise a southern prolongation of that of the Orontes (Porter's *Handbook*, p. xvi.). The western range is the "Libanus" of the old geographers, and the Lebanon of Scripture, where Solomon got timber for the temple (1 K. v. 9, &c.), and where the Hivites and Gibletes dwelt (Judg. iii. 3; Josh. xiii. 5). The eastern range was called "Anti-Libanus" by geographers, and "Lebanon toward the sun-rising" by the sacred writers (Josh. xiii. 5). Strabo describes (xvi. p. 754) the two as commencing near the Mediterranean—the former at Tripolis, and the latter at Sidon—and running in parallel lines toward Damascus; and, strange to say, this error has, in part at least, been followed by most modern writers, who represent the mountain-range between Tyre and the lake of Merom as a branch of Anti-Libanus (Winer, *Realb.*, s. v. "Libanus;" Robinson, 1st ed. li. 346; but see the corrections in the new edition). The topography of Anti-Libanus was first clearly described in Porter's *Damascus* (i. 297, &c., ii. 309, &c.). A deep valley called *Wady et-Tein* separates the southern section of Anti-Libanus from both Lebanon and the hills of Galilee.^d

Lebanon—the western range—commences on the south at the deep ravine of the *Litány*, the ancient river Leontes, which drains the valley of Coele-Syria, and falls into the Mediterranean five miles north of Tyre. It runs N.E. in a straight line parallel to the coast, to the opening from the Mediterranean into the plain of Emesa, called in Scripture the "Entrance of Hamath" (Num. xxxiv. 8). Here *Nahr el-Kebir*—the ancient river Eleutherus—sweeps round its northern end, as the Leontes does round its southern. The average elevation of the range is from 6000 to 8900 ft.; but two peaks rise considerably higher. One of these is *Sunnin*, nearly on the parallel of *Beyrout*, which is more than 9000 feet; the other is *Jebel Mukhmel*, which was measured in September, 1860, by the hydrographer of the Admiralty, and found to be very nearly 10,200 feet high (*Nat. Hist. Rev.*, No. V. p. 11). It is the highest mountain in Syria. On the summits of both these peaks the snow remains in patches during the whole summer.

The central ridge or backbone of Lebanon has smooth, barren sides, and gray rounded summits.

^a So Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 6): "Præcipuum montium Libanum erigit, mirum dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus."

^b البقاع. * בקעת הלבנון

^d Pliny was more accurate than Strabo. He says

It is entirely destitute of verdure, and is covered with small fragments of limestone, from which white crowns and jagged points of naked rock shoot up at intervals. Here and there a few stunted pine-trees or dwarf oaks are met with. The line of cultivation runs along at the height of about 6000 ft.; and below this the features of the western slopes are entirely different. The descent is gradual; but is everywhere broken by precipices and towering rocks which time and the elements have chiselled into strange, fantastic shapes. Ravines of singular wildness and grandeur furrow the whole mountain side, looking in many places like huge rents. Here and there, too, bold promontories shoot out, and dip perpendicularly into the bosom of the Mediterranean. The rugged limestone banks are scantily clothed with the evergreen oak, and the sandstone with pines; while every available spot is carefully cultivated. The cultivation is wonderful, and shows what all Syria might be if under a good government. Miniature fields of grain are often seen where one would suppose the eagles alone, which hover round them, could have planted the seed. Fig-trees cling to the naked rock; vines are trained along narrow ledges; long ranges of mulberries, on terraces like steps of stairs, cover the more gentle declivities; and dense groves of olives fill up the bottoms of the glens. Hundreds of villages are seen—here built amid labyrinths of rocks; there clinging like swallows' nests to the sides of cliffs; while convents, no less numerous, are perched on the top of every peak. When viewed from the sea on a morning in early spring, Lebanon presents a picture which once seen is never forgotten; but deeper still is the impression left on the mind when one looks down over its terraced slopes clothed in their gorgeous foliage, and through the vistas of its magnificent glens, on the broad and bright Mediterranean. How beautifully do these noble features illustrate the words of the prophet: "Israel shall grow as the lily, and strike forth his roots as Lebanon" (Hos. xiv. 5). And the fresh mountain breezes, filled in early summer with the fragrance of the budding vines, and throughout the year with the rich odours of numerous aromatic shrubs, call to mind the words of Solomon—"The smell of thy garments is like the smell of Lebanon" (Cant. iv. 11; see also Hos. xiv. 6). When the plains of Palestine are burned up with the scorching sun, and when the air in them is like the breath of a furnace, the snowy tops and ice-cold streams of Lebanon temper the breezes, and make the mountain-range a pleasant and luxurious retreat,—“Shall a man leave the snow of Lebanon . . . or shall the cold-flowing waters be forsaken?” (Jer. xviii. 14). The vine is still largely cultivated in every part of the mountain; and the wine is excellent, notwithstanding the clumsy apparatus and unskilful workmen employed in its manufacture (Hos. xiv. 7). Lebanon also abounds in olives, figs, and mulberries; while some remnants exist of the forests of pine, oak, and cedar, which formerly covered it (1 K. v. 6; Ps. xxix. 5; Is. xiv. 8; Ezz. iii. 7; Diod. Sic.

(v. 20): "A tergo (Sidonis) mons Libanus orsus, mille quingentis stadiis Simyram usque porrigitur, qua Coele-Syria cognominatur. Huic par interjacente valle mons adversus obtenditur, muro conjunctus." Ptolemy (v. 15) follows Strabo; but Eusebius (*Onom.* s. v. "Antilibanus") says, Ἀντιλίβανος, τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς Λίβανος πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, πρὸς Δαμασκηνῶν χώραν.

six. 58). Considerable numbers of wild beasts still inhabit its retired glens and higher peaks; the writer has seen jackals, hyenas, wolves, bears, and panthers (2 K. xiv. 9; Cant. iv. 8; Hab. ii. 17).

Some noble streams of classic celebrity have their sources high up in Lebanon, and rush down in sheets of foam through sublime glens, to stain with their ruddy waters the transparent bosom of the Mediterranean. The Leontes is on the south. Next comes *Nahr Awouiy*—the "graceful Bostrenos" of Dionysius Periegetes (905). Then follows the *Dâmâr*—the "Taurus" of Strabo (xvi. p. 726), and the "Damurus" of Polybius (v. 68). Next, just on the north side of Beyrout, *Nahr Beyrout*, the "Magoras" of Pliny (v. 30).

A few miles beyond it is *Nahr el-Kelb*, the "Lycus flumen" of the old geographers (Plin. v. 20). At its mouth is the celebrated pass where Egyptian, Assyrian, and Roman conquerors have left on tablets of stone, records of their routes and their victories (Porter's *Handbook*, p. 407). *Nahr Ibrahim*, the classic river "Adonis," follows, bursting from a cave beneath the lofty brow of *Sunnin*, beside the ruins of *Apheca*. From its native rock it runs

"Purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz, yearly wounded."

(Lucian *de Syr. Dea*, 6-8; Strab. xvi. 755; Plin. v. 17; Porter's *Damascus*, ii. 295.) Lastly, we have the "sacred river," *Kadisha*—descending



The grand range of Lebanon.

from the side of the loftiest peak in the whole range, through a gorge of surpassing grandeur. Upon its banks, in a notch of a towering cliff, is perched the great convent of *Kanobin*, the residence of the Maronite patriarch.

The situation of the little group of cedars—the last remnant of that noble forest, once the glory of Lebanon—is very remarkable. Round the head of the sublime valley of the *Kadisha* sweep the highest summits of Lebanon in the form of a semicircle. Their sides rise up, bare, smooth, majestic, to the rounded snow-capped heads. In the centre of this vast recess, far removed from all other foliage and verdure, stand, in strange solitude, the cedars of Lebanon, as if they scorned to mingle their giant arms, and graceful fan-like branches, with the degenerate trees of a later age.*

Along the base of Lebanon runs the irregular plain of *Phœnicia*; nowhere more than two miles wide, and often interrupted by bold rocky spurs, that dip into the sea.

The eastern slopes of Lebanon are much less imposing and less fertile than the western. In the southern half of the range there is an abrupt descent from the summit into the plain of *Coele-Syria*, which has an elevation of about 2500 ft. Along the proper base of the northern half runs a low side ridge partially covered with dwarf oaks.

The northern half of the mountain-range is peopled, almost exclusively, by Maronite Christians—a brave, industrious, and hardy race; but sadly oppressed by an ignorant set of priests. In the southern half the *Druzes* predominate, who, though they number only some 20,000 fighting men, form one of the most powerful parties in *Syria*.

The main ridge of Lebanon is composed of *Jura limestone*, and abounds in fossils. Long belts of more recent sandstone run along the western slopes, which is in places largely impregnated with iron. Some strata towards the southern end are said to yield as much as 90 per cent. of pure iron (Deut. viii. 9, xxxiii. 25). Coal is found in the district of

* The height of the grove is now ascertained to be 6172 ft. above the Mediterranean (Dr. Hooker, in *Nat. Hist. Ross. No. V. D. 11*).

It lies to the west of, and close to, the *Nablus* road, about eight miles north of *Beitân* (Bethel), and two from *Seilân* (Shiloh), in relation to which it stands, however, nearer W. than N. The village is on the northern acclivity of the wady to which it gives its name. Its appearance is ancient; and in the rocks above it are excavated sepulchres (Rob. ii. 272). To Eusebius and Jerome it does not appear to have been known. The earliest mention of it yet met with is in the Itinerary of the Jewish traveller *happarchi* (A.D. cir. 1320), who describes it under the name of *Lubin*, and refers especially to its correspondence with the passage in Judges (See *Asher's Benj. of Tudela*, ii. 435). It was visited by Maundrell (March 24, 25), who mentions the identification with *Lebonah*, but in such terms as may imply that he was only repeating a tradition. Since then it has been passed and noticed by most travellers to the Holy Land (Rob. ii. 272; Wilson, ii. 292, 3; Bonar, 363; Mislin, iii. 319, &c. &c.). [G.]

LE'CAH (לֶכָּח; *Ληχά*; Alex. *Ληχάδ*: *Lecha*), a name mentioned in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 21 only) as one of the descendants of Shelah, the third son of Judah by the Canaanitess Bath-shua. The immediate progenitor of Lechah was Er. Many of the names in this genealogy, especially when the word "father" is attached, are towns (comp. *Eshtemoa*, *Keilah*, *Mareshah*, &c.); but this, though probably the case with Lechah, is not certain, because it is not mentioned again, either in the Bible or the *Onomasticon*, nor have any traces of it been since discovered. [G.]

LEECH. [HORSE-LEECH, Appendix A.]

LEEK (לֶעֶק, *châtsir*: τὰ πράσα, βοτάνη, χλόη, χότρος, χλωρός: *herba, porrus, foenum, pratium*). The word *châtsir*, which in Num. xi. 5 is translated *leeks*, occurs twenty times in the Hebrew text. In 1 K. xviii. 5; Job xl. 15; Ps. civ. 14, cxlvii. 8, cxxix. 6, xxxvii. 2, xc. 5, ciii. 15; Is. xxxvii. 27, xl. 6, 7, 8, xlv. 4, li. 12, it is rendered *grass*; in Job viii. 12, it is rendered *herb*; in Prov. xxvii. 25, Is. xv. 6, it is erroneously translated *hay*; in Is. xxxiv. 14, the A. V. has *court* (see note). The word *leeks* occurs in the A. V. only in Num. xi. 5; it is there mentioned as one of the good things of Egypt for which the Israelites longed in their journey through the desert, just before the terrible plague at Kibroth-hattaavah, "the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic." The Hebrew term, which properly denotes *grass*, is derived from a root signifying "to be green,"^a and may therefore stand in this passage for any green food, lettuce, endive, &c., as Ludolf and Mallet have conjectured; it would thus be applied somewhat in the same manner as we use the term "greens;" yet as the *châtsir* is mentioned together with onions and garlic in the text, and as the most ancient versions, Onkelos, the LXX., and the Vulgate, together with the Syriac and the Arabic of Saadias,^b unanimously understand *leeks* by the Hebrew word, we may be satisfied with our own translation. Moreover, *châtsir* would apply to the *leek* appropriately enough, both from its green colour and the grass-like form of the leaves.

^a לֶעֶק, *viruit*, l. q. Arab. حَضْر (hadzir), Gesenius has shown that this word is identical with לֶעֶק, *circumvallit*. He compares the Greek χότρος, which primarily means a *court* (for cattle); hence, a *pasture*;

There is, however, another and a very ingenious interpretation of *châtsir*, first proposed by Hengstenberg, and received by Dr. Kitto (*Pictor. Bible Num. xi. 5*), which adopts a more literal translation



Common leek (*Allium porrum*)

of the original word, for, says Dr. Kitto, "among the wonders in the natural history of Egypt, it is mentioned by travellers that the common people there eat with special relish a kind of *grass* similar to clover." Mayer (*Reise nach Aegyptien*, p. 226) says of this plant (whose scientific name is *Trigonella foenum Graecum*, belonging to the natural order *Leguminosae*), that it is similar to clover, but its leaves more pointed, and that great quantities of it are eaten by the people. Forskål mentions the *Trigonella* as being grown in the gardens at Cairo; its native name is *Halbeh* (*Flor. Aegypt.* p. 81).



Trigonella foenum-graecum.

Sonnini (*Voyage*, i. 379) says, "In this fertile country, the Egyptians themselves eat the *fenu-grec*

hence, in an extended sense, *grass* or *herbage*. But see the different derivation of Fürst.

^b The word employed here is still the name in Egypt for leek (Hasselquist, 562).

so largely, that it may be properly called the food of man. In the month of November they cry 'green halbeh for sale!' in the streets of the town; it is tied up in large bunches, which the inhabitants purchase at a low price, and which they eat with incredible greediness without any kind of seasoning."

The seeds of this plant, which is also cultivated in Greece, are often used; they are eaten boiled or raw, mixed with honey. Forskål includes it in the *Materia Medica* of Egypt (*Mat. Med. Kahir.* p. 155). However plausible may be this theory of Hengstenberg, there does not appear sufficient reason for ignoring the old versions, which seem all agreed that the *leek* is the plant denoted by *chatsir*, a vegetable from the earliest times a great favourite with the Egyptians, as both a nourishing and savoury food. Some have objected that, as the Egyptians held the *leek*, onion, &c., sacred, they would abstain from eating these vegetables themselves, and would not allow the Israelites to use them.^c We have, however, the testimony of Herodotus (ii. 125) to show that onions were eaten by the Egyptian poor, for he says that on one of the pyramids is shown an inscription, which was explained to him by an interpreter, showing how much money was spent in providing radishes, onions, and garlic, for the workmen. The priests were not allowed to eat these things, and Plutarch (*De Is. et Osir.* ii. p. 353) tells us the reasons. The Welshman reverences his leek, and wears one on St. David's Day—he eats the leek nevertheless; and doubtless the Egyptians were not over-scrupulous (*Scrip. Herbal.* p. 230). The leek^d is too well-known to need description. Its botanical name is *Allium porrum*; it belongs to the order *Liliaceae*. [W. H.]

LEES (לְעָמִים: *φυγλας: fucces*). The Hebrew *shever* bears the radical sense of preservation, and was applied to "lees" from the custom of allowing the wine to stand on the lees in order that its colour and body might be better preserved. Hence the expression "wine on the lees," as meaning a generous full-bodied liquor (*Is.* xxv. 6). The wine in this state remained, of course, undisturbed in its cask, and became thick and syrupy; hence the proverb, "to settle upon one's lees," to express the sloth, indifference, and gross stupidity of the ungodly (*Jer.* xlviii. 11; *Zeph.* i. 12). Before the wine was consumed, it was necessary to strain off the lees; such wine was then termed "well refined" (*Is.* xxv. 6). To drink the lees, or "dregs," was an expression for the endurance of extreme punishment (*Ps.* lxxv. 8). [W. L. B.]

LEGION (Λεγεών: *Legio*), the chief subdivision of the Roman army, containing about 6000 infantry, with a contingent of cavalry. The term does not occur in the Bible in its primary sense, but appears to have been adopted in order to express any large number, with the accessory ideas of order and subordination. Thus it is applied by our Lord

^a Juvenal's derision of the Egyptians for the reverence they paid to the leek may here be quoted:

"Porrum et coepe nefas violare ac frangere morsu, O sanetas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis Numina!"—*Sat.* xv. 9.

^b *Plin. H. N.* xix. 6; *Celsi Hierob.* ii. 263; *Hiller. Hierophyl.* pt. ii. p. 36; *Diosc.* ii. 4.

^c "Leek" is from the Anglo-Saxon *leac*, German *lauch*.

^d This application of the term is illustrated by the

to the angels (*Matt.* xxvi. 53), and in this sense it answers to the "hosts" of the Old Testament (*Gen.* xxxii. 2; *Ps.* cxlviii. 2).^e It is again the name which the demoniac assumes, "My name is Legion (*Λεγιών*); for we are many" (*Mark* v. 9), implying the presence of a spirit of superior power in addition to subordinate ones. [W. L. B.]

LEHA'BIM (לְהַבִּים: *Λαβειμ: Laabim*), occurring only in *Gen.* x. 13, the name of a Mizraite people or tribe, supposed to be the same as the Lubim, mentioned in several places in the Scriptures as mercenaries or allies of the Egyptians. There can be no doubt that the Lubim are the same as the ReBU or LeBU of the Egyptian inscriptions, and that from them Libya and the Libyans derived their name. These primitive Libyans appear, in the period at which they are mentioned in these two historical sources, that is from the time of Menptah, B.C. cir. 1250, to that of Jeremiah's notice of them late in the 6th century B.C., and probably in the case of Daniel's, prophetically to the earlier part of the second century B.C., to have inhabited the northern part of Africa to the west of Egypt, though latterly driven from the coast by the Greek colonists of the Cyrenaica, as is more fully shown under LUBIM. Philologically, the interchange of ה as the middle letter of a root into ל quiescent, is frequent, although it is important to remark that Gesenius considers the form with ה to be more common in the later dialects, as the Semitic languages are now found (*Theol. art.* ה). There seems however to be strong reason for considering many of these later forms to be recurrences to primitive forms. Geographically, the position of the Lehabim in the enumeration of the Mizraites immediately before the Naphtuhim, suggests that they at first settled to the westward of Egypt, and nearer to it, or not more distant from it than the tribes or peoples mentioned before them. [MIZRAIM.] Historically and ethnologically, the connexion of the ReBU and Libyans with Egypt and its people suggests their kindred origin with the Egyptians. [LUBIM.] On these grounds there can be no reasonable doubt of the identity of the Lehabim and Lubim. [R. S. P.]

LE'HI (with the def. article, לְהִי, except in *ver.* 14: *Aeuel*, in *ver.* 9; *Alex.* *Λεῦ*; *Σαργών: Lechi*, *id est maxilla*), a place in Judah, probably on the confines of the Philistines' country, between it and the cliff Etam; the scene of Samson's well-known exploit with the jawbone (*Judg.* xv. 9, 14, 19). It contained an eminence—*Ramath-lehi*, and a spring of great and lasting repute—*En huk-kore*.

Whether the name existed before the exploit or the exploit originated the name cannot now be determined from the narrative.^a On the one hand, in *vers.* 9 and 19, Lehi is named as if existing before this occurrence, while on the other the play of the story and the statement of the bestowal of the name *Ramath-lehi* look as if the reverse were intended. The analogy of similar names in other countries^b is

Rabbinical usage of לְהִי as = "leader, chief" (*Buxtorf, Lex. Talm.* p. 1123).

^a It is unusually full of plays and paronomastic turns. Thus לְהִי signifies a jaw, and לְהִי is the name of the place; חֲמוֹר is both a he-ass and a heap, &c.

^b Compare the somewhat parallel case of Dunchurch and Dunsmoor, which, in the local traditions, derive their names from an exploit of Guy of Warwick.

in favour of its having existed previously. Even taken as a Hebrew word, "Lechi" has another meaning besides a jawbone; and after all there is throughout a difference between the two words, which, though slight to our ears, would be much more marked to those of a Hebrew, and which so far betrays the accommodation.^c

A similar discrepancy in the case of Beer Lahai-roi, and a great similarity between the two names in the original (Gesen. *Thes.* 175 b), has led to the supposition that that place was the same as Lehi. But the situations do not suit. The well Lahai-roi was below Kadesh, very far from the locality to which Samson's adventures seem to have been confined. The same consideration would also appear fatal to the identification proposed by M. Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 343) at *Tell el-Lekhiyeh*, in the extreme south of Palestine, only four miles above Beersheba, a distance to which we have no authority for believing that either Samson's achievements or the possessions of the Philistines (at least in those days) extended. As far as the name goes, a more feasible suggestion would be *Beit-Likveh*, a village on the northern slopes of the great *Wady Suleiman*, about two miles below the upper Beth-horon (see Tobler, *3te Wanderung*). Here is a position at once on the borders of both Judah and the Philistines, and within reasonable proximity to Zorah, Eshtaol, Timnath, and other places familiar to the history of the great Danite hero. On this, however, we must await further investigation; and in the meantime it should not be overlooked that there are reasons for placing the cliff Etam—which seems to have been near Lehi—in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. [ETAM, THE ROCK.]

The spring of En hak-kore is mentioned by Jerome (*Epist. Paulae*, §14) in such terms as to imply that it was then known, and that it was near Morasthi, the native place of the prophet Micah, which he elsewhere (*Onom.* s. v.; *Pref. ad Mich.*) mentions as east of Eleutheropolis (*Beit Jibrin*).

Lehi is possibly mentioned in 2 Sam. xxiii. 11—the relation of another encounter with the Philistines hardly less disastrous than that of Samson. The word^d rendered in the A. V. "into a troop," by alteration of the vowel-points becomes "to Lehi," which gives a new and certainly an appropriate sense. This reading first appears in Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 12, §4), who gives it "a place called Siagona"—the jaw—the word which he employs in the story of Samson (*Ant.* v. 8, §9). It is also given in the Complutensian^e LXX., and among modern interpreters by Bochart (*Hieroz.* i. 2, ch. 13), Kennicott (*Dissert.* 140), J. D. Michaelis (*Bibel für Ungelert.*), Ewald (*Geschichte*, iii. 180, note). [G.]

LEMUEL (לְמוּאֵל לְמוּאֵל: *Lamuel*), the name of an unknown king to whom his mother addressed the prudential maxims contained in Prov. xxxi. 1-9. The version of this chapter in the LXX. is so obscure that it is difficult to discover what

^c לְחִי = Lechi, is the name of the place in vers. 9, 14, 19, and in Ramath-Lehi, ver. 17; whereas L'chi, לְחִי, is the word for jawbone. In ver. 19 the words "in the jaw" should be "in Lehi;" the original is לְחִי, exactly as in 2; not לְחִי, as in 16. See Milton, *Sams. Ag.*, line 382.

^d לְחִי, as if לְחִי, from the root חָי (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 470). In this sense the word very rarely occurs (see A. V. of Ps. lxxviii. 10, 30; lxxv. 19). It elsewhere has

text they could have had before them. In the rendering of Lemuel by ἑπὶ θεοῦ, in Prov. xxxi. 2, some traces of the original are discernible, but in ver. 4 it is entirely lost. The Rabbinical commentators identify Lemuel with Solomon, and tell a strange tale how that when he married the daughter of Pharaoh, on the day of the dedication of the Temple, he assembled musicians of all kinds, and passed the night awake. On the morrow he slept till the fourth hour, with the keys of the Temple beneath his pillow, when his mother entered and upbraided him in the words of Prov. xxxi. 2-9. Grotius, adopting a fanciful etymology from the Arabic, makes Lemuel the same as Hezekiah. Hitzig and others regard him as king or chief of an Arab tribe dwelling on the borders of Palestine, and elder brother of Agur, whose name stands at the head of Prov. xxx. [See JAKEH.] According to this view *massā* (A. V. "the prophecy") is Massa in Arabia; a region mentioned twice in close connexion with Dumah, and peopled by the descendants of Ishmael. In the reign of Hezekiah a roving band of Simeonites drove out the Amalekites from Mount Seir and settled in their stead (1 Chr. iv. 38-43), and from these exiles of Israelitish origin Hitzig conjectures that Lemuel and Agur were descended, the former having been born in the land of Israel; and that the name Lemuel is an older form of Nemeuel, the first-born of Simeon (*Die Sprüche Salomo's*, p. 310-314). But it is more probable, as Eichhorn and Ewald suggest, that Lemuel is a poetical appellation, selected by the author of these maxims for the guidance of a king, for the purpose of putting in a striking form the lessons which they conveyed. Signifying as it does "to God," i. e. dedicated or devoted to God, like the similar word Lael, it is in keeping with the whole sense of the passage, which contains the portraiture of a virtuous and righteous king, and belongs to the latest period of the proverbial literature of the Hebrews. [W. A. W.]

LENTILES (עֲדָשִׁים, *ādāshim*: φακός: *lens*).

There cannot be the least doubt that the A. V. is correct in its translation of the Hebrew word which occurs in the four following passages:—Gen. xxv. 34, 2 Sam. xvii. 28, 2 Sam. xxiii. 11, and Ez. iv. 9—from which last we learn that in times of scarcity lentiles were sometimes used in making bread. There are three or four kinds of lentiles, all of which are still much esteemed in those countries where they are grown, viz. the South of Europe, Asia, and North Africa: the red lentile is still a favourite article of food in the East; it is a small kind, the seeds of which after being decorticated, are commonly sold in the bazaars of India. The modern Arabic name of this plant is identical with the Hebrew; it is known in Egypt and Arabia, Syria, &c., by the name *'Adas*, as we learn from the testimony of several travellers.* When Dr. Robinson was staying at the castle of *'Akabah*, he partook of

the sense of "living," and thence of wild animals, which is adopted by the LXX. in this place, as remarked above. In ver. 13 it is again rendered "troop." In the parallel narrative of 1 Chronicles (xl. 15), the word מִחַנֵּה, a "camp," is substituted.

^e The Vatican and Alex. MSS. read εἰς θηρία (ἴτι), as if the Philistines had come on a hunting expedition.

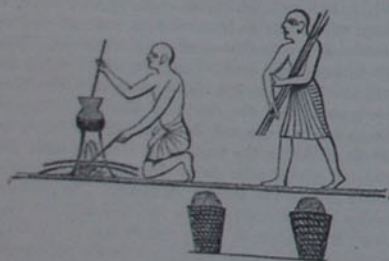
^f See also Catafago's *Arabic Dictionary*, "Lentiles," *عَدَس*, *adas*.

lentiles, which he says he "found very palatable and could well conceive that to a weary hunter, faint with hunger, they would be quite a dainty"



Lentile (*Ervum lens*).

(*Bib. Rec.* 1. 246). Dr. Kitto also says that he has often partaken of red pottage, prepared by seething the lentiles in water, and then adding a little suet, to give them a flavour; and that he found it better food than a stranger would imagine; "the mess," he adds, "had the redness which gained for it the name of *adom*" (*Pict. Bib.*, Gen. xxv. 30, 34). From Sonnini we learn that lentile bread is still eaten by the poor of Egypt, even as it was in the time of Ezekiel; indeed, that towards the cataracts of the Nile there is scarce any other bread in use, because corn is very rare; the people generally add a little barley in making their bread of lentiles, which "is by no means bad, though heavy" (Sonnini's *Travels*, Hunter's transl. iii. 288). Shaw and Russell bear similar testimony.



Egyptians cooking Lentiles (Wilkinson).

The Arabs have a tradition that Hebron is the spot where Esau sold his birthright, and in memory of this event the dervises distribute from the kitchen

* The word *نَمِير* means "spotted" (see the derivations of Fürst and Gesenius). The same word for "leopard" occurs in all the cognate languages. The

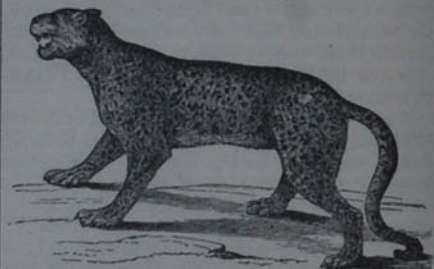
Arabic is *نَمِير* (*namir*), *نَمِر* (*nimir*), with which the

of a mosque there a daily supply of lentile soup to travellers and poor inhabitants (D'Arvieux, *Mém.* ii. 237).

The lentile, *Ervum lens*, is much used with other pulse in Roman Catholic countries during Lent; and some say that from hence the season derives its name. It is occasionally cultivated in England, but only as fodder for cattle; it is also imported from Alexandria. From the quantity of gluten the ripe seeds contain they must be highly nutritious, though they have the character of being heating if taken in large quantities. In Egypt the haulm is used for packing. The lentile belongs to the natural order *Leguminosae*. [W. H.]

LEOPARD (נָמֵר, *namer*: *παρδαλις*: *pardus*)

is invariably given by the A. V. as the translation of the Hebrew word,^a which occurs in the seven following passages.—Is. xi. 6; Jer. v. 6, xiii. 23; Dan. vii. 6; Hos. xiii. 7; Cant. iv. 8; Hab. i. 8. *Leopard* occurs also in Ecclus. xxviii. 23, and in Rev. xiii. 2. The swiftness of this animal, to which Habakkuk compares the Chaldaean horses, and to which Daniel alludes in the winged leopard, the emblem in his vision of Alexander's rapid conquests, is well known: so great is the flexibility of its body, that it is able to take surprising leaps, to climb trees, or to crawl snake-like upon the ground. Jeremiah and Hosea allude to the insidious habit of this animal, which is abundantly confirmed by the observations



Leopard (*Leopardus varius*).

of travellers; the leopard will take up its position in some spot near a village, and watch for some favourable opportunity for plunder. From the passage of Canticles, quoted above, we learn that the hilly ranges of Lebanon were in ancient times frequented by these animals, and it is now not uncommonly seen in and about Lebanon, and the southern maritime mountains of Syria^b (Kitto, note on *Cant.* iv. 8). Burckhardt mentions that leopards have sometimes been killed in "the low and rocky chain of the Richel mountain," but he calls them ounces (Burck. *Syria*, p. 132). In another passage (p. 335) he says, "in the wooded parts of Mount Tabor are wild boars and ounces." Mariti says that the "grottoes at Kedron cannot be entered at all seasons without danger, for in the middle of summer it is frequented by tigers, who retire hither to shun the heat" (Mariti, *Trav.* (translated), iii. 58). By *tigers* he undoubtedly means *leopards*, for the tiger does not occur in Palestine. Under the name

modern Arabic is identical, though this name is also applied to the tiger; but perhaps "tiger" and "leopard" are synonymous in those countries where the former animal is not found.

^b Beth-nimrah, Nimrah, the waters of Nimrim, possibly derive their names from *Namer* (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 107, ed. Rosenmüller).

leopard,^c which means "spotted," it is not improbable that another animal, namely the cheetah (*Gueparda jubata*), may be included; which is tamed by the Mahometans of Syria, who employ it in hunting the gazelle. These animals are represented on the Egyptian monuments; they were chased as an amusement for the sake of their skins, which were worn by the priests during their ceremonies, or they were hunted as enemies of the farmyard (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ch. viii. 20). Sir G. Wilkinson also draws attention to the fact that there is no appearance of the leopard (cheetah), having been employed for the purpose of the chase, on the monuments of Egypt;^d nor is it now used by any of the African races for hunting. The natives of Africa seem in some way to connect the leopard skin with the idea of royalty, and to look upon it as part of the insignia of majesty (Wood's *Nat. Hist.* i. 160). The leopard (*Leopardus varius*) belongs to the family *Felidae*, sub-order *Digitigradae*, order *Carnivora*. The panther is now considered to be only a variety of the same animal. [W. H.]

LEPER, LEPROSY. The Egyptian and Syrian climates, but especially the rainless atmosphere of the former, are very prolific in skin-diseases; including, in an exaggerated form, some which are common in the cooler regions of western Europe. The heat and drought acting for long periods upon the skin, and the exposure of a large surface of the latter to their influence, combine to predispose it to such affections. Even the modified forms known to our western hospitals show a perplexing variety, and at times a wide departure from the best-known and recorded types; much more than may we expect departure from any routine of symptoms amidst the fatal fecundity of the Levant in this class of disorders (Good's *Study of Medicine*, vol. iv. p. 445, &c., ed. 4th). It seems likely that diseases also tend to exhaust their old types, and to reappear under new modifications. [MEDICINE.] This special region, however, exhibiting in wide variety that class of maladies which disfigures the person and makes the presence horrible to the beholder, it is no wonder that notice was early drawn to their more popular symptoms. The Greek imagination dwelt on them as the proper scourge of an offended deity, and perhaps foreign forms of disease may be implied by the expressions used (Aeschyl. *Cleop.* 271, &c.), or such as an intercourse with Persia and Egypt would introduce to the Greeks. But, whatever the variety of form, there seems strong general testimony to the cause of all alike, as being to be sought in hard labour in a heated atmosphere, amongst dry or powdery substances, rendering the proper care of the skin difficult or impossible. This would be aggravated by unwholesome or unnutritious diet, want of personal cleanliness, of clean garments, &c. Thus a "baker's"

and a "bricklayer's itch," are recorded by the faculty (Bateman, *On Skin Diseases, Psoriasis*; Good's *Study of Med.*, ib. p. 459 and 484).^a

The predominant and characteristic form of leprosy in Scripture is a white variety, covering either the entire body or a large tract of its surface; which has obtained the name of *lepra Mosaica*. Such were the cases of Moses, Miriam, Naaman, and Gehazi (Ex. iv. 6; Num. xii. 10; 2 K. v. 1, 27; comp. Lev. xiii. 13). But, remarkably enough, in the Mosaic ritual-diagnosis of the disease (Lev. xiii., xiv.), this kind, when overspreading the whole surface, appears to be regarded as "clean" (xiii. 12, 13, 16, 17). The first question which occurs as we read the entire passage is, have we any right to assume *one* disease as spoken of throughout? or rather—for the point of view in the whole passage is ceremonial, not medical—is not a register of certain symptoms, marking the afflicted person as under a Divine judgment, all that is meant, without raising the question of a plurality of diseases? But beyond this preliminary question, and supposing the symptoms ascertained, there are circumstances which, duly weighed, will prevent our expecting the identity of these with modern symptoms in the same class of maladies. The Egyptian bondage, with its studied degradations and privations, and especially the work of the kiln under an Egyptian sun, must have had a frightful tendency to generate this class of disorders; hence Manetho (*Joseph. cont. Ap.* i. 26) asserts that the Egyptians drove out the Israelites as infected with leprosy—a strange reflex, perhaps, of the Mosaic narrative of the "plagues" of Egypt, yet probably also containing a germ of truth. The sudden and total change of food, air, dwelling, and mode of life, caused by the Exodus, to this nation of newly-emancipated slaves may possibly have had a further tendency to skin-disorders, and novel and severe repressive measures may have been required in the desert-moving camp to secure the public health, or to allay the panic of infection. Hence it is possible that many, perhaps most, of this repertory of symptoms may have disappeared with the period of the Exodus, and the snow-white form, which had pre-existed, may alone have ordinarily continued in a later age. But it is observable that, amongst these Levitical symptoms, the scaling, or peeling off of the surface, is nowhere mentioned, nor is there any expression in the Hebrew text which points to exfoliation of the cuticle.^b The principal morbid features are a rising or swelling,^c a scab or baldness,^d and a bright or white spot (xiii. 2). [BALDNESS.] But especially a white swelling in the skin, with a change of the hair of the part from the natural black to white or yellow (3, 10, 4, 20, 25, 30), or an appearance of a taint going "deeper than the skin," or again, "raw flesh" appearing in the swelling (10, 14, 15), were critical signs of pollution. The mere swelling, or scab, or bright spot, was remanded for a week as doubtful (4,

this way, or by the skin merely cracking, an abscess forming, or the like. Or—what is more probable—"raw flesh" means granulations forming on patches where the surface had become excoriated. These granulations would form into a fungous flesh which might be aptly called "raw flesh."

^c שָׁחָת.

^d מִסְפַּחַת, מִסְפַּחַת. Gesenius, s. e., says, "strictly a bald place on the head occasioned by the scab or itch."

^e בְּהָרַת. The root appears to be בָּהַר, which in Chald. and Arab. means "to be white, or shining" (Gesen. s. r.).

^a The leopard is called by the natives of India *lakree-baug*, "tree-tiger." In Africa also "tiger" is applied to the "leopard," the former animal not existing there.

^b The lion was always employed by the Egyptians for the purpose of the chase. See Diodor. i. 48; and Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* ch. viii. 17.

^c The use of the word נֶגַע, in association with the proper term, נֶגַע, marks the outward appearance as the chief test of the malady. For נֶגַע means "a blow" or "touch," and is etymologically represented by *piaga*, our "plague."

^d The raw flesh of xiii. 10 might be discovered in

21, 26, 31), and for a second such period, if it had not yet pronounced (5). If it then spread (7, 22, 27, 35), it was decided as polluting. But if after the second period of quarantine the trace died away and showed no symptom of spreading, it was a mere scab, and he was adjudged clean (6, 23, 34). This tendency to spread seems especially to have been relied on. A spot most innocent in all other respects, if it "spread much abroad," was unclean; whereas, as before remarked, the man so wholly overspread with the evil that it could find no farther range, was on the contrary "clean" (12, 13). These two opposite criteria seem to show, that whilst the disease manifested activity, the Mosaic law imputed pollution to and imposed segregation on the sufferer, but that the point at which it might be viewed as having run its course was the signal for his readmission to communion. The question then arises, supposing contagion were dreaded, and the sufferer on that account suspended from human society, would not one who offered the whole area of his body as a means of propagating the pest be more shunned than the partially afflicted? This leads us to regard the disease in its sacred character. The Hebrew was reminded on every side, even on that of disease, that he was of God's peculiar people. His time, his food and raiment, his hair and beard, his field and fruit-tree, all were touched by the finger of ceremonial; nor was his bodily condition exempt. Disease itself had its sacred relations arbitrarily imposed. Certainly contagion need not be the basis of our views in tracing these relations. In the contact of a dead body there was no notion of contagion, for the body the moment life was extinct was as much ceremonially unclean as in a state of decay. Many of the unclean of beasts, &c., are as wholesome as the clean. Why then in leprosy must we have recourse to a theory of contagion? To cherish an undefined horror in the mind was perhaps the primary object; such horror, however, always tends to some definite dread, in this case most naturally to the dread of contagion. Thus religious awe would ally itself with and rest upon a lower motive, and there would thus be a motive to weigh with carnal and spiritual natures alike. It would perhaps be nearer the truth to say, that uncleanness was imputed, rather to inspire the dread of contagion, than in order to check contamination as an actual process. Thus this disease was a living plague set in the man by the finger of God whilst it showed its life by activity—by "spreading;" but when no more showing signs of life, it lost its character as a curse from Him. Such as dreaded contagion—and the immense majority in every country have an exaggerated alarm of it—would feel on the safe side through the Levitical ordinance; if any did not fear, the loathsomeness of the aspect of the malady would prevent them from wishing to infringe the ordinance.

It is not our purpose to enter into the question whether the contagion existed, nor is there perhaps any more vexed question in pathology than how to fix a rule of contagiousness; but whatever was currently believed, unless opposed to morals or humanity, would have been a sufficient basis for the lawgiver on this subject. The panic of infection is often as distressing, or rather far more so, in proportion as it is far

more widely diffused, than actual disease. Nor need we exclude popular notions, so far as they do not conflict with higher views of the Mosaic economy. A degree of deference to them is perhaps apparent in the special reference to the "head" and "beard" as the seat of some form of polluting disorder. The sanctity and honour attaching to the head and beard (1 Cor. xi. 3, 4, 5; see also BEARD) made a scab thereon seem a heinous disfigurement, and even baldness, though not unclean, yet was unusual and provoked reproach (2 K. ii. 23), and when a diseased appearance arose "out of a baldness" even without "spreading abroad," it was at once adjudged "unclean." On the whole, though we decline to rest leprosy defilement merely on popular notions of abhorrence, dread of contagion, and the like, yet a deference to them may be admitted to have been shown, especially at the time when the people were, from previous habit and associations, up to the moment of the actual Exodus, most strongly imbued with the scrupulous purity and refined ceremonial example of the Egyptians on these subjects.

To trace the symptoms, so far as they are recorded, is a simple task, if we keep merely to the text of Leviticus, and do not insist on finding nice definitions in the broad and simple language of an early period. It appears that not only the before-mentioned appearances but any open sore which exposed raw flesh was to be judged by its effect on the hair, by its being in sight lower than the skin, by its tendency to spread; and that any one of these symptoms would argue uncleanness. It seems also that from a boil and from the effects of a burn a similar disease might be developed. Nor does modern pathology lead us to doubt that, given a constitutional tendency, such causes of inflammation may result in various disorders of the skin or tissues. Cicatrices after burns are known sometimes to assume a peculiar tuberculated appearance, thickened and raised above the level of the surrounding skin—the keloid tumour—which, however, may also appear independently of a burn.

The language into which the LXX. has rendered the simple phrases of the Hebrew text shows traces of a later school of medicine, and suggests an acquaintance with the terminology of Hippocrates. This has given a hint, on which, apparently wishing to reconcile early Biblical notices with the results of later observation, Dr. Mason Good and some other professional expounders of leprosy have drawn out a comparative table of parallel terms.*

It is clear then that the leprosy of Lev. xiii., xiv. means any severe disease spreading on the surface of the body in the way described, and so shocking of aspect, or so generally suspected of infection, that public feeling called for separation. No doubt such diseases as syphilis, elephantiasis, cancer, and all others which not merely have their seat in the skin, but which invade and disorganise the underlying and deeper-seated tissues, would have been classed Levitically as "leprosy," had they been so generally prevalent as to require notice.

It is now undoubted that the "leprosy" of modern Syria, and which has a wide range in Spain, Greece, and Norway, is the *Elephantiasis Græco-*

tions one *umbræ similis*, may have led our translators to endeavour to find equivalents for them in the Hebrew.

* Thus we have in Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature* the following table, based apparently on a

1866. The Arabian physicians perhaps caused the confusion of terms, who, when they translated the Greek of Hippocrates, rendered his elephantiasis by leprosy, there being another disease to which they gave a name derived from the elephant, and which is now known as *Elephantiasis Arabum*,—the "Barbadoes leg," "Boucemia Tropica." The *Elephantiasis Graecorum* is said to have been brought home by the crusaders into the various countries of Western and Northern Europe. Thus an article on "Leprosy," in the Proceedings of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London, Jan. 1860, vol. iii. 3, p. 164, &c., by Dr. Webster, describes what is evidently this disease. Thus Michaelis (Smith's translation, vol. iii. p. 283, Art. cex.) speaks of what he calls *lepra Arabum*, the symptoms of which are plainly elephantiasiac. For a discussion of the question whether this disease was known in the early Biblical period, see MEDICINE. It certainly was not that distinctive white leprosy of which we are now speaking, nor do any of the described symptoms in Lev. xiii. point to elephantiasis. "White as snow" (2 K. v. 27) would be as inapplicable to elephantiasis as to small-pox. Further, the most striking and fearful results of this modern so-called "leprosy" are wanting in the Mosaic description—the transformation of the features to a leonine expression, and the corrosion of the joints, so that the fingers drop piecemeal, from which the Arabic name, *جذام*, *Judhām*, i. e.

mutilation, seems derived.^a Yet before we dismiss the question of the affinity of this disease with Mosaic leprosy, a description of Rayer's (*Traité Théorique, &c. des Maladies de la Peau*, s. v. *Elephantiasis*) is worth quoting. He mentions two characteristic species, the one tuberculated, probably the commoner kind at present (to judge from the concurrence of modern authorities in describing this type), the other "caractérisée par des plaques fauves, larges, étendues, fêtrées, ridées, insensibles, accompagnées d'une légère desquamation et d'une déformation particulière des pieds et des mains," and which he deems identical with the "lépre du moyen âge." This certainly appears to be at least a link between the tuber-

culated elephantiasis and the Mosaic leprosy.¹ Celsus, after distinguishing the three Hippocratic varieties of *vitiligo* = leprosy, separately describes elephantiasis. Avicenna (Dr. Mead, *Medica Sacra*, "the Leprosy") speaks of leprosy as a sort of universal cancer of the whole body. But amidst the evidence of a redundant variety of diseases of the skin and adjacent tissues, and of the probable rapid production and evanescence of some forms of them it would be rash to assert the identity of any from such resemblance as this.

Nor ought we in the question of identity of symptoms to omit from view, that not only does observation become more precise with accumulated experience; but, that diseases also, in proportion as they fix their abiding seat in a climate, region, or race of men, tend probably to diversity of type, and that in the course of centuries, as with the fauna and flora, varieties originate in the modifying influence of circumstances, so that Hippocrates might find three kinds of leprosy, where one variety only had existed before. Whether, therefore, we regard Lev. xiii. as speaking of a group of diseases having mutually a mere superficial resemblance, or a real affinity, it need not perplex us that they do not correspond with the threefold leprosy of Hippocrates (the *ἀλφός*, *λεύκη*, and *μέλας*), which are said by Bateman (*Skin Diseases*, Plates vii. and viii.) to prevail still respectively as *lepra alphoides*, *lepra vulgaris*, and *lepra nigricans*. The first has more minute and whiter scales, and the circular patches in which they form are smaller than those of the *vulgaris*, which appears in scaly discs of different sizes, having nearly always a circular form, first presenting small distinct red shining elevations of the cuticle, then white scales which accumulate sometimes into a thick crust; or, as Dr. Mason Good describes its appearance (vol. iv. p. 451), as having a spreading scale upon an elevated base; the elevations depressed in the middle, but without a change of colour; the black hair on the patches, which is the prevailing colour of the hair in Palestine, participating in the whiteness, and the patches themselves perpetually widening in their outline. A phosphate of lime is probably what gives their bright glossy colour to the scaly patches,

more extensive one in Dr. Mason Good (*ub. sup.* pp. 448, 452), which is chiefly characterised by an attempt to fix modern specific meanings on the general

terms of Lev. xiii.: e. g. *תַּשְׁבֵּץ*, *herpes*, or *tetter*; *נֶגַע*, *ictus*, "blow" or "bruise," &c.

<i>בְּהַרַת</i> , Lev. comprehending	<i>λέπρα</i> , Hipp. comprehending	<i>vitiligo</i> , Cels. comprehending
(1) <i>בְּהַק</i> ,	(1) <i>ἀλφός</i> ,	(1) <i>albida</i> ,
(2) <i>בְּהַרַת לְבָנָה</i> ,	(2) <i>λεύκη</i> ,	(2) <i>candida</i> ,
(3) <i>בְּהַרַת בְּהָה</i> .	(3) <i>μέλας</i> .	(3) <i>nigrescens</i> , or <i>umbrae similis</i> .

But the Hebrew of (1) is in Lev. xiii. 39 predicated of a subject compounded of the phraseology of (2) and (3), whereas the (1), (2), and (3) of Hipp. and of Celsus are respectively distinct and mutually exclusive of one another. Further, the word *בְּהָה* appears mistranslated by "black" or "dark;" meaning rather "languid," "dim," as an old man's eyes, an expiring and feeble flame, &c. Now it is remarkable that the Hippocratic terms *ἀλφός* and *λεύκη* are found in the LXX. The phraseology of the latter is also more specific than will adequately represent the Hebrew, suggesting shades of meaning * where this has a wide

general word, or substituting a word denoting one symptom as *θραύσμα*,† "crust," formed probably by humour oozing, for *קִרְחָה*, "exfoliation."

^a This is clearly and forcibly pointed out in an article by Dr. Robert Sim in the *Medical Times*, April 14, 1860, whose long hospital experience in Jerusalem entitles his remarks to great weight.

¹ On the question how far elephantiasis may probably have been mixed up with the leprosy of the Jews, see Paul. Aegin. vol. ii. p. 6 and 32, 33, ed. *Syd. Soc.*

* Thus the expression *עֲמֹק מְעוֹר בְּעֵשֶׂר*, "deeper than the skin of the flesh," is rendered in ver. 3 by *ταπεινὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ δέρματος*, in 30 by *ἐγκλωστέρου τοῦ δέρματος*, in 34 by *καίλη ἀπὸ τοῦ δ.*

† So Dr. M. Good, who improves on the *θραύσμα* by *ἐκπόνησις*, "suppuration," wishing to substitute moist scall for the "dry scall" of the A. V., which latter is no dot's nearer the mark.

and this in the kindred disease of ichthyosis is deposited in great abundance on the surface. The third, *nigricans*, or rather *subfusca*,^k is rarer, in form and distribution, resembling the second, but differing in the dark livid colour of the patches. The scaly incrustations of the first species infest the flat of the face—arm, knee, and elbow joints, but on the face seldom extend beyond the forehead and temples; comp. 2 Chr. xxvi. 19: "the leprosy rose up in his forehead." The cure of this is not difficult; the second scarcely ever heals (Celsus, *De Med.v.* 28, §19). The third is always accompanied by a cachectic condition of body. Further, elephantiasis itself has also passed current under the name of the "black leprosy." It is possible that the "freckled spot" of the A. V. Lev. xiii. 39^m may correspond with the harmless l. alpehoides, since it is noted as "clean." The ed. of Paulus Aegin. by the Sydenham Society (vol. ii. p. 17, foll.) gives the following summary of the opinions of classical medicine on this subject:—"Galen is very deficient on the subject of lepra, having nowhere given a complete description of it, though he notices it incidentally in many parts of his works. In one place he calls elephas, leuce, and alphas cognate affections. Alphas, he says, is much more superficial than leuce. Psora is said to partake more of the nature of ulceration. According to Orisiasius, lepra affects mostly the deep-seated parts, and psora the superficial. Aetius on the other hand, copying Archigenes, represents lepra as affecting only the skin. Actuarius states that lepra is next to elephantias in malignity, and that it is distinguished from psora by spreading deeper and having scales of a circular shape like those of fishes. Leuce holds the same place to alphas that lepra does to psora; that is to say, leuce is more deep-seated and affects the colour of the hair, while alphas is more superficial, and the hair in general is unchanged. . . . Alexander Aphrodisiensis mentions psora among the contagious diseases, but says that lepra and leuce are not contagious. Chrysostom alludes to the common opinion that psora was among the contagious diseases. . . . Celsus describes alphas, melas, and leuce, very intelligibly, connecting them together by the generic term of vitiligō."*

There is a remarkable concurrence between the Aeschylean description of the disease which was to produce "lichen coursing over the flesh, eroding with fierce voracity the former natural structure, and white hairs shooting up over the part diseased,"ⁿ and some of the Mosaic symptoms; the spreading energy of the evil is dwelt upon both by Moses and by Aeschylus, as vindicating its character as a scourge of God. But the symptoms of "white hairs" is a curious and exact confirmation of the genuineness of the detail in the Mosaic account, especially as the poet's language would rather imply that the disease spoken of was not then domesticated in Greece, but

^k Still it is known that black secretions, sometimes carried to the extent of negro blackness, have been produced under the skin, as in the *rete mucosum* of the African. See *Medico-Chirurgica Rev.*, New Series, vol. v. p. 215, Jan. 1847.

^m Heb. פִּתְיוֹן; Arab. بَهْت.

ⁿ σαρκῶν ἐπαμβατῆρας ἀγρίας γνάθοις
λιχῆνας ἐξέσθοντας ἀρχαίων φύσιν
λευκὰς δὲ κόρσας τῆς ἐπανέλλειν νόσῳ.
Choeph. 271-274.

^o So Surenhusius (Mishna, *Negaim*) says, "Maculae aliquando subvirides, aliquando subrubidae, cuiusmodi videri solent in negrorotum, indusis, et prae-

the strange horror of some other land. Still, nothing very remote from our own experience is implied in the mere changed colour of the hair; it is common to see horses with galled backs, &c., in which the hair has turned white through the destruction of those follicles which secrete the colouring matter.

There remains a curious question, before we quit Leviticus, as regards the leprosy of garments and houses. Some have thought garments worn by leprosy patients intended. The discharges of the diseased skin absorbed into the apparel would, if infection were possible, probably convey disease; and it is known to be highly dangerous in some cases to allow clothes which have so imbibed the discharges of an ulcer to be worn again.^p And the words of Jude v. 23, may seem to countenance this, "hating even the garment spotted by the flesh." But 1stly, no mention of infection occurs; 2ndly, no connexion of the leprosy garment with a leprosy human wearer is hinted at; 3rdly, this would not help us to account for a leprosy of stone-walls and plaster. Thus Dr. Mead (*ut sup.*) speaks at any rate plausibly of the leprosy of garments, but becomes unreasonable when he extends his explanation to that of walls. Michaelis thought that wool from sheep which had died of a particular disease might fret into holes, and exhibit an appearance like that described, Lev. xiii. 47-59 (Michaelis, art. cxxi. iii. 290-1). But woollen cloth is far from being the only material mentioned; nay, there is even some reason to think that the words rendered in the A. V. "warp" and "wool" are not those distinct parts of the texture, but distinct materials. Linen, however, and leather are distinctly particularised, and the latter not only as regards garments, but "any thing (lit. vessel) made of skin," for instance, bottles. This classing of garments and house-walls with the human epidermis, as leprosy, has moved the mirth of some, and the wonder of others. Yet modern science has established what goes far to vindicate the Mosaic classification as more philosophical than such cavils. It is now known that there are some skin-diseases which originate in an acarus, and others which proceed from a fungus. In these we may probably find the solution of the paradox. The analogy between the insect which frets the human skin and that which frets the garment that covers it, between the fungous growth that lines the crevices of the epidermis and that which creeps in the interstices of masonry,^q is close enough for the purposes of a ceremonial law, to which it is essential that there should be an arbitrary element intermingled with provisions manifestly reasonable. Michaelis (*ib.* art. cxxi. iii. 293-9) has suggested a nitrous efflorescence on the surface of the stone, produced by saltpetre, or rather an acid containing it, and issuing in red spots, and cites the example of a house in Lubeck; he mentions also exfoliation of the stone from other

cipore eâ in parte ubi vis morbi medicinâ sudoriferâ e corpore exterius prodierit."

^p See, however, Lev. xv. 3, 4, which suggests another possible meaning of the words of St. Jude.

^q The word λιχην (the "lichen" of botany), the Aeschylean word to express the dreaded scourge in *Choeph.* 271-274 (comp. *Eumen.* 785, see note *n*), is also the technical term for a disease akin to leprosy. The ed. of Paulus Aegin., Sydenh. Soc., vol. ii. p. 19, says that the poet here means to describe leprosy. In the Isagoge, generally ascribed to Galen (*ib.* p. 25), two varieties are described, the lichen mitis and the lichen agrius, in both of which scales are formed upon the skin. Galen remarks on the tendency of this disease to pass into lepra and scabies.

than the father, just as, in the case of Rebekah, it belonged to the brother to conduct the negotiations for the marriage. We are left to conjecture why Reuben, as the first-born, was not foremost in the work, but the sin or which he was afterwards guilty, makes it possible that his zeal for his sister's purity was not so sensitive as theirs. The same explanation may perhaps apply to the non-appearance of Judah in the history. Simeon and Levi, as the next in succession to the first-born, take the task upon themselves. Though not named in the Hebrew text of the O. T. till xxxiv. 25, there can be little doubt that they were "the sons of Jacob" who heard from their father the wrong over which he had brooded in silence, and who planned their revenge accordingly. The LXX. version does introduce their names in ver. 14. The history that follows is that of a cowardly and repulsive crime. The two brothers exhibit, in its broadest contrasts, that union of the noble and the base, of characteristics above and below the level of the heathen tribes around them, which marks the whole history of Israel. They have learned to loathe and scorn the impurity in the midst of which they lived, to regard themselves as a peculiar people, to glory in the sign of the covenant. They have learnt only too well from Jacob and from Laban, the lessons of treachery and falsehood. They lie to the men of Shechem as the Druses and the Maronites lie to each other in the prosecution of their blood-fends. For the offence of one man, they destroy and plunder a whole city. They cover their murderous schemes with fair words and professions of friendship. They make the very token of their religion the instrument of their perfidy and revenge.⁴ Their father, timid and anxious as ever, utters a feeble lamentation (Blunt's *Script. Coincidences*, Part i. §8), "Ye have made me to stink among the inhabitants of the land . . . I being few in number, they shall gather themselves against me." With a zeal that, though mixed with baser elements, foreshadows the zeal of Phinehas, they glory in their deed, and meet all remonstrance with the question, "Should he deal with our sister as with a harlot?" Of other facts in the life of Levi, there are none in which he takes, as in this, a prominent and distinct part. He shares in the hatred which his brothers bear to Joseph, and joins in the plots against him (Gen. xxxvii. 4). Reuben and Judah interfere severally to prevent the consummation of the crime (Gen. xxxvii. 21, 26). Simeon appears, as being made afterwards the subject of a sharper discipline than the others, to have been foremost—as his position among the sons of Leah made it likely that he would be—in this attack on the favoured son of Rachel; and it is at least probable that in this, as in their former guilt, Simeon and Levi were brethren. The rivalry of the mothers was perpetuated in the jealousies of their children; and the two who had shown themselves so keenly sensitive when their sister had been wronged, make themselves the instruments and accomplices of the hatred which originated, we are told, with the baser-born sons of the concubines (Gen. xxxvii. 2). Then comes for him, as for the others, the discipline of suffering and danger, the special education by which the brother whom they had wronged leads them back to faithfulness and natural affec-

⁴ Josephus (*Ant.* l. c.) characteristically glosses over all that connects the attack with the circumcision of the Shechemites, and represents it as made in a time of feasting and rejoicing.

tion. The detention of Simeon in Egypt may have been designed at once to be the punishment for the large share which he had taken in the common crime, and to separate the two brothers who had hitherto been such close companions in evil. The discipline does its work. Those who had been relentless to Joseph become self-sacrificing for Benjamin.

After this we trace Levi as joining in the migration of the tribe that owned Jacob as its patriarch. He, with his three sons, Gershon, Kohath, Merari, went down into Egypt (Gen. xlvi. 11). As one of the four eldest sons we may think of him as among the five (Gen. xvii. 2) that were specially presented before Pharaoh. Then comes the last scene in which his name appears. When his father's death draws near, and the sons are gathered round him, he hears the old crime brought up again to receive its sentence from the lips that are no longer feeble and hesitating. They, no less than the incestuous first-born, had forfeited the privileges of their birthright. "In their anger they slew men, and in their wantonness they maimed oxen" (margin reading of A. V.; comp. LXX. *ἐνευροκόνησαν ταύρου*). And therefore the sentence on those who had been united for evil was, that they were to be "divided in Jacob and scattered in Israel." How that condemnation was at once fulfilled and turned into a benediction, how the zeal of the patriarch reappeared purified and strengthened in his descendants; how the very name came to have a new significance, will be found elsewhere. [LEVITES.]

The history of Levi has been dealt with here in what seems the only true and natural way of treating it, as a history of an individual person. Of the theory that sees in the sons of Jacob the mythical Eponymi of the tribes that claimed descent from them—which finds in the crimes and chances of their lives the outlines of a national or tribal chronicle—which refuses to recognise that Jacob had twelve sons, and insists that the history of Dinah records an attempt on the part of the Canaanites to enslave and degrade a Hebrew tribe (Ewald, *Geschichte*, i. 466-496)—of this one may be content to say, as the author says of other hypotheses hardly more extravagant, "die Wissenschaft verschleudert alle solche Gespenster" (*Ibid.* i. 466). The book of Genesis tells us of the lives of men and women, not of ethnological phantoms.

A yet wilder conjecture has been hazarded by another German critic. P. Redslob (*Die alttestamentl. Namen*, Hamb. 1846, p. 24, 25), recognizing the meaning of the name of Levi as given above, finds in it evidence of the existence of a confederacy or synod of the priests that had been connected with the several local worshipers of Canaan, and who, in the time of Samuel and David, were gathered together, *joined*, "round the Central Pantheon in Jerusalem." Here also we may borrow the terms of our judgment from the language of the writer himself. If there are "abgeschmackten etymologischen Mährchen" (Redslob, p. 82) connected with the name of Levi, they are hardly those we meet with in the narrative of Genesis. [E. H. P.]

2. (*Λεβί*; Rec. Text, *Λεβί*; *Levi*) Son of Melchi, one of the near ancestors of our Lord, in fact the great-grandfather of Joseph (Luke iii. 24). This name is omitted in the list given by Africanus.

^e The Jewish tradition (*Targ. Pseudojona.*) states the five to have been Zebulun, Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher.

3. A more remote ancestor of Christ, son of Simeon (Luke iii. 29). Lord A. Hervey considers that the name of Levi reappears in his descendant Leibaicus (*Geneal. of Christ*, 132, and see 36, 46).

4. (*Levi*; R. T. *Levi*.) Mark ii. 14; Luke v. 27, 29. [MATTHEW.]

LEVIATHAN (לִיָּאֲתָן, *li'yáthán*: τὸ μέγα

ἄβυσσος, δράκων; Complut. Job iii. 8, *λεβιαθάν*, *leviathan*, (*draco*) occurs five times in the text of the A. V., and once in the margin of Job iii. 8, where the text has "mourning." In the Hebrew Bible the word *li'yáthán*, which is, with the foregoing exception, always left untranslated in the A. V., is found only in the following passages: Job iii. 8, xl. 25 (xli. 1, A. V.); Ps. lxxiv. 14, civ. 26; Is. xxvii. 1. In the margin of Job iii. 8, and text of Job xli. 1,^b the crocodile is most clearly the animal denoted by the Hebrew word. Ps. lxxiv. 14 also clearly points to this same saurian. The context of Ps. civ. 26, "There go the ships: there is that leviathan, whom thou hast made to play therein," seems to show that in this passage the name represents some animal of the whale tribe; but it is somewhat uncertain what animal is denoted in Is. xxvii. 1. It would be out of place here to attempt any detailed explanation of the passages quoted above, but the following remarks are offered. The passage in Job iii. 8 is beset with difficulties, and it is evident from the two widely different readings of the text and margin that our translators were at a loss. There can however be little doubt that the margin is the correct rendering, and this is supported by the LXX., Aquila, Theodotus, Symmachus, the Vulgate and the Syriac. There appears to be some reference to those who practised enchantments. Job is lamenting the day on which he was born, and he says, "Let them curse it that curse the day, who are ready to raise up a leviathan;" i. e. "Let those be hired to imprecate evil on my natal day who say they are able by their incantations to render days propitious or unpropitious, yea, let such as are skilful enough to raise up even leviathan (the crocodile) from his watery bed be summoned to curse that day;" or, as Mason Good has translated the passage, "Oh! that night! let it be a barren rock! let no sprightliness enter into it! let the sorcerers of the day curse it! the expertest among them that can conjure up leviathan!"

The detailed description of leviathan given in Job xli. indisputably belongs to the crocodile, and it is astonishing that it should ever have been understood to apply to a whale or a dolphin; but Lee (*Comm. on Job xli.*), following Hasaeus (*Disq. de Lev. Jobi et Ceto Jonae*, Brem. 1723), has laboured hard, though unsuccessfully, to prove that the leviathan of this passage is some species of whale, probably, he says, the *Delphinus orca*, or common grampus. That it can be said to be the

pride of any cetacean that his "scales shut up together as with a close seal," is an assertion that no one can accept, since every member of this group has a body almost bald and smooth.



Crocodile of the Nile (*C. eu-garis*)

The Egyptian crocodile also is certainly the animal denoted by *leviathan* in Ps. lxxiv. 14: "Thou, O God, didst destroy the princes of Pharaoh, the great crocodile or 'dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers' (Ez. xxix. 3) in the Red Sea, and didst give their bodies to be food for the wild beasts of the desert." The leviathan of Ps. civ. 26 seems clearly enough to allude to some great cetacean. The "great and wide sea" must surely be the Mediterranean, "the great sea," as it is usually called in Scripture; it would certainly be stretching the point too far to understand the expression to represent any part of the Nile. The crocodile, as is well known, is a fresh-water, not a marine animal: it is very probable therefore that some whale is signified by the term *leviathan* in this passage, and it is quite an error to assert, as Dr. Harris (*Dict. Nat. Hist. Bib.*), Mason Good (*Book of Job translated*), Michaelis (*Suppl.* 1297), and Rosenmüller (quoting Michaelis in *not. ad Bochart Hieroz.* iii. 738) have done, that the whale is not found in the Mediterranean. The *Orca gladiator* (Gray)—the grampus mentioned above by Lee—the *Physalus antiquorum* (Gray), or the *Rorqual de la Méditerranée* (Cuvier), are not uncommon in the Mediterranean (Fischer, *Synops. Mam.* 525, and Lacepède, *H. N. des Cetac.* 115), and in ancient times the species may have been more numerous.

There is some uncertainty about the *leviathan* of Is. xxvii. 1. Rosenmüller (*Schol. in l. c.*) thinks that the word *nachash*, here rendered *serpent*, is to be taken in a wide sense as applicable to any great monster; and that the prophet, under the term "leviathan that crooked serpent," is speaking of Egypt, typified by the crocodile, the usual emblem of the prince of that kingdom. The Chaldee paraphrase understands the "leviathan that piercing serpent" to refer to Pharaoh, and "leviathan that crooked serpent" to refer to Sennacherib.

but a feeble folk" (Prov. xxx. 25, 26). For other interpretations of this passage see Rosenmüller, *Schol.*, and Bochart, *Phaleg*, 318.

* According to Warburton (*Cresc. & Cr.* 85) the crocodile is never now seen below Minyeh, but it should be stated that Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 25), not Herodotus, as Mr. Warburton asserts, speaks of crocodiles being attacked by dolphins at the mouth of the Nile. Seneca (*Nat. Quaest.* iv. 2) gives an account of a contest between these animals. Cuvier thinks that a species of dog-fish is meant (*Acanthias vulgaris*), on account of the dorsal spines of which Pliny speaks, and which no species of dolphin possesses.

* לִיָּאֲתָן, from לָיָא, an animal wreathed.

* Whirlpool, i. e. some sea-monster: vid. Trench's *Select Glossary*, p. 226.

* The modern Arabic name of crocodile is *Timsáh*. The word is derived from the Coptic, *Emasáh*, *Amsah*, whence with the aspirate *χάμψα* (Herod. ii. 69). Wilkins, however (*de L. Copt.* p. 101), contends that the word is of Arabic origin. See Jablonsk. *Opera* i. 387, 287, ed. Te Water, 1804.

* "The people inhabiting the wilderness"—a poetical expression to denote the wild beasts: comp. "the ants are a people not strong," "the conies are

As the term *leviathan* is evidently used in no limited sense, it is not improbable that the "leviathan the piercing serpent," or "leviathan the crooked serpent," may denote some species of the great rock-snakes (*Boidae*) which are common in South and West Africa, perhaps the *Hortulia Sebae*, which Schneider (*Amph.* ii. 266), under the synonym *Boa hieroglyphica*, appears to identify with the huge serpent represented on the Egyptian monuments. This python, as well as the crocodile, was worshipped by the Egyptians, and may well therefore be understood in this passage to typify the Egyptian power. Perhaps the English word *monster* may be considered to be as good a translation of *liv'yathán* as any other that can be found; and though the *crocodile* seems to be the animal more particularly denoted by the Hebrew term, yet, as has been shown, the *whale*, and perhaps the *rock-snake* also, may be signified under this name.¹ [WHALE.] Bochart (iii. 789, ed. Rosenmüller) says that the Talmudists use the word *liv'yathán* to denote the crocodile; this however is denied by Lewysohn (*Zool. des Talm.* 155, 355), who says that in the Talmud it always denotes a *whale*, and never a *crocodile*. For the Talmudical fables about the leviathan, see Lewysohn (*Zool. des Talm.*), in passages referred to above, and Buxtorf, *Lex. Chal. Talm.* s. v. לִיָּוִיָּהּ. [W. H.]

LEVIS (*Levis*: *Levis*), improperly given as a proper name in 1 Esd. ix. 14. It is simply a corruption of "the Levite" in Ezr. x. 15.

LEVITES (הַלֵּוִיִּם): *Levites*: *Levitae*: also לֵוִי: *Levi*: *Levi*. The analogy of the names of the other tribes of Israel would lead us to include under these titles the whole tribe that traced its descent from Levi. The existence of another division, however, within the tribe itself, in the higher office of the priesthood as limited to the "sons of Aaron," gave to the common form, in this instance, a peculiar meaning. Most frequently the Levites are distinguished, as such, from the priests (1 K. viii. 4; Ezr. ii. 70; John i. 19, &c.), and this is the meaning which has perpetuated itself. Sometimes the word extends to the whole tribe, the priests included (Num. xxxv. 2; Josh. xxi. 3, 41; Ex. vi. 25; Lev. xxv. 32, &c.). Sometimes again it is added as an epithet of the smaller portion of the tribe, and we read of "the priests the Levites" (Josh. iii. 3; Ez. xlv. 15). The history of the tribe, and of the functions attached to its several orders, is obviously essential to any right apprehension of the history of Israel as a people. They are the representatives of its faith, the ministers of its worship. They play at least as prominent a part in the growth of its institutions, in fostering or repressing the higher life of the nation, as the clergy of the Christian Church

¹ The Heb. word נָחָשׁ occurs about thirty times in the O. T., and it seems clear enough that in every case its use is limited to the *serpent* tribe. If the LXX. interpretation of בָּרָחַ be taken, the *fleeing* and not *piercing* serpent is the rendering: the Heb. עֲקֵלְתָן, *ortuosus*, is more applicable to a serpent than to any other animal. The expression, "He shall slay the dragon that is in the sea," refers also to the Egyptian power, and is merely explicative—the dragon being the crocodile, which is in this part of the verse an emblem of Pharaoh, as the serpent is in the former

have played in the history of any European kingdom. It will be the object of this article to trace the outlines of that history, marking out the functions which at different periods were assigned to the tribe, and the influence which its members exercised. This is, it is believed, a truer method than that which would attempt to give a more complete picture by combining into one whole the fragmentary notices which are separated from each other by wide intervals of time, or treating them as if they represented the permanent characteristics of the order. In the history of all priestly or quasi-priestly bodies, functions vary with the changes of time and circumstances, and to ignore those changes is a sufficient proof of incompetency for dealing with the history. As a matter of convenience, whatever belongs exclusively to the functions and influence of the priesthood, will be found under that head [PRIEST]; but it is proposed to treat here of all that is common to the priests and Levites, as being together the sacerdotal tribe, the *clergy* of Israel. The history will fall naturally into four great periods.

I. The time of the Exodus.

II. The period of the Judges.

III. That of the Monarchy.

IV. That from the Captivity to the destruction of Jerusalem.

I. The absence of all reference to the consecrated character of the Levites in the book of Genesis is noticeable enough. The prophecy ascribed to Jacob (Gen. xlix. 5-7) was indeed fulfilled with singular precision; but the terms of the prophecy are hardly such as would have been framed by a later writer, after the tribe had gained its subsequent pre-eminence; and unless we frame some hypothesis to account for this omission as deliberate, it takes its place, so far as it goes, among the evidence of the antiquity of that section of Genesis in which these prophecies are found. The only occasion on which the patriarch of the tribe appears—the massacre of the Shechemites—may indeed have contributed to influence the history of his descendants, by fostering in them the same fierce wild zeal against all that threatened to violate the purity of their race; but generally what strikes us is the absence of all recognition of the later character. In the genealogy of Gen. xlv. 11, in like manner, the list does not go lower down than the three sons of Levi, and they are given in the order of their birth, not in that which would have corresponded to the official superiority of the Kohathites.^b There are no signs, again, that the tribe of Levi had any special pre-eminence over the others during the Egyptian bondage. As tracing its descent from Leah, it would take its place among the six chief tribes sprung from the wives of Jacob, and share with them a recognised superiority over those that bore the names of the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah. Within the tribe itself there are some slight tokens that the Ko-

part of the verse.

^a Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 454) refers the language of Gen. xlix. 7 not to the distribution of the Levites in their 48 cities, but to the time when they had fallen into disrepute, and become, as in Judg. xvii.—a wandering, half-mendicant order. But see Kallisch, *Genesis*, ad loc.

^b The later genealogies, it should be noticed, reproduce the same order. This was natural enough; but a genealogy originating in a later age, and reflecting its feelings, would probably have changed the order (Comp. Ex. vi. 16, Num. iii. 17, 1 Chr. vi. 18.)

guardians round the sacred tent; no one else might come near it under pain of death (Num. i. 51, xviii. 22). They were to occupy a middle position in that ascending scale of consecration, which, starting from the idea of the whole nation as a priestly people, reached its culminating point in the high-priest who, alone of all the people, might enter "within the veil." The Levites might come nearer than the other tribes; but they might not sacrifice, nor burn incense, nor see the "holy things" of the sanctuary till they were covered (Num. iv. 15). When on the march, no hands but theirs might strike the tent at the commencement of the day's journey, or carry the parts of its structure during it, or pitch the tent once again when they halted (Num. i. 51). It was obviously essential for such a work that there should be a fixed assignment of duties; and now accordingly we meet with the first outlines of the organisation which afterwards became permanent. The division of the tribe into the three sections that traced their descent from the sons of Levi, formed the groundwork of it. The work which they all had to do required a man's full strength, and therefore, though twenty was the starting-point for military service (Num. i.), they were not to enter on their active service till they were thirty^a (Num. iv. 23, 30, 35). At fifty they were to be free from all duties but those of superintendence (Num. viii. 25, 26). The result of this limitation gave to the Kohathites 2750 on active service out of 8600; to the sons of Gershon 2630 out of 7500; to those of Merari 3200 out of 6200 (Num. iv.). Of these the Kohathites, as nearest of kin to the priests, held from the first the highest offices. They were to bear all the vessels of the sanctuary, the ark itself included^b (Num. iii. 31, iv. 15; Deut. xxi. 25), after the priests had covered them with the dark-blue cloth which was to hide them from all profane gaze; and thus they became also the guardians of all the sacred treasures which the people had so freely offered. The Gershonites in their turn, had to carry the tent-hangings and curtains (Num. iv. 22-26). The heavier burden of the boards, bars, and pillars of the tabernacle fell on the sons of Merari. The two latter companies were allowed, however, to use the oxen and the waggons which were offered by the congregation, Merari, in consideration of its heavier work, having two-thirds of the number (Num. vii. 1-9). The more sacred vessels of the Kohathites were to be borne by them on their own shoulders (Num. vii. 9). The Kohathites in this arrangement were placed under the command of Eleazar, Gershon and Merari under Ithamar (Num. iv. 28, 33). Before the march began the whole tribe was once again solemnly set apart. The rites (some of them at least) were such as the people might have witnessed in Egypt, and all would understand their meaning. Their clothes were to be washed. They themselves, as if they were, prior to their separation, polluted and unclean, like the leper, or

^a The mention of twenty-five in Num. viii. 24, as the age of entrance, must be understood either of a probationary period during which they were trained for their duties, or of the lighter work of keeping the gates of the tabernacle.

^b On more solemn occasions the priests themselves appear as the bearers of the ark (Josh. ii. 3, 15, vi. 6; 1 K. viii. 6).

^c Comp. the analogous practice (differing, however, in being constantly repeated) of the Egyptian priests (Herod. ii. 37; comp. p. Spencer, *De Leg. Heb.* b. ii. c. 5).

those that had touched the dead, were to be sprinkled with "water of purifying" (Num. viii. 7, comp. with xix. 13; Lev. xiv. 8, 9), and to shave all their flesh.¹ The people were then to lay their hands upon the heads of the consecrated tribe and offer them up as their representatives (Num. viii. 10), Aaron, as high-priest, was then to present them as a wave-offering (turning them, *i. e.* this way and that, while they bowed themselves to the four points of the compass; comp. Abarbanel on Num. viii. 11, and Kurtz, iii. 208), in token that all their powers of mind and body were henceforth to be devoted to that service.^k They, in their turn, were to lay their hands on the two bullocks which were to be slain as a sin-offering and burnt-offering for an atonement (בָּרַךְ, Num. viii. 12). Then they entered on their work; from one point of view given by the people to Jehovah, from another given by Jehovah to Aaron and his sons (Num. iii. 9, viii. 19, xviii. 6). Their very name is turned into an omen that they will cleave to the service of the Lord (comp. the play on יְהוָה and יְהוּ in Num. xviii. 2, 4).

The new institution was, however, to receive a severe shock from those who were most interested in it. The section of the Levites whose position brought them into contact with the tribe of Reuben^l conspired with it to reassert the old patriarchal system of a household priesthood. The leader of that revolt may have been impelled by a desire to gain the same height as that which Aaron had attained; but the ostensible pretext, that the "whole congregation were holy" (Num. xvi. 3), was one which would have cut away all the distinctive privileges of the tribe of which he was a member. When their self-willed ambition had been punished, when all danger of the sons of Levi "taking too much upon them" was for the time checked, it was time also to provide more definitely for them, and so to give them more reason to be satisfied with what they actually had; and this involved a permanent organisation for the future as well as for the present. If they were to have, like other tribes, a distinct territory assigned to them, their influence over the people at large would be diminished, and they themselves would be likely to forget, in labours common to them with others, their own peculiar calling. Jehovah therefore was to be their inheritance (Num. xviii. 20; Deut. x. 9, xviii. 2). They were to have no territorial possessions. In place of them they were to receive from the others the tithes of the produce of the land, from which they, in their turn, offered a tithe to the priests, as a recognition of their higher consecration (Num. xviii. 21, 24, 26; Neh. x. 37). As if to provide for the contingency of failing crops or the like, and the consequent inadequacy of the tithes thus assigned to them, the Levite not less than the widow and the orphan, was commended to the special kindness of the people (Deut. xii. 19, xiv. 27, 29). When the

^k Solemn as this dedication is, it fell short of the consecration of the priests, and was expressed by a different word. [PRIEST.] The Levites were purified, not consecrated (comp. Gesen. s. v. טָהַר and קָדַשׁ, and Oehler, s. v. "Levi," in Herzog's *Real. Encycl.*).

^l In the encampment in the wilderness, the sons of Aaron occupied the foremost place of honour on the east. The Kohathites were at their right, on the south, the Gershonites on the west, the sons of Merari on the north of the tabernacle. On the south were also Reuben, Simeon, and Gad (Num. ii. and iii.).

wanderings of the people should be over and the tabernacle have a settled place, great part of the labour that had fallen on them would come to an end, and they too would need a fixed abode. Concentration round the tabernacle would lead to evils nearly as great, though of a different kind, as an assignment of special territory. Their ministerial character might thus be intensified, but their pervading influence as witnesses and teachers would be sacrificed to it. Distinctness and diffusion were both to be secured by the assignment to the whole tribe (the priests included) of forty-eight cities, with an outlying "suburb" (כִּנְרֵט, *podosteia*; Num. xxxv. 2) of meadow-land for the pasturage of their flocks and herds.^m The reverence of the people for them was to be heightened by the selection of six of these as cities of refuge, in which the Levites were to present themselves as the protectors of the fugitives who, though they had not incurred the guilt, were yet liable to the punishment of murder.ⁿ How rapidly the feeling of reverence gained strength, we may judge from the share assigned to them out of the flocks and herds and women, of the conquered Midianites (Num. xxxi. 27, &c.). The same victory led to the dedication of gold and silver vessels of great value, and thus increased the importance of the tribe as guardians of the national treasures (Num. xxxi. 50-54).

The book of Deuteronomy is interesting as indicating more clearly than had been done before the other functions, over and above their ministrations in the tabernacle, which were to be allotted to the tribe of Levi. Through the whole land they were to take the place of the old household priests (subject, of course, to the special rights of the Aaronic priesthood), sharing in all festivals and rejoicings (Deut. xii. 19, xiv. 26, 27, xxvi. 11). Every third year they were to have an additional share in the produce of the land (Deut. xiv. 28, xxvi. 12). The people were charged never to forsake them. To "the priests the Levites" was to belong the office of preserving, transcribing, and interpreting the law (Deut. xvii. 9-12; xxxi. 26). They were solemnly to read it every seventh year at the Feast of Tabernacles (Deut. xxxi. 9-13). They were to pronounce the curses from Mount Ebal (Deut. xxvii. 14).

Such, if one may so speak, was the ideal of the religious organisation which was present to the mind of the lawgiver. Details were left to be developed as the altered circumstances of the people might require.^p The great principle was, that the warrior-caste who had guarded the tent of the captain of the hosts of Israel, should be throughout the land as witnesses that the people still owed allegiance to Him. It deserves notice that, as yet, with the exception of the few passages that refer to

^m Heliopolis (Strabo, xvii. 1), Thebes and Memphis in Egypt, and Benares in Hindostan, have been referred to as parallels. The aggregation of priests round a great national sanctuary, so as to make it as it were the centre of a collegiate life, was however different in its object and results from that of the polity of Israel. (Comp. Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 402.)

ⁿ The importance of giving a sacred character to such an asylum is sufficient to account for the assignment of the cities of refuge to the Levites. Philo, however, with his characteristic love of an inner meaning, sees in it the truth that the Levites themselves were, according to the idea of their lives, fugitives from the world of sense, who had found their place of refuge in God.

^p This phraseology, characteristic of Deuteronomy

the priests, no traces appear of their character as a learned caste, and of the work which afterwards belonged to them as hymn-writers and musicians. The hymns of this period were probably occasional, not recurring (comp. Ex. xv.; Num. xxi. 17; Deut. xxxii.). Women bore a large share in singing them (Ex. xv. 20; Ps. lxxviii. 25). It is not unlikely that the wives and daughters of the Levites, who must have been with them in all their encampments, as afterwards in their cities, took the foremost part among the "damsels playing with their timbrels,"^q or among the "wise-hearted," who wove hangings for the decoration of the tabernacle. There are at any rate signs of their presence there, in the mention of the "women that assembled" at its door (Ex. xxxviii. 8, and comp. Ewald, *Alterthüm.* p. 297).

II. The successor of Moses, though belonging to another tribe, did faithfully all that could be done to convert this idea into a reality. The submission of the Gibeonites, after they had obtained a promise that their lives should be spared, enabled him to relieve the tribe-divisions of Gershon and Merari of the most burdensome of their duties. The conquered Hivites became "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the house of Jehovah and for the congregation (Josh. ix. 27).^r As soon as the conquerors had advanced far enough to proceed to a partition of the country, the forty-eight cities were assigned to them. Whether they were to be the sole occupiers of the cities thus allotted, or whether—as the rule for the redemption of their houses in Lev. xxv. 32 might seem to indicate—others were allowed to reside when they had been provided for, must remain uncertain. The principle of a widely diffused influence was maintained by allotting, as a rule, four cities from the district of each tribe; but it is interesting to notice how, in the details of the distribution, the divisions of the Levites in the order of their precedence coincided with the relative importance of the tribes with which they were connected. The following table will help the reader to form a judgment on this point, and to trace the influence of the tribe in the subsequent events of Jewish history.

I. KOHATHITES:

A. Priests	{	Judah and Simeon	9
		Benjamin	4
		Ephraim	4

B. Not Priests	{	Dan	4
		Half Manasseh (West)	2
		Half Manasseh (East)	2

II. GERSHONITES	{	Issachar	4
		Asher	4
		Naphtali	3

III. MERARITES	{	Zebulun	4
		Reuben	4
		Gad	4

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and Joshua, appears to indicate that the functions spoken of belonged to them, as the chief members of the sacred tribe, as a clerisy rather than as priests in the narrower sense of the word.

^r To this there is one remarkable exception. Deut. xviii. 6 provides for a permanent dedication as the result of personal zeal going beyond the fixed period of service that came in rotation, and entitled accordingly to its reward.

^q Comp., as indicating their presence and functions at a later date, 1 Chr. xxv. 5, 6.

^r The Nethinim (*Deo dati*) of 1 Chr. ix. 2, Ezer. ii. 43, were probably sprung from captives taken by David in later wars, who were assigned to the service of the tabernacle, replacing possibly the Gibeonites who had been slain by Saul (2 Sam. xxi. 1).

The scanty memorials that are left us in the book of Judges fail to show how far, for any length of time, the reality answered to the idea. The ravages of invasion, and the pressure of an alien rule, marred the working of the organisation which seemed so perfect. Levitical cities, such as Aijalon (Josh. xxi. 24; Judg. i. 35) and Gezer (Josh. xxi. 21; 1 Chr. vi. 67), fall into the hands of their enemies. Sometimes, as in the case of Nob, others apparently took their place. The wandering unsettled habits of the Levites who are mentioned in the later chapters of Judges are probably to be traced to this loss of a fixed abode, and the consequent necessity of taking refuge in other cities, even though their tribe as such had no portion in them. The tendency of the people to fall into the idolatry of the neighbouring nations showed either that the Levites failed to bear their witness to the truth or had no power to enforce it. Even in the lifetime of Phinehas, when the high-priest was still consulted as an oracle, the reverence which the people felt for the tribe of Levi becomes the occasion of a rival worship (Judg. xvii.). The old household priesthood revives, and there is the risk of the national worship breaking up into individualism. Micah first consecrates one of his own sons, and then tempts a homeless Levite to dwell with him as "a father and a priest" for little more than his food and raiment. The Levite, though probably the grandson of Moses himself, repeats the sin of Korah. [JONATHAN.] First in the house of Micah, and then for the emigrants of Dan, he exercises the office of a priest with "an ephod, and a tephimim and a graven image." With this exception the whole tribe appears to have fallen into a condition analogous to that of the clergy in the darkest period and in the most outlying districts of the Mediaeval Church, going through a ritual routine, but exercising no influence for good, at once corrupted and corrupting. The shameless license of the sons of Eli may be looked upon as the result of a long period of decay, affecting the whole order. When the priests were such as Hophni and Phinehas, we may fairly assume that the Levites were not doing much to sustain the moral life of the people.

The work of Samuel was the starting-point of a better time. Himself a Levite, and, though not a priest, belonging to that section of the Levites which was nearest to the priesthood (1 Chr. vi. 28), adopted as it were, by a special dedication into the priestly line and trained for its offices (1 Sam. ii. 18), he appears as infusing a fresh life, the author of a new organisation. There is no reason to think, indeed, that the companies or schools of the sons of the prophets which appear in his time (1 Sam. x. 5), and are traditionally said to have been founded by him, consisted exclusively of Levites; but there are many signs that the members of that tribe formed a large element in the new order, and received new strength from it. It exhibited, indeed, the ideal of the Levite life as one of praise, devotion, teaching, standing in the same relation to the priests and Levites generally as the monastic institutions of the fifth century, or the mendicant orders of the thirteenth did to the secular clergy of Western Europe.

* Compare, on the extent of this relapse into an earlier system, Kalisch, *On Genesis* xiv. 7.

† It may be worth while to indicate the extent of this connexion. As prophets, who are also priests, we have Jeremiah (Jer. i. 1). Ezekiel (Ez. i. 3), Azariah the son of Oded (2 Chr. xv. 4), Zechariah (2 Chr. xxiv. 20). Internal evidence tends to the

The fact that the Levites were thus brought under the influence of a system which addressed itself to the mind and heart in a greater degree than the sacrificial functions of the priesthood, may possibly have led them on to apprehend the higher truths as to the nature of worship which begin to be asserted from this period, and which are nowhere proclaimed more clearly than in the great hymn that bears the name of Asaph (Ps. l. 7-15). The man who raises the name of prophet to a new significance is himself a Levite (1 Sam. ix. 9). It is among them that we find the first signs of the musical skill which is afterwards so conspicuous in the Levites (1 Sam. x. 5). The order in which the Temple services were arranged is ascribed to two of the prophets, Nathan and Gad (2 Chr. xxix. 25), who must have grown up under Samuel's superintendence, and in part to Samuel himself (1 Chr. ix. 22). Asaph and Heman, the Psalmists, bear the same title as Samuel the Seer (1 Chr. xxv. 5; 2 Chr. xxx. 30). The very word "prophesying" is applied not only to sudden bursts of song, but to the organised psalmody of the Temple (1 Chr. xxv. 2, 3). Even of those who bore the name of a prophet in a higher sense, a large number are traceably of this tribe.[†]

III. The capture of the Ark by the Philistines did not entirely interrupt the worship of the Israelites, and the ministrations of the Levites went on, first at Shiloh (1 Sam. xiv. 3), then for a time at Nob (1 Sam. xxii. 11), afterwards at Gibeon (1 K. iii. 2; 1 Chr. xvi. 39). The history of the return of the ark to Beth-shemesh after its capture by the Philistines, and its subsequent removal to Kirjath-jearim, points apparently to some strange complications, rising out of the anomalies of this period, and affecting, in some measure, the position of the tribe of Levi. Beth-shemesh was, by the original assignment of the conquered country, one of the cities of the priests (Josh. xxi. 16). They, however, do not appear in the narrative, unless we assume, against all probability, that the men of Beth-shemesh who were guilty of the act of profanation were themselves of the priestly order. Levites indeed are mentioned as doing their appointed work (1 Sam. vi. 15), but the sacrifices and burnt-offerings are offered by the men of the city, as though the special function of the priesthood had been usurped by others; and on this supposition it is easier to understand how those who had set aside the Law of Moses by one offence should defy it also by another. The singular reading of the LXX. in 1 Sam. vi. 19 (*καὶ οὐκ ἠσμένισαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰεχονίου ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσι Βαιθσαμὲς ὅτι εἶδον κιβωτὸν Κυρίου*) indicates, if we assume that it rests upon some corresponding Hebrew text, a struggle between two opposed parties, one guilty of the profanation, the other—possibly the Levites who had been before mentioned—zealous in their remonstrances against it. Then comes, either as the result of this collision, or by direct supernatural infliction, the great slaughter of the Beth-shemites, and they shrink from retaining the ark any longer among them. The great Eben (stone) becomes, by a slight paronomastic change in its form, the "great Abel" (lamentation), and the name remains as a

same conclusion as to Joel, Micah, Habakkuk, Haggai, Zechariah, and even Isaiah himself. Jahaziel (2 Chr. xx. 14) appears as at once a prophet and a Levite. There is a balance of probability on the same side as to Jehu, Hanani, the second Oded, and Ahijah of Shiloh.

moral of the sin and of its punishment. [BEHSHE-
WESH.] We are left entirely in the dark as to the
reasons which led them, after this, to send the ark of
Jehovah, not to Hebron or some other priestly city,
but to Kirjath-jearim, round which, so far as we know,
there gathered legitimately no sacred associations.
It has been commonly assumed indeed that Abinadab,
under whose guardianship it remained for
the twenty years, must necessarily have been of the
tribe of Levi. [ABINADAB.] Of this, however,
there is not the slightest direct evidence, and against
it there is the language of David in 1 Chr. xv. 2,
"None ought to carry the ark of God but the
Levites, for them hath Jehovah chosen," which
would lose half its force if it were not meant as a
protest against a recent innovation, and the ground
of a return to the more ancient order. So far as
one can see one's way through these perplexities of
a dark period, the most probable explanation—al-
ready suggested under KIRJATH-JEARIM—seems
to be the following. The old names of Baaleh
(Josh. xv. 9) and Kirjath-baal (Josh. xv. 60)
suggest there had been of old some special sanctity
attached to the place as the centre of a Canaanite
local worship. The fact that the ark was taken
to the house of Abinadab in the hill (1 Sam.
vii. 1), the Gibeah of 2 Sam. vi. 3, connects it-
self with that old Canaanitish reverence for high
places, which, through the whole history of the
Israelites, continued to have such strong attractions
for them. These may have seemed to the panic-
stricken inhabitants of that district, mingling old
things and new, the worship of Jehovah with the
lingering superstitions of the conquered people,
sufficient grounds to determine their choice of a
locality. The consecration (the word used is the
special sacerdotal term) of Eleazar as the guardian
of the ark is, on this hypothesis, analogous in its way
to the other irregular assumptions which characterise
this period, though here the offence was less flagrant,
and did not involve apparently the performance of
any sacrificial acts. While, however, this aspect of
the religious condition of the people brings the Levitical
and priestly orders before us, as having lost the
position they had previously occupied, there were
other influences at work tending to reinstate them.

The rule of Samuel and his sons, and the prophetic
character now connected with the tribe, tended
to give them the position of a ruling caste. In the
strong desire of the people for a king, we may per-
haps trace a protest against the assumption by the
Levites of a higher position than that originally
assigned. The reign of Saul, in its later period,
was at any rate the assertion of a self-willed power
against the priestly order. The assumption of the
sacrificial office, the massacre of the priests at Nob,
the slaughter of the Gibeonites who were attached
to their service, were parts of the same policy, and
the narrative of the condemnation of Saul for the
two former sins, no less than of the expiation re-
quired for the latter (2 Sam. xxi.), shows by what
strong measures the truth, of which that policy was
a subversion, had to be impressed on the minds of
the Israelites. The reign of David, however, brought
the change from persecution to honour. The Levites
were ready to welcome a king who, though not of
their tribe, had been brought up under their train-
ing, was skilled in their arts, prepared to share

even in some of their ministrations, and to array
himself in their apparel (2 Sam. vi. 14), and 4600 of
their number with 3700 priests waited upon David
at Hebron—itself, it should be remembered, one of
the priestly cities—to tender their allegiance (1 Chr.
xii. 26). When his kingdom was established, there
came a fuller organisation of the whole tribe. Its
position in relation to the priesthood was once again
definitely recognised. When the ark was carried up
to its new resting-place in Jerusalem, their claim
to be the bearers of it was publicly acknowledged
(1 Chr. xv. 2). When the sin of Uzzah stopped the
procession, it was placed for a time under the care
of Obed-Edom of Gath—probably Gath-rimmon—
as one of the chiefs of the Kohathites (1 Chr. xiii.
13; Josh. xxi. 24; 1 Chr. xv. 18).

In the procession which attended the ultimate
conveyance of the ark to its new resting-place the
Levites were conspicuous, wearing their linen ephods,
and appearing in their new character as minstrels
(1 Chr. xv. 27, 28). In the worship of the taber-
nacle under David, as afterwards in that of the
Temple, we may trace a development of the simpler
arrangements of the wilderness and of Shiloh. The
Levites were the gatekeepers, vergers, sacristans,
choristers of the central sanctuary of the nation.
They were, in the language of 1 Chr. xxiii. 24-32,
to which we may refer as almost the *locus classicus*
on this subject, "to wait on the sons of Aaron
for the service of the house of Jehovah, in the
courts, and the chambers, and the purifying of all
holy things." This included the duty of providing
"for the shew-bread, and the fine flour for meat-
offering, and for the unleavened bread." They
were, besides this, "to stand every morning to thank
and praise Jehovah, and likewise at even." They
were lastly "to offer"—i. e. to assist the priests in
offering—"all burnt-sacrifices to Jehovah in the sab-
baths and on the set feasts." They lived for the greater
part of the year in their own cities, and came up at
fixed periods to take their turn of work (1 Chr. xxv.,
xxvi.). How long it lasted we have no sufficient
data for determining. The predominance of the
number twelve as the basis of classification¹ might
seem to indicate monthly periods, and the festivals
of the new moon would naturally suggest such an
arrangement. The analogous order in the civil and
military administration (1 Chr. xxvii. 1) would tend
to the same conclusion. It appears, indeed, that there
was a change of some kind every week (1 Chr. ix. 25;
2 Chr. xxiii. 4, 8); but this is of course compatible
with a system of rotation, which would give to each
a longer period of residence, or with the permanent
residence of the leader of each division within the
precincts of the sanctuary. Whatever may have
been the system, we must bear in mind that the
duties now imposed upon the Levites were such as
to require almost continuous practice. They would
need, when their turn came, to be able to bear their
parts in the great choral hymns of the Temple, and
to take each his appointed share in the complex
structure of a sacrificial liturgy, and for this a
special study would be required. The education
which the Levites received for their peculiar duties,
no less than their connexion, more or less intimate,
with the schools of the prophets (see above), would
tend to make them, so far as there was any educa-
tion at all, the teachers of the others,² the tran-

¹ There are 24 courses of the priests, 24,000 Levites in the general business of the Temple (1 Chr. xxiii. 4). The number of singers is 288 = 12 x 24 (1 Chr. xxv. 7).

² There is, however, a curious Jewish tradition that the schoolmasters of Israel were of the tribe of Simeon (Solom. Jarchi on Gen. xlix. 7, in Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*).

scribers and interpreters of the Law, the chroniclers of the times in which they lived. We have some striking instances of their appearance in this new character. One of them, Ethan the Ezrahite,⁷ takes his place among the old Hebrew sages who were worthy to be compared with Solomon, and (Ps. lxxxix. title) his name appears as the writer of the 39th Psalm (1 K. iv. 31; 1 Chr. xv. 17). One of the first to bear the title of "Scribe" is a Levite (1 Chr. xxiv. 6), and this is mentioned as one of their special offices under Josiah (2 Chr. xxxiv. 13). They are described as "officers and judges" under David (1 Chr. xxvi. 29), and as such are employed "in all the business of Jehovah, and in the service of the king." They are the agents of Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah in their work of reformation, and are sent forth to proclaim and enforce the law (2 Chr. xvii. 8, xxx. 22). Under Josiah the function has passed into a title, and they are "the Levites that taught all Israel" (2 Chr. xxxv. 3). The two books of Chronicles bear unmistakable marks of having been written by men whose interests were all gathered round the services of the Temple, and who were familiar with its records. The materials from which they compiled their narratives, and to which they refer as the works of seers and prophets, were written by men who were probably Levites themselves, or, if not, were associated with them.

The former subdivisions of the tribe were recognised in the assignment of the new duties, and the Kohathites retained their old pre-eminence. They have four "princes" (1 Chr. xv. 5-10), while Merari and Gershon have but one each. They supplied, from the families of the Izharites and Hebronites, the "officers and judges" of 1 Chr. xxvi. 30. To them belonged the sons of Korah, with Heman at their head (1 Chr. ix. 19), playing upon psalteries and harps. They were "over the work of the service, keepers of the gates of the tabernacle" (*l. c.*). It was their work to prepare the shew-bread every Sabbath (1 Chr. ix. 32). The Gershonites were represented in like manner in the Temple-choir by the sons of Asaph (1 Chr. vi. 39, xv. 17); Merari by the sons of Ethan or Jeduthun (1 Chr. vi. 44, xvi. 42, xxv. 1-7). Now that the heavier work of conveying the tabernacle and its equipments from place to place was no longer required of them, and that psalmody had become the most prominent of their duties, they were to enter on their work at the earlier age of twenty (1 Chr. xxiii. 24-27).²

As in the old days of the Exodus, so in the organisation under David, the Levites were not included in the general census of the people (1 Chr. xxi. 6), and formed accordingly no portion of its military strength. A separate census, made apparently before the change of age just mentioned (1 Chr. xxiii. 3), gives—

24,000 over the work of the Temple.

6,000 officers and judges.

4,000 porters, *i. e.* gate-keepers,* and, as such,

⁷ In 1 Chr. ii. 6 the four names of 1 K. iv. 31 appear as belonging to the tribe of Judah, and in the third generation after Jacob. On the other hand the names of Heman and Ethan are prominent among the Levites under Solomon (*infra*); and two psalms, one of which belongs manifestly to a later date, are ascribed to them, with this title of Ezrahite attached (Ps. lxxxviii. and lxxxix.). The difficulty arises probably out of some confusion of the later and the earlier names. Ewald's conjecture, that conspicuous minstrels of other tribes were received into the choir of the Temple, and then reckoned as Levites, would give a

bearing arms (1 Chr. ix. 19; 2 Chr. xxxi. 2).

4,000 praising Jehovah with instruments.

The latter number, however, must have included the full choruses of the Temple. The more skilled musicians among the sons of Heman, Asaph, and Jeduthun are numbered at 288, in 24 sections of 12 each. Here again the Kohathites are prominent, having 14 out of the 24 sections; while Gershon has 4 and Merari 8 (1 Chr. xxv. 2-4). To these 288 were assigned apparently a more permanent residence in the Temple (1 Chr. ix. 33), and in the villages of the Netophathites near Bethlehem (1 Chr. ix. 16), mentioned long afterwards as inhabited by the "sons of the singers" (Neh. xii. 28).

The revolt of the ten tribes, and the policy pursued by Jeroboam, led to a great change in the position of the Levites. They were the witnesses of an appointed order and of a central worship. He wished to make the priests the creatures and instruments of the king, and to establish a provincial and divided worship. The natural result was, that they left the cities assigned to them in the territory of Israel, and gathered round the metropolis of Judah (2 Chr. xi. 13, 14). Their influence over the people at large was thus diminished, and the design of the Mosaic polity so far frustrated; but their power as a religious order was probably increased by this concentration within narrower limits. In the kingdom of Judah they were, from this time forward, a powerful body, politically as well as ecclesiastically. They brought with them the prophetic element of influence, in the wider as well as in the higher meaning of the word. We accordingly find them prominent in the war of Abijah against Jeroboam (2 Chr. xiii. 10-12). They are, as before noticed, sent out by Jehoshaphat to instruct and judge the people (2 Chr. xix. 8-10). Prophets of their order encourage the king in his war against Moab and Ammon, and go before his army with their loud Hallelujahs (2 Chr. xx. 21), and join afterwards in the triumph of his return. The apostasy that followed on the marriage of Jehoram and Athaliah exposed them for a time to the dominance of a hostile system; but the services of the Temple appear to have gone on, and the Levites were again conspicuous in the counter-revolution effected by Jehoiada (2 Chr. xxiii.), and in restoring the Temple to its former stateliness under Joash (2 Chr. xxiv. 5). They shared in the disasters of the reign of Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 24), and in the prosperity of Uzziah, and were ready, we may believe, to support the priests, who, as representing their order, opposed the sacrilegious usurpation of the latter king (2 Chr. xxvi. 17). The closing of the Temple under Ahaz involved the cessation at once of their work and of their privileges (2 Chr. xxviii. 24). Under Hezekiah they again became prominent, as consecrating themselves to the special work of cleansing and repairing the

new aspect to the influence of the tribe. (Comp. *Poet. Büch.* i. 213; De Wette, *Psalmen, Einleit.* § iii.)

* The change is indicated in what are described as the "last words of David." The king feels, in his old age, that a time of rest has come for himself and for the people, and that the Levites have a right to share in it. They are now the ministers—not, as before, the warrior-host—of the Unseen King.

† Ps. cxxxiv. acquires a fresh interest when we think of it as the song of the night-sentries of the Temple.

Temple (2 Chr. xxix. 12-15); and the hymns of David and of Asaph were again renewed. In this instance it was thought worthy of special record that those who were simply Levites were more "upright in heart" and zealous than the priests themselves (2 Chr. xxix. 34); and thus, in that great passover, they took the place of the unwilling or unprepared members of the priesthood. Their old privileges were restored, they were put forward as teachers (2 Chr. xxx. 22), and the payment of tithes, which had probably been discontinued under Ahasa, was renewed (2 Chr. xxxi. 4). The genealogies of the tribe were revised (ver. 17), and the old classification kept its ground. The reign of Manasseh was for them, during the greater part of it, a period of depression. That of Josiah witnessed a fresh revival and reorganisation (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8-13). In the great passover of his eighteenth year they took their place as teachers of the people, as well as leaders of their worship (2 Chr. xxxv. 3, 15). Then came the Egyptian and Chaldaean invasions, and the rule of cowardly and apostate kings. The sacred tribe itself showed itself unfaithful. The repeated protests of the priest Ezekiel indicate that they had shared in the idolatry of the people. The prominence into which they had been brought in the reigns of the two reforming kings had apparently tempted them to think that they might encroach permanently on the special functions of the priesthood, and the sin of Korah was renewed (Ez. xliv. 10-14, xlviii. 11). They had, as the penalty of their sin, to witness the destruction of the Temple, and to taste the bitterness of exile.

IV. After the Captivity. The position taken by the Levites in the first movements of the return from Babylon indicates that they had cherished the traditions and maintained the practices of their tribe. They, we may believe, were those who were specially called on to sing to their conquerors one of the songs of Zion (De Wette on Ps. cxxxvii.). It is noticeable, however, that in the first body of returning exiles they are present in a disproportionately small number (Ez. ii. 36-42). Those who do come take their old parts at the foundation and dedication of the second Temple (Ezr. iii. 10, vi. 18). In the next movement under Ezra their reluctance (whatever may have been its origin^b) was even more strongly marked. None of them presented themselves at the first great gathering (Ezr. viii. 15). The special efforts of Ezra did not succeed in bringing together more than 38, and their place had to be filled by 220 of the Nethinim (ib. 20).^c Those who returned with him resumed their functions at the Feast of Tabernacles as teachers and interpreters (Neh. viii. 7), and those who were most active in that work were foremost also in chanting the hymn-like prayer which appears in Neh. ix. as the last great effort of Jewish psalmody. They are recognised in the great national covenant, and the offerings and tithes which were their due are once more solemnly secured to them (Neh. x. 37-38). They take their old places in the Temple and in the villages near Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 29), and are present in full array at the great feast of the Dedication of the Wall. The two prophets who were active at the time of the Return, Haggai and

Zechariah, if they did not belong to the tribe, helped it forward in the work of restoration. The strongest measures are adopted by Nehemiah, as before by Ezra, to guard the purity of their blood from the contamination of mixed marriages (Ezr. x. 23); and they are made the special guardians of the holiness of the Sabbath (Neh. xiii. 22). The last prophet of the O. T. sees, as part of his vision of the latter days, the time when the Lord "shall purify the sons of Levi" (Mal. iii. 3).

The guidance of the O. T. fails us at this point, and the history of the Levites in relation to the national life becomes consequently a matter of inference and conjecture. The synagogue worship, then originated, or receiving a new development, was organised irrespectively of them [SYNAGOGUE], and thus throughout the whole of Palestine there were means of instruction in the Law with which they were not connected. This would tend naturally to diminish their peculiar claim on the reverence of the people; but where a priest or Levite was present in the synagogue they were still entitled to some kind of precedence, and special sections in the lessons for the day were assigned to them (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. iv. 23). During the period that followed the Captivity they contributed to the formation of the so-called Great Synagogue. They, with the priests, theoretically constituted and practically formed the majority of the permanent Sanhedrim (Maimonides in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xxvi. 3), and as such had a large share in the administration of justice even in capital cases. In the characteristic feature of this period, as an age of scribes succeeding to an age of prophets, they too were likely to be sharers. The training and previous history of the tribe would predispose them to attach themselves to the new system as they had done to the old. They accordingly may have been among the scribes and elders who accumulated traditions. They may have attached themselves to the sects of Pharisees and Sadducees.^d But in proportion as they thus acquired fame and reputation individually, their functions as Levites became subordinate, and they were known simply as the inferior ministers of the Temple. They take no prominent part in the Maccabean struggles, though they must have been present at the great purification of the Temple.

They appear but seldom in the history of the N. T. Where we meet with their names it is as the type of a formal heartless worship, without sympathy and without love (Luke x. 32). The same parable indicates Jericho as having become—what it had not been originally (see Josh. xxi., 1 Chr. vi.)—one of the great stations at which they and the priests resided (Lightfoot, *Cent. Chorograph.* c. 47). In John i. 19 they appear as delegates of the Jews, that is of the Sanhedrim, coming to inquire into the credentials of the Baptist, and giving utterance to their own Messianic expectations. The mention of a Levite of Cyprus in Acts iv. 36 shows that the changes of the previous century had carried that tribe also into "the dispersed among the Gentiles." The conversion of Barnabas and Mark was probably no solitary instance of the reception by them of the new faith, which was the fulfilment of the old.

^b May we conjecture that the language of Ezekiel had led to some jealousy between the two orders?

^c There is a Jewish tradition (Surenhusius, *Mishna*, *Sot.*, ix. 10) to the effect that, as a punishment for

this backwardness, Ezra deprived them of their tithes, and transferred the right to the priests.

^d The life of Josephus may be taken as an example of the education of the higher members of the order (*Jos. Vita*, c. i.).

If "a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith" (Acts vi. 7), it is not too bold to believe that their influence may have led Levites to follow their example; and thus the old psalms, and possibly also the old chants of the Temple-service, might be transmitted through the agency of those who had been specially trained in them, to be the inheritance of the Christian Church. Later on in the history of the first century, when the Temple had received its final completion under the younger Agrippa, we find one section of the tribe engaged in a new movement. With that strange unconsciousness of a coming doom which so often marks the last stage of a decaying system, the singers of the Temple thought it a fitting time to apply for the right of wearing the same linen garment as the priests, and persuaded the king that the concession of this privilege would be the glory of his reign (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 8, §6). The other Levites at the same time asked for and obtained the privilege of joining in the Temple choruses, from which hitherto they had been excluded.* The destruction of the Temple so soon after they had attained the object of their desires came as with a grim irony to sweep away their occupation, and so to deprive them of every vestige of that which had distinguished them from other Israelites. They were merged in the crowd of captives that were scattered over the Roman world, and disappear from the stage of history. The Rabbinic schools, that rose out of the ruins of the Jewish polity, fostered a studied and habitual depreciation of the Levite order as compared with their own teachers (M'Caul, *Old Paths*, p. 435). Individual families, it may be, cherished the tradition that their fathers, as priests or Levites, had taken part in the services of the Temple.† If their claims were recognised, they received the old marks of reverence in the worship of the synagogue (comp. the Regulations of the Great Synagogue of London, in Margoliouth's *History of Jews in Great Britain*, iii. 270), took precedence in reading the lessons of the day (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. iv. 23), and pronounced the blessing at the close (Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, vi. 790). Their existence was acknowledged in some of the laws of the Christian emperors (Basnage, l. c.). The tenacity with which the exiled race clung to these recollections is shown in the prevalence of the names (Cohen, and Levita or Levy) which imply that those who bear them are of the sons of Aaron or the tribe of Levi; and in the custom which exempts the first-born of priestly or Levite families from the payments which are still offered, in the case of others, as the redemption of the first-born (Leo of Modena, in Picart's *Cérémonies Religieuses*, i. 26; Allen's *Modern Judaism*, p. 297). In the meantime the old name had acquired a new signification. The early writers of the Christian Church applied to the later hierarchy the language of the earlier, and gave to the bishops and presbyters the title (*ἐπίσκοπος*) that had belonged to the sons of Aaron; while the deacons were habitually spoken of as Levites (Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. *Λευίτης*).‡

The extinction or absorption of a tribe which had

* The tone of Josephus is noticeable as being that of a man who looked on the change as a dangerous innovation. As a priest, he saw in this movement of the Levites an intrusion on the privileges of his order; and this was, in his judgment, one of the sins which brought on the destruction of the city and the Temple.

† Dr. Joseph Wolff, in his recent *Travels and*

borne so prominent a part in the history of Israel, was, like other such changes, an instance of the order in which the shadow is succeeded by the substance—that which is decayed, is waxing old and ready to vanish away, by a new and more living organisation. It had done its work, and it had lost its life. It was bound up with a localised and exclusive worship, and had no place to occupy in that which was universal. In the Christian Church—supposing, by any effort of imagination, that it had had a recognised existence in it—it would have been simply an impediment. Looking at the long history of which the outline has been here traced, we find in it the light and darkness, the good and evil, which mingle in the character of most corporate or caste societies. On the one hand, the Levites, as a tribe, tended to fall into a formal worship, a narrow and exclusive exaltation of themselves and of their country. On the other hand, we must not forget that they were chosen, together with the priesthood, to bear witness of great truths which might otherwise have perished from remembrance, and that they bore it well through a long succession of centuries. To members of this tribe we owe many separate books of the O. T., and probably also in great measure the preservation of the whole. The hymns which they sung, in part probably the music of which they were the originators, have been perpetuated in the worship of the Christian Church. In the company of prophets who have left behind them no written records they appear conspicuous, united by common work and common interests with the prophetic order. They did their work as a national *clerisy*, instruments in raising the people to a higher life, educating them in the knowledge on which all order and civilization rest. It is not often, in the history of the world, that a religious caste or order has passed away with more claims to the respect and gratitude of mankind than the tribe of Levi.

(On the subject generally may be consulted, in addition to the authorities already quoted, Carpov, *Appar. Crit.* b. i. c. 5, and *Annotat.*; Saalschütz, *Archäol. der Hebr.* c. 78; Michaelis, *Comm. on Laws of Moses*, i. art. 52.) [E. H. P.]

LEVITICUS (לֵוִיִּיקָה), the first word in the book giving it its name: *Λευιτικόν*: *Leviticus*: called also by the later Jews תּוֹרַת כֹּהֲנִים, "Law of the priests;" and תּוֹרַת קִרְבָּנוֹת, "Law of offerings."

CONTENTS.—The Book consists of the following principal sections:—

- I. The laws touching sacrifices (chap. i.—vii.).
- II. An historical section containing, first, the consecration of Aaron and his sons (chap. viii.), next, his first offering for himself and the people (chap. ix.); and lastly, the destruction of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, for their presumptuous offence (chap. x.).
- III. The laws concerning purity and impurity, and the appropriate sacrifices and ordinances for putting away impurity (chap. xi.—xvi.).

Adventures (p. 2), claims his descent from this tribe.

‡ In the literature of a later period the same name meets us applied to the same or nearly the same order no longer, however, as the language of reverence, but as that of a cynical contempt for the less worthy portion of the clergy of the English Church (Macaulay's *Hist. of England*, iii. 327).

IV. Laws chiefly intended to mark the separation between Israel and the heathen nations (chap. xvii.-xx.).

V. Laws concerning the priests (xxi., xxii.); and certain holy days and festivals (xxiii., xxv.), together with an episode (xxv.). The section extends from chap. xxi. 1 to xxvi. 2.

VI. Promises and threats (xxvi. 2-46).

VII. An appendix containing the laws concerning vows (xxvii.).

I. The book of Exodus concludes with the account of the completion of the tabernacle. "So Moses finished the work," we read (xl. 33); and immediately there rests upon it a cloud, and it is filled with the glory of Jehovah. From the tabernacle, thus rendered glorious by the Divine Presence, issues the legislation contained in the book of Leviticus. At first God spake to the people out of the thunder and lightning of Sinai, and gave them His holy commandments by the hand of a mediator. But henceforth His Presence is to dwell not on the secret top of Sinai, but in the midst of His people, both in their wanderings through the wilderness, and afterwards in the Land of Promise. Hence the first directions which Moses receives after the work is finished have reference to the offerings which were to be brought to the door of the tabernacle. As Jehovah draws near to the people in the tabernacle, so the people draw near to Jehovah in the offering. Without offerings none may approach Him. The regulations respecting the sacrifices fall into three groups, and each of these groups again consists of a decalogue of instructions. Bertheau has observed that this principle runs through all the laws of Moses. They are all modelled after the pattern of the ten commandments, so that each distinct subject of legislation is always treated of under ten several enactments or provisions.

Baumgarten in his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, has adopted the arrangement of Bertheau, as set forth in his *Sieben Gruppen des Mos. Rechts*. On the whole, his principle seems sound. We find Bunsen acknowledging it in part, in his division of the 19th chapter (see below). And though we cannot always agree with Bertheau, we have thought it worth while to give his arrangement as suggestive at least of the main structure of the Book.

1. The first group of regulations (chap. i.-iii.) deals with three kinds of offerings: the burnt-offering (עֹלָה), the meat-offering* (מִנְחָה), and the thank-offering (זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים).

I. The burnt-offering (chap. i.) in three sections. It might be either (1.) a male without blemish from the herds (בְּקָר), ver. 3-9; or (2) a male without blemish from the flocks, or lesser cattle (הֶעֱזָא), ver. 10-13; or (3) it might be fowls, an offering of turtle-doves or young pigeons, ver. 14-17. The subdivisions are here marked clearly enough, not only by the three kinds of sacrifice, but also by the form in which the enactment is put. Each begins with קָרְבַּנּוּ . . . אֵם, "If his offering," &c., and each ends with עֹלָה אִשָּׁה רִיחַ נִיחֹחַ לַיהוָה, "an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Jehovah."

The next group (chap. ii.) presents many more difficulties. Its parts are not so clearly marked either by prominent features in the subject-matter,

* "Meat" is used by our translators in the sense of food of any kind, whether flesh or farinaceous.

or by the more technical boundaries of certain initial and final phrases. We have here—

ii. The meat-offering, or bloodless offering in four sections: (1) in its uncooked form, consisting of fine flour with oil and frankincense, ver. 1-3; (2) in its cooked form, of which three different kinds are specified—baked in the oven, fried, or boiled, ver. 4-10; (3) the prohibition of leaven, and the direction to use salt in all the meat-offerings, 11-13; (4) the oblation of first-fruits, 14-16. This at least seems on the whole to be the best arrangement of the group, though we offer it with some hesitation.

(a.) Bertheau's arrangement is different. He divides (1) ver. 1-4 (thus including the meat-offering baked in the oven with the uncooked offering; (2) ver. 5 and 6, the meat-offering when fried in the pan; (3) ver. 7-13, the meat-offering when boiled; (4) ver. 14-16, the offering of the first-fruits. But this is obviously open to many objections. For, first, it is exceedingly arbitrary to connect ver. 4 with ver. 1-3, rather than with the verses which follow. Why should the meat-offering baked in the oven be classed with the uncooked meat-offering rather than with the other two which were in different ways supposed to be dressed with fire? Next, two of the divisions of the chapter are clearly marked by the recurrence of the formula, "It is a thing most holy of the offerings of Jehovah made by fire," ver. 3 and 10. Lastly, the directions in ver. 11-13, apply to every form of meat-offering, not only to that immediately preceding. The Masoretic arrangement is in five sections: vers. 1-3; 4; 5, 6; 7-13; 14-16.

iii. The Shelamim—"peace-offering" (A. V.), or "thank-offering" (Ewald), (chap. iii.) in three sections. Strictly speaking this falls under two heads: first, when it is of the herd; and secondly, when it is of the flock. But this last has again its subdivision; for the offering when of the flock may be either a lamb or a goat. Accordingly the three sections are, vers. 1-5; 7-11; 12-16. Ver. 6 is merely introductory to the second class of sacrifices, and ver. 17 a general conclusion, as in the case of other laws. This concludes the first Decalogue of the book.

2. Chap. iv., v. The laws concerning the sin-offering and the trespass- (or guilt-) offering.

The sin-offering (chap. iv.) is treated of under four specified cases, after a short introduction to the whole in ver. 1, 2: (1) the sin-offering for the priest, 3-12; (2) for the whole congregation, 13-21; (3) for a ruler, 22-26; (4) for one of the common people, 27-35.

After these four cases in which the offering is to be made for four different classes, there follow provisions respecting three several kinds of transgression for which atonement must be made. It is not quite clear whether these should be ranked under the head of the sin-offering or of the trespass-offering (see Winer, *Leub.*). We may however follow Bertheau, Baumgarten, and Knobel, in regarding them as special instances in which a sin-offering was to be brought. The three cases are: first, when any one hears a curse and conceals what he hears (v. 1); secondly, when any one touches without knowing or intending it, any unclean thing (vers. 2, 3); lastly, when any one takes an oath inconsiderately (ver. 4). For each of these cases the same trespass-offering, "a female from the flock, a lamb or kid of the goats," is appointed; but with that mercifulness which characterises the Mosaic law

express provision is made for a less costly offering where the offerer is poor.

The Decalogue is then completed by the three regulations respecting the guilt-offering (or trespass-offering): first, when any one sins "through ignorance in the holy things of Jehovah" (ver. 14, 16); next, when a person without knowing it "commits any of these things which are forbidden to be done by the commandments of Jehovah" (17-19); lastly, when a man lies and swears falsely concerning that which was entrusted to him, &c. (ver. 20-26).^a This Decalogue, like the preceding one, has its characteristic words and expressions. The prominent word which introduces so many of the enactments, is נֶפֶשׁ, "soul" (see iv. 2, 27, v. 1, 2, 4, 15, 17, vi. 2); and the phrase, "if a soul shall sin" (iv. 2) is, with occasional variations having an equivalent meaning, the distinctive phrase of the section.

As in the former Decalogue, the nature of the offerings, so in this the person and the nature of the offence are the chief features in the several statutes.

3. Chap. vi., vii. Naturally upon the law of sacrifices follows the law of the priests' duties when they offer the sacrifices. Hence we find Moses directed to address himself immediately to Aaron and his sons (vi. 2, 18, = vi. 9, 25, A. V.).

In this group the different kinds of offerings are named in nearly the same order as in the two preceding Decalogues, except that the offering at the consecration of a priest follows, instead of the thank-offering, immediately after the meat-offering, which it resembles; and the thank-offering now appears after the trespass-offering. There are therefore, in all, six kinds of offering, and in the case of each of these the priest has his distinct duties. Bertheau has very ingeniously so distributed the enactments in which these duties are prescribed as to arrange them all in five Decalogues. We will briefly indicate his arrangement.

3. (a.) "This is the law of the burnt-offering" (vi. 9; A. V.) in five enactments, each verse (ver. 9-13) containing a separate enactment.

(b.) "And this is the law of the meat-offering" (ver. 14), again in five enactments, each of which is, as before, contained in a single verse (ver. 14-18).

4. The next Decalogue is contained in ver. 19-30.

(a.) Verse 19 is merely introductory; then follow, in five verses, five distinct directions with regard to the offering at the time of the consecration of the priests, the first in ver. 20, the next two in ver. 21, the fourth in the former part of ver. 22, and the last in the latter part of ver. 22 and ver. 23.

(b.) "This is the law of the sin-offering" (ver. 25). Then the five enactments, each in one verse, except that two verses (27, 28) are given to the third.

5. The third Decalogue is contained in chap. vii. 1-10, the laws of the trespass-offering. But it is impossible to avoid a misgiving as to the soundness of Bertheau's system when we find him making the words "It is most holy," in ver. 1, the first of the ten enactments. This he is obliged to do, as ver. 3 and 4 evidently form but one.

6. The fourth Decalogue, after an introductory verse (ver. 11), is contained in ten verses (12-21).

7. The last Decalogue consists of certain general laws about the fat, the blood, the wave-breast, &c., and is comprised again in ten verses (22-33), the verses as before marking the divisions.

^a In the English Version this is chap. vi. 1-7. This is only one of those instances in which the

The chapter closes with a brief historical notice of the fact that these several commands were given to Moses on Mount Sinai (ver. 35-38).

II. Chap. viii., ix., x. This section is entirely historical. In chapter viii. we have the account of the consecration of Aaron and his sons by Moses before the whole congregation. They are washed, he is arrayed in the priestly vestments and anointed with the holy oil; his sons also are arrayed in their garments, and the various offerings appointed are offered. In chap. ix. Aaron offers, eight days after his consecration, his first offering for himself and the people: this comprises for himself a sin- and burnt-offering (1-14), for the people a sin-offering, a burnt-offering, and a peace- (or thank-) offering. He blesses the people, and fire comes down from heaven and consumes the burnt-offering. Chap. x. tells how Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, eager to enjoy the privileges of their new office, and perhaps too much elated by its dignity, forgot or despised the restrictions by which it was fenced round (Ex. xxx. 7, &c.), and daring to "offer strange fire before Jehovah," perished because of their presumption.

With the house of Aaron began this wickedness in the sanctuary; with them therefore began also the divine punishment. Very touching is the story which follows. Aaron, though forbidden to mourn his loss (ver. 6, 7), will not eat the sin-offering in the holy place; and when rebuked by Moses, pleads in his defence, "Such things have befallen me: and if I had eaten the sin-offering to-day, should it have been accepted in the sight of Jehovah?" And Moses, the lawgiver and the judge, admits the plea, and honours the natural feeling of the father's heart, even when it leads to a violation of the letter of the divine commandment.

III. Chap. xi.-xvi. The first seven Decalogues had reference to the putting away of *guilt*. By the appointed sacrifices the separation between man and God was healed. The next seven concern themselves with the putting away of *impurity*. That chapters xi.-xv. hang together so as to form one series of laws there can be no doubt. Besides that they treat of kindred subjects, they have their characteristic words, טָמֵא, טְמוּאָה, "unclean," "uncleanness," טָהוֹר, טְהוּרָה, "clean," which occur in almost every verse. The only question is about chap. xvi., which by its opening is connected immediately with the occurrence related in chap. x. Historically it would seem therefore that chap. xvi. ought to have followed chap. x. And as this order is neglected, it would lead us to suspect that some other principle of arrangement than that of historical sequence has been adopted. This we find in the solemn significance of the Great Day of Atonement. The high-priest on that day made atonement, "because of the uncleanness of the children of Israel, and because of their transgressions in all their sins" (xvi. 16), and he "reconciled the holy place and the tabernacle of the congregation, and the altar" (ver. 20). Delivered from their guilt and cleansed from their pollutions, from that day forward the children of Israel entered upon a new and holy life. This was typified both by the ordinance that the bullock and the goat for the sin-offering were burnt without the camp (ver. 27), and also by the sending away of the goat laden with the iniquities of the people into the wilderness. Hence chap. xvi. seems to stand most fitly at the end of this second group of seven Decalogues.

reader marvels at the perversity displayed in the division of chapters.

It has reference, we believe, not only (as Bertheau supposes) to the putting away, as by one solemn act, of all those uncleannesses mentioned in chap. xi-xv., and for which the various expiations and cleansings there appointed were temporary and insufficient; but also to the making atonement, in the sense of hiding sin or putting away its guilt. For not only do we find the idea of cleansing as from defilement, but far more prominently the idea of reconciliation. The often-repeated word כִּפֶּר, "to cover, to atone," is the great word of the section.

1. The first Decalogue in this group refers to clean and unclean flesh. Five classes of animals are pronounced unclean. The first four enactments declare what animals may and may not be eaten, whether (1) beasts of the earth (2-8), or (2) fishes (9-12), or (3) birds (13-20), or (4) creeping things with wings. The next four are intended to guard against pollution by contact with the carcase of any of these animals: (5) ver. 24-26; (6) ver. 27, 28; (7) ver. 29-38; (8) ver. 39, 40. The ninth and tenth specify the last class of animals which are unclean for food, (9) 41, 42, and forbid any other kind of pollution by means of them, (10) 43-45. Ver. 46 and 47 are merely a concluding summary.

2. Chap. xii. Women's purification in childbed. The whole of this chapter, according to Bertheau, constitutes the first law of this Decalogue. The remaining nine are to be found in the next chapter, which treats of the signs of leprosy in man and in garments. (2) ver. 1-8; (3) ver. 9-17; (4) ver. 18-23; (5) ver. 24-28; (6) ver. 29-37; (7) ver. 38, 39; (8) ver. 40, 41; (9) ver. 42-46; (10) ver. 47-59. This arrangement of the several sections is not altogether free from objection; but it is certainly supported by the characteristic mode in which each section opens. Thus for instance, chap. xii. 2, begins with אִשָּׁה בִּי תִרְוַעַת; chap. xiii. 2, with נֹגַע צִרְעָת בִּי תִהְיֶה, אֲדָמָה בִּי יִהְיֶה, and so on, the same order being always observed, the subst. being placed first, then בִּי, and then the verb, except only in ver. 42, where the subst. is placed after the verb.

3. Chap. xiv. 1-32. "The law of the leper in the day of his cleansing," i. e. the law which the priest is to observe in purifying the leper. The priest is mentioned in ten verses, each of which begins one of the ten sections of this law: ver. 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20. In each instance the word הַכֹּהֵן is preceded by ו consecut. with the perfect. It is true that in ver. 3, and also in ver. 14, the word הַכֹּהֵן occurs twice; but in both verses there is MS. authority, as well as that of the Vulg. and Arab. versions for the absence of the second. Verses 21-32 may be regarded as a supplemental provision in cases where the leper is too poor to bring the required offering.

4. Chap. xiv. 33-57. The leprosy in a house. It is not so easy here to trace the arrangement noticed in so many other laws. There are no characteristic words or phrases to guide us. Bertheau's division is as follows: (1) ver. 34, 35; (2) ver. 36, 37; (3) ver. 38 & (4) ver. 39; (5) ver. 40; (6) ver. 41, 42; (7) ver. 43-45. Then as usual follows a short summary which closes the statute concerning leprosy, ver. 54-57.

5. Chap. xv. 1-15. 6. Chap. xv. 16-31. The law of uncleanness by issue, &c., in two decalogues. The division is clearly marked, as Bertheau ob-

serves, by the form of cleansing, which is so exactly similar in the two principal cases, and which closes each series, (1) ver. 13-15; (2) ver. 28-30. We again give his arrangement, though we do not profess to regard it as in all respects satisfactory.

6. (1) ver. 2, 3; (2) ver. 4; (3) ver. 5; (4) ver. 6; (5) ver. 7; (6) ver. 8; (7) ver. 9; (8) ver. 10; (9) ver. 11, 12;—these Bertheau considers as one enactment, because it is another way of saying that either the man or thing which the unclean person touches is unclean; but on the same principle ver. 4 and 5 might just as well form one enactment—(10) v. 13-15.

6. (1) ver. 16; (2) ver. 17; (3) ver. 18; (4) ver. 19; (5) ver. 20; (6) ver. 21; (7) ver. 22; (8) ver. 23; (9) ver. 24; (10) ver. 28-30. In order to complete this arrangement, he considers verses 25-27 as a kind of supplementary enactment provided for an irregular uncleanness, leaving it as quite uncertain however whether this was a later addition or not. Verses 32 and 33 form merely the same general conclusion which we have had before in xiv. 54-57.

The last Decalogue of the second group of seven Decalogues is to be found in chap. xvi., which treats of the great Day of Atonement. The Law itself is contained in ver. 1-28. The remaining verses, 29-34, consist of an exhortation to its careful observance. In the act of atonement three persons are concerned. The high-priest,—in this instance Aaron; the man who leads away the goat for Azazel into the wilderness; and he who burns the skin, flesh, and dung of the bullock and goat of the sin-offering without the camp. The two last have special purifications assigned them; the first because he has touched the goat laden with the guilt of Israel; the last because he has come in contact with the sin-offering. The 9th and 10th enactments prescribe what these purifications are, each of them concluding with the same formula: וְאָחֲרַי כֵּן יָבוֹא, וְאֵל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, and hence distinguished from each other.

The duties of Aaron consequently eight, if the division into decads is correct, to be comprised in eight enactments. Now the name of Aaron is repeated eight times, and in six of these it is preceded by the Perfect with ו consecut. as we observed was the case before when "the priest" was the prominent figure. According to this then the Decalogue will stand thus:—(1) ver. 2, Aaron not to enter the Holy Place at all times; (2) ver. 3-5, With what sacrifices and in what dress Aaron is to enter the Holy Place; (3) ver. 6, 7, Aaron to offer the bullock for himself, and to set the two goats before Jehovah; (4) Aaron to cast lots on the two goats; (5) ver. 9, 10, Aaron to offer the goat on which the lot falls for Jehovah, and to send away the goat for Azazel into the wilderness; (6) ver. 11-19, Aaron to sprinkle the blood both of the bullock and of the goat to make atonement for himself, for his house, and for the whole congregation, as also to purify the altar of incense with the blood; (7) ver. 20-22, Aaron to lay his hands on the living goat, and confess over it all the sins of the children of Israel; (8) ver. 23-25, Aaron after this to take off his linen garments, bathe himself and put on his priestly garments, and then offer his burnt-offering and that of the congregation; (9) ver. 26, The man by whom the goat is sent into the wilderness to purify himself; (10) ver. 27, 28, What is to be done by him who burns the sin-offering without the camp.

We have now reached the great central point of the book. All going before was but a preparation for this. Two great truths have been established; first, that God can only be approached by means of appointed sacrifices; next, that man in nature and life is full of pollution, which must be cleansed. And now a third is taught, viz. that not by several cleansings for several sins and pollutions can guilt be put away. The several acts of sin are but so many manifestations of the sinful nature. For this, therefore, also must atonement be made; one solemn act, which shall cover all transgressions, and turn away God's righteous displeasure from Israel.

IV. Chap. xvii.-xx. And now Israel is reminded that it is the holy nation. The great atonement offered, it is to enter upon a new life. It is a separate nation, sanctified and set apart for the service of God. It may not therefore do after the abominations of the heathen by whom it is surrounded. Here consequently we find those laws and ordinances which especially distinguish the nation of Israel from all other nations of the earth.

Here again we may trace, as before, a group of seven decalogues. But the several decalogues are not so clearly marked; nor are the characteristic phrases and the introductions and conclusions so common. In chap. xviii. there are twenty enactments, and in chap. xix. thirty. In chap. xvii., on the other hand, there are only six, and in chap. xx. there are fourteen. As it is quite manifest that the enactments in chap. xviii. are entirely separated by a fresh introduction from those in chap. xvii., Bertheau, in order to preserve the usual arrangement of the laws in decalogues, would transpose this chapter, and place it after chapter xix. He observes, that the laws in chap. xvii., and those in chap. xx. 1-9, are akin to one another, and may very well constitute a single decalogue; and, what is of more importance, that the words in xviii. 1-5 form the natural introduction to this whole group of laws: "And Jehovah spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, I am Jehovah your God. After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do; and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do: neither shall ye walk in their ordinances," &c.

There is, however, a point of connexion between chaps. xvii. and xviii. which must not be overlooked, and which seems to indicate that their position in our present text is the right one. All the six enactments in chap. xvii. (ver. 3-5, ver. 6, 7, ver. 8, 9, ver. 10-12, ver. 13, 14, ver. 15) bear upon the nature and meaning of the sacrifice to Jehovah as compared with the sacrifices offered to false gods. It would seem too that it was necessary to guard against any license to idolatrous practices,

which might possibly be drawn from the sending of the goat for Azazel into the wilderness [ATONEMENT, DAY OF], especially perhaps against the Egyptian custom of appeasing the Evil Spirit of the wilderness and averting his malice (Hengstenberg, *Mosa u. Aegypten*, 178; Movers, *Phönizier*, 369). To this there may be an allusion in ver. 7. Perhaps however it is better and more simple to regard the enactments in these two chapters (with Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, 2te abth., 1te th. p. 245) as directed against two prevalent heathen practices, the eating of blood and fornication. It is remarkable, as showing how intimately moral and ritual observances were blended together in the Jewish mind, that abstinence "from blood and things strangled, and fornication," was laid down by the Apostles as the only condition of communion to be required of Gentile converts to Christianity. Before we quit this chapter one observation may be made. The rendering of the A. V. in ver. 11, "for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul" should be "for it is the blood that maketh an atonement by means of the life." This is important. It is not blood merely as such, but blood as having in it the principle of life that God accepts in sacrifice. For by thus giving vicariously the life of the dumb animal, the sinner confesses that his own life is forfeit.

In chap. xviii., after the introduction to which we have already alluded, ver. 1-5,—and in which God claims obedience on the double ground that He is Israel's God, and that to keep His commandments is life (ver. 5),—there follow twenty enactments concerning unlawful marriages and unnatural lusts. The first ten are contained one in each verse, vers. 6-15. The next ten range themselves in like manner with the verses, except that ver. 17 and 23 contain each two.^b Of the twenty the first fourteen are alike in form, as well as in the repeated *שְׁוֵה לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה*.

Chap. xix. Three Decalogues, introduced by the words, "Ye shall be holy, for I Jehovah your God am holy," and ending with, "Ye shall observe all my statutes, and all my judgments, and do them. I am Jehovah." The laws here are of a very mixed character, and many of them a repetition merely of previous laws. Of the three Decalogues, the first is comprised in ver. 3-13, and may be thus distributed:—(1) ver. 3, to honour father and mother; (2) ver. 3, to keep the sabbath; (3) ver. 4, not to turn to idols; (4) ver. 4, not to make molten gods (these two enactments being separated on the same principle as the first and second commandments of the Great Decalogue or Two Tables); (5) ver. 5-8, of thank-offerings; (6) ver. 9, 10, of gleaming; (7) ver. 11, not to steal or lie; (8) ver. 12, not to swear falsely; (9) ver. 13, not to defraud one's neighbour; (10) ver. 13, the wages of him that is hired, &c.

^b The interpretation of ver. 18 has of late been the subject of so much discussion, that we may perhaps be permitted to say a word upon it, even in a work which excludes all dogmatic controversy. The rendering of the English Version is supported by a whole extent of authorities of the first rank, as may be seen by reference to Dr. McCaul's pamphlet, *The Ancient Interpretation of Leviticus XVIII. 18*, &c. We may further remark, that the whole controversy, so far as the Scriptural question is concerned, might have been avoided if the Church had but acted in the spirit of Luther's golden words:—"Ad rem veniamus et dicamus Mosem esse mortuum, vixisse autem populo Judæo, nec obligari nos legibus illius. Ideo quidquid ex Mose ut legislatore nisi idem ex legibus

nostris, e. g. naturalibus et politicis probetur, non admittamus nec confundamus totius orbis politias."—*Briefe*, De Wette's edit. iv. 305.

^c It is not a little remarkable that six of these enactments should only be repetitions, for the most part in a shorter form, of Commandments contained in the Two Tables. This can only be accounted for by remembering the great object of this section, which is to remind Israel that it is a separate nation, its laws being expressly framed to be a fence and a hedge about it, keeping it from profane contact with the heathen. Bunsen divides chapter xix. into two tables of ten commandments each, and one of five (See his *Bibelwerk*.)

The next Decalogue, ver. 14-25, Bertheau arranges thus: ver. 14, ver. 15, ver. 16a, ver. 16b, ver. 17, ver. 18, ver. 19a, ver. 19b, ver. 20-22, ver. 23-25. We object, however, to making the words in 19a, "Ye shall keep my statutes," a separate enactment. There is no reason for this. A much better plan would be to consider ver. 17 as consisting of two enactments, which is manifestly the case.

The third decalogue may be thus distributed:—ver. 26a, ver. 26b, ver. 27, ver. 28, ver. 29, ver. 30, ver. 31, ver. 32, ver. 33, 34, ver. 35, 36.

We have thus found five decalogues in this group. Bertheau completes the number seven by transposing, as we have seen, chap. xvii., and placing it immediately before chap. xx. He also transfers ver. 27 of chapter xx. to what he considers its proper place, viz. after ver. 6. It must be confessed that the enactment in ver. 27 stands very awkwardly at the end of the chapter, completely isolated as it is from all other enactments; for ver. 23-26 are the natural conclusion to this whole section. But admitting this, another difficulty remains, that according to him the 7th decalogue begins at ver. 10, and another transposition is necessary, so that ver. 7, 8, may stand after ver. 9, and so conclude the preceding series of ten enactments. It is better perhaps to abandon the search for complete symmetry than to adopt a method so violent in order to obtain it.

It should be observed that chap. xviii. 6-23 and chap. xix. 10-21 stand in this relation to one another; that the latter declares the penalties attached to the transgression of many of the commandments given in the former. But though we may not be able to trace seven decalogues, in accordance with the theory of which we have been speaking, in chap. xvii.-xx., there can be no doubt that they form a distinct section of themselves, of which xx. 22-26 is the proper conclusion.

Like the other sections it has some characteristic expressions:—(a) "Ye shall keep my judgments and my statutes" (מִשְׁפָּטַי וּמִצְוֹתַי) occurs xviii. 4, 5, 25, xix. 37, xx. 8, 22, but is not met with either in the preceding or the following chapters. (b) The constantly recurring phrases, "I am Jehovah;" "I am Jehovah your God;" "Be ye holy, for I am holy;" "I am Jehovah which hallow you." In the earlier sections this phraseology is only found in Lev. xi. 44, 45, and Ex. xxxi. 13. In the section which follows (xxi.-xxv.) it is much more common, this section being in a great measure a continuation of the preceding.

V. We come now to the last group of decalogues—that contained in ch. xxi.-xxvi. 2. The subjects comprised in these enactments are—First, the personal purity of the priests. They may not defile themselves for the dead; their wives and daughters must be pure, and they themselves must be free from all personal blemish (ch. xxi.). Next, the eating of the holy things is permitted only to priests who are free from all uncleanness: they and their household only may eat them (xxii. 1-16). Thirdly, the offerings of Israel are to be pure and without blemish (xxii. 17-33). The fourth series provides for the due celebration of the great festivals when priests and people were to be gathered together before Jehovah in holy convocation.

Up to this point we trace system and purpose in the order of the legislation. Thus, for instance, chap. xi.-xvi. treats of external purity; ch. xvii.-xx. of moral purity; chap. xxi.-xxiii. of the holiness of

the priests, and their duties with regard to holy things; the whole concluding with provisions for the solemn feasts on which all Israel appeared before Jehovah. We will again briefly indicate Bertheau's groups, and then append some general observations on the section.

1. Chap. xxi. Ten laws, as follows:—(1) ver. 1-3; (2) ver. 4; (3) ver. 5, 6; (4) ver. 7, 8, (5) ver. 9; (6) ver. 10, 11; (7) ver. 12; (8) ver. 13, 14; (9) ver. 17-21; (10) ver. 22, 23. The first five laws concern all the priests; the sixth to the eighth the high-priest; the ninth and tenth the effects of bodily blemish in particular cases.

2. Chap. xxii. 1-16. (1) ver. 2; (2) ver. 3; (3) ver. 4; (4) ver. 4-7; (5) ver. 8, 9; (6) ver. 10; (7) ver. 11; (8) ver. 12; (9) ver. 13; (10) ver. 14-16.

3. Chap. xxiii. 17-33. (1) ver. 18-20; (2) ver. 21; (3) ver. 22; (4) ver. 23; (5) ver. 24; (6) ver. 25; (7) ver. 27; (8) ver. 28; (9) ver. 29; (10) ver. 30; and a general conclusion in ver. 31-33.

4. Chap. xxiv. (1) ver. 3; (2) ver. 5-7; (3) ver. 8; (4) ver. 9-14; (5) ver. 15-21; (6) ver. 22; (7) ver. 24, 25; (8) ver. 27-32; (9) ver. 34, 35; (10) ver. 36: ver. 37, 38 contain the conclusion or general summing up of the Decalogue. On the remainder of the chapter, as well as chap. xxiv., see below.

5. Chap. xxv. 1-22. (1) ver. 2; (2) ver. 3, 4; (3) ver. 5; (4) ver. 6; (5) ver. 8-10; (6) ver. 11, 12; (7) ver. 13; (8) ver. 14; (9) ver. 15; (10) ver. 16: with a concluding formula in ver. 18-22.

6. Chap. xxv. 23-38. (1) ver. 23, 24; (2) ver. 25; (3) ver. 26, 27; (4) ver. 28; (5) ver. 29; (6) ver. 30; (7) ver. 31; (8) ver. 32, 33; (9) ver. 34; (10) ver. 35-37: the conclusion to the whole in ver. 38.

7. Chap. xxv. 39-xxvi. 2. (1) ver. 39; (2) ver. 40-42; (3) ver. 43; (4) ver. 44, 45; (5) ver. 46; (6) ver. 47-49; (7) ver. 50; (8) ver. 51, 52; (9) ver. 53; (10) ver. 54.

It will be observed that the above arrangement is only completed by omitting the latter part of chap. xxiii. and the whole of chap. xxiv. But it is clear that chap. xxiii. 39-44 is a later addition, containing further instructions respecting the Feast of Tabernacles. Ver. 39, as compared with ver. 34, shows that the same feast is referred to; whilst ver. 37, 38, are no less manifestly the original conclusion of the laws respecting the feasts which are enumerated in the previous part of the chapter. Chap. xxiv., again, has a peculiar character of its own. First we have a command concerning the oil to be used in the lamps belonging to the Tabernacle, which is only a repetition of an enactment already given in Ex. xxvii. 20, 21, which seems to be its natural place. Then follow directions about the shew-bread. These do not occur previously. In Ex. the shew-bread is spoken of always as a matter of course, concerning which no regulations are necessary (comp. Ex. xxv. 30, xxxv. 13, xxxix. 36). Lastly come certain enactments arising out of an historical occurrence. The son of an Egyptian father by an Israelitish woman blasphemeth the name of Jehovah, and Moses is commanded to stone him in consequence: and this circumstance is the occasion of the following laws being given:—(1) That a blasphemer, whether Israelite or stranger, is to be stoned (comp. Ex. xxii. 28). (2) That he that kills any man shall surely be put to death (comp. Ex. xxi. 12-27). (3) That he that kills a beast

shall make it good (not found where we might have expected it, in the series of laws Ex. xxi. 28-xxii. 16). (4) That if a man cause a blemish in his neighbour he shall be requited in like manner (comp. Ex. xxi. 22-25). (5) We have then a repetition in an inverse order of ver. 17, 18; and (6) the injunction that there shall be one law for the stranger and the Israelite. Finally, a brief notice of the infliction of the punishment in the case of the son of Shelomith, who blasphemed. Not another instance is to be found in the whole collection in which any historical circumstance is made the occasion of enacting a law. Then again the laws (2), (3), (4), (5), are mostly repetitions of existing laws, and seem here to have no connexion with the event to which they are referred. Either therefore some other circumstances took place at the same time with which we are not acquainted, or these isolated laws, detached from their proper connexion, were grouped together here, in obedience perhaps to some traditional association.

VI. The seven decalogues are now fitly closed by words of promise and threat—promise of largest, richest blessing to those that hearken unto and do these commandments; threats of utter destruction to those that break the covenant of their God. Thus the second great division of the Law closes like the first, except that the first part, or Book of the Covenant, ends (Ex. xxiii. 20-33) with promises of blessing only. There nothing is said of the judgments which are to follow transgression, because as yet the Covenant had not been made. But when once the nation had freely entered into that Covenant, they bound themselves to accept its sanctions, its penalties, as well as its rewards. And we cannot wonder if in these sanctions the punishment of transgression holds a larger place than the rewards of obedience. For already was it but too plain that "Israel would not obey." From the first they were a stiffnecked and rebellious race, and from the first the doom of disobedience hung like some fiery sword above their heads.

VII. The legislation is evidently completed in the last words of the preceding chapter:—"These are the statutes and judgments and laws which Jehovah made between Him and the children of Israel in Mount Sinai by the hand of Moses." Chap. xxvii. is a later appendix, again however closed by a similar formula, which at least shows that the transcriber considered it to be an integral part of the original Mosaic legislation, though he might be at a loss to assign it its place. Bertheau classes it with the other less regularly grouped laws at the beginning of the book of Numbers. He treats the section Lev. xxvii.-Num. x. 10 as a series of supplements to the Sinaitic legislation.

Integrity.—This is very generally admitted. Those critics even who are in favour of different documents in the Pentateuch assign nearly the whole of this book to one writer, the Elohist, or author of the original document. According to Knobel the only portions which are not to be referred to the Elohist are—Moses' rebuke of Aaron because the goat of the sin-offering had been burnt (x. 16-20); the group of laws in chap. xvii.-xx.; certain additional enactments respecting the Sabbath and the Feasts of Weeks and of Tabernacles (xxiii., part of ver. 2, from מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה, and ver. 3, ver. 18, 19, 22, 39-44); the punishments ordained for blasphemy, murder, &c. (xxiv. 10-23); the directions respecting the Sabbath year (xxv. 18-22),

and the promises and warnings contained in chap. xxvi.

With regard to the section chap. xvii.-xx., he does not consider the whole of it to have been borrowed from the same sources. Chap. xvii. he believes was introduced here by the Jehovist from some ancient document, whilst he admits nevertheless that it contains certain Elohistic forms of expression, as כָּל בָּשָׂר, "all flesh," ver. 14; נֶפֶשׁ, "soul," (in the sense of "person"), ver. 16-17; חַיָּה, "beast," ver. 13; תְּרִבּוֹן, "offering," ver. 4; רִיחַ נְיָחוֹה, "a sweet savour," ver. 6; "a statute for ever," and "after your generations," ver. 7. But it cannot be from the Elohist, he argues, because (a) he would have placed it after chap. vii., or at least after chap. xv.; (b) he would not have repeated the prohibition of blood, &c., which he had already given; (c) he would have taken a more favourable view of his nation than that implied in ver. 7; and lastly (d) the phraseology has something of the colouring of chap. xviii.-xx. and xxvi., which are certainly not Elohistic. Such reasons are too transparently unsatisfactory to need serious discussion. He observes further that the chapter is not altogether Mosaic. The first enactment (ver. 1-7) does indeed apply only to Israelites, and holds good therefore for the time of Moses. But the remaining three contemplate the case of strangers living amongst the people, and have a reference to all time.

Chap. xviii.-xx., though it has a Jehovistic colouring, cannot have been originally from the Jehovist. The following peculiarities of language, which are worthy of notice, according to Knobel (*Levit. und Leviticus erklärt*, in Kurzg. Exeg. Hdbuch, 1857) forbid such a supposition, the more so as they occur nowhere else in the O. T.:—רִבַּע, "down to" and "gender," xviii. 23, xix. 19, xx. 14; תִּבְלָה, "confusion," xviii. 23, xx. 12; לֶקֶט, "gather," xix. 9, xxiii. 22; פֶּרֶט, "grape," xix. 10; שְׂאֵרָה, "near kinswomen," xviii. 17; גִּזְעָה, "scourged," xix. 20; חֶפְשָׁה, "free," *ibid.*; קֶשֶׁעַ, "print marks," xix. 28; הִקְיֵא, "vomited" in the metaphorical sense, xviii. 25, 28, xx. 22; עֲרֻלָּה, "uncircumcised," as applied to fruit-trees, xix. 23; מוֹלָרֶת, "born," xviii. 9, 11; as well as the Egyptian word (for such it probably is) שְׂעֻטָּנִי, "garment of divers sorts," which, however, does occur once beside in Deut. xxii. 11.

According to Bunsen, chap. xix. is a genuine part of the Mosaic legislation, given however in the original form not on Sinai, but on the east side of the Jordan; whilst the general arrangement of the Mosaic laws may perhaps be as late as the time of the Judges. He regards it as a very ancient document, based on the Two Tables, of which, especially of the first, it is in fact an extension, and consisting of two decalogues and one portion of laws. Certain expressions in it he considers imply that the people were already settled in the land (ver. 9, 10, 13, 15), while on the other hand ver. 23 supposes a future occupation of the land. Hence he concludes that the revision of this document by the transcribers was incomplete: whereas all the passages may fairly be interpreted as looking forward to a future settlement in Canaan.

The great simplicity and lofty moral character of this section compel us, says Bunsen, to refer it at least to the earlier time of the Judges, if not to that of Joshua himself.

We must not quit this book without a word on what may be called its spiritual meaning. That we elaborate a ritual looked beyond itself we cannot doubt. It was a prophecy of things to come; a shadow wherof the substance was Christ and His kingdom. We may not always be able to say what the exact relation is between the type and the antitype. Of many things we may be sure that they belonged only to the nation to whom they were given, containing no prophetic significance, but serving as witnesses and signs to them of God's covenant of grace. We may hesitate to pronounce with Jerome that "every sacrifice, nay almost every syllable—the garments of Aaron and the whole Levitical system—breathe of heavenly mysteries."⁴ But we cannot read the Epistle to the Hebrews and not acknowledge that the Levitical priests "served the pattern and type of heavenly things"—that the sacrifices of the Law pointed to and found their interpretation in the Lamb of God—that the ordinances of outward purification signified the true inner cleansing of the heart and conscience from dead works to serve the living God. One idea moreover penetrates the whole of this vast and burdensome ceremonial, and gives it a real glory even apart from any prophetic significance. Holiness is its end. Holiness is its character. The tabernacle is holy—the vessels are holy—the offerings are most holy unto Jehovah—the garments of the priests are holy.⁵ All who approach Him whose name is "Holy," whether priests who minister unto Him, or people who worship Him, most themselves be holy.⁶ It would seem as if, amid the camp and dwellings of Israel, was ever to be heard an echo of that solemn strain which fills the courts above, where the seraphim cry one unto another, Holy, Holy, Holy.⁷

Other questions connected with this book, such as its authorship, its probable age in its present form, and the relation of the laws contained in it to those, either supplementary or apparently contradictory, found in other parts of the Pentateuch, will best be discussed in another article, where opportunity will be given for a comprehensive view of the Mosaic legislation as a whole. [PENTATEUCH.]

[J. J. S. P.]

LIBANUS (*δ Λιβανος*), the Greek form of the name **LIBANON** (1 Esd. iv. 48; v. 55; 2 Esd. xv. 20; Jud. i. 7; Eccles. xxiv. 13; 1. 12). **ANTI-LIBANUS** (*Ἀντιλιβανος*) occurs only in Jud. i. 7. [G.]

LIBERTINES (*Λιβερτινοί*: *Libertini*). This word occurs once only in the N. T. In Acts vi. 9, we find the opponents of Stephen's preaching described as *τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης Λιβερτινῶν, καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρίων καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας*. The question is, who were these "Libertines," and in what relation did they stand to the others who are

⁴ "In promptu est Leviticus liber in quo singula describitur, immo singulae pene syllabae et vestes Aaron et totus ordo Leviticus spirant caelestia sacramenta" (Hieron. *Ep. ad Paulin.*).

⁵ H. 8, 10; vi. 17, 25, 29; vii. 1, 6; x. 12, 17; xiv. 18.

⁶ xvi. 4.

⁷ xl. 18, 27; vii. 21; x. 3, 10; xi. 43, 45; xv. 31

xviii. 21; xix. 2; xx. 7, 20.

⁸ In chap. xviii.-xxv. observe the phrase, "I am

mentioned with them? The structure of the passage leaves it doubtful how many synagogues are implied in it. Some (Calvin, Beza, Bengel) have taken it as if there were but one synagogue, including men from all the different cities that are named. Winer (*N. T. Gram.* p. 179), on grammatical grounds, takes the repetition of the article as indicating a fresh group, and finds accordingly two synagogues, one including Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians; the other those of Cilicia and Asia. Meyer (*ad loc.*) thinks it unlikely that out of the 480 synagogues at Jerusalem (the number given by Rabbinic writers, *Megill.* § 73, 4; *Ketub.* t. 105, 1), there should have been one, or even two only, for natives of cities and districts in which the Jewish population was so numerous,^a and on that ground assigns a separate synagogue to each of the proper names.

Of the name itself there have been several explanations. (1.) The other name being local, this also has been referred to a town of Libertum in the proconsular province of Africa. This, it is said, would explain the close juxta-position with Cyrene. Suidas recognises *Λιβερτινοί* as *ὄνομα ἔθνους*, and in the Council of Carthage in 411 (Mansi, vol. iv. p. 265-274, quoted in Wilsch, *Handbuch der Kirchl. Geogr.* § 96), we find an Episcopus *Libertinensis* (Simon. *Onomast. N. T.* p. 99; and Gerdes. *de Synag. Libert.* Groning. 1736, in Winer, *Reb.*). Against this hypothesis it has been urged, (1) that the existence of a town Libertum, in the first century, is not established; and (2) that if it existed, it can hardly have been important enough either to have a synagogue at Jerusalem for the Jews belonging to it, or to take precedence of Cyrene and Alexandria in a synagogue common to the three.^b

(2.) Conjectural readings have been proposed. *Λιβουστίνων* (Oecumen., Beza, Clericus, Valckenauer) *Λιβύων τῶν κατὰ Κυρήνην* (Schultze, *de Char. Sp. S.* p. 162, in Meyer, *ad loc.*). The difficulty is thus removed; but every rule of textual criticism is against the reception of a reading unsupported by a single MS. or version.

(3.) Taking the word in its received meaning as = freedmen, Lightfoot finds in it a description of natives of Palestine, who having fallen into slavery, had been manumitted by Jewish masters (*Exc. on Acts* vi. 9). In this case, however, it is hardly likely that a body of men so circumstanced would have received a Roman name.

(4.) Grotius and Vitringa explain the word as describing Italian freedmen who had become converts to Judaism. In this case, however, the word "proselytes" would most probably have been used; and it is at least unlikely that a body of converts would have had a synagogue to themselves, or that proselytes from Italy would have been united with Jews from Cyrene and Alexandria.

(5.) The earliest explanation of the word (Chrysost.) is also that which has been adopted by the most recent authorities (Winer, *Reb.* s. v.; Meyer, *Comm. ad loc.*). The *Libertini* are Jews who, having been taken prisoners by Pompey and other Roman generals in the Syrian wars, had been re-

Jehovah," "I am Jehovah your God." Latter part of xxv. and xxvi. somewhat changed, but recurring in xxvi. The reason given for this holiness, "I am holy," xi. 44, &c., xix. 2, xx. 7, 26.

^a In Cyrene one-fourth, in Alexandria two-fifths of the whole (*Jos. Ant.* xiv. 7, § 2, xiv. 10, § 1, xix. 5, § 2; *B. J.* ii. 13, § 7; *c. Ap.* 2, § 4).

^b Wilsch gives no information beyond the fact just mentioned.

luced to slavery, and had afterwards been emancipated, and returned, permanently or for a time, to the country of their fathers. Of the existence of a large body of Jews in this position at Rome we have abundant evidence. Under Tiberius, the *Senatus-Consultum* for the suppression of Egyptian and Jewish mysteries led to the banishment of 4000 "libertini generis" to Sardinia, under the pretence of military or police duty, but really in the hope that the malaria of the island might be fatal to them. Others were to leave Italy unless they abandoned their religion (Tacit. *Annal.* ii. 85; comp. Suet. *Tiber.* c. 36). Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 3, §5), narrating the same fact, speaks of the 4000 who were sent to Sardinia as Jews, and thus identifies them with the "libertinum genus" of Tacitus. Philo (*Leyat. ad Caium*, p. 1014, C.) in like manner says, that the greater part of the Jews of Rome were in the position of freedmen (*ἀπελευθερωθέντες*), and had been allowed by Augustus to settle in the Trans-Tiberine part of the city, and to follow their own religious customs unmolested (comp. Horace, *Sat.* i. 4, 143, i. 9, 70). The expulsion from Rome took place A.D. 19; and it is an ingenious conjecture of Mr. Humphrey's (*Comm. on Acts, ad loc.*) that those who were thus banished from Italy may have found their way to Jerusalem, and that, as having suffered for the sake of their religion, they were likely to be foremost in the opposition to a teacher like Stephen, whom they looked on as impugning the sacredness of all that they most revered. [E. H. P.]

LIBNAH (לִבְנָה): *Λεβνᾶ*, also *Λεβνᾶ*, *Λόβνα*, *Λημνᾶ*, *Σεννᾶ*; Alex. *Λεβνα*, *Λοβνα*: *Lībna*, *Labana*, *Lebna*, *Lobna*, a city which lay in the south-west part of the Holy Land. It was taken by Joshua immediately after the rout of Beth-horon. That eventful day was ended by the capture and destruction of MAKKEDAH (Josh. x. 28); and then the host—"Joshua, and all Israel with him"—moved on to Libnah, which was also totally destroyed, its king and all its inhabitants (Josh. x. 29, 30, 32, 39, xii. 15). The next place taken was Lachish.

Libnah belonged to the district of the Shefelah, the maritime lowland of Judah, among the cities of which district it is enumerated (Josh. xv. 42), not in close connexion with either Makkedah or Lachish, but in an independent group of nine towns, among which are Keilah, Mareshah, and Nezip.^a Libnah was appropriated with its "suburbs" to the priests (Josh. xxi. 13; 1 Chr. vi. 57). In the reign of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat it "revolted" from Judah at the same time with Edom (2 K. viii. 22; 2 Chr. xxi. 10); but, beyond the fact of their simultaneous occurrence, there is no apparent connexion between the two events. On completing or relinquishing the siege of Lachish—which of the two is not quite certain—Sennacherib laid siege to Libnah (2 K. xix. 8; Is. xxxvii. 8). While there he was joined by Rabshakeh and the part of the army which had visited Jerusalem (2 K. xix. 8; Is. xxxvii. 8), and received the intelligence of Tirhakah's approach; and it would appear that at Libnah the destruction of the Assyrian army took place, though

^a The sites of these have all been discovered, not in the lowland, as they are specified, but in the mountains immediately to the south and east of Beit-jibrin.

^b The account of Berosus, quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* x. §6), is that the destruction took place when Sennacherib's army reached Jerusalem, after his Egyptian expedition, on the first night of the siege. His words are, Ὑποστάφας

the statements of Herodotus (ii. 141) and of Josephus (*Ant.* x. 1, §4) place it at Pelusium.^b (See Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 480.)

It was the native place of Hamutal, or Hamital, the queen of Josiah, and mother of Jehoahaz (2 K. xxiii. 31) and Zedekiah (xxiv. 18; Jer. lii. 1). It is in this connexion that its name appears for the last time in the Bible.

Libnah is described by Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon* (s. v. *Λέβνα* and "Lebna") merely as a village of the district of Eleutheropolis. Its site has hitherto escaped not only discovery, but until lately, even conjecture. Professor Stanley (*S. & P.* 207 note, 258 note), on the ground of the accordance of the name Libnah (white) with the "Blanchegarde" of the Crusaders, and of both with the appearance of the place, would locate it at *Tell es-Safieh*, "a white-faced hill . . . which forms a conspicuous object in the eastern part of the plain," and is situated 5 miles N.W. of *Beit-jibrin*. But *Tell es-Safieh* has claims to be identified with GATH, which are considered under that head in this work. Van de Velde places it with confidence at *Arāk el-Menshāyeh*, a hill about 4 miles W. of *Beit-jibrin*, on the ground of its being "the only site between *Sumel* (Makkedah) and *Um Lakhis* (Lachish) showing an ancient fortified position" (*Memoir*, 330; in his *Syria and Palestine* it is not named). But as neither *Um Lakhis* nor *Sumel*, especially the latter, are identified with certainty, the conjecture must be left for further exploration. One thing must not be overlooked that although Libnah is in the lists of Josh. x. specified as being in the lowland, yet 3 of the 8 towns which form its group have been actually identified as situated among the mountains to the immediate S. and E. of *Beit-jibrin*.—The name is also found in SHIHOR-LIBNAH. [G.]

LIBNAH (לִבְנָה); Sam. לִבְנֹה; and so the LXX. *Λεβωνᾶ*; Alex. *Λεβωνᾶ*: *Lebna*, one of the stations at which the Israelites encamped, on their journey between the wilderness of Sinai and Kadesh. It was the fifth in the series, and lay between Rimmon-parez and Rissah (Num. xxxiii. 20, 21). If *el-Haderah* be Hazeroth, then Libnah would be situated somewhere on the western border of the Aelanitic arm of the Red Sea. But no trace of the name has yet been discovered; and the only conjecture which appears to have been made concerning it is that it was identical with Laban, mentioned in Deut. i. 1. The word in Hebrew signifies "white," and in that case may point either to the colour of the spot or to the presence of white poplar (Stanley, *S. & P.* App. §77). Count Berton in his recent *Etude, le Mont Hor*, &c. 1860, endeavours to identify Libnah with the city of Judah noticed in the foregoing article. But there is little in his arguments to support this theory, while the position assigned to Libnah of Judah—in the Shefelah, the maritime district, not amongst the towns of "the South," which latter form a distinct division of the territory of the tribe, in proximity to Edom—seems of itself to be fatal to it.

The reading of the Samaritan Codex and Version εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐπιπολιορκίαν νίκτα διαβέβησαν, &c. Professor Stanley on the other hand, inclines to agree with the Jewish tradition which places the event in the pass of Bethoron, and therefore on the road between Libnah and Jerusalem. (*S. & P.* 207 note).

Libnah, is supported by the LXX., but not apparently by any other authority. The Targum Pseudojonathan on the passage, plays with the name, according to the custom of the later Jewish writings: "Libnah, a place; the boundary of which is a building of brickwork," as if the name were לִבְנָה, *Libénah*, a brick. [G.]

LIBNI (לִבְנִי): Λοβενί: *Lobni*, and once, Num. iii. 18, *Lebni*. 1. The eldest son of Gershom, the son of Levi (Ex. vi. 17; Num. iii. 18; 1 Chr. vi. 17, 20), and ancestor of the family of the LIBNITES. 2. The son of Mahli, or Mahali, son of Merari (1 Chr. vi. 29), as the Text at present stands. It is probable, however, that he is the same with the preceding, and that something has been omitted (comp. ver. 29 with 20, 42). [MAHLI, 1.]

LIBNITES, THE (לִבְנֵי הַלִּבְנִי): δ Λοβενί: *Lobni*, *Libnaites*, sc. *familia*), the descendants of Libni, eldest son of Gershom, who formed one of the chief branches of the great Levitical family of Gershonites (Num. iii. 21, xxvi. 58).

LIBYA (Λιβύη, Λιβύα) occurs only in Acts ii. 10, in the periphrasis "the parts of Libya about Cyrene" (τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην), which obviously means the Cyrenaica. Similar expressions are used by Dion Cassius (Λιβύη ἢ περὶ Κυρήνης, liii. 12) and Josephus (ἢ πρὸς Κυρήνην Λιβύη, Ant. xvi. 6, §1), as noticed in the article CYRENE. The name Libya is applied by the Greek and Roman writers to the African continent, generally however excluding Egypt. The consideration of this and its more restricted uses has no place in this work. The Hebrews, whose geography deals with nations rather than countries, and, in accordance with the genius of Shemites, never generalizes, had no names for continents or other large tracts comprising several countries ethnologically or otherwise distinct: the single mention is therefore of Greek origin. Some account of the Lubim, or primitive Libyans, as well as of the Jews in the Cyrenaica, is given in other articles. [LUBIM; CYRENE.] [R. S. P.]

LICE (לִּצְעָה, לִּצְעָה, לִּצְעָה; *chinnám*, *chinnám*: σκνίψες, σκνίψες: *sciniphes*, *cinifes*). This word occurs in the A. V. only in Ex. viii. 16, 17, 18, and in Ps. cv. 31; both of which passages have reference to the third great plague of Egypt. In Exodus the miracle is recorded, while in the Psalm grateful remembrance of it is made. The Hebrew word, which, with some slight variation, occurs only in Ex. viii. 16, 17, 18, and in Ps. cv. 31—has given occasion to whole pages of discussion; some commentators, amongst whom may be cited Michaelis (*Suppl.* s. v.), Oedmann (in *Vermisch. Semit.* i. vi. p. 80), Rosenmüller (*Schol.* in Ex. viii. 12), Harenberg (*Obs. Crit. de* לִּצְעָה, in *Miscell.*

Lips. Nov. vol. ii. p. v. p. 617), Dr. Geddes (*Crit. Rem. Ex.* viii. 17), Dr. Harris (*Dict. Nat. H. of Bible*), to which is to be added the authority of Philo (*De Vit. Mos.* ii. 97, ed. Mangoy) and Origen (*Hom. Tert. in Exod.*), and indeed modern writers generally—suppose that gnats are the animals intended by the original word; while, on the other hand, the Jewish Rabbis, Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 14, §3), Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 457, ed. Rosenm.), Montanus, Munster (*Crit. Sac.* in Ex. viii. 12), Bryant (*Plagues of Egypt*, p. 56), and Dr. Adam Clarke are in favour of the translation of the A. V. The old versions, the Chaldee paraphrase, the Targums of Jonathan and Onkelos, the Syriac, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Arabic, are claimed by Bochart as supporting the opinion that *lice* are here intended. Another writer believes he can identify the *chinnám* with some worm-like creatures (perhaps some kind of *Scolopendridae*) called *tarrentes*, mentioned in Vinisau's account of the expedition of Richard I. into the Holy Land, and which by their bites during the night-time occasioned extreme pain (Harmer's *Observat.* Clarke's ed. iii. 549). With regard to this last theory it may fairly be said that, as it has not a word of proof or authority to support it, it may at once be rejected as fanciful. Those who believe that the plague was one of gnats or mosquitoes appear to ground their opinion solely on the authority of the LXX., or rather on the interpretation of the Greek word σκνίψες, as given by Philo (*De Vit. Mos.* ii. 97), and Origen (*Hom. III. in Exodum*). The advocates of the other theory, that *lice* are the animals meant by *chinnám*, and not gnats, base their arguments upon these facts:—(1) because the *chinnám* sprang from the dust, whereas gnats come from the waters; (2) because gnats, though they may greatly irritate men and beasts, cannot properly be said to be "in" them; (3) because their name is derived from a root^b which signifies "to establish," or "to fix," which cannot be said of gnats; (4) because if gnats are intended, then the fourth plague of flies would be unduly anticipated; (5) because the Talmudists use the word *chinnám* in the singular number to mean a louse; as it is said in the *Treatise on the Sabbath* "As is the man who slays a camel on the Sabbath, so is he who slays a louse on the Sabbath."^c

Let us examine these arguments as briefly as possible. First, the LXX. has been quoted as a direct proof that *chinnám* means gnats; and certainly in such a matter as the one before us it is almost impossible to exaggerate the authority of the translators, who dwelt in Egypt, and therefore must be considered good authorities on this subject. But is it quite clear that the Greek word they made use of has so limited a signification? Does the Greek σκνίψ or κνίψ mean a gnat?^d Let the reader,

ἡ σκνίψ ἐν χώρῃ.

Phryn. (Lob.) 400. Plut. ii. 636, D.

Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ii. cap. ult.) speaks of σκνίψες, and calls them *worms*. Dioscorides (iii. *de Ulmo*) speaks of the well-known viscid secretion on the leaves of plants and trees, and says that when this moisture is dried up, animalcules like gnats appear (θήρια κωστωειδῆ). In another place (v. 181) he calls them σκώλακες. No doubt plant-lice are meant. Aëtius (ii. 9) speaks of κνίψες, by which word he clearly means plant-lice, or aphides. Aristophanes associates the κνίψες (aphides) with φῆγες (gall-flies), and speaks of them as injuring the young shoots of the vines (*Aves*, 427). Aristotle (*Hist. An.* viii. 3. §9) speaks of a bird, woodpecker, which he calls

* Considerable doubt has been entertained by some scholars as to the origin of the word. See the remarks of Gesenius and Fürst.

† B. But see Gesen. *Thes.* s. v. לִּצְעָה.

‡ *The Sabb.* cap. 14, fol. 107, b.

§ κνίψ, ζῶον χλωρόν τε καὶ τετραπτερον' and κνίξ (Κνίψ), ζῶον πτηνόν, ὅμοιον κωνίπτι.

(Hesych. Lex. s. v.)
Κνίψ, ζωόφιλον, ἢ γενική τοῦ κνίπος
Κνίπες, ὄμματα τὰ περιβεβρωμένα, καὶ ζωόφιλα τῶν ἐπιδοφάγων.

σκνίψ, ζῶον χλωρόν τε καὶ τετραπτερον, ζῶον κωνίπτιδες.
ζῶον μικρόν ἐπιδοφάγον. (Phavorin. s. v.)

however, read carefully the passages quoted in the foot-notes, and he will see at once that at any rate there is very considerable doubt whether *any one* particular animal is denoted by the Greek word. In the few passages where it occurs in Greek authors the word seems to point in some instances clearly enough to the well-known pests of field and garden, the *plant-lice* or *aphides*. By the *σκιψ ἐν χάρῳ*, the proverb referred to in the note, is very likely meant one of those small active jumping insects, common under leaves and under the bark of trees, known to entomologists by the name of spring-tails (*Poduridae*). The Greek lexicographers, having the derivation of the word in view, generally define it to be some small worm-like creature that eats away wood; if they used the term winged, the winged aphid is most likely intended, and perhaps *vermiculus* may sometimes refer to the wingless individual. Because, however, the lexicons occasionally say that the *σκιψ* is like a *gnat* (the "green and four-winged insect" of Hesychius), many commentators have come to the hasty conclusion that some species of *gnat* is denoted by the Greek term; but resemblance by no means constitutes identity, and it will be seen that this insect, the aphid, even though it be winged, is far more closely allied to the wingless louse (*pediculus*) than it is to the *gnat*, or to any species of the family *Culicidae*; for the term *lice*, as applied to the various kinds of *aphides* (*Phytophthiria*, as is their appropriate scientific name), is by no means merely one of analogy. The wingless aphid is in appearance somewhat similar to the *pediculus*; and indeed a great authority, Burmeister, arranges the *Anoplera*, the order to which the *pediculus* belongs, with the *Rhyncota*, which contains the sub-order *Homoptera*, to which the aphides belong. Hence, by an appropriate transfer, the same word which in Arabic means *pediculus* is applied in one of its significations to the "thistle black with plant-lice." Every one who has observed the thistles of this country black with the peculiar species that infests them can see the force of the meaning assigned to it in the Arabic language.*

Again, almost all the passages where the Greek word occurs speak of the animal, be it what it may, as being injurious to plants or trees; it cannot therefore be applied in a restricted sense to any *gnat* (*Culex* or *simulium*), for the *Culicidae* are eminently blood-suckers, not vegetable-feeders.†

Oedman (*Vermisch. Sammlung*, i. ch. vi.) is of opinion that the species of mosquito denoted by the *chinnim* is probably some minute kind allied to the *Culex reptans*, s. *pulicaris* of Linnæus. That such an insect might have been the instrument God made use of in the third plague with

κνιπόλογος. Gnats are for the most part taken on the wing; but the *κνίπες* here alluded to are doubtless the various kinds of *ants*, *larvae*, *aphides*, *lepidismidae*, *coccinea*, *oniscidae*, &c. &c., which are found on the leaves and under the bark of trees.

قبر. "Nigricans et quasi pediculis obsitus

apparuit carduus" (Gol. Arab. Lex. s. v.).

* The mosquito and gnat belong to the family of *Culicidae*. The *Simulium*, to which genus the *Culex reptans* (Lin.) belongs, is comprised under the family *Tipulidae*. This is a northern species, and probably not found in Egypt. The *Simulia*, or sand-flies, are most inveterate blood-suckers, whose bites often give rise to very painful swellings.

which He visited the Egyptians is readily granted so far as the irritating powers of the creature are concerned, for the members of the genus *Simulium* (sand-fly) are a terrible pest in those localities where they abound. But no proof at all can be brought forward in support of this theory.

Bryant, in illustrating the propriety of the plague being one of lice, has the following very just remarks:—"The Egyptians affected great external purity, and were very nice both in their persons and clothing. . . . Uncommon care was taken not to harbour any vermin. They were particularly solicitous on this head; thinking it would be a great profanation of the temple which they entered if any animalcule of this sort were concealed in their garments." And we learn from Herodotus that so scrupulous were the priests on this point that they used to shave the hair off their heads and bodies every third day for fear of harbouring any louse while occupied in their sacred duties (Herod. ii. 37). "We may hence see what an abhorrence the Egyptians showed towards this sort of vermin, and that the judgments inflicted by the hand of Moses were adapted to their prejudices" (Bryant's *Observations*, &c., p. 56).

The evidence of the old versions, adduced by Bochart in support of his opinion, has been called in question by Rosenmüller and Geddes, who will not allow that the words used by the Syriac, the Chaldaic, and the Arabic versions, as the representatives of the Hebrew word *chinnim*, can properly be translated *lice*; but the interpretations which they themselves allow to these words apply better to *lice* than to *gnats*; and it is almost certain that the normal meaning of the words in all these three versions, and indisputably in the Arabic, applies to *lice*. It is readily granted that some of the arguments brought forward by Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. 457, ed. Rosenm.) and his consentients are unsatisfactory. As the plague was certainly miraculous, nothing can be deduced from the assertion made that the *chinnim* sprang from the dust; neither is Bochart's derivation of the Hebrew word accepted by scholars generally. Much force however is contained in the Talmudical use of the word *chinnah*, to express a louse, though Gesenius asserts that nothing can be added thence.

On the whole, therefore, this much appears certain, that those commentators who assert that *chinnim* means *gnats* have arrived at this conclusion without sufficient authority; they have based their arguments solely on the evidence of the LXX., though it is by no means proved that the Greek word used by these translators has any reference to *gnats*;‡ the Greek word, which probably originally denoted any small irritating creature, being derived

Although Origen and Philo both understand by the Greek *σκιψ* some minute winged insect that stings, yet their testimony by no means proves that a similar use of the term was restricted to it by the LXX. translators. It has been shown, from the quotations given above, that the Greek word has a wide signification: it is an *aphis*, a *worm*, a *flea*, or a *spring-tail*—in fact any small insect-like animal that bites; and all therefore that should legitimately be deduced from the words of these two writers is that they applied in this instance to some irritating winged insect a term which, from its derivation, so appropriately describes its irritating properties. Their insect seems to refer to some species of *midge* (*Ceratopogon*).

‡ If the LXX. understood *gnats* by the Hebrew

from a root which means to bite, to gnaw, was used in this general sense, and selected by the LXX. translators to express the original word, which has an origin kindred to that of the Greek word, but the precise meaning of which they did not know. They had in view the derivation of the Hebrew term *chinnâh*, from *chânâh*, "to gnaw," and most appropriately rendered it by the Greek word *κρίν*, from *κνάω*, "to gnaw." It appears therefore that there is not sufficient authority for departing from the translation of the A. V., which renders the Hebrew word by *lice*; and as it is supported by the evidence of many of the old versions, it is best to rest contented with it. At any rate the point is still open, and no hasty conclusion can be adopted concerning it. [W. H.]

LIEUTENANTS (לְחַיִּים). The Hebrew *achashdrapan* was the official title of the satraps* or viceroys who governed the provinces of the Persian empire; it is rendered "lieutenant" in Esth. iii. 12, viii. 9, ix. 3; Ezr. viii. 36, and "prince" in Dan. iii. 2, vi. 1, &c. [W. L. B.]

LIGN ALOES. [ALOES.]

LIGURE (לִישֵׁם), *leshem*: λυγύριον; Ald. ἀργύριον; Alex. δάκρυδος: *ligurius*). A precious stone mentioned in Ex. xxviii. 19, xxxix. 12, as the first in the third row of the high-priest's breastplate. "And the third row, a figure, an agate, and an amethyst." It is impossible to say, with any certainty, what stone is denoted by the Hebrew term. The LXX. version generally, the Vulgate and Josephus (*B. J. v. 3, §7*), understand the *lyncurium* or *ligurium*; but it is a matter of considerable difficulty to identify the *ligurium* of the ancients with any known precious stone. Dr. Woodward and some old ornamentators have supposed that it was some kind of *belemnite*, because, as these fossils contain bituminous particles, they have thought that they have been able to detect, upon heating or rubbing pieces of them, the absurd origin which Theophrastus (*Frag.* ii. 28, 31, xv. 2, ed. Schneider) and Pliny (*H. N.* xxxvii. iii.) ascribe to the *lyncurium*. Others have imagined that *amber* is denoted by this word; but Theophrastus, in the passage cited above, has given a detailed description of the stone, and clearly distinguishes it from *electron*, or *amber*. *Amber*, moreover, is too soft for engraving upon; while the *lyncurium* was a hard stone, out of which seals were made. Another interpretation seeks the origin of the word in the country of Liguria (Genoa), where the stone was found, but makes no attempt at identification. Others again, without reason, suppose the word to be meant (Rosenmüller. *Sch. in Ex.* xxviii. 19). Dr. Watson (*Phil. Trans.* vol. li. p. 394) identifies it with the *tourmaline*. Beckmann (*Hist. Invent.* i. 87, Bohn) believes, with Braum, Epiphanius, and J. de Laet, that the description of the *lyncurium* agrees well with the *hyacinth stone* of modern mi-

neralogs.^b With this supposition Hill (*Note on Theophrastus on Stones*, §50, p. 166) and Rosenmüller (*Mineral. of Bible*, p. 36, *Bib. Cab.*) agree. It must be confessed, however, that this opinion is far from satisfactory, for there is the following difficulty in the identification of the *lyncurium* with the *hyacinth*. Theophrastus, speaking of the properties of the *lyncurium*, says that it attracts not only light particles of wood, but fragments of iron and brass. Now there is no peculiar attractive power in the *hyacinth*; nor is Beckmann's explanation of this point sufficient. He says: "If we consider its (the *lyncurium's*) attracting of small bodies in the same light which our *hyacinth* has in common with all stones of the glassy species, I cannot see anything to controvert this opinion, and to induce us to believe the *lyncurium* and the *tourmaline* to be the same." But surely the *lyncurium*, whatever it be, had in a marked manner *magnetic properties*; indeed the term was applied to the stone on this very account, for the Greek name *ligurion* appears to be derived from λείχειν, "to lick," "to attract;" and doubtless was selected by the LXX. translators for this reason to express the Hebrew word, which has a similar derivation.^c More probable, though still inconclusive, appears the opinion of those who identify the *lyncurium* with the *tourmaline*, or more definitely with the red variety known as *rubellite*, which is a hard stone and used as a gem, and sometimes sold for *red sapphire*. *Tourmaline* becomes, as is well known, electrically polar when heated. Beckmann's objection, that "had Theophrastus been acquainted with the *tourmaline*, he would have remarked that it did not acquire its attractive power till it was heated," is answered by his own admission on the passage, quoted from the *Histoire de l'Académie* for 1717, p. 7 (see Beckmann, i. 91).

Tourmaline is a mineral found in many parts of the world. The Duke de Noya purchased two of these stones in Holland, which are there called *aschtrikker*. Linnæus, in his preface to the *Flora Zeylandica*, mentions the stone under the name of *lapis electricus* from Ceylon. The natives call it *tourmal* (vid. *Phil. Trans.* in loc. cit.). Many of the precious stones which were in the possession of the Israelites during their wanderings were no doubt obtained from the Egyptians, who might have procured from the Tyrian merchants specimens from even India and Ceylon, &c. The fine specimen of *rubellite* now in the British Museum belonged formerly to the King of Ava.

The word *ligure* is unknown in modern mineralogy. Phillips (*Mineral.* 87) mentions *ligurite*, the fragments of which are uneven and transparent, with a vitreous lustre. It occurs in a sort of talcose rock in the banks of a river in the Apennines.

The claim of *rubellite* to be the *leshem* of Scripture is very uncertain, but it is perhaps better than that of the other minerals which writers have from time to time endeavoured to identify with it. [W. H.]

* term, why did not these translators use some well-known Greek name for *gnat*, as κνώσφι or ἐμπρίσ?

^a The LXX. gives σατραπίας, στρατηγός, and ὑπάτος; the Vulgate *satrapes* and *principes*. Both the Hebrew and the Greek words are modifications of the same Sanscrit root; but philologists are not agreed as to the form or meaning of the word. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 74) adopts the opinion of Von Bohlen that it comes from *kshatriya-pati*, meaning "warrior of the host." Pict (*Ætym. Foræ.* Pref. p. 68) suggests other de-

rivations more in consonance with the position of the satraps as *civil* rather than military rulers.

^b Büsching, p. 342, from Dutens *Des Pierres précieuses*, p. 61, says "the *hyacinth* is not found in the East." This is incorrect, for it occurs in Egypt, Ceylon, and the East Indies (v. *Mineral. and Crystall. Orr's Circle of Science*, 315).

^c *Thes.* a. v. לִישֵׁם. First says of לִישֵׁם, *cujus nos fugit origo*. Targ. vertit, לִישֵׁם קִיָּי, h. e. Gr. κέγγιστος, de quo Smiris (*Shamir*) genere v. Plin. xxxiv. 4.

LIKHI (לִּיכִי): Λακίμ; Alex. Λακεία: *Levi*, a Manasse, son of Shemida, the son of Manasseh (1 Chr. vii. 19).

LILY (לִּילִי, *shūshān*, שֹׁשְׁבַנִּים, *shōshannāh*: κρίνον, Matt. vi. 28, 29). The Hebrew word is rendered "rose" in the Chaldee Targum, and by Maimonides and other rabbinical writers, with the exception of Kimchi and Ben Melech, who in 1 K. vii. 19, translated it by "violet." In the Judæo-Spanish version of the Canticles, *shūshān* and *shōshannāh* are always translated by *rosa*; but in Hos. xiv. 5 the latter is rendered *lirio*. But κρίνον, or "lily," is the uniform rendering of the LXX., and is in all probability the true one, as it is supported by the analogy of the Arabic and Persian *susan*, which has the same meaning to this day, and by the existence of the same word in Syriac and Coptic. The Spanish *azucena*, "a white lily," is merely a modification of the Arabic.

But although there is little doubt that the word denotes some plant of the lily species, it is by no means certain what individual of this class it especially designates. Father Souciet (*Recueil de diss. Crit.* 1715) laboured to prove that the lily of Scripture is the "crown-imperial," the Persian *tusā*, the κρίνον βασιλικόν of the Greeks, and the *Fritillaria imperialis* of Linnaeus. So common was this plant in Persia, that it is supposed to have given its name to Susa, the capital (Athen. xii. 1; Bochart, *Phaleg.* ii. 14). But there is no proof that it was at any time common in Palestine, and "the lily" *par excellence* of Persia would not of necessity be "the lily" of the Holy Land. Dioscorides (i. 62) bears witness to the beauty of the lilies of Syria and Pisidia, from which the best perfume was made. He says (iii. 106 [116]) of the κρίνον βασιλικόν that the Syrians call it *σασα* (= *shushan*), and the Africans *ἀβιβλαβον*, which Bochart renders in Hebrew characters אַבִּיב לָבֵן, "white shoot." Kühn, in his note on the passage, identifies the plant in question with the *Lilium candidum* of Linnaeus. It is probably the same as that called in the Mishna "king's lily" (*Kila'im*, v. 8). Pliny (xxi. 5) defines κρίνον as "rubens lilium;" and Dioscorides, in another passage, mentions the fact that there are lilies with purple flowers; but whether by this he intended the *Lilium Martagon* or *Chalcedonicum*, Kühn leaves undecided. Now in the passage of Athenaeus above quoted it is said, *Σούσον γὰρ εἶναι τῆ Ἑλληνῶν φωνῇ τὸ κρίνον*. But in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s. v. Σούσα) we find *τὰ γὰρ λεῖρια ὑπὸ τῶν φοινίκων σούσα λέγεται*. As the *shushan* is thus identified both with κρίνον, the red or purple lily, and with *λεῖριον*, the white lily, it is evidently impossible from the word itself to ascertain exactly the kind of lily which is referred to. If the *shushan* or *shoshannāh* of the O. T. and the κρίνον of the Sermon on the Mount be identical, which there seems no reason to doubt, the plant designated by these terms must have been a conspicuous object on the shores of the Lake of Gennesaret (Matt. vi. 28; Luke xii. 27); it must have flourished in the deep

broad valleys of Palestine (Cant. ii. 1), among the thorny shrubs (ib. ii. 2) and pastures of the desert (ib. ii. 16, iv. 5, vi. 3), and must have been remarkable for its rapid and luxuriant growth (Hos. xiv. 5; Ecclus. xxxix. 14). That its flowers were brilliant in colour would seem to be indicated in Matt. vi. 28, where it is compared with the gorgeous robes of Solomon; and that this colour was scarlet or purple is implied in Cant. v. 13.* There appears to be no species of lily which so completely answers all these requirements as the *Lilium Chalcedonicum* or Scarlet Martagon, which grows in profusion in the Levant. But direct evidence on the point is still to be desired from the observation of travellers. We have, however, a letter from Dr. Bowring, referred to (*Gard. Chron.* ii. 854), in which, under the name of *Lilia Syriaca*, Lindley identifies with the *L. Chalcedonicum* a flower which is "abundant in the district of Galilee" in the months of April and May. Sprengel (*Ant. Bot. Spec.* i. p. 2) identifies the Greek κρίνον with the *L. Martagon*.



Lilium Chalcedonicum.

With regard to the other plants which have been identified with the *shushan*, the difficulties are many and great. Gesenius derives the word from a root signifying "to be white," and it has hence been inferred that the *shushan* is the white lily. But it is by no means certain that the *Lilium candidum* grows wild in Palestine, though a specimen was found by Forskål at Zambak in Arabia Felix.³ Dr. Royle (Kitto's *Cyclop.* art. "Shushan") identified the "lily" of the Canticles with the *lotus* of Egypt, in spite of the many allusions to "feeding among the lilies." The purple flowers of the *hibos*, or wild artichoke, which abounds in the plain north of Tabor and in the valley of Esdracel, have been thought by some to be the "lilies of the field" alluded to in Matt. vi. 28 (Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, ii. 110). A recent traveller mentions a plant, with lilac flowers like the hyacinth, and called by the Arabs *usceih*, which he considered to be of the

* According to another opinion, the allusion in this verse is to the fragrance and not the colour of the lily, and, if so, the passage is favourable to the claims of the *L. candidum*, which is highly fragrant, while the *L. Chalcedonicum* is almost destitute of odour. The lily of the N. T. may still be the latter.

³ Ret: Strand (*Flor. Palaest.*) mentions it as growing near Joppa, and Kitto (*Phys. Hist. of Pal.* 219) makes

especial mention of the *L. candidum* growing in Palestine; and in connexion with the habitat given by Strand it is worth observing that the lily is mentioned (Cant. ii. 1) with the rose of Sharon. Now let this be compared with Jerome's *Comment. ad Is.* xxxiii. 9: "Saron omnia juxta Joppen Lyddamque appellatur regio in qua lilia simi campi fertilesque tenduntur."

species denominated lily in Scripture (Bonar, *Desert of Sinai*, p. 329). Lynch enumerates the "lily" as among the plants seen by him on the shores of the Dead Sea, but gives no details which could lead to its identification (*Exped. to Jordan*, p. 286). He had previously observed the water-lily on the Jordan (p. 173), but omits to mention whether it was the yellow (*Nuphar lutea*) or the white (*Nymphaea alba*). "The only 'lilies' which I saw in



Lilium candidum.

Palestine," says Prof. Stanley, "in the months of March and April, were large yellow water-lilies, in the clear spring of 'Ain Mellahah, near the Lake of Merom" (*S. & P.* p. 429). He suggests that the same "lily" "may include the numerous flowers of the tulip or amaryllis kind, which appear in the early summer, or the autumn of Palestine." The following description of the Hüleh-lily by Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, i. 394), were it more precise, would perhaps have enabled botanists to identify it: "This Hüleh-lily is very large, and the three inner petals meet above and form a gorgeous canopy, such as art never approached, and king never sat under, even in his utmost glory. . . . We call it Hüleh-lily, because it was here that it was first discovered. Its botanical name, if it have one, I am unacquainted with. . . . Our flower delights most in the valleys, but is also found on the mountains. It grows among thorns, and I have sadly lacerated my hands in extricating it from them. Nothing can be in higher contrast than the lacinating velvety softness of this lily, and the crumbled tangled hedge of thorns about it. Gazelles still delight to feed among them; and you can scarcely ride through the woods north of Tabor, where these lilies abound, without frightening them from their flowery pasture." If some future traveller would give a description of the Hüleh-lily somewhat less vague than the above, the question might be at once resolved. [FLOWERS, Appendix A.]

The Phœnician architects of Solomon's temple decorated the capitals of the columns with "lily-work," that is, with leaves and flowers of the lily (1 K. vii.), corresponding to the lotus-headed capitals of Egyptian architecture. The rim of the "hazan sea" was possibly wrought in the form of the recurved margin of a lily flower (1 K. vii. 26). Whether the *shôlannin* and *shushan* mentioned in

the titles of Ps. xlv., lx., lxi., and lxxx. were musical instruments in the form of lilies, or whether the word denote a musical air, will be discussed under the article SHOSHANNIM. [W. A. W.]

LIME (לִימָה: *korla: calx*). This substance is noticed only three times in the Bible, viz., in Deut. xxvii. 2, 4, where it is ordered to be laid on the great stones whereon the law was to be written (A. V. "thou shalt plaister them with plaister"); in Is. xxxiii. 12, where the "burnings of lime" are figuratively used to express complete destruction; and in Am. ii. 1, where the prophet describes the outrage committed on the memory of the king of Edom by the Moabites, when they took his bones and burned them into lime, i. e. calcined them—an indignity of which we have another instance in 2 K. xxiii. 16. That the Jews were acquainted with the use of the lime-kiln, has been already noticed. [FURNACE.] [W. L. B.]

LINEN. Five different Hebrew words are thus rendered, and it is difficult to assign to each its precise significance. With regard to the Greek words so translated in the N. T. there is less ambiguity.

1. As Egypt was the great centre of the linen manufacture of antiquity, it is in connexion with that country that we find the first allusion to it in the Bible. Joseph, when promoted to the dignity of ruler of the land of Egypt, was arrayed "in vestures of fine linen" (*shesh*, marg. "silk," Gen. xli. 42), and among the offerings for the tabernacle of the things which the Israelites had brought out of Egypt were "blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine linen" (Ex. xxv. 4, xxxv. 6). Of twisted threads of this material were composed the ten embroidered hangings of the tabernacle (Ex. xxvi. 1), the veil which separated the holy place from the holy of holies (Ex. xxvi. 31), and the curtain for the entrance (ver. 36), wrought with needle-work. The ephod of the high-priest, with its "curious," or embroidered girdle, and the breast-plate of judgment, were of "fine twined linen" (Ex. xxviii. 6, 8, 15). Of fine linen woven in checker-work were made the high-priest's tunic and mitre (Ex. xxviii. 39). The tunics, turbans, and drawers of the inferior priests (Ex. xxxix. 27, 28) are simply described as of woven work of fine linen.

2. But in Ex. xxviii. 42, and Lev. vi. 10, the drawers of the priests and their flowing robes are said to be of linen (*bad*), and the tunic of the high-priest, his girdle, and mitre, which he wore on the day of atonement, were made of the same material (Lev. xvi. 4). Cuneus (*De Rep. Hebr.* ii. c. i.) maintained that the robes worn by the high-priest throughout the year, which are called by the Talmudists "the golden vestments," were thus named because they were made of a more valuable kind of linen (*shesh*) than that of which "the white vestments," worn only on the day of atonement, were composed (*bad*). But in the Mishna (*Cod. Joma*, iii. 7) it is said that the dress worn by the high-priest on the morning of the day of atonement was of linen of Pelusium, that is, of the finest description. In the evening of the same day he wore garments of Indian linen, which was less costly than the Egyptian. From a comparison of Ex. xxviii. 42 with xxxix. 28 it seems clear that *bad* and *shesh* were synonymous, or, if there be any difference between them, the latter probably de-

^a לִימָה, or לִימָה, as in Ex. xvi. 13.

^b 73.

notes the sun threads, while the former is the linen woven from them. Maimonides (*Cele hamikdash*, c. 8) considered them as identical with regard to the material of which they were composed, for he says, "wherever in the Law *bad* or *shesh* are mentioned, they signify flax, that is, *byssus*." And Abarbanel (on Ex. xxv.) defines *shesh* to be Egyptian flax, and distinguishes it as composed of six (Heb. *shesh*, "six") threads twisted together, from *bad*, which was single. But in opposition to this may be quoted Ex. xxxix. 28, where the drawers of the priests are said to be *linen* (*bad*) of fine twined linen (*shesh*). The wise-hearted among the women of the congregation spun the flax which was used by Bezaleel and Aholiab for the hangings of the tabernacle (Ex. xxxv. 25), and the making of linen was one of the occupations of women, of whose dress it formed a conspicuous part (Prov. xxxi. 22, A. V. "silk;" Ez. xvi. 10, 13; comp. Rev. xviii. 16). In Ez. xxvii. 7 *shesh* is enumerated among the products of Egypt, which the Tyrians imported and used for the sails of their ships; and the vessel constructed for Ptolemy Philopater is said by Athenaeus to have had a sail of *byssus* (*βύσσων ἔχων ἱστίον*, *Deipn.* i. 27 F). Hermippus (quoted by Athenaeus) describes Egypt as the great emporium for sails:—

ἐκ δ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ κρεμαστὰ
ἱστία καὶ βύσσους.

Cleopatra's galley at the battle of Actium had a sail of purple canvas (Plin. xix. 5). The ephods worn by the priests (1 Sam. xxii. 18), by Samuel, though he was a Levite (1 Sam. ii. 18), and by David when he danced before the ark (2 Sam. vi. 14; 1 Chr. xv. 27), were all of linen (*bad*). The man whom Daniel saw in vision by the river Hiddekel was clothed in linen (*bad*, Dan. x. 5, xii. 6, 7; comp. Matt. xxvii. 3). In no case is *bad* used for other than a dress worn in religious ceremonies, though the other terms rendered "linen" are applied to the ordinary dress of women and persons in high rank.

3. *Bats*,^c always translated "fine linen," except 2 Chr. v. 12, is apparently a late word, and probably the same with the Greek *βύσσοσ*, by which it is represented by the LXX. It was used for the dresses of the Levite choir in the temple (2 Chr. v. 12), for the loose upper garment worn by kings over the close-fitting tunic (1 Chr. xv. 27), and for the veil of the temple, embroidered by the skill of the Tyrian artificers (2 Chr. iii. 14). Mordecai was arrayed in robes of *fine linen* (*bats*) and purple (Esth. viii. 15) when honoured by the Persian king, and the dress of the rich man in the parable was purple and *fine linen* (*βύσσοσ*, Luke xvi. 19). The Tyrians were celebrated for their skill in linen-embroidery (2 Chr. ii. 14), and the house of Ashbea, a family of the descendants of Shelah the son of Judah, were workers in fine linen, probably in the lowland country (1 Chr. iv. 21). Tradition adds that they wove the robes of the kings and priests (Targ. Joseph), and, according to Jarchi, the hangings of the sanctuary. The cords of the canopy over the garden-court of the palace at Shushan were of fine linen (*bats*, Esth. i. 6). "Purple and brodered work and fine linen" were brought by

the Syrians to the market of Tyre (Ez. xxv. 16), the *bats* of Syria being distinguished from the *shesh* of Egypt, mentioned in ver. 7, as being in all probability an Aramaic word, while *shesh* is referred to an Egyptian original.^d "Fine linen" (*βύσσοσ*), with purple and silk are enumerated in Rev. xviii. 12 as among the merchandise of the mystical Babylon; and to the Lamb's wife (xix. 8) it "was granted that she should be arrayed in *fine linen* (*βύσσωσ*) clean and white;" the symbolical significance of this vesture being immediately explained, "for the fine linen is the righteousness of saints." And probably with the same intent the armies in heaven, who rode upon white horses and followed the "Faithful and True," were clad in "*fine linen*, white and clean," as they went forth to battle with the beast and his army (Rev. xix. 14).

4. *Étân*^e occurs but once (Prov. vii. 16), and there in connexion with Egypt. Schultens connects it with the Greek *ἄβωνη*, *ἄβωνιον*, which he supposes were derived from it. The Talmudists translate it by *חבל*, *chabel*, a cord or rope, in consequence of its identity in form with *âtân*,^f which occurs in the Targ. on Josh. ii. 15, and Esth. i. 6. R. Parchon interprets it "a girdle of Egyptian work." But in what way these cords were applied to the decoration of beds is not clear. Probably *étân* was a kind of thread made of fine Egyptian flax, and used for ornamenting the coverings of beds with tapestry-work. In support of this may be quoted the *ἀμφιδάπνοι* of the LXX., and the *picteae tapetes* of the Vulgate, which represent the *מִטְבָּחֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ* of the Hebrew. But Celsius renders the word "linen," and appeals to the Greek *ἄβωνη*, *ἄβωνιον*, as decisive upon the point. See Jablonski, *Opusc.* i. 72, 73.

Schultens (Prov. vii. 16) suggests that the Greek *συνδών* is derived from the Hebrew *sādîn*,^g which is used of the thirty linen garments which Samson promised to his companions (Judg. xiv. 12, 13) at his wedding, and which he stripped from the bodies of the Philistines whom he slew at Ashkelon (ver. 19). It was made by women (Prov. xxxi. 24), and used for girdles and under-garments (Is. iii. 23; comp. Mark xiv. 51). The LXX. in Judg. and Prov. render it *συνδών*, but in Judg. xiv. 13 *ἄβωνια* is used synonymously; just as *συνδών* in Matt. xxvii. 59, Mark xv. 46, and Luke xxiii. 53, is the same as *ἄβωνια* in Luke xxiv. 12; John xx. 6, 6, xix. 40. In these passages it is seen that linen was used for the winding-sheets of the dead by the Hebrews as well as by the Greeks (Hom. *Il.* xviii. 353, xxiii. 254; comp. Eur. *Bacch.* 819). Towels were made of it (*λέντιον*, John xiii. 4, 5), and napkins (*σουδάρια*, John xi. 44), like the coarse linen of the Egyptians. The dress of the poor (Ecclus. xl. 4) was probably unbleached flax (*ἀμυλανον*), such as was used for barbers' towels (Plut. *De Garrul.*).

The general term which included all those already mentioned was *pishteh*,^h corresponding to the Greek *λίνον*, which was employed—like our "cotton"—to denote not only the flax (Judg. xv. 14) or raw material from which the linen was made, but also the

^a *בָּגְדֵי בָּיָסוֹס*, *byssus*.

^d In Gen. xli. 42, the Targum of Onkelos gives *בָּגְדֵי בָּיָסוֹס* as the equivalent of *שֵׁשׁ*. See also Ex. xxv. 4, xxxv. 35.

^e *מִטְבָּחֵי*.

^f *מִטְבָּחֵי*, Veneto-Gr. *σχινοπέ.*

^g *סַדִּין*. Jablonski (*Opusc.* l. 297, &c.) claims for the word an Egyptian origin. The Coptic *shento* is the representative of *συνδών* in the N. T.

^h *פִּשְׁתָּה*.

plant itself (Josh. ii. 6), and the manufacture from it. It is generally proposed to wool, as a vegetable product to an animal (Lev. xiii. 47, 48, 52, 59; Deut. xxi. 11; Prov. xxxi. 13; Hos. ii. 5, 9), and was used for nets (Is. xix. 9), girdles (Jer. xiii. 1), and measuring-lines (Ex. xl. 3), as well as for the dress of the priests (Ex. xlv. 17, 18). From a comparison of the last-quoted passages with Ex. xxviii. 42, and Lev. vi. 10 (3), xvi. 4, 23, it is evident that *bad* and *pishteh* denote the same material, the latter being the more general term. It is equally apparent, from a comparison of Rev. xv. 6 with xix. 8, 14, that *λίνον* and *βύσσινον* are essentially the same. Mr. Yates (*Texturum Antiquorum*, p. 276) contends that *λίνον* denotes the common flax, and *βύσσινον* the finer variety, and that in this sense the terms are used by Pausanias (vi. 26, §4). Till the time of Dr. Forster it was never doubted that *byssus* was a kind of flax, but it was maintained by him to be cotton. That the mummy-cloths used by the Egyptians were cotton and not linen was first asserted by Rouelle (*Mem. de l'Acad. Roy. des Scien.* 1750), and he was supported in his opinion by Dr. Forster and Dr. Solander, after an examination of the mummies in the British Museum. But a more careful scrutiny by Mr. Bauer of about 400 specimens of mummy-cloth has shown that they were universally linen. Dr. Uve arrived independently at the same conclusion (Yates, *Textur. Ant.* b. ii.).

One word remains to be noticed, which our A. V. has translated "linen yarn" (1 K. x. 28; 2 Chr. i. 16), brought out of Egypt by Solomon's merchants. The Hebrew *mikveh*,¹ or *mikvé*,² is variously explained. In the LXX. of 1 Kings it appears as a proper name, *Θεκουέ*, and in the Vulgate *Coa*, a place in Arabia Felix. By the Syriac (2 Chr.) and Arabic translators it was also regarded as the name of a place. Bochart once referred it to Troglodyte Egypt, anciently called *Michoe*, according to Pliny (vi. 34), but afterwards decided that it signified "a tax" (*Hieros.* pt. 1, b. 2, c. 9). To these Michaelis adds a conjecture of his own, that *Ku* in the interior of Africa, S.W. of Egypt, might be the place referred to, as the country whence Egypt procured its horses (*Lives of Moses*, trans. Smith, ii. 493). In translating the word "linen yarn" the A. V. followed Junius and Tremellius, who are supported by Sebastian Schmid, De Dieu, and Clericus. Gesenius has recourse to a very unnatural construction, and, rendering the word "troop," refers it in the first clause to the king's merchants, and in the second to the horses which they brought.

From time immemorial Egypt was celebrated for its linen (Ex. xxvii. 7). It was the dress of the Egyptian priests (Her. ii. 37, 81), and was worn by them, according to Plutarch (*Is. et Osir.* 4), because the colour of the flax-blossom resembled that of the circumambient ether (comp. Juv. vi. 533, of the priests of Isis). Panopolis or Chemmis (the modern *Akhmim*) was anciently inhabited by linen-weavers (Strabo, xvii. 41, p. 81:). According to Herodotus (ii. 86) the mummy-cloths were of *byssus*; and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 6, §1) mentions among the contributions of the Israelites for the tabernacle, "byssus of flax;" the hangings of the tabernacle were "sindon of *byssus*" (§2), of which material the tunics of the priests were also made (*Ant.* iii. 7, §2), the drawers being of *byssus* (§1).

Philo also says that the high-priest wore a garment of the finest *byssus*. Combining the testimony of Herodotus as to the mummy-cloths with the results of microscopic examination, it seems clear that *byssus* was linen, and not cotton; and moreover, that the dresses of the Jewish priests were made of the same, the purest of all materials. For further information see Dr. Kalisch's *Comm. on Exodus*, pp. 487-489; also article WOOLLEN. [W. A. W.]

LINTEL. The beam which forms the upper part of the framework of a door. In the A. V. "lintel" is the rendering of three Hebrew words.

1. **אֵייל**, *ayil* (1 K. vi. 31); translated "post" throughout Ex. xl. xli. The true meaning of this word is extremely doubtful. In the LXX. it is left untranslated (*αἶλα, αἰλαῦ, αἰλάδα*); and in the Chaldee version it is represented by a modification of itself. Throughout the passages of Ezekiel in which it occurs the Vulg. uniformly renders it by *frons*; which Gesenius quotes as favourable to his own view, provided that by *frons* be understood the projections in front of the building. The A. V. of 1 K. vi. 31, "lintel," is supported by the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion of Ex. xl. 21; while Kimchi explains it generally by "post." The Peshito-Syriac uniformly renders the word by a modification of the Greek *παραστάδες*, "pillars." Jarchi understands by *ayil* a round column like a large tree; Aquila (Ex. xl. 14), having in view the meaning "ram," which the word elsewhere bears, renders it *κρίθωα*, apparently intending thereby to denote the volutes of columns, curved like rams' horns. J. D. Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex.* s. v.) considers it to be the tympanum or triangular area of the pediment above a gate, supported by columns. Gesenius himself, after reviewing the passages in which the word occurs, arrives at the conclusion that in the singular it denotes the whole projecting framework of a door or gateway, including the jambs on either side, the threshold, and the lintel or architrave, with frieze and cornice. In the plural it is applied to denote the projections along the front of an edifice ornamented with columns or palm-trees, and with recesses or intercolumniations between them sometimes filled up by windows. Under the former head he places 1 K. vi. 31; Ex. xl. 9, 21, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36-38, 48, 49, xli. 3; while in the latter he refers xl. 10, 14, 16, xli. 1. Another explanation still is that of Boettcher (quoted by Winer, *Realw.* ii. 575), who says that *ayil* is the projecting entrance- and passage-wall—which might appropriately be divided into compartments by panneling; and this view is adopted by Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.).

2. **כַּפְתָּר**, *caphtâr* (Amos ix. 1; Zeph. ii. 14). The marginal rendering, "chapiter or knop," of both these passages is undoubtedly the more correct, and in all other cases where the word occurs it is translated "knop." [KNOP.]

3. **מַשְׁכֹּף**, *mashkôph* (Ex. xii. 22, 23); also rendered "upper door-post" in Ex. xii. 7. That this is the true rendering is admitted by all modern philologists, who connect it with a root which in Arabic and the cognate dialects signifies "to overlay with beams." The LXX. and Vulgate coincide in assigning to it the same meaning. Rabbi Sol. Jarchi derives it from a Chaldee root signifying "to beat," because the door in being shut beats

¹ מִכְוֵה. 1 Kings.

² מִכְוֵה. 2 Chron.

against it. The signification "to look" or "peep," which was acquired by the Hebrew root, induced Aben Ezra to translate *mashkôph* by "window," such as the Arabs have over the doors of their houses; and in assenting to this rendering, Bochart observes "that it was so called on account of the grates and railings over the tops of the doors, through which those who desire entrance into the house could be seen before they were admitted" (Kalisch, *Exodus*). An illustration of one of these windows is given in the art. HOUSE, vol. i. p. 837 a. [W. A. W.]

LINUS (*Λίνος*), a Christian at Rome, known to St. Paul and to Timothy (2 Tim. iv. 21). That the first bishop of Rome after the apostles was named Linus is a statement in which all ancient writers agree (e. g. Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* 15; August. *Ep.* liii. 2). The early and unequivocal assertion of Irenaeus (iii. 3, §3), corroborated by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 2) and Theodoret, (in 2 Tim. iv. 21), is sufficient to prove the identity of the bishop with St. Paul's friend.

The date of his appointment, the duration of his episcopate, and the limits to which his episcopal authority extended, are points which cannot be regarded as absolutely settled, although they have been discussed at great length. Eusebius and Theodoret, followed by Baronius and Tillemont (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 165 and 591), state that he became bishop of Rome after the death of St. Peter. On the other hand, the words of Irenaeus—" [Peter and Paul] when they founded and built up the church [of Rome] committed the office of its episcopate to Linus"—certainly admit, or rather imply the meaning, that he held that office before the death of St. Peter: as if the two great apostles, having, in the discharge of their own peculiar office, completed the organisation of the church at Rome, left it under the government of Linus, and passed on to preach and teach in some new region. This proceeding would be in accordance with the practice of the apostles in other places. And the earlier appointment of Linus is asserted as a fact by Rufinus (*Praef. in Clem. Recogn.*), and by the author of ch. xlvi. bk. vii. of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. It is accepted as the true statement of the case by Bishop Pearson (*De Serie et Successione Priorum Romae Episcoporum*, ii. 5, §1) and by Fleury (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 26). Some persons have objected that the undistinguished mention of the name of Linus between the names of two other Roman Christians in 2 Tim. iv. 21, is a proof that he was not at that time bishop of Rome. But even Tillemont admits that such a way of introducing the bishop's name is in accordance with the simplicity of that early age. No lofty pre-eminence was attributed to the episcopal office in the apostolic times.

The arguments by which the exact years of his episcopate are laid down are too long and minute to be recited here. Its duration is given by Eusebius (whose *H. E.* iii. 16 and *Chronicon* give in-

* Rufinus' statement ought, doubtless, to be interpreted in accordance with that of his contemporary Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* xxvii. 6, p. 107), to the effect that Linus and Cletus were bishops of Rome in succession, not contemporaneously. The facts were, however, differently viewed: (1) by an interpolator of the *Gesta Pontificum Romanorum*, quoted by J. Voss in his second epistle to A. Aivet (App. to Pearson's *Vindictae Ignatianae*); (2) by Bede (*Vita S. Benedicti*, §7, p. 146, ed. Stevenson) when

consistent evidence) as A.D. 68-80; by Tillemont, who however reproaches Pearson with departing from the chronology of Eusebius, as 66-78; by Baronius as 67-78; and by Pearson as 55-67. Pearson, in the treatise already quoted (i. 10), gives weighty reasons for distrusting the chronology of Eusebius as regards the years of the early bishops of Rome; and he derives his own opinion from certain very ancient (but interpolated) lists of those bishops (see i. 13 and ii. 5). This point has been subsequently considered by Baraterius (*De Successione Antiquissima Episc. Rom.* 1740), who gives A.D. 56-67 as the date of the episcopate of Linus.

The statement of Rufinus, that Linus and Cletus were bishops in Rome whilst St. Peter was alive, has been quoted in support of a theory which sprang up in the 17th century, received the sanction even of Hammond in his controversy with Blondel (*Works*, ed. 1684, iv. 825; *Episcopatus Jura*, v. 1, §11), was held with some slight modification by Baraterius, and has been recently revived. It is supposed that Linus was bishop in Rome only of the Christians of Gentile origin, while at the same time another bishop exercised the same authority over the Jewish Christians there. Tertullian's assertion (*De Praescr. Haeret.* §32) that Clement [the third bishop] of Rome was consecrated by St. Peter, has been quoted also as corroborating this theory. But it does not follow from the words of Tertullian that Clement's consecration took place immediately before he became bishop of Rome; and the statement of Rufinus, so far as it lends any support to the above-named theory, is shown to be without foundation by Pearson (ii. 3, 4). Tillemont's observations (p. 590) in reply to Pearson only show that the establishment of two contemporary bishops in one city was contemplated in ancient times as a possible provisional arrangement to meet certain temporary difficulties. The actual limitation of the authority of Linus to a section of the church in Rome remains to be proved.

Linus is reckoned by Pseudo-Hippolytus, and in the Greek *Menaea*, among the seventy disciples. Various days are stated by different authorities in the Western Church, and by the Eastern Church, as the day of his death. A narrative of the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul, printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and certain pontifical decrees are incorrectly ascribed to Linus. He is said to have written an account of the dispute between St. Peter and Simon Magus. [W. T. B.]

LION. Rabbinical writers discover in the O. T. seven names of the lion, which they assign to the animal at seven periods of its life. 1. *לָוִי*, *lûvî*, or *לָוִי*, *lûvî*, a cub (Gen. xlix. 9; Deut. xxxiii. 22; Jer. li. 38; Nah. ii. 12). 2. *לָוִי*, *lûvî*, a young lion (Judg. xiv. 5; Job iv. 10; Ez. xix. 2, &c.). 3. *לָוִי*, *lûvî*, or *לָוִי*, *lûvî*, a full-grown lion (Gen. xlix. 9; Judg. xiv. 5, 8, &c.). 4. *לָוִי*, *lûvî*, *shakhal*, a lion more advanced in age and strength

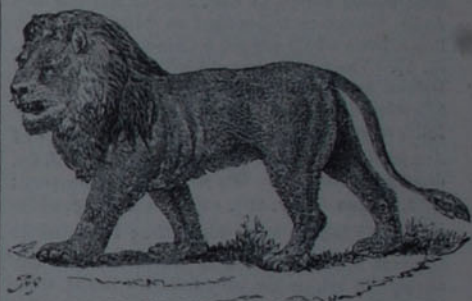
he was seeking a precedent for two contemporaneous abbots presiding in one monastery; and (3) by Rabanus Maurus (*De Chorepiscopis*: Opp. ed. Migne, tom. iv. p. 1197), who ingeniously claims primitive authority for the institution of chorepiscopi on the supposition that Linus and Cletus were never bishops with full powers, but were contemporaneous chorepiscopi employed by St. Peter in his absence from Rome, and at his request, to ordain clergymen for the church at Rome.

(Job iv. 10; Ps. xci. 13, &c.). 5. **שַׁחַטִּים**, *shakhats*, a lion in full vigour: (Job xxviii. 8). 6. **לָבִי**, *lábí*, or **לִבְיָא**, *lebiyyá*, an old lion (Gen. xlix. 9; Job v. 11, &c.). 7. **לַיִשׁ**, *laish*, a lion decrepit with age (Job iv. 11; Is. xxx. 6, &c.) Well might Bochart (*Hierov.* pt. i. b. iii. 1) say, "Hic grammaticè videtur mire sibi indulgere." He differs from this arrangement in every point but the second. In the first place, *gúr* is applied to the young of other animals besides the lion; for instance, the sea monsters in Lam. iv. 3. Secondly, *cephé* differs from *gúr*, as *juvencus* from *vitulus*. *Ar* or *aryth* is a generic term, applied to all lions without regard to age. In Judg. xiv. the "young lion" (*cephé aráyóthi*) of ver. 5 is in ver. 8 called the "lion" (*aryéh*). Bochart is palpably wrong in rendering *shakhal* "a black lion" of the kind which, according to Pliny (viii. 17), was found in Syria. The word is only used in the poetical books, and most probably expresses some attribute of the lion. It is connected with an Arabic root, which signifies "to bray" like an ass, and is therefore simply "the brayer." *Shakhats* does not denote a lion at all. *Lábí* is properly a "honest," and is connected with the Coptic *labai*, which has the same signification. *Laish* (comp. $\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, Hom. *I.* xv. 275) is another poetic name. So far from being applied to a lion weak with age, it denotes one in full vigour (Job iv. 11; Prov. xxx. 30). It has been derived from an Arabic root, which signifies "to be strong," and, if this etymology be true, the word would be an epithet of the lion, "the strong one."

At present lions do not exist in Palestine, though they are said to be found in the desert on the road to Egypt (Schwarz, *Desc. of Pal.*: see Is. xxx. 6). They abound on the banks of the Euphrates between Bussorah and Bagdad (Russell, *Aleppo*, p. 61), and in the marshes and jungles near the rivers of Babylonia (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 566). This species, according to Layard, is without the dark and shaggy mane of the African lion (*id.* 487), though he adds in a note that he had seen lions on the river Karoon with a long black mane.

But, though lions have now disappeared from Palestine, they must in ancient times have been numerous. The names *Lebaoth* (Josh. xv. 32),

Beth-Lebaoth (Josh. xix. 6), *Arieh* (2 K. xv. 25), and *Laish* (Judg. xviii. 7; 1 Sam. xxv. 44) were probably derived from the presence of or connexion with lions, and point to the fact that they were at one time common. They had their lairs in the forests which have vanished with them (Jer. v. 6, xii. 8; Am. iii. 4), in the tangled brushwood (Jer. iv. 7, xxv. 38; Job xxxviii. 40), and in the caves of the mountains (Cant. iv. 8; Ez. xix. 9; Nah. ii. 12). The cane-brake on the banks of the Jordan, the "pride" of the river, was their favourite haunt (Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44; Zech. xi. 3), and in this reedy covert (Lam. iii. 10) they were to be found at a comparatively recent period; as we learn from a passage of Johannes Phocas, who travelled in Palestine towards the end of the 12th century (Reland, *Pal.* i. 274). They abounded in the jungles which skirt the rivers of Mesopotamia (Ammian, Marc. xviii. 7, §5), and in the time of Xenophon (*de Venat.* xi.) were found in Nysa.



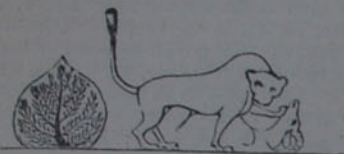
Persian Lion. (From specimen in the Zoological Gardens.)

The lion of Palestine was in all probability the Asiatic variety, described by Aristotle (*H. A.* ix. 44) and Pliny (viii. 18), as distinguished by its short curly mane, and by being shorter and rounder in shape, like the sculptured lion found at Arban (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 278). It was less daring than the longer maned species, but when driven by hunger it not only ventured to attack the flocks in the desert in presence of the shepherd (Is. xxxi. 4; 1 Sam. xvii. 34), but laid waste towns and villages (2 K. xvii. 25, 26; Prov. xxii. 13, xxvi. 13), and devoured men (1 K. xiii. 24, xx. 36; 2 K. xvii. 25; Ez. ix. 3, 6). The shepherds sometimes ventured to encounter the lion single handed (1 Sam. xvii. 34), and the vivid figure employed by Amos (iii. 12), the herdsman of Tekoa, was but the transcript of a scene which he must have often witnessed. At other times they pursued the animal in large bands, raising loud shouts to intimidate him (Is. xxxi. 4), and drive him into the net or pit they had prepared to catch him (Ez. xix. 4, 8). This method of capturing wild beasts is described by Xenophon (*de Ven.* xi. 4) and by Shaw, who says, "The Arabs dig a pit where they are observed to enter; and, covering it over lightly with reeds or small branches of trees, they frequently decoy and catch them" (*Travels*, 2nd ed. p. 172). Benaiah, one of David's heroic body-guard, had distinguished himself by slaying a lion in his den (2 Sam. xxiii. 20). The kings of Persia had a menagerie of lions (**גִּבּוֹ**, *gób*, Dan. vi. 7, &c.). When captured alive they were put in a cage (Ez. xix. 9), but it does not appear that they were tamed. In the hunting scenes at Beni-Hassan tame lions are represented as used in hunting (Wilkinson,



Barbary Lion. (From specimen in Zoological Gardens.)

Anc. Egypt. iii. 17). On the bas-reliefs at Kouyunjik a lion led by a chain is among the presents brought by the conquered to their victors (Layard, *Nim. & Bab.* p. 138¹).



Hunting with a lion, which has seized an ibex. (From Wilkinson's *Egyptians*, vol. I p. 221.)

The strength (Judg. xiv. 18; Prov. xxx. 30; 2 Sam. i. 23), courage (2 Sam. xvii. 10; Prov. xxviii. 1; Is. xxxi. 4; Nah. ii. 11), and ferocity (Gen. xlix. 9; Num. xxiv. 9), of the lion were proverbial. The "lion-faced" warriors of Gad were among David's most valiant troops (1 Chr. xii. 8); and the hero Judas Maccabeus is described as "like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey" (1 Macc. iii. 4). The terrible roar of the lion is expressed in Hebrew by four different words, between which the following distinction appears to be maintained:—**שָׁאָן**, *sháan* (Judg. xiv. 5; Ps. xxii. 13, civ. 21; Am. iii. 4), also used of the thunder (Job xxxvii. 4), denotes the roar of the lion while seeking his prey; **נָהָם**, *náham* (Is. v. 29), expresses the cry which he utters when he seizes his victim; **הָגָה**, *hághah* (Is. xxxi. 4), the growl with which he defies any attempt to snatch the prey from his teeth; while **נָעַר**, *ná'ar* (Jer. li. 38), which in Syriac is applied to the braying of the ass and camel, is descriptive of the cry of the young lions. If this distinction be correct the meaning attached to *náham* will give force to Prov. xix. 12. The terms which describe the movements of the animal are equally distinct:—**רָבַץ**, *rábatz* (Gen. xlix. 9; Ez. xix. 2), is applied to the crouching of the lion, as well as of any wild beast, in his lair; **שָׁחָה**, *shácháh*, **יָשַׁב**, *yáshab* (Job xxxviii. 40), and **אָרַב**, *árab* (Ps. x. 9), to his lying in wait in his den, the two former denoting the position of the animal, and the latter the secrecy of the act; **רָמַשׁ**, *rámas* (Ps. civ. 20), is used of the stealthy creeping of the lion after his prey; and **זָמַח**, *zámach* (Deut. xxxiii. 22) of the leap with which he hurls himself upon it.

The lion was the symbol of strength and sovereignty, as in the human-headed figures of the Nimroud gateway, the symbols of Nergal, the Assyrian Mars, and tutelary god of Babylon. In Egypt it was worshipped at the city of Leontopolis, as typical of Dom, the Egyptian Hercules (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. 169). Plutarch (*de Isid.* §38) says that the Egyptians ornamented their temples with gaping lions' mouths, because the Nile began to rise when the sun was in the constellation

¹ שְׁמִיחָה; "stellio, reptile imundum."

² The following are the references to the Greek word ἀσκαλώτης in Aristot. *de Anim. Hist.* (ed. Schneider), W. 11, §2; viii. 17, §1; viii. 19, §2; viii. 28, §2; ix. 2, §5; ix. 10, §2. That Aristotle understands some species of Gecko by the Greek word is clear; for he says of the woodpecker, πορεύεται ἐπὶ τοῖς δένδροις ταχέως καὶ ἄνους, καθάπερ οἱ ἀσκαλώται (ix. 10, §2). He alludes

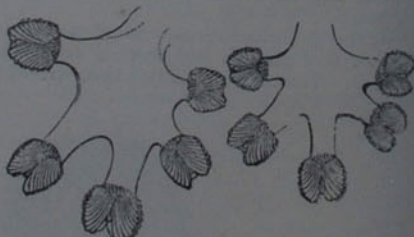
to Lec. Among the Hebrews, and throughout the O. T., the lion was the achievement of the pious tribe of Judah, while in the closing book of the canon it received a deeper significance as the emblem of him who "prevailed to open the book and loose the seven seals thereof" (Rev. v. 5). On the other hand its fierceness and cruelty rendered it an appropriate metaphor for a fierce and malignant enemy (Ps. vii. 2, xxi. 21, lvii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 17), and hence for the arch-fiend himself (1 Pet. v. 8).

The figure of the lion was employed as an ornament both in architecture and sculpture. On each of the six steps leading up to the great ivory throne of Solomon stood two lions on either side, carved by the workmen of Hiram, and two others were beside the arms of the throne (1 K. x. 19, 20). The great brazen laver was in like manner adorned with cherubim, lions, and palm-trees in graven work (1 K. vii. 29, 36). [W. A. W.]

LIZARD (לִּזְרָד, *letááh*: Vat. and Alex.

χαλαβάτης; Compl. ἀσκαλαβάτης; Ald. καλαβάτης; *stellio*). The Hebrew word, which with its English rendering occurs only in Lev. xi. 30, appears to be correctly translated by the A. V. Some species of lizard is mentioned amongst those "creeping things that creep upon the earth" which were to be considered unclean by the Israelites.

Lizards of various kinds abound in Egypt, Palestine, and Arabia; some of these are mentioned in the Bible under various Hebrew names, notices of which will be found under other articles. [FENNET; SNAIL.] All the old versions agree in identifying the *letááh* with some *saurian*, and some concur as to the particular genus indicated. The LXX., the Vulg., the Targ. of Jonathan,^a with the Arabic versions, understand a lizard by the Hebrew word. The Syriac has a word which is generally translated *salamander*, but probably this name was applied also to the lizard. The Greek word, with its slight variations, which the LXX. use to express the *letááh*, appears from what may be gathered from Aristotle,^b and perhaps also from its derivation, to point to some lizard belonging to the *Geckotidae*.



Feet of Gecko.

Many members of this family of *Saura* are characterised by a peculiar lamellated structure on the under surface of the toes, by means of which they are enabled to run over the smoothest surfaces, and

also to a species in Italy, perhaps the *Hemidactylus tarentatus*, whose bite, he says, is fatal (?).

^a Ἀσκαλαβώτης, Σωφίον τοῦκος σαύρα ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ἀνέρον τῶν οἰκημάτων. This seems to identify it with one of the *Geckotidae*; perhaps the *Tarentola* was best known to the Greeks. The noiseless (ἡσυχῶς) and, at times, fixed habits of this lizard are referred to *oelo* (See Gaisf. *Etyim. Mag.*)

even in an inverted position, like house-flies on a ceiling. Mr. Broderip observes that they can remain suspended beneath the large leaves of the tropical vegetation, and remain for hours in positions as extraordinary as the insects for which they watch; the wonderful apparatus with which their feet are furnished enabling them to overcome gravity. Now the Hebrew *letááh* appears to be derived from a root which, though not extant in that language, is found in its sister-tongue the Arabic: this root means to adhere to the ground,^d an expression which well agrees with the peculiar sucker-like properties of the feet of the Geckos. Bochart has successfully argued that the lizard denoted by the Hebrew word is that kind which the Arabs call *mechara*, the translation of which term is thus given by Gellius: "An animal like a lizard, of a red colour, and adhering to the ground, *cibo potius venenum inspirat quancunque contigerit.*" This description will be found to agree with the character of the Fan-foot Lizard (*Ptyodactylus Gecko*), which is



The Fan-Foot. (*Ptyodactylus Gecko*.)

common in Egypt and in parts of Arabia, and perhaps is also found in Palestine. It is reddish brown, spotted with white.^e Hasselquist thus speaks of it: "The poison of this animal is very singular, as it exhales from the *lobuli* of the toes. At Cairo I had an opportunity of observing how arid the exhalations of the toes of this animal are. As it ran over the hand of a man who was endeavouring to catch it, there immediately rose little red pustules over all those parts which the animal had touched" (*Voyages*, p. 220). Forskål (*Descr. Anin.* 13) says that the Egyptians call this lizard *Abu bars*, "father of leprosy," in allusion to the leprosy sores which contact with it produces; and to this day the same term is used by the Arabs to denote a lizard, probably of this same species.^f The Geckos live on insects and worms, which they swallow whole. They derive their name from the peculiar sound which some of the species utter. This sound has been described as being similar to the double click often used in riding; they make it by some movement of the tongue against the palate. The *Geckotidae* are nocturnal in their habits, and frequent houses, cracks in rocks, &c. They move very rapidly, and without making the slightest sound; hence probably the derivation of the Greek

^d See Gesen. (*Thes.* s. v.). A similar root has the force of "hiding;" in which case the word will refer to the Gecko's habit of frequenting holes in walls, &c.

^e The Gr. ἀσκαλαβότης, and perhaps Lat. *stellio*, indicate the worms, the red colour the species.

^f أبو بربص, *Abu barvas*, Lizard. (Catafago, Arab. tract.)

word for this lizard. They are found in all parts of the world; in the greatest abundance in warm climates. It is no doubt owing to their repulsive appearance that they have the character of being highly venomous, just as the unscientific in England attach similar properties to *toads*, *newts*, *blind worms*, &c. &c., although these creatures are perfectly harmless. At the same time it must be admitted that there may be species of lizards which do secrete a venomous fluid, the effects of which are no doubt aggravated by the heat of the climate, the unhealthy condition of the subject, or other causes. The Geckos belong to the sub-order *Pachyglasae*, order *Saura*. They are oviparous, producing a round egg, with a hard calcareous shell. [W. H.]

LO-AMMI (לֹא אָמִי לֹא אָמִי): *οὐ λαός μου*: *non populus meus*, i. e. "not my people," the figurative name given by the prophet Hosea to his second son by Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim (Hos. i. 9), to denote the rejection of the kingdom of Israel by Jehovah. Its significance is explained in ver. 9, 10.

LOAN. The law of Moses did not contemplate any raising of loans for the purpose of obtaining capital, a condition perhaps alluded to in the parables of the "pearl" and "hidden treasure" (Matt. xiii. 44, 45; Michaels, *Comm. on Laws of Moses*, art. 147, ii. 297, ed. Smith). [COMMERCE.] Such persons as bankers and sureties, in the commercial sense (Prov. xxii. 26; Neh. v. 3) were unknown to the earlier ages of the Hebrew commonwealth. The Law strictly forbade any interest to be taken for a loan to any poor person, either in the shape of money or of produce, and at first, as it seems, even in the case of a foreigner; but this prohibition was afterwards limited to Hebrews only, from whom, of whatever rank, not only was no usury on any pretence to be exacted, but relief to the poor by way of loan was enjoined, and excuses for evading this duty were forbidden (Ex. xxii. 25; Lev. xxv. 35, 37; Deut. xv. 3, 7-10, xxiii. 19, 20). The instances of extortionate conduct mentioned with disapprobation in the book of Job probably represent a state of things previous to the Law, and such as the Law was intended to remedy (Job xxii. 6, xxiv. 3, 7). As commerce increased, the practice of usury, and so also of suretiship, grew up; but the exaction of it from a Hebrew appears to have been regarded to a late period as discreditable (Prov. vi. 1, 4, xi. 15, xvii. 18, xx. 16, xxii. 26; Ps. xv. 5, xxvii. 13; Jer. xv. 10; Ez. xviii. 13, xxii. 12). Systematic breach of the law in this respect was corrected by Nehemiah after the return from captivity (see No. 6) (Neh. v. 1, 13; Michaels, *ib.*, arts. 148, 151). In later times the practice of borrowing money appears to have prevailed without limitation of race, and to have been carried on on systematic principles, though the original spirit of the Law was approved by our Lord (Matt. v. 42, xxv. 27; Luke vi. 35, xix. 23). The money-changers (*κερατιαταί*, and *κολληβισταί*), who had seats and tables in the Temple, were traders whose profits arose chiefly from the exchange of money with those who came to pay their annual half-shekel (Pollux, iii. 84, vii. 170; Schlessner, *Lex. N. T. s. v.*; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*; Matt. xxi. 12). The documents relating to loans of money appear to have been deposited in public offices in Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 17, §6).

In making loans no prohibition is pronounced in the Law against taking a pledge of the borrower, but certain limitations are prescribed in favour of the poor.

1. The outer garment, which formed the poor man's principal covering by night as well as by day, if taken in pledge, was to be returned before sunset. A bedstead, however, might be taken (Ex. xxii. 26, 27; Deut. xxiv. 12, 13; comp. Job xxii. 6; Prov. xxii. 27; Shaw, *Trav.* 224; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 47, 231; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* 56; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 57, 58; Ges. *Theas.* 403; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, arts. 143 and 150).

2. The prohibition was absolute in the case of (a) the widow's garment (Deut. xxiv. 17), and (b) a millstone of either kind (Deut. xxiv. 6). Michaelis (art. 150, ii. 321) supposes also all indispensable animals and utensils of agriculture; see also Mishna, *Maaser Sheni*, i.

3. A creditor was forbidden to enter a house to reclaim a pledge, but was to stand outside till the borrower should come forth to return it (Deut. xxiv. 10, 11).

4. The original Roman law of debt permitted the debtor to be enslaved by his creditor until the debt was discharged; and he might even be put to death by him, though this extremity does not appear to have been ever practised (Gell. xx. 1, 45, 52; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Bonorum Cessio," "Nexum"). The Jewish law, as it did not forbid temporary bondage in the case of debtors, so it forbade a Hebrew debtor to be detained as a bondsman longer than the 7th year, or at farthest the year of Jubilee (Ex. xxi. 2; Lev. xxv. 39, 42; Deut. xv. 9). If a Hebrew was sold in this way to a foreign sojourner, he might be redeemed at a valuation at any time previous to the Jubilee year, and in that year was, under any circumstances, to be released. Foreign sojourners, however, were not entitled to release at that time (Lev. xxv. 44, 46, 47, 54; 2 K. iv. 2; Is. l. 1, lii. 3). Land sold on account of debt was redeemable either by the seller himself, or by a kinsman in case of his inability to repurchase. Houses in walled towns, except such as belonged to Levites, if not redeemed within one year after sale, were alienated for ever. Michaelis doubts whether all debt was extinguished by the Jubilee; but Josephus' account is very precise (*Ant.* iii. 12, §3; Lev. xxv. 23, 34; Ruth iv. 4, 10; Michaelis, §158, ii. 360). In later times the sabbatical or jubilee release was superseded by a law, probably introduced by the Romans, by which the debtor was liable to be detained in prison until the full discharge of his debt (Matt. v. 26). Michaelis thinks this doubtful. The case imagined in the parable of the Unmerciful Servant belongs rather to despotic Oriental than Jewish manners (Matt. xviii. 34; Michaelis, *ibid.* art. 149; Trench, *Parables*, p. 141). Subsequent Jewish opinions on loans and usury may be seen in the Mishna, *Baba Metzi'ah*, c. iii. x.

LOAVES. [BREAD.]

LOCK.^a Where European locks have not been introduced, the locks of Eastern houses are usually

^a *Λύγρον*, κλειθρον, *scra*; Ges. *Theas.* 892.

^b From the Latin *locusta*, derived by the old etymologists from *locus* and *ustus*, "quod tactu multa urit, morsu vero omnia erodat."

^c From ὀρθόν and πτερόν: an order of insects characterized by their anterior wings being semi-coriaceous and overlapping at the tips. The posterior wings are large and membranous, and longitudinally folded when at rest.

^d In the year 1748 locusts (the *Oedipoda migratoria*, a bloodless) invaded Europe in immense multitudes.

of wood, and consist of a partly hollow bolt from 14 inches to 2 feet long for external doors or gates, or from 7 to 9 inches for interior doors. The bolt passes through a groove in a piece attached to the door into a socket in the door-post. In the groove-piece are from 4 to 9 small iron or wooden sliding-pins or wires, which drop into corresponding holes in the bolt, and fix it in its place. The key is a piece of wood furnished with a like number of pins, which, when the key is introduced sideways, raises the sliding-pins in the lock, and allow the bolt to be drawn back. Ancient Egyptian doors were fastened with central bolts, and sometimes with levers passing from one door-post to the other. They were also sometimes sealed with clay. [CLAY.] Keys were made of bronze or iron, of a simple construction. The gates of Jerusalem set up under Nehemiah's direction had both bolts and locks. (*Judg.* iii. 23, 25; Cant. v. 5; Neh. iii. 3, &c.; Rawlinson, *Trav.* in Ray, ii. 17; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 22; Volney, *Travels*, ii. 438; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 42; Chardin, *Voy.* iv. 123; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* abridgm. i. 15, 16).

[H. W. P.]

LOCUST,^b a well-known insect, which commits terrible devastation to vegetation in the countries which it visits. In the Bible there are frequent allusions to locusts; and there are nine or ten Hebrew words which are supposed to denote different varieties or species of this destructive family. They belong to that order of insects known by the term *Orthoptera*.^c This order is divided into two large groups or divisions, viz. *Cursoria* and *Salutatoria*. The first, as the name imports, includes only those families of *Orthoptera* which have legs formed for creeping, and which were considered unclean by the Jewish law. Under the second are comprised those whose two posterior legs, by their peculiar structure, enable them to move on the ground by leaps. This group contains, according to Serville's arrangement, three families, the *Gryllides*, *Locustariae*, and the *Acridites*, distinguished one from the other by some peculiar modifications of structure. The common house-cricket (*Gryllus domesticus*, Oliv.) may be taken as an illustration of the *Gryllides*; the green grasshopper (*Locusta viridissima*, Fabr.), which the French call *Sauterelle verte*, will represent the family *Locustariae*; and the *Acridites* may be typified by the common migratory locust (*Oedipoda migratoria*, Aud. Serv.



Oedipoda migratoria.

which is an occasional visitor to this country.^d Of the *Gryllides*, *G. cerisyi* has been found in Egypt.

Charles XII. and his army, then in Bessarabia, were stopped in their course. It is said that the swarms were four hours passing over Breslau. Nor did England escape for a swarm fell near Bristol, and ravaged the country to the month of July of the same year. They did great damage in Shropshire and Staffordshire, by eating the blossoms of the apple-trees, and especially the leaves of oaks, which looked as bare as at Christmas. The rocks did a good service in this case at least. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1748, pp. 331 and 414; also *The Times* Oct. 4. 1845.

and *G. domesticus*, on the authority of Dr. Kitto, occur in these countries. Of the *Locustariæ*, *Pianzoptera falcata*, Serv. (*G. falc.* Scopoli), has, according to Kitto, been found in Palestine, *Asia Minor*, Turkey, &c., *Enaloporus dasyptus* in Asia Minor, Turkey, &c., *Boea Natoliae* near Smyrna. Of the locusts proper, or *Acridites*, four species of the genus *Truxalis* are recorded as having been seen in Egypt, Syria, or Arabia: viz. *T. nasuta*, *T. variabilis*, *T. procera*, and *T. miniata*. The following kinds also occur: *Spasmoda pisciformis*, in Egypt and the oasis of Siwa; *Pochiloceros hieroglyphicus*, *P. bufonius*, *P. punctiventris*, *P. vulcanus*, in the deserts of Cairo; *Derocorys abidula* in Egypt and Mount Lebanon. Of the genus *Acridium*, *A. maestum*, the most formidable perhaps of all the *Acridites*, *A. lasioides* (= *G. Aegypt.* Linn.), which is a species commonly sold for food in the markets of Bagdad



Acridium lineola.

(Sert. Orthop. 657), *A. semifasciatum*, *A. peregrinum*, one of the most destructive of the species, and *A. morbosum*, occur either in Egypt or Arabia. *Calliptamus serapis* and *Chrotogonus lugubris* are found in Egypt, and in the cultivated lands about Cairo; *Eremobia carinata*, in the rocky places about Sinai. *E. cisti*, *E. pulchripennis*, *Oedipoda ocellifasciata*, and *Oe. migratoria* (= *G. migrat.* Linn.), complete the list of the *Saltatorial Orthoptera* of the Bible-lands. From the above catalogue it will be seen how perfectly unavailing, for the most part, must be any attempt to identify the Hebrew names with ascertained species, especially when it is remembered that some of these names occur but seldom, others (Lev. xi. 21) only once in the Bible—that the only clue is in many instances the mere etymology of the Hebrew word—that such etymology has of necessity, from the fact of there being but a single word, a very wide meaning—and that the etymology is frequently very un-

* It is well known that all insects, properly so called, have six feet. But the Jews considered the two anterior pair only as true legs in the locust family, regarding them as additional instruments for leaping.

† The rendering of the A. V., "which have legs above their feet," is certainly awkward. קרעוים, which occurs only in the dual

number, properly denotes "that part of the leg between the knee and ankle" which is bent in bowing down, i. e. the fibula. The passage may be thus translated, "which have their fibulae so placed above their feet [tarsi] as to

certain. The LXX. and Vulg. do not contribute much help, for the words used there are themselves of a very uncertain signification, and moreover employed in a most promiscuous manner. Still, though the possibility of identifying with certainty any one of the Hebrew names is a hopeless task, yet in one or two instances a fair approximation to identification may be arrived at.

From Lev. xi. 21, 22, we learn the Hebrew names of four different kinds of *Saltatorial Orthoptera*. "These may ye eat of every flying creeping thing that goeth upon all four," which have legs above their feet* to leap withal upon the earth; even those of them ye may eat, the *arbeh* after his kind, and the *salam* after his kind, and the *chargol* (wrongly translated beetle by the A. V., an insect which would be included amongst the flying creeping things forbidden as food in vers. 23 and 42) after his kind, and the *chagab* after his kind." Besides the names mentioned in this passage, there occur five others in the Bible, all of which Bochart (iii. 251, &c.) considers to represent so many distinct species of locusts, viz. *gob*, *gazam*, *chasil*, *yeleh*, and *tseitsal*.

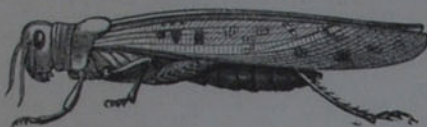
(1.) *Arbeh* (אַרְבֵּה: ἀκρις, βροῦχος, ἀττέλεβος, ἀττέλαβος; in Joel ii. 25, ἐρσιβη; *locusta*, *bruchus*; "locust," "grasshopper") is the most common name for locust, the word occurring about twenty times in the Hebrew Bible, viz., in Ex. x. 4, 12, 13, 14, 19; Judg. vi. 5, vii. 12; Lev. xi. 22; Deut. xxviii. 38; 1 K. viii. 37; 2 Chr. vi. 28; Job xxxix. 20; Ps. cv. 34, cix. 23, lxxviii. 46; Prov. xxx. 27; Jer. xli. 23; Joel i. 4, ii. 25; Nah. iii. 15, 17. The LXX. generally render *arbeh* by ἀκρις, the general Greek name for locust: in two passages, however, viz., Lev. xi. 22, and 1 K. viii. 37, they use βροῦχος as the representative of the original word. In Nah. iii. 17, *arbeh* is rendered by ἀττέλεβος; while the Aldine version, in Joel ii. 25, has ἐρσιβη, *mildeo*. The Vulg. has *locusta* in every instance except in Lev. xi. 22, where it has *bruchus*. The A. V. in the four following passages has *grasshopper*, Judg. vi. 5, vii. 12; Job xxxix. 20; and Jer. xli. 23: in all the other places it has *locust*. The word *arbeh*,† which is derived from a root signifying "to be numerous," is probably sometimes used in a wide sense to express any of the larger devastating species. It is the locust of the Egyptian plague. In almost every passage where *arbeh* occurs reference is made to its terribly destructive powers. It is one of the flying creeping creatures that were allowed as food by the law of Moses (Lev. xi. 21). In this passage it is clearly the representative of some species of winged *saltatorial orthoptera*, which must have possessed indications of form sufficient to distinguish the insect from the three other names which belong to the same division of orthoptera, and are mentioned in the same context. The opinion

enable them to leap upon the earth." Dr. Harris, adopting the explanation of the author of *Scripture Illustrated*, understands קרעוים to mean "joints," and רגליים "hind legs;" which rendering Niebuhr (*Quæst.* xxx) gives. But there is no reason for a departure from the literal and general significations of the Hebrew terms.

‡ אַרְבֵּה, locust, so called from its multitude, רַבָּה

See Gesen. *Theas.* s. v., who adopts the explanation of Michaelis that the four names in Lev. xi. 22 are not the representatives of four distinct genera or species, but denote the different stages of growth.

of Michaelis (*Suppl.* 667, 910), that the four words mentioned in Lev. xi. 22 denote the same insect in four different ages or stages of its growth, is quite untenable, for, whatever particular species are intended by these words, it is quite clear from ver. 21 that they must all be winged orthoptera. From the fact that almost in every instance where the word *arbeh* occurs, reference is made either to the devouring and devastating nature of this insect, or else to its multiplying powers (Judg. vi. 5, vii. 12, wrongly translated "grasshopper" by the A. V., Nah. iii. 15, Jer. xlvi. 23), it is probable that either the *Acridium peregrinum*,⁸ or the *Oedipoda migratoria* is the insect denoted by the Hebrew word *arbeh*, for these two species are the most destructive of the family. Of the former species M. Olivier



Acridium Peregrinum

(*Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman*, ii. 424) thus writes: "With the burning south winds (of Syria) there come from the interior of Arabia and from the most southern parts of Persia clouds of locusts (*Acridium peregrinum*), whose ravages to these countries are as grievous and nearly as sudden as those of the heaviest hail in Europe. We witnessed them twice. It is difficult to express the effect produced on us by the sight of the whole atmosphere filled on all sides and to a great height by an innumerable quantity of these insects, whose flight was slow and uniform, and whose noise resembled that of rain: the sky was darkened, and the light of the sun considerably weakened. In a moment the terraces of the houses, the streets, and all the fields were covered by these insects, and in two days they had nearly devoured all the leaves of the plants. Happily they lived but a short time, and seemed to have migrated only to reproduce themselves and die; in fact, nearly all those we saw the next day had paired, and the day following the fields were covered with their dead bodies." This species is found in Arabia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Persia. Or perhaps *arbeh* may denote the *Oedipoda migratoria*, the *Sauterelle de passage*, concerning which Michaelis inquired of Carsten Niebuhr, and received the following reply: "Sauterelle de passage est la même que les Arabes mangent et la même qu'on a vu en Allemagne" (*Recueil*, quest. 32 in Niebuhr's *Desc. de l'Arabie*). This species appears to be as destructive as the *Acridium peregrinum*.

(2.) *Châgâb* (חָגָב: ἀκρίς: locusta: "grasshopper," "locust"), occurs in Lev. xi. 22, Num. xiii. 33, 2 Chr. vii. 13, Eccl. xii. 5, Is. xl. 22; in all of which passages it is rendered ἀκρίς by the LXX., and locusta by the Vulg. In 2 Chr. vii. 13 the

⁸ The *Gryllus gregarius* of Forskål (*Desc. Anim.* 81) is perhaps identical with the *Acrid pereg.* Forskål says, "Arabes ubique vocat Djeraâ (جيراا) et Judaei in Yemen habitantes illum esse חָגָבָא asseverabant."

^b Cf. حَاجِب (hadjab), qui velum obtendit, from

حَاجِب, intercessit, exclusit.

A. V. reads "locust," in the other passages "grasshopper." From the use of the word Chron., "If I command the locusts to devour the land," compared with Lev. xi. 22, it would appear that some species of devastating locust is intended. In the passage of Numbers, "There we saw the giants the sons of Anak . . . and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers" (*châgâb*), as well as Ecclesiastes and Isaiah, reference seems to be made to some small species of locust; and with this view Oedman (*Verm. Samm.* ii. 90) agrees. Tristram (*Comment. de Locust.* p. 76) supposes that *châgâb* denotes the *Gryllus coronatus*, Linn.; but this the *Acanthodis coron.* of Aud. Serv., a S. American species, and probably confined to that continent Michaelis (*Suppl.* 668), who derives the word from an Arabic root signifying "to veil,"^b conceives that *châgâb* represents either a locust at the fourth stage of its growth, "ante quartas exuvias adhuc velata est," or else at the last stage of its growth, "post quartas exuvias, quod jam velum solem calumque obvelat." To the first theory the passage in Lev. xi. is opposed. The second theory is more reasonable, but *châgâb* is probably derived not from the Arabic but the Hebrew. From what has been stated above it will appear better to our complete inability to say what species of locust *châgâb* denotes, than to hazard conjectures which must be grounded on no solid foundation. In the Talmud¹ *châgâb* is a collective name for many of the locust tribe, no less than eight hundred kinds of *chagâbim* being supposed by the Talmud to exist (Lewysohn, *Zoolog. des Talm.* §384). Some kinds of locusts are beautifully marked, and were sought after by young Jewish children as playthings, just as butterflies and cockchafers are now-a-days. Lewysohn says (§384) that a regular traffic used to be carried on with the *chagâbim*, which were caught in great numbers, and sold after wine had been sprinkled over them; he adds that the Israelites were only allowed to buy them before the dew had thus prepared them.^k

(3.) *Chargôl* (חָרְגוֹל: ὀφιομάχης: ophiomachus "beetle"). The A. V. is clearly in error in translating this word "beetle;" it occurs only in Lev. xi. 22, but it is clear from the context that it denotes some species of winged *Saltatorial orthopteros* insect which the Israelites were allowed to eat as food. The Greek word used by the LXX. is of most uncertain meaning, and the story about its kind of locust attacking a serpent is an absurdity which requires no Cuvier to refute it.^m As to the word see Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 264; Rosenm. notes in the Lexicon of Suidas, Hesychius, &c., Pliny xi. 27. *Adnot. ad Arist. H. A.* tom. iv. 47, ed. Schneid. Some attempts have been made to identify the *chârgôl*, "meræ conjectura!" as Rosenm. truly remarks. The Rev. J. F. Denham, in *Coptic Bib. Lit.* (arts. *Chargôl* and *Locust*), endeavours to shew that the Greek word *ophiomachus* denotes some species of *Truxalis*, perhaps *T. Nasutus*.ⁿ

¹ Fürst derives חָגָב from v. inus. חָגָב, se jungens coire a radice, gab. חָגָב, to which root he refers חָגָבָא and חָגָבָא.

^k The Talmudists have the following law: "He who voweth to abstain from flesh (מן הבשר) is forbidden the flesh of fish and of locusts" (בשר דגים וחגבים) *Hieroz. Nedar.* fol. 40, 2.

^m See Pliny. Paris, 1828, ed. Grandsagne, p. 451, *Truxalis*.

word instantly suggests a reference to the *ichneumon*, the celebrated destroyer of serpents . . . if then any species of locust can be adduced whose habits resemble those of the *ichneumon*, may not this resemblance account for the name, quasi the *ichneumon* (locust), just as the whole genus (?) (family) of insects called *Ichneumonidae* were so denominated because of the supposed analogy between their services and those of the Egyptian *ichneumon*? and might not this name given to that species (?) of locust at a very early period have afterwards originated the erroneous notion referred to by Aristotle and Pliny?" But it is a fact that the genus *Truxalis* is an exception to the rest of the *Acrithes*, and is pre-eminently insectivorous. Serville (*Orthopt.* 579) believes that in their manner of living the *Truxalides* resemble the rest of the *Acrithes*, but seems to allow that further investigation is necessary. Fischer (*Orthop. Europ.* p. 292) says that the nutriment of this family is plants of various kinds. Mr. F. Smith, in a letter to the writer of this article, says he has no doubt that the *Truxalides* feed on plants. What is Mr. Denham's authority for asserting that they are insectivorous? It is granted that there is a quasi resemblance in external form between the *Truxalides* and some of the larger *Ichneumonidae*, but the likeness is far from striking. Four species of the genus *Truxalis* are inhabitants of the Bible lands (see above).



Truxalis Nausta.

The Jews, however, interpret *chargól* to mean a species of grasshopper, German, *heuschrecke*, which M. Lewysohn identifies with *Locusta viridissima*, adopting the etymology of Bochart and Gesenius, who refer the name to an Arabic origin.^a The Jewish women used to carry the eggs of the *chargól* in their ears to preserve them from the ear-ache, *Buxtorf, Lex. Chald. et Rabbin.* s. v. *chargól*.

(4.) *Sálám* (שָׁלָם; ἀττάκης, Compl. ἀττακός: *attakes*: "bald locust") occurs only in Lev. xi. 22, as one of the four edible kinds of leaping insects. All that can possibly be known of it is that it is some kind of *Saltatorial orthopteron* insect, winged, and good for food. Tychsen, however, arguing from what is said of the *sálám* in the Talmud (*Tract. Orlain*), viz. that "this insect has a smooth head," and that the female is without the sword-shaped tail," conjectures that the species here intended is *Gryllus versor* (Asso), a synonym that it is difficult to identify with any recorded species.

(5.) *Gásám* (גָּסָם). See PALMER-WORM.

* *Locustae species alata, a saltando.* Gesenius

offers the word to the Arabic حرجل (*hardjal*), *salil*, supporting the Germ. *heuschrecke* from *shrecken*, *salire*.

^a Hence perhaps the epithet *bald*, applied to *sálám* in the text of the A. V.

^b *Sálám*, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* a. v.), is from an

(6.) *Gób* (גֹּב; ἀκρίς, ἐπιγροή ἀκρίδων: *Aq.* in Am. vii. 1, *Basáðaw*: *locusta*; *locustae locustarum* = גֹּבִי גֹּבִי in Nah. iii. 17: "great grasshoppers;" "grasshoppers;" *margin* "green worms," in Amos). This word is found only in Is. xxxiii. 4, and in the two places cited above. There is nothing in any of these passages that will help to point out the species denoted. That some kind of locust is intended seems probable from the passage in Nahum, "thy captains are as the great *góbai* which camp in the hedges in the cool of the day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away, and their place is not known where they are." Some writers led by this passage, have believed that the *góbai* represent the larva state of some of the large locusts; the habit of halting at night, however, and encamping under the hedges, as described by the prophet, in all probability belongs to the winged locust as well as to the *larvae*, see Ex. x. 13, "the Lord brought an east wind upon the land all that day, and all that night; and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts." Mr. Barrow (i. 257-8), speaking of some species of S. African locusts, says, that when the larvae, which are still more voracious than the parent insect, are on the march, it is impossible to make them turn out of the way, which is usually that of the wind. At sunset the troop halts and divides into separate groups, each occupying in bee-like clusters the neighbouring eminences for the night. It is quite possible that the *gób* may represent the larva or *nympha* state of the insect; nor is the passage from Nahum, "when the sun ariseth they flee away," any objection to this supposition, for the last stages of the larva differ but slightly from the *nympha*, both which states may therefore be comprehended under one name; the *góbai* of Nah. iii. 17, may



Locust flying.

easily have been the *nymphae* (which in all the *Ame tabola* continue to feed as in their larva condition) encamping at night under the hedges, and, obtaining their wings as the sun arose, are then represented as flying away.³ It certainly is improbable that the Jews should have had no name for the locust in its

unnamed root, גָּב, the Arab. جبا. to emerge from the ground. Fürst refers the word to a Hebrew origin. See note, ARBEH.

³ Since the above was written it has been discovered that Dr. Kitto (*Pict. Bible*, note on Nah. iii. 17) is of a similar opinion, that the *gób* probably denotes the *nympha*,

larva or nymph state, for they must have been quite familiar with the sight of such devourers of every green thing, the larvae being even more destructive than the imago; perhaps some of the other nine names, all of which Bochart considers to be the names of so many species, denote the insect in one or other of these conditions. The A. V. were evidently at a loss, for the translators read "green worms," in Am. vii. 1. Tychsen (p. 93) identifies the *gôb* with the *Gryllus migratorius*, Linn., "qua vero ratione motus," observes Rosenmüller, "non exponit."

(7.) *Chanánál* (חננל: ἐν τῇ πᾶχυ; Aq. ἐν κροβί: in pruina; "frost"). Some writers have supposed that this word, which occurs only in Ps. lxxviii. 47, denotes some kind of locust (see Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. 255, ed. Rosenm.). Mr. J. F. Denham (in Kitto, s. v. *Locust*) is of a similar opinion; but surely the concurrent testimony of the old versions, which interpret the word *chanánál* to signify hail or frost, ought to forbid the conjecture. We have already more locusts than it is possible to identify; and *chanánál*, therefore, be understood to denote hail or frost, as it is rendered by the A. V., and all the important old versions.

(8.) *Yelek* (יֵלֶק: ἀκρίς, βροῦχος: *bruchus*: *bruchus aculeatus*, in Jer. li. 27: "cankerworm," "caterpillar") occurs in Ps. cv. 34; Nah. iii. 15, 16; Joel i. 4, ii. 25; Jer. li. 14, 27; it is rendered by the A. V. *cankerworm* in four of these places, and *caterpillar* in the two remaining. From the epithet of "rough," which is applied to the word in Jeremiah, some have supposed the *yelek* to be the larva of some of the destructive *Lepidoptera*: the epithet *samar*, however (Jer. li. 27), more properly means *having spines*, which agrees with the Vulgate, *aculeatus*. Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 1080) believes the *yelek* to be the cockchafer (*Maykäfer*). Oedman (ii. vi. 126) having in view this *spiny* character, identifies the word with the *Gryllus cristatus*, Linn., a species, however, which is found only in S. America, though Linnaeus has erroneously given Arabia as a locality. Tychsen arguing from the epithet *rough*, believes that the *yelek* is represented by the *G. haematopus*, Linn. (*Calliptamus haemat.* Aud. Serv.) a species found in S. Africa.

How purely conjectural are all these attempts at identification! for the term *spined* may refer not to any particular species, but to the very spinous nature of the tibiae in all the locust tribe, and *yelek*, the *cropping*, *licking off* insect (Num. xxii. 4), may be a synonym of some of the names already mentioned, or the word may denote the larvae or pupae of the locust, which from Joel i. 4, seems not improbable, "that which the locust (*arbeh*) hath left, hath the cankerworm (*yelek*) eaten," after the winged *arbeh* had departed, the young larvae of the same appeared and consumed the residue. The passage in Nah. iii. 16, "the *yelek* spreadeth himself (margin) and fleeth away," is no objection to the opinion that the *yelek* may represent the larva or nymph for the same reason as was given in a former part of this article (*Gôb*).

(9.) *Châsil* (חַסִּיל). See CATERPILLAR.

(10.) *Tselâtsâl* (צִלְצַל: ἐπιούρη: *rubigo*: "locust"). The derivation of this word seems to imply

לָקַץ, s. v. inus. לָקַץ, i. q. קָקַץ, *lânât*, inde *lambendo deq'avit* (Ges. *Thez.* s. v.).

that some kind of locust is indicated by it, occurs only in this sense in Deut. xxviii. 42, "thy trees and fruit of thy land shall the locust consume." In the other passages where the Hebrew word occurs, it represents some kind of timpanical instrument, and is generally translated *cymbals* by the A. V. The word is evidently *matopoeitic*, and is here perhaps a synonymy some one of the other names for locust. Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 2094) believes the word is identical with *châsil*, which he says denotes perhaps a mole-cricket, *Gryllus talpiformis*, from the dulcious sound it produces. Tychsen (p. 79) identifies it with the *Gryllus stridulus*, Linn. (= *Oedipoda stridula*, Aud. Serv.). The notion conveyed by the Hebrew word will however apply to almost any kind of locust, and indeed to many kinds of insects; a similar word *tsalsala*, was applied by the Ethiopians to a fly which the Arabs call *zimb*, which appears to be identical with the *tssetse* fly of Dr. Livingstone and other African travellers. All that can be positively known respecting the *tselâtsâl* is, that it is some kind of insect injurious to trees and crops. The LXX. and Vulgate understand *blight* or *mildew* by the word.

The most destructive of the locust tribe to occur in the Bible lands are the *Oedipoda migratoria* and the *Acridium peregrinum*, and as these species occur in Syria and Arabia, &c., it is most probable that one or other is denoted in the passages which speak of the dreadful devastation committed by these insects; nor is there any occasion to believe with Bochart, Tychsen, and others, in nine or ten distinct species as mentioned in the Bible. Some of the names may be synonymous; others may indicate the larva or nymph conditions of the two pre-eminent devourers above named.

Locusts occur in great numbers, and sometimes obscure the sun—Ex. x. 15; Jer. xlv. 23; Joel vi. 5, vii. 12; Joel ii. 10; Nah. iii. 15; Livy, ii. 2; Aelian, N. A. iii. 12; Pliny, N. H. x. 27; Shaw's *Travels*, p. 187 (fol. 2nd ed.); Ludolf, *Ethi. Aethiop.* i. 13; and *de Locustis*, i. 4; Volney, *Trav. in Syria*, i. 236.

Their voracity is alluded to in Ex. x. 12, Joel i. 4, 7, 12, and ii. 3; Deut. xxviii. 38; Ps. lxxviii. 46, cv. 34; Is. xxxiii. 4; Shaw's *Trav.* i. 187; and travellers in the East, *passim*.

They are compared to horses—Joel ii. 4; Is. ix. 7. The Italians call the locust "Cavalletto," and Ray says, "Caput oblongum, equi instar spectans." Comp. also the Arab's description of Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*.

They make a fearful noise in their flight—Joel ii. 5; Rev. ix. 9.

Forskål, *Descr.* 81, "transuantes grylli sup' verticem nostrum sono magna cataractae formabant." Volney, *Trav.* i. 235.

They have no king—Prov. xxx. 27; Kirby, *Sp. Int.* ii. 17.

Their irresistible progress is referred to in Joel ii. 8, 9; Shaw, *Trav.* 187.

They enter dwellings, and devour even the work of houses—Ex. x. 6; Joel ii. 9, 10; Livy, N. H. xi. 29.

They do not fly in the night—Nah. iii. 17; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*, 173.

Birds devour them—Russel, *N. Hist. of Aleppo*.

* "Omnia vero morsu erodentes et forma locustorum."

187; Volney, *Trav.* i. 237; Kitto's *Phys. Hist.* (Engl. transl. 1766); cf. also *Iliad*, xxi. 12.



Emurmus. Rose-coloured Starling. (*Pastor rosea*.)

The sea destroys the greater number—Ex. x. 19; Joel ii. 20; Piny, xi. 35; Hasselq. *Trav.* 445 (Engl. transl. 1766); cf. also *Iliad*, xxi. 12.

Their dead bodies taint the air—Joel ii. 20; Hasselq. *Trav.* 445.

They are used as food—Lev. xi. 21, 22; Matt. iii. 4; Mark i. 6; Plin. *N. H.* vi. 35, xi. 35; *Diad. Sic.* iii. 29 (the *Acridophagi*); Aristoph. *Achar.* 1116; Ludolf, *H. Aethiop.* 67 (Gent's transl.); Jackson's *Morocco*, 52; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arabie*, 150; Sparman's *Trav.* i. 367, who says the Fattentots are glad when the locusts come, for they fatten upon them; Hasselq. *Trav.* 232, 419; Kirby and Spence, *Entom.* i. 305.

There are different ways of preparing locusts for food: sometimes they are ground and pounded, and then mixed with flour and water and made into cakes, or they are salted and then eaten; sometimes smoked; boiled or roasted; stewed, or fried in butter. Dr. Kitto (*Pict. Bib.* not. on Lev. xi. 21), who tasted locusts, says they are more like shrimps than anything else; and an English clergyman, some years ago, cooked some of the green grasshoppers, *Locusta viridissima*, boiling them in water half an hour, throwing away the head, wings, and legs, and then sprinkling them with pepper and salt, and adding butter; he found them excellent. How strange then, nay, "how idle," to quote the words of Kirby and Spence (*Entom.* i. 305), "was the controversy concerning the locusts which formed part of the sustenance of John the Baptist, . . . and how apt even learned men are to perplex a plain question from ignorance of the customs of other countries!"

The following are some of the works which treat of locusts:—Ludolf, *Dissertatio de Locustis*, Francof.

* The locust-bird (see woodcut) referred to by travellers, and which the Arabs call *emurmus*, is no doubt, from Dr. Kitto's description, the "rose-coloured starling," *Pastor rosea*. The Rev. H. B. Tristram saw one specimen in the orange groves at Jaffa in the spring of 1858; but makes no allusion to its devouring locusts. Dr. Kitto in one place (p. 410) says the locust-bird is about the size of a starling; in another place (p. 420) he compares it in size to a swallow. The bird is about eight inches and a half in length. Yarrell (*Brit. Birds*, ii. 51, 2nd ed.) says "it is best secured at Aleppo because it feeds on the locust;" and Gal. Sykes bears testimony to the immense flocks in which they fly. He says (*Catalogue of Birds of Dakhn*) "they harass the air by their numbers . . . forty or fifty have been killed at a shot." But he says "they prove a calamity to the husbandman, as they are as destructive as locusts, and not much less numerous."

* There are people at this day who gravely assert that the locusts which formed part of the food of the Baptist were not the insect of that name, but the long sweet pods of the locust-tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*), *J. Hannis brodt.*

ad Moen. 1694. This author believes that the *quails* which fed the Israelites in the wilderness were locusts (vid. his *Diatriba qua sententia nova de Selavis, sive Locustis defenditur*). A more absurd opinion was that held by Norrelius, who maintained that the four names of Lev. xi. 22 were birds (see his *Schediasma de Avibus sacris, Arach, Chagab, Solan, et Chargol*, in *Bib. Brem.* Cl. iii. p. 36). Faber, *De Locustis Bibliis, et sigillatim de Avibus Quadrupedibus, ex Lev.* xi. 20, Wittenb. 1710-11. Aso's *Abhandlung von den Heuschrecken*, Rostock, 1787; and Tychsen's *Comment. de Locustis*, Oedman's *Vermischte Sammlung*, ii. c. vii. Kirby and Spence's *Introduct. to Entomology*, i. 305, &c. Bochart's *Hierozoicon*, iii. 251, &c., ed. Rosenmüll. Kitto's *Phys. History of Palestine*, 419, 420. Kitto's *Pictorial Bible*, see Index, "Locust." Dr. Harris's *Natural History of the Bible*, art. "Locust," 1833. Kitto's *Cyclopaedia*, arts. "Locust," "Chesil," &c. Harmer's *Observations*, London, 1797. The travels of Shaw, Russel, Hasselquist, Volney, &c. &c. For a systematic description of the Orthoptera, see Serville's *Monograph in the Suites à Buffon*, and Fischer's *Orthoptera Europaea*; and for an excellent summary, see Winer's *Realewörterbuch*, vol. i. p. 574, art. "Heuschrecken." For the locusts of St. John, Mr. Denham refers to Suicer's *Thesaurus*, i. 169, 179, and Gutherr, *De Victu Johannis*, Franc. 1785; and for the symbolical locusts of Rev. ix., to Newton *On Prophecies*, and Woodhouse *On the Apocalypse*. [W. H.]

LOD (לֹד: הַ לֹדִים; Ἀδορῶν, Λοδαβία, both by inclusion of the following name; Alex. in Ezra, Ἀδδῶν Λοδαβίδ: *Lod*), a town of Benjamin, stated to have been founded by Shamed or Shamer (1 Chr. viii. 12). It is always mentioned in connexion with Ono, and, with the exception of the passage just quoted, in the post-captivity records only. It would appear that after the boundaries of Benjamin, as given in the book of Joshua, were settled, that enterprising tribe extended itself further westward, into the rich plain of Sharon, between the central hills and the sea, and occupied or founded the towns of Lod, Ono, Hadid, and others named only in the later lists. The people belonging to the three places just mentioned returned from Babylon to the number of 725 (Ezr. ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37), and again took possession of their former habitations (Neh. xi. 35).

Lod has retained its name almost unaltered to the present day; it is now called *Ludd*; but is most familiar to us from its occurrence in its Greek garb, as LYDDA, in the Acts of the Apostles. [G.]

"St. John's bread," as the monks of Palestine call it. For other equally erroneous explanations, or unauthorised alterations, of ἀρτοποι, see Celsii *Hierob.* 1. 74.

* For the judgment of locusts referred to in the prophet Joel, see Dr. Pusey's "Introduction" to that book. This writer maintains that the prophet, under the figure of the locust, foretold "a judgment far greater, an enemy far mightier than the locust" (p. 99), namely, the Assyrian invasion of Palestine, because Joel calls the scourge the "northern army," which Dr. Pusey says cannot be said of the locusts, because almost always by a sort of law of their being they make their inroads from their birthplace in the south. This one point, however, may be fairly questioned. The usual direction of the flight of this insect is from East to West, or from South to North; but the *Oedipoda migratoria* is believed to have its birthplace in Tartary (*Serv. Orthop.* 738), from whence it visits Africa, the Mauritius, and part of the South of Europe. If this species be considered to be the locust of Joel, the expression *northern army* is most applicable to it.

LO-DEBAR (לֹדְבָר; but in xvii. 27 לֹדָר : ἡ Λαδαβάρ, Λωδαβάρ: *Lodabar*, a place named with Mahanaim, Rogelim, and other trans-Jordanic towns (2 Sam. xvii. 27), and therefore no doubt on the eastern side of the Jordan. It was the native place of Machir ben-Ammiel, in whose house Mephibosheth found a home after the death of his father and the ruin of his grandfather's house (ix. 4, 5). Lo-debar receives a bare mention in the *Onomasticon*, nor has any trace of the name been encountered by any later traveller. Indeed it has probably never been sought for. Reland (*Pal.* 734) conjectures that it is intended in Josh. xiii. 26, where the word rendered in the A. V. "of Debir" (לֹדְבָר), is the same in its consonants as Lodebar, though with different vowel-points. In favour of this conjecture, which is adopted by J. D. Michaelis (*Bib. für Ungel.*), is the fact that such a use of the preposition לֹ is exceedingly rare (see Keil, *Josua*, ad loc.).

If taken as a Hebrew word, the root of the name is possibly "pasture,"* the driving out of flocks (*Gesen. Thes.* 735b; Stanley, *S. & P. App.* §9); but this must be very uncertain. [G.]

LODGE, TO. This word in the A. V.—with one exception only, to be noticed below—is used to translate the Hebrew verb לָגַן or לָגַן, which has, at least in the narrative portions of the Bible, almost invariably the force of "passing the night." This is worthy of remark, because the word lodge—probably only another form of the Saxon *ligger*, "to lie"—does not appear to have had exclusively that force in other English literature at the time the Authorised Version was made. A few examples of its occurrence, where the meaning of passing the night would not at first sight suggest itself to an English reader, may be of service:—1 K. xix. 9; 1 Chr. ix. 27; Is. x. 29 (where it marks the halt of the Assyrian army for bivouac); Neh. iv. 22, xiii. 20, 21; Cant. vii. 11; Job xxiv. 7, xxxi. 32, &c. &c. The same Hebrew word is otherwise translated in the A. V. by "lie all night" (2 Sam. xii. 16; Cant. i. 13; Job xxix. 19); "tarry the night" (Gen. xix. 2; Judg. xix. 10; Jer. xiv. 8); "remain," i. e. until the morning (Ex. xxiii. 18).

The force of passing the night is also present in the words מְלוּגָה, "a sleeping-place," hence an INN [vol. i. 867b], and מְלוּגָה, "a hut," erected in vineyards or fruit-gardens for the shelter of a man who watched all night to protect the fruit. This is rendered "lodge" in Is. i. 8, and "cottage" in xxiv. 20, the only two passages in which it is found.

2. The one exception above-named occurs in Job ii. 1, where the word in the original is שָׁכַב, a word elsewhere rendered "to lie," generally in allusion to sexual intercourse. [G.]

LOFT. [HOUSE. vol. i. 838b.]

LOG. [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

LOIS (Λωίς), the grandmother (ἀμμη) of TIMOTHY, and doubtless the mother of his mother EUNICE (2 Tim. i. 5). From the Greek form of these three names we should naturally infer that the family had been Hellenistic for three generations at least. It seems likely also that Lois had resided long at Lystra; and almost certain that from her,

* What can have led the LXX. to translate the word עָיִם "heaps," in Pa. lxxix. 1, by ὁμοσφύλακτος, which

as well as from Eunice, Timothy obtained his intimate knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures (2 Tim. iii. 15). Whether she was surviving at either of St. Paul's visits to Lystra, we cannot say: she is not alluded to in the Acts: nor is it absolutely certain, though St. Paul speaks of her "faith," that she became a Christian. The phrase might be used of any pious Jewess, who was ready to believe in the Messiah. Calvin has a good note on this subject. [J. S. H.]

LOOKING-GLASSES. [MIRRORS.]

LORD, as applied to the Deity, is the almost uniform rendering in the A. V. of the O. T. of the Heb. יהוה, *Jehovah*, which would be more properly represented as a proper name. The reverence which the Jews entertained for the true name of God forbade them to pronounce it, and they reading they substituted for it either אֱלֹהִים, "Lord," or *Elohim*, "God," according to the vowel-points by which it was accompanied. [*JETTON* vol. i. p. 952b]. This custom is observed in the version of the LXX., where *Jehovah* is most commonly translated by κύριος, as in the N. T. (Heb. l. 1 &c.), and in the Vulgate, where *Dominus* is the usual equivalent. The title *Adonai* is also rendered "Lord" in the A. V., though this, as applied to God, is of infrequent occurrence in the historical books. For instance, it is found in Genesis only in xv. 2, xviii. 3 (where "my Lord" should be "O Lord"), 27, 30, 31, 32, xx. 4; once in Num. xiv. 17, twice in Deut. iii. 24, ix. 26; twice in Josh. vi. 7, 8; four times in Judges; and so on. In other passages of these books "Lord" is the translation of "Jehovah"; except Ex. xxiii. 17, xxiv. 22, Deut. x. 17; Josh. iii. 11, 13, where *adon* is rendered. But in the poetical and historical books it is more frequent, excepting Job, where it occurs only in xxviii. 28, and the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, where it is not once found.

The difference between *Jehovah* and *Adonai* (*Adon*) is generally marked in the A. V. by printing the word in small capitals (LORD) when it represents the former (Gen. xv. 4, &c.), and with an initial capital only when it is the translation of the latter (Ps. xcvi. 5; Is. i. 24, x. 16); except in Ex. xxiii. 17, xxiv. 23, where "the LORD God" should be more consistently "the Lord Jehovah." A similar distinction prevails between יהוה (the letters of *Jehovah* with the vowel-points of *Elohim*) and אֱלֹהִים, *elohim*; the former being represented in the A. V. by "God" in small capitals (Gen. x. 2, &c.), while *Elohim* is "God" with an initial capital only. And, generally, when the name of the Deity is printed in capitals, it indicates that the corresponding Hebrew is יהוה, which is translated LORD or GOD according to the vowel-points by which it is accompanied.

In some instances it is difficult, on account of the pause accent, to say whether *Adonai* is the title of the Deity, or merely one of respect addressed to men. These have been noticed by the Masoretes, who distinguish the former in their notes as "help," and the latter as "profane." (See Gen. xviii. 2, xix. 2, 18; and compare the Masoretic notes on Gen. xx. 13, Is. xix. 4.) [W. A. W.]

LORD'S DAY, THE (Ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα ἢ μία σαββάτων). It has been questioned, though not seriously until of late years, what is the meaning

they employ for מְלוּגָה in the above two passages, the writer is unable to conjecture.

ing of the phrase ἡ Κυριακή Ἡμέρα, which occurs in one passage only of the Holy Scripture, Rev. i. 10, and is, in our English version, translated "the Lord's Day." The general consent both of Christian antiquity and of modern divines has referred it to the weekly festival of our Lord's resurrection, and identified it with "the first day of the week," on which He rose, with the patristical "eighth day," or "day which is both the first and the eighth," in fact with the ἡ τοῦ Ἁλίου Ἡμέρα, "Solis Dies," or "Sunday," of every age of the Church.

But the views antagonistic to this general consent deserves at least a passing notice. 1. Some have supposed St. John to be speaking, in the passage above referred to, of the Sabbath, because that institution is called in Isaiah lviii. 13, by the Almighty Himself, "My holy day."* To this it is replied—If St. John had intended to specify the sabbath, he would surely have used that word which was by no means obsolete, or even obsolescent, at the time of his composing the book of the Revelation. And it is added, that if an apostle had set the example of confounding the seventh and the first days of the week, it would have been strange indeed that every ecclesiastical writer for the first five centuries should have avoided any approach to such confusion. They do avoid it—for as Σάββατον is never used by them for the first day, so Κυριακή is never used by them for the seventh day. 2. Another theory is, that by "the Lord's Day," St. John intended "the day of judgment," to which a large portion of the book of Revelations may be conceived to refer. Thus "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day" (ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ Ἡμέρᾳ) would imply that he was rapt, in spiritual vision, to the state of that "great and terrible day," just as St. Paul represents himself as caught up locally into Paradise. Now, not to dispute the interpretation of the passage from which the illustration is drawn (2 Cor. xii. 4), the abettors of this view seem to have put out of sight the following considerations. In the preceding sentence, St. John had mentioned the place in which he was writing, Patmos, and the causes which had brought him thither. It is but natural that he should further particularise the circumstances under which his mysterious work was composed, by stating the exact day on which the Revelations were communicated to him, and the employment, spiritual musing, in which he was then engaged. To suppose a mixture of the metaphorical and the literal would be strangely out of keeping. And though it be conceded that the day of judgment is in the New Testament spoken of as ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἡμέρα, the employment of the adjectival form constitutes a remarkable difference, which was observed and maintained ever afterwards.^b There is also a critical objection to this interpretation.^c This second theory then, which is sanctioned by the name of Augusti, must be abandoned. 3. A third opinion is, that St. John intended by the "Lord's Day," that on which the Lord's resurrection was annually celebrated, or, as

we now term it, Easter-day. On this it need only be observed, that though it was never questioned that the weekly celebration of that event should take place on the first day of the hebdomadal cycle, it was for a long time doubted on what day in the annual cycle it should be celebrated. Two schools at least existed on this point until considerably after the death of St. John. It therefore seems unlikely that, in a book intended for the whole Church, he would have employed a method of dating which was far from generally agreed upon. And it is to be added that no patristical authority can be quoted, either for the interpretation contended for in this opinion, or for the employment of ἡ Κυριακή Ἡμέρα to denote Easter-day.

All other conjectures upon this point may be permitted to confute themselves; but the following cavil is too curious to be omitted. In Scripture the first day of the week is called ἡ μία σαββάτων, in post-Scriptural writers it is called ἡ Κυριακή Ἡμέρα as well; therefore, the book of Revelations is not to be ascribed to an apostle; or in other words, is not part of Scripture. The logic of this argument is only to be surpassed by its boldness. It says, in effect, because post-Scriptural writers have these two designations for the first day of the week; therefore, Scriptural writers must be confined to one of them. It were surely more reasonable to suppose that the adoption by post-Scriptural writers of a phrase so pre-eminently Christian as ἡ Κυριακή Ἡμέρα to denote the first day of the week, and a day so especially marked, can be traceable to nothing else than an apostle's use of that phrase in the same meaning.

Supposing then that ἡ Κυριακή Ἡμέρα of St. John is the Lord's Day,—What do we gather from Holy Scripture concerning that institution? How is it spoken of by early writers up to the time of Constantine? What change, if any, was brought upon it by the celebrated edict of that emperor, whom some have declared to have been its originator?

1. Scripture says very little concerning it. But that little seems to indicate that the divinely inspired apostles, by their practice and by their precepts, marked the first day of the week as a day for meeting together to break bread, for communicating and receiving instruction, for laying up offerings in store for charitable purposes, for occupation in holy thought and prayer. The first day of the week so devoted seems also to have been the day of the Lord's Resurrection, and therefore, to have been especially likely to be chosen for such purposes by those who "preached Jesus and the Resurrection."

The Lord rose on the first day of the week (τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων), and appeared, on the very day of His rising, to His followers on five distinct occasions—to Mary Magdalene, to the other women, to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, to St. Peter separately, to ten Apostles collected together. After eight days (μετ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ), that is, according to the ordinary reckoning, on the first day

the Lord himself says, οὕτως ἔσται καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ, Luke xvii. 24.

^c Ἐγενόμην would necessarily have to be constructed with ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, "I was in the day of judgment, i. e. I was passing the day of judgment spiritually." Now γίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ is never used for *diem agere*. But, on the other hand, the construction of ἐγενόμην with ἐν πνεύματι is justified by a parallel passage in Rev. iv. 2, καὶ εὐθέως ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι.

* (ד' קדש').

^b ἡ Ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου occurs in 1 Cor. i. 8, and 2 Thess. ii. 2, with the words ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ attached; in 1 Cor. v. 5, and 2 Cor. i. 14, with the word ἡμεῶν only attached; and in 1 Thess. v. 2, and 2 Pet. iii. 10, with the article τοῦ omitted. In one place, where both the day of judgment, and, as a foreshadowing of it, the day of vengeance upon Jerusalem, seem to be alluded to

of the next week, He appeared to the eleven. He does not seem to have appeared in the interval—it may be to render that day especially noticeable by the apostles, or, it may be for other reasons. But, however this question be settled, on the day of Pentecost, which in that year fell on the first day of the week (see Bramhall, *Disc. of the Sabbath and Lord's Day*, in *Works*, vol. v. p. 51, Oxford edition), "they were all with one accord in one place," had spiritual gifts conferred on them, and in their turn began to communicate those gifts, as accompaniments of instruction, to others. At Troas (Acts xx. 7), many years after the occurrence at Pentecost, when Christianity had begun to assume something like a settled form, St. Luke records the following circumstances. St. Paul and his companions arrived there, and "abode seven days, and upon the first day of the week when the disciples came together to break bread, Paul preached unto them." In 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2, that same St. Paul writes thus: "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches in Galatia, even so do ye. Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come." In Heb. x. 25, the correspondents of the writer are desired "not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, as the manner of some is, but to exhort one another," an injunction which seems to imply that a regular day for such assembling existed, and was well known; for otherwise no rebuke would lie. And lastly, in the passage given above, St. John describes himself as being in the Spirit "on the Lord's Day."

Taken separately, perhaps, and even all together, these passages seem scarcely adequate to prove that the dedication of the first day of the week to the purposes above mentioned was a matter of apostolic institution, or even of apostolic practice. But, it may be observed, that it is at any rate an extraordinary coincidence, that almost immediately we emerge from Scripture, we find the same day mentioned in a similar manner, and directly associated with the Lord's Resurrection; that it is an extraordinary fact that we never find its dedication questioned or argued about, but accepted as something equally apostolic with Confirmation, with Infant Baptism, with Ordination, or at least spoken of in the same way. And as to direct support from Holy Scripture, it is noticeable that those other ordinances which are usually considered Scriptural, and in support of which Scripture is usually cited, are dependent, so far as mere quotation is concerned, upon fewer texts than the Lord's Day is. Stating the case at the very lowest, the Lord's Day has at least "probable insinuations in Scripture,"^d and so is superior to any other holy day, whether of hebdomadal celebration, as Friday in memory of the Crucifixion, or of annual celebration, as Easter-day in memory of the Resurrection itself. These other days may be, and are, defensible on other grounds; but they do not possess anything like a Scriptural authority for their observance. And if we are inclined still to press for more pertinent Scriptural proof, and more frequent mention of the institution, for such we suppose it to be, in the writings of the apostles, we must recollect how little is said of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and how vast a difference is naturally to be expected to exist between a sketch of the manners and habits

of their age, which the authors of the Holy Scriptures did not write, and hints as to life and conduct, and regulation of known practices, which they *did* write.

2. On quitting the canonical writings, we turn naturally to Clement of Rome. He does not, however, directly mention "the Lord's Day," but in 1 Cor. i. 40, he says, πάντα τάξει ποιῶν ὀφειλομένον, and he speaks of ὀρισμένοι καιροὶ καὶ ὥραι, at which the Christian προσφορὰ καὶ λειτουργία should be made.

Ignatius, the disciple of St. John (*ad Magn.* c. 9), contrasts Judaism and Christianity, and as an exemplification of the contrast, opposes σαββατίζειν to living according to the Lord's life (κατὰ τὴν Κυριακὴν Ζωὴν (ῶντες).

The Epistle ascribed to St. Barnabas, which, though certainly not written by that apostle, was in existence in the earlier part of the 2nd century, has (c. 15) the following words, "We celebrate the eighth day with joy, on which too Jesus rose from the dead."*

A pagan document now comes into view. It is the well-known letter of Pliny to Trajan, written while he presided over Pontus and Bithynia. "The Christians (says he), affirm the whole of their guilt or error to be, that they were accustomed to meet together on a stated day (*stato die*), before it was light, and to sing hymns to Christ as a God, and to bind themselves by a *Sacramentum*, not for any wicked purpose, but never to commit fraud, theft, or adultery; never to break their word, or to refuse, when called upon to deliver up any trust; after which it was their custom to separate, and to assemble again to take a meal, but a general one, and without guilty purpose."

A thoroughly Christian authority, Justin Martyr, who flourished A.D. 140, stands next on the list. He writes thus: "On the day called Sunday (τῆ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρα), is an assembly of all who live either in the cities or in the rural districts, and the memoirs of the apostles and the writings of the prophets are read." Then he goes on to describe the particulars of the religious acts which are entered upon at this assembly. They consist of prayer, of the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, and of collection of alms. He afterwards assigns the reasons which Christians had for meeting on Sunday. These are, "because it is the *First Day*, on which God dispelled the darkness (τὸ σκότος), and the original state of things (τὴν ἕλην), and formed the world, and because Jesus Christ our Saviour rose from the dead upon it" (*Apol. Prim.*). In another work (*Dial. c. Tryph.*), he makes circumcision furnish a type of Sunday. "The command to circumcise infants on the eighth day was a type of the true circumcision by which we are circumcised from error and wickedness through our Lord Jesus Christ, who rose from the dead on the first day of the week (τῆ μιᾷ σαββάτων); therefore it remains the chief and first of days." As for σαββατίζειν, he uses that with exclusive reference to the Jewish law. He carefully distinguishes Saturday (ἡ κρονική), the day after which our Lord was crucified, from Sunday (ἡ μετὰ τῆς κρονικῆς ἡ τις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα), upon which He rose from the dead. (If any surprise is felt at Justin's employment of the heathen designations for the seventh and first days of the week, it may be accounted for thus. Before the death of He-

^d This phrase is employed by Bishop Sanderson.

* Ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην εἰς εὐφροσύνην, ἢ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν.

from A.D. 138, the hebdomadal division (which Dion Cassius, writing in the 3rd century, derives, together with its nomenclature, from Egypt), had in matters of common life, almost universally superseded in Greece, and even in Italy, the national divisions of the lunar month. Justin Martyr, writing to and for heathen, as well as to and for Jews, employs it, therefore, with a certainty of being understood.)

The strange heretic, Bardesanes, who however delighted to consider himself a sort of Christian, has the following words in his book on "Fate," or on "the Laws of the Countries," which he addressed to the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus: "What then shall we say respecting the new race of ourselves who are Christians, whom in every country and in every region the Messiah established at His coming; for, lo! wherever we be, all of us are called by the one name of the Messiah, Christians; and upon one day, which is the first of the week, we assemble ourselves together, and on the appointed days we abstain from food" (Cureton's Translation).

Two very short notices stand next on our list, but they are important from their casual and unstudied character. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, A.D. 179, in a letter to the Church of Rome, a fragment of which is preserved by Eusebius, says, *τὴν σήμερον οὐκ κυριακὴν ἀλλὰν ἡμέραν διηγάρουμεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀγγέλλομεν ὑμῶν τὴν ἐπιστολήν.* And Melito, bishop of Sardis, his contemporary, is stated to have composed, among other works, a treatise on the Lord's Day (*ὁ περὶ τῆς Κυριακῆς λόγος*).

The next writer who may be quoted is Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, A.D. 178. He asserts that the Sabbath is abolished; but his evidence to the existence of the Lord's Day is clear and distinct. It is spoken of in one of the best known of his Fragments (see Beaven's *Irenæus*, p. 202). But a record in Euseb. (v. 23, 2) of the part which he took in the Quarta-Deciman controversy, shows that in his time it was an institution beyond dispute. The point in question was this: Should Easter be celebrated in connexion with the Jewish Passover, on whatever day of the week that might happen to fall, with the Churches of Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopotamia; or on the Lord's Day, with the rest of the Christian world? The Churches of Gaul, then under the superintendence of Irenæus, agreed upon a synodical epistle to Victor, bishop of Rome, in which occurred words somewhat to this effect, "The mystery of the Lord's Resurrection may not be celebrated on any other day than the Lord's Day, and on this alone should we observe the breaking off of the Paschal Fast."¹ This confirms what was said above, that while, even towards the end of the 2nd century, tradition varied as to the yearly celebration of Christ's Resurrection, the weekly celebration of it was one upon which no diversity existed, or was even hinted at.

Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 194, comes next. One does not expect anything very definite from a writer of so mystical a tendency, but he has some things quite to our purpose. In his *Strom.* (iv. §3), he speaks of *τὴν ἀρχιγονοῦν ἡμέραν, τὴν τῷ ὄντι ἑορτασάντων ἡμῶν, τὴν δὲ καὶ πρώτην τῷ ὄντι πρώτην γένεσιν, κ.τ.λ.*, words which Bishop Kaye

¹ Ἐν αὐτῷ ἐν ἑλλήσιν τοῦ τῆς Κυριακῆς ἡμέρας τὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀναστάσεως ἐπιτελοῦτο τοῦ Κυρίου υἱοῦ θείου, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ταύτῃ μόνῃ τῶν κατὰ τὸ πάσχα ἡορτασάντων ἡμῶν ἐπιτελοῦται.
² Ὅθεν ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγελίου διαπραξάνου. Κυριακῆς τῆς ἡμερᾶς ποιῆ, ὅτ' ἂν ἀπαβάλλῃ

interprets as contrasting the seventh day of the Law, with the eighth day of the Gospel. And, as the same learned prelate observes, "When Clement says that the gnostic, or transcendental Christian, does not pray in any fixed place, or on any stated days, but throughout his whole life, he gives us to understand that Christians in general did meet together in fixed places and at appointed times for the purposes of prayer." But we are not left to mere inference on this important point, for Clement speaks of the Lord's Day as a well-known and customary festival, and in one place gives a mystical interpretation of the name.²

Tertullian, whose date is assignable to the close of the 2nd century, may, in spite of his conversion to Montanism, be quoted as a witness to facts. He terms the first day of the week sometimes Sunday (*Dies Solis*), sometimes *Dies Dominicus*. He speaks of it as a day of joy (*Diem Solis lætitiæ indulgemus*, *Apol.* c. 16), and asserts that it is wrong to fast upon it, or to pray kneeling during its continuance (*Die Dominico jejuniū nefas ducimus, vel de geniculis adorare, De Cor.* c. 3). "Even business is to be put off, lest we give place to the devil" (*Diferentes etiam negotia, ne quem Diabolo locum demus, De Orat.* c. 13).

Origen contends that the Lord's Day had its superiority to the Sabbath indicated by manna having been given on it to the Israelites, while it was withheld on the Sabbath. It is one of the marks of the perfect Christian to keep the Lord's Day.

Minucius Felix, A.D. 210, makes the heathen interlocutor, in his dialogue called *Octavius*, assert that the Christians come together to a repast "on a solemn day" (*solenni die*).

Cyprian and his colleagues, in a synodical letter, A.D. 253, make the Jewish circumcision on the eighth day prefigure the newness of life of the Christian, to which Christ's resurrection introduces him, and point to the Lord's Day, which is at once the eighth and the first.

Commodian, circ. A.D. 270, mentions the Lord's Day.

Victorinus, A.D. 290, contrasts it, in a very remarkable passage, with the Parasceve and the Sabbath;

And Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, A.D. 300, says of it, "We keep the Lord's Day as a day of joy, because of Him who rose thereon."³

The results of our examination of the principal writers of the two centuries after the death of St. John are as follows. The Lord's Day (a name which has now come out more prominently, and is connected more explicitly with our Lord's resurrection than before) existed during these two centuries as a part and parcel of apostolical, and so of Scriptural Christianity. It was never defended, for it was never impugned, or at least only impugned as other things received from the apostles were. It was never confounded with the Sabbath, but carefully distinguished from it, (though we have not quoted nearly all the passages by which this point might be proved). It was not an institution of severe Sabbatical character, but a day of joy (*χαρμοσύνη*) and cheerfulness (*εὐφροσύνη*), rather encouraging than forbidding relaxation. Religiously

φαῖλον νόημα καὶ γνωστικὴν προσλάβη, τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάστασιν δοξάζων. (*Strom.* v.)

³ Ἡ τὴν γὰρ κυριακὴν χαρμοσύνης ἡμέραν ἄγομεν, δια τὸν ἀνάστατα ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν ᾗ οὐδὲ γόνυτα κλισίαν παρελήθαμεν.

regarded, it was a day of solemn meeting for the Holy Eucharist, for united prayer, for instruction, for almsgiving; and though, being an institution under the law of liberty, work does not appear to have been formally interdicted, or rest formally enjoined, Tertullian seems to indicate that the character of the day was opposed to worldly business. Finally, whatever analogy may be supposed to exist between the Lord's Day and the Sabbath, in no passage that has come down to us is the Fourth Commandment appealed to as the ground of the obligation to observe the Lord's Day. Ecclesiastical writers reiterate again and again, in the strictest sense of the words, "Let no man therefore judge you in respect of an holiday, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days" (Μῆ τις ὑμᾶς κρινέτω ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς, ἢ νομηνίας, ἢ σαββάτων, Col. ii. 16). Nor, again, is it referred to any Sabbatical foundation anterior to the promulgation of the Mosaic economy. On the contrary, those before the Mosaic era are constantly assumed to have had neither knowledge nor observance of the Sabbath. And as little is it anywhere asserted that the Lord's Day is merely an ecclesiastical institution, dependent on the post-apostolic Church for its origin, and by consequence capable of being done away, should a time ever arrive when it appears to be no longer needed.

Our design does not necessarily lead us to do more than state facts; but if the facts be allowed to speak for themselves, they indicate that the Lord's Day is a purely Christian institution, sanctioned by apostolic practice, mentioned in apostolic writings, and so possessed of whatever divine authority all apostolic ordinances and doctrines (which were not obviously temporary, or were not abrogated by the apostles themselves) can be supposed to possess.

3. But on whatever grounds "the Lord's Day" may be supposed to rest, it is a great and indisputable fact that four years before the Oecumenical Council of Nicea, it was recognised by Constantine in his celebrated edict, as "the venerable Day of the Sun." The terms of the document are these:—

"Imperator Constantinus Aug. Heliophilus.

"Omnes Judices urbanaeque plebes et cunctarum artium officia venerabili Die Solis quiescant. Ruri tamen positi agrorum culturae liberè licentiaeque inserviant, quoniam frequenter evenit ut non aptius alio die frumenta sulcis aut vineae scrobibus mandentur, nec occasione momenti pereat commoditas coelesti provisione concessa."—*Dat. Non. Mart. Crispo II. et Constantino II. Coss.*

Some have endeavoured to explain away this document by alleging—1st, that "Solis Dies" is not the Christian name of the Lord's Day, and that Constantine did not therefore intend to acknowledge it as a Christian institution.

2nd. That, before his conversion, Constantine had professed himself to be especially under the guardianship of the sun, and that, at the very best, he intended to make a religious compromise between sun-worshippers, properly so called, and the wor-

shippers of the "Sun of Righteousness," &c. Christians.

3rdly. That Constantine's edict was purely a kalendarial one, and intended to reduce the number of public holidays, "Dies Nefasti," or "Feriae," which had, so long ago as the date of the "Actiones Verinae," become a serious impediment to the transaction of business. And that this was to be effected by choosing a day which, while it would be accepted by the Paganism then in fashion, would of course be agreeable to the Christians.

4thly. That Constantine then instituted Sunday for the first time as a religious day for Christians.

The fourth of these statements is absolutely refuted, both by the quotations made above from writers of the second and third centuries, and by the terms of the edict itself. It is evident that Constantine, accepting as facts the existence of the "Solis Dies," and the reverence paid to it by some one or other, does nothing more than make that reverence practically universal. It is "venerabile" already. And it is probable that this most natural interpretation would never have been disturbed, had not Sozomen asserted, without warrant from either the Justinian or the Theodosian Code, that Constantine did for the sixth day of the week what the codes assert he did for the first.*

The three other statements concern themselves rather with what Constantine *meant* than with what he *did*. But with such considerations we have little or nothing to do. He may have purposely selected an ambiguous appellation. He may have been only half a Christian, wavering between allegiance to Christ and allegiance to Mithras. He may have affected a religious syncretism. He may have wished his people to adopt such syncretism. He may have feared to offend the Pagans. He may have hesitated to avow too openly his inward leanings to Christianity. He may have considered that community of religious days might lead by and by to community of religious thought and feeling. And he may have had in view the rectification of the kalendar. But all this is nothing to the purpose. It is a fact, that in the year A.D. 321, in a public edict, which was to apply to Christians as well as to Pagans, he put especial honour upon a day already honoured by the former—judicially calling it by a name which Christians had long employed without scruple, and to which, as it was in ordinary use, the Pagans could scarcely object. What he did for it was to insist that worldly business, whether by the functionaries of the law or by private citizens, should be intermitted during its continuance. An exception indeed was made in favour of the rural districts, avowedly from the necessity of the case, covertly perhaps to prevent those districts, where Paganism (as the word Pagan would intimate) still prevailed extensively, from feeling aggrieved by a sudden and stringent change. It need only be added here, that the readiness with which Christians acquiesced in the interdiction of business on the Lord's Day affords no small presumption that they had long considered it to be a

* Τὴν δὲ κυριακὴν καλουμένην ἡμέραν, ἣν Ἑβραῖοι πρῶτην τῆς ἑβδομάδος ὀνομάζουσιν, Ἕλληνας δὲ τῷ Ἡλίῳ ἀνατίθεσιν, καὶ τὴν πρὸ τῆς ἑβδομῆς, ἐνομοθέτησε δικαστηρίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πραγμάτων σχολὴν ἔχειν πάντα, καὶ ἐν εὐχαίς καὶ λιταῖς τὸ Θεῖον θεραπεύειν ἔτιμα δὲ τὴν κυριακὴν, ὡς ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάντος ἐκ νεκρῶν. τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν, ὡς ἐν αὐτῇ σταυρωθέντος (Soz. Eccl. Hist. l. c. 8). But on this passage Suicer observes very truly, "Non dicit a Constantino appellatam κυριακὴν,

sed 'Jam ante sic vocatam feriatam esse decrevit.'" There is a passage also in Eusebius (Vit. Const. iv. 18) which appears to assert the same thing of Saturday. It is, however, manifestly corrupt, and can scarcely be translated at all except by the employment of an emendation; and if we do thus amend it, it will speak of Friday, as Sozomen does, and not of Saturday; and, what is more to our purpose, to whichever of those days it does refer, what is said in it concerning Ἡ κυριακὴ will fall under Suicer's remark.

day of rest, and that, so far as circumstances admitted, they had made it so long before.

Were any other testimony wanting to the existence of Sunday as a day of Christian worship at this period, it might be supplied by the Council of Nicaea, A.D. 325. The Fathers there and then assembled make no doubt of the obligation of that day—do not ordain it—do not defend it. They assume it as an existing fact, and only notice it incidentally in order to regulate an indifferent matter, the posture of Christian worshippers upon it.^k

Richard Baxter has well summed up the history of the Lord's Day at this point, and his words may not unaptly be inserted here:—"That the first Christian emperor, finding all Christians unanimous in the possession of the day, should make a law (as our kings do) for the due observing of it, and that the first Christian council should establish uniformity in the very gesture of worship on that day, are strong confirmations of the matter of fact, that the churches unanimously agreed in the holy use of it as a *separated day even from and in the Apostles' days*" (Richard Baxter, *On the Divine Appointment of the Lord's Day*, p. 41. 1671).

Here we conclude our inquiry. If patristical or ecclesiastical ground has been touched upon, it has been only so far as appeared necessary for the elucidation of the Scripture phrase, ἡ Κυριακή ἡμέρα. What became of the Sabbath after Christianity was fairly planted; what Christ said of it in the Gospels, and how His words are to be interpreted; what the apostles said of that day, and how they treated it; what the early ecclesiastical writers held respecting it; and in what sense "There remaineth a sabbatismus (σαββατισμὸς, A. V. "rest") to the people of God" (Heb. iv. 9): these are questions which fall rather under the head of SABBATH than under that of "Lord's Day." And as no debate arose in apostolic or in primitive times respecting the relation, by descent, of the Lord's Day to the Mosaic Sabbath, or to any Sabbatical institution of assumed higher antiquity, none need be raised here. [See SABBATH.]

The whole subject of the Lord's Day, including its "origin, history, and present obligation," is treated of by the writer of this article in the Bampton Lecture for 1860. [J. A. H.]

LORD'S SUPPER (Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον: *Coena Domini*). The words which thus describe the great central act of the worship of the Christian Church occur but in one single passage of the N. T. (1 Cor. xi. 20).^a Of the fact which lies under the name we have several notices, and from these, incidental and fragmentary as they are, it is possible to form a tolerably distinct picture. To examine these notices in their relation to the life

of the Christian society in the first stages of its growth, and so to learn what "the Supper of the Lord" actually was, will be the object of this article. It would be foreign to its purpose to trace the history of the stately liturgies which grew up out of it in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, except so far as they supply or suggest evidence as to the customs of the earlier period, or to touch upon the many controversies which then, or at a later age, have clustered round the original institution.

I. The starting point of this inquiry is found in the history of that night when Jesus and His disciples met together to eat the Passover (Matt. xxvi. 19; Mark xiv. 16; Luke xxii. 13). The manner in which the Paschal feast was kept by the Jews of that period differed in many details from that originally prescribed by the rules of Ex. xii. The multitudes that came up to Jerusalem, met, as they could find accommodation, family by family, or in groups of friends, with one of their number as the celebrant, or "proclaimer" of the feast. The ceremonies of the feast took place in the following order (Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, xiii.; Meyer, *Comm. in Matt.* xxvi. 26). (1) The members of the company that were joined for this purpose met in the evening and reclined on couches, this position being now as much a matter of rule as standing had been originally (comp. Matt. xxvi. 20, ἀνέκειτο; Luke xxii. 14; and John xiii. 23, 25). The head of the household, or celebrant, began by a form of blessing "for the day and for the wine," pronounced over a cup, of which he and the others then drank. The wine was, according to Rabbinic traditions, to be mixed with water; not for any mysterious reason, but because that was regarded as the best way of using the best wine (comp. 2 Macc. xv. 39). (2) All who were present then washed their hands; this also having a special benediction. (3) The table was then set out with the paschal lamb, unleavened bread, bitter herbs, and the dish known as Charoseth (חרוסת), a sauce made of dates, figs, raisins, and vinegar, and designed to commemorate the mortar of their bondage in Egypt (Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb.* 831). (4) The celebrant first, and then the others, dipped a portion of the bitter herbs into the Charoseth and ate them. (5) The dishes were then removed, and a cup of wine again brought. Then followed an interval which was allowed theoretically for the questions that might be asked by children or proselytes, who were astonished at such a strange beginning of a feast, and the cup was passed round and drunk at the close of it. (6) The dishes being brought on again, the celebrant repeated the commemorative words which opened what was strictly the paschal supper, and pronounced a solemn thanksgiving, followed by Ps. cxiii. and cxiv.^b (7) Then came a second washing

but with the authoritative teaching of his own (*Catechism. Trident.* c. iv. qu. 5).

^b It may be interesting to give the words, as shewing what kind of forms may have served as types for the first worship of the Christian Church.

1. This is the passover, which we eat because the Lord passed over the houses of our fathers in Egypt.

2. These are the bitter herbs, which we eat in remembrance that the Egyptians made the lives of our fathers bitter in Egypt.

3. This is the unleavened bread, which we eat, because the dough of our fathers had not time to be leavened before the Lord revealed himself and redeemed them out of hand.

4. Therefore are we bound to give thanks, to praise, to

^a Ἐπειδὴ τινὲς εἰσιν ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ γόνοι κλίνοντες καὶ ἐν ταῖς πεντηκοστῇς ἡμέραις, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντα ἐν οἴκῳ παρακίβηται φυλάττεσθαι, ἐστῶτας ἰδοὺ τῆς ἡγίας συνόδου τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Θεῷ (*Conc. Nic.* Act. 26).

^b Mactenatus (*Comm. on Matt.* xxvi. 26) is bold enough to say that the "Lord's Supper" of 1 Cor. xi. 20 is the same as the "Eucharistia" of the later Church, and identifies it with the meal that followed. The phraseology to which we are accustomed is to him only an example of the "vulgaria Calvinistarum et Lutheranorum inscitia," according to the received language of the Church. The keen detector of heresy, however, is in this instance at variance not only with the consensus of the chief fathers of the ancient Church (comp. *Sulzer. Theol.* s. v. δεῖπνον).

of the hands, with a short form of blessing as before, and the celebrant broke one of the two loaves or cakes of unleavened bread, and gave thanks over it. All then took portions of the bread and dipped them, together with the bitter herbs, into the Charoseth, and so ate them. (8) After this they ate the flesh of the paschal lamb, with bread, &c., as they liked; and after another blessing, a third cup, known especially as the "cup of blessing," was handed round. (9) This was succeeded by a fourth cup, and the recital of Ps. cxv.-cxviii. followed by a prayer, and this was accordingly known as the cup of the Hallel, or of the Song. (10) There might be, in conclusion, a fifth cup, provided that the "great Hallel" (possibly Psalms cxx.-cxxxvii.) was sung over it.

Comparing the ritual thus gathered from Rabbinic writers with the N. T., and assuming (1) that it represents substantially the common practice of our Lord's time; and (2) that the meal of which He and His disciples partook, was either the passover itself, or an anticipation of it,^c conducted according to the same rules, we are able to point, though not with absolute certainty, to the points of departure which the old practice presented for the institution of the new. To (1) or (3), or even to (8), we may refer the first words and the first distribution of the cup (Luke xxii. 17, 18); to (2) or (7), the dipping of the sop (*ψαυλον*) of John xiii. 26; to (7), or to an interval during or after (8), the distribution of the bread (Matt. xxvi. 26; Mark iv. 22; Luke xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24); to (9) or (10) ("after supper," Luke xxii. 20) the thanksgiving, and distribution of the cup, and the hymn with which the whole was ended. It will be noticed that, according to this order of succession, the question whether Judas partook of what, in the language of a later age, would be called the consecrated elements, is most probably to be answered in the negative.

The narratives of the Gospels show how strongly the disciples were impressed with the words which had given a new meaning to the old familiar acts. They leave unnoticed all the ceremonies of the Passover, except those which had thus been transferred to the Christian Church and perpetuated in it. Old things were passing away, and all things becoming new. They had looked on the bread and the wine as memorials of the deliverance from Egypt. They were now told to partake of them "in remembrance" of their Master and Lord. The festival had been annual. No rule was given as to the time and frequency of the new feast that thus supervened on the old, but the command "Do this as oft as ye drink it" (1 Cor. xi. 25), suggested the more continual recurrence of that which was to be their memorial of one whom they would wish never to forget. The words, "This is my body," gave to the unleavened bread a new character. They had been prepared for language that would otherwise

laud, to glorify, to extol, to honour, to praise, to magnify him that hath done for our fathers, and for us, all these wonders; who hath brought us from bondage to freedom, from sorrow to rejoicing, from mourning to a good day, from darkness to a great light, from affliction to redemption; therefore must we say before him, Hallelulah, praise ye the Lord . . . followed by Ps. cxiii. (Lightfoot, *l. c.*).

^c This reservation is made as being a possible alternative for explaining the differences between the three first Gospels and St. John.

have been so startling, by the teaching of John (32-58), and they were thus taught to see in the bread that was broken the witness of the closest possible union and incorporation with their Lord. The cup which was "the new testament" (*ἡ καινὴ θύκη*) "in His blood," would remind them, in this manner, of the wonderful prophecy in which that new covenant had been foretold (Jer. xxxi. 31-34) of which the crowning glory was in the promise, "I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." His blood shed, as He told them, "for them and for many," for that remission of sins which He had been proclaiming throughout his whole ministry, was to be to the new covenant what the blood of sprinkling had been to that of Moses (Ex. xxiv. 8). It is possible that there may have been yet another thought connected with these symbolic acts. The funeral customs of the Jews involved, at or after the burial, the administration to the mourners of bread (comp. Jer. xvi. 7, "neither shall they break bread for them in mourning," in marginal reading of A. V.; Ewald and Hitzig, *ad loc.*; Ez. xxiv. 17; Hos. ix. 4; Tob. i. 17), and of wine, known, when thus given, as "the cup of consolation." May not the bread and the wine of the Last Supper have had something of that character, preparing the minds of Christ's disciples for His departure by treating it as already accomplished? They were to think of his body as already anointed for the burial (Matt. xxvi. 12, Mark iv. 8; John xii. 7), of his body as already given up to death, of his blood as already shed. The passover-meal was also, little as they might dream of it, a funeral-feast. The bread and the wine were to be pledges of consolation for their sorrow, analogous to the verbal promises of John xiv. 1, 27, xvi. 20. The word *διαθήκη* might even have the twofold meaning which is connected with it in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

May we not conjecture, without leaving the region of history for that of controversy, that the thoughts, desires, emotions, of that hour of divine sorrow and communion would be such as to lead the disciples to crave earnestly to renew them? Would it not be natural that they should seek that renewal in the way which their Master had pointed out to them? From this time, accordingly, the words "to break bread" appear to have had for the disciples a new significance. It may not have assumed indeed, as yet, the character of a distinct liturgical act; but when they met to break bread, it was with new thoughts and hopes, and with the memories of that evening fresh on them. It would be natural that the Twelve should transmit the command to others who had not been present, and seek to lead them to the same obedience and the same blessings. The narrative of the two disciples to whom their Lord made himself known "in breaking of bread" at Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 30-35) would strengthen the belief that this was the way to an abiding fellowship with Him.^d

^d The general consensus of patristic and Roman Catholic interpreters finds in this also a solemn celebration of the Eucharist. Here, they say, are the solemn benedictions and the technical words for the distribution of the elements as in the original institution, and as in the later portions of the Acts. It should be remembered, however, that the phrase "to break bread" had been a synonym for the act of any one presiding at a meal (comp. Jer. xvi. 7, *l. c.* iv. 4), and that the Rabbinic rule required a blessing whenever three persons sat down together at it. (Comp. Maldonatus and Meyer, *ad loc.*).

11. In the account given by the writer of the Acts of the life of the first disciples at Jerusalem, a prominent place is given to this act, and to the phrase which indicated it. Writing, we must remember, with the definite associations that had gathered round the words during the thirty years that followed the events he records, he describes the baptized members of the Church as continuing steadfast in or to the teaching of the apostles, in fellowship with them and with each other,⁴ and in breaking of bread and in prayers (Acts ii. 42). A few verses further on, their daily life is described as ranging itself under two heads: (1) that of public devotion, which still belonged to them as Jews ("continuing daily with one accord in the Temple"); (2) that of their distinctive acts of fellowship "breaking bread from house to house (or "privately," Meyer), they did eat their meat in gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people." Taken in connexion with the account given in the preceding verses of the love which made them live as having all things common, we can scarcely doubt that this implies that the chief actual meal of each day was one in which they met as brothers, and which was either preceded or followed by the more solemn commemorative acts of the breaking of the bread and the drinking of the cup. It will be convenient to anticipate the language and the thoughts of a somewhat later date, and to say that, apparently, they thus united every day the *Agapè* or feast of Love with the celebration of the Eucharist. So far as the former was concerned, they were reproducing in the streets of Jerusalem the simple and brotherly life which the Essenes were leading in their seclusion on the shores of the Dead Sea.⁵ It would be natural that in a society consisting of many thousand members there should be many places of meeting. These might be rooms hired for the purpose, or freely given by those members of the Church who had them to dispose of. The congregation assembling in each place would come to be known as "the Church" in this or that man's house (Rom. xvi. 5, 23; 1 Cor. xvi. 19; Col. iv. 15; Philem. ver. 2). When they met, the place of honour would naturally be taken by one of the apostles, or some elder representing him. It would belong to him to pronounce the blessing (*εὐλογία*) and thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*), with which the meals of devout Jews always began and ended. The materials for the meal would be provided out of the common funds of the Church, or the liberality of individual members. The bread (unless the converted Jews were to think of themselves as keeping a perpetual passover) would be such as they habitually used.

⁴ The meaning of *κοινωνία* in this passage is probably explained by the *εἶπον ἀπαντα κοινὰ* that follows (comp. Meyer, *ad loc.*). The Vulg. rendering, "et communicatione fractionis panis," originated probably in a wish to give to the word its later liturgical sense.

⁵ The fact is traceable to the earliest days of the Church. The origin of the name is obscure. It occurs in this sense only in two passages of the N. T., 2 Pet. ii. 13, Jude v. 12; and there the reading (though supported by B and other great MSS.) is not undisputed. The absence of any reference to it in St. Paul's memorable chapter on *Ἀγαπή* (1 Cor. xiii.) makes it improbable that it was then and there in use. In the age after the apostles, however, it is a currently accepted word for the meal here described. (Ignat. *Ep. ad Smyrn.* c. 8; Tertull. *Apol.* c. 39, *ad Marc.* c. 2; Cyprian, *Testim. ad Quirin.* iii. 3).

⁶ The account given by Josephus (*Hell. Jud.* ii. 8) deserves to be studied, both as coming from an eye-witness

The wine (probably the common red wine of Palestine, Prov. xxiii. 31) would, according to their usual practice, be mixed with water. Special stress would probably be laid at first on the office of breaking and distributing the bread, as that which represented the fatherly relation of the pastor to his flock, and his work as ministering to men the word of life. But if this was to be more than a common meal after the pattern of the Essenes, it would be necessary to introduce words that would show that what was done was in remembrance of their Master. At some time, before or after⁶ the meal of which they partook as such, the bread and the wine would be given with some special form of words or acts, to indicate its character. New converts would need some explanation of the meaning and origin of the observance. What would be so fitting and so much in harmony with the precedents of the Paschal feast as the narrative of what had passed on the night of its institution (1 Cor. xi. 23-27)? With this there would naturally be associated (as in Acts ii. 42) prayers for themselves and others. Their gladness would show itself in the psalms and hymns with which they praised God (Heb. ii. 46, 47; James v. 13). The analogy of the Passover, the general feeling of the Jews, and the practice of the Essenes may possibly have suggested ablutions, partial or entire, as a preparation for the feast (Heb. x. 22; John xiii. 1-15; comp. Tertull. *de Orat.* c. xi.; and for the later practice of the Church, August. *Serm.* cxxiv.). At some point in the feast those who were present, men and women sitting apart, would rise to salute each other with the "holy kiss" (1 Cor. xvi. 20; 2 Cor. xiii. 12; Clem. Alex. *Paedagog.* iii. c. 11; Tertull. *de Orat.* c. 14; Just. M. *Apol.* ii.). Of the stages in the growth of the new worship we have, it is true, no direct evidence, but these conjectures from antecedent likelihood are confirmed by the fact that this order appears as the common element of all later liturgies.

The next traces that meet us are in 1 Cor., and the fact that we find them is in itself significant. The commemorative feast has not been confined to the personal disciples of Christ, or the Jewish converts whom they gathered round them at Jerusalem. It has been the law of the Church's expansion that this should form part of its life everywhere. Wherever the apostles or their delegates have gone, they have taken this with them. The language of St. Paul, we must remember, is not that of a man who is setting forth a new truth, but of one who appeals to thoughts, words, phrases that are familiar to his readers, and we find accordingly evidence of a received liturgical terminology. The title of the "cup of blessing" (1 Cor. x. 16).

(*Vita*, c. 2), and as showing a type of holiness which could hardly have been unknown to the first Christian disciples. The description of the meals of the Essenes might almost pass for that of an *Agapè*. "They wash themselves with pure water, and go to their refectory as to a holy place (*σίεπος*), and sit down calmly. . . . The priest begins with a prayer over the food, and it is unlawful for any one to taste of it before the prayer." This is the early meal. The *δείπνον* is in the same order (comp. Pliny, *Ep. ad Traj.*).

⁷ Examples of both are found in the history of the early Church: 1 Cor. xi. is an example of the *Agapè* coming before the Eucharist. The order of the two words in Ignat. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* c. 4 implies priority. The practice continued in some parts of Egypt even to the time of Sozomen (*Hist. Eccl.* vii. c. 19), and the rule of the Council of Carthage (can. xii.) forbidding it, implies that it had been customary.

Hebrew in its origin and form (see above), has been imported into the Greek Church. The synonym of "the cup of the Lord" (1 Cor. x. 21) distinguishes it from the other cups that belonged to the Agapè. The word "fellowship" (*Κοινωνία*) is passing by degrees into the special signification of "Communion." The apostle refers to his own office as breaking the bread and blessing the cup (1 Cor. x. 16).¹ The table on which the bread was placed was the Lord's Table, and that title was to the Jew not, as later controversies have made it, the antithesis of altar (*Θυσιαστήριον*), but as nearly as possible a synonym (Mal. i. 7, 12; Ez. xli. 22). But the practice of the Agapè, as well as the observance of the commemorative feast, had been transferred to Corinth, and this called for a special notice. Evils had sprung up which had to be checked at once. The meeting of friends for a social meal, to which all contributed, was a sufficiently familiar practice in the common life of Greeks of this period; and these club-feasts were associated with plans of mutual relief or charity to the poor (comp. Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, s. v. *Ἐσθαι*). The Agapè of the new society would seem to them to be such a feast, and hence came a disorder that altogether frustrated the object of the Church in instituting it. Richer members came, bringing their supper with them, or appropriating what belonged to the common stock, and sat down to consume it without waiting till others were assembled and the presiding elder had taken his place. The poor were put to shame, and defrauded of their share in the feast. Each was thinking of his own supper, not of that to which we now find attached the distinguishing title of "the Lord's Supper."² And when the time for that came, one was hungry enough to be looking to it with physical not spiritual craving, another so overpowered with wine as to be incapable of receiving it with any reverence. It is quite conceivable that a life of excess and excitement, of overwrought emotion and unrestrained indulgence, such as this epistle brings before us, may have proved destructive to the physical as well as the moral health of those who were affected by it, and so the sicknesses and the deaths of which St. Paul speaks (1 Cor. xi. 30), as the consequences of this disorder may have been so, not by supernatural infliction, but by the working of those general laws of the divine government, which make the punishment the traceable consequence of the sin. In any case, what the Corinthians needed was, to be taught to come to the Lord's table with greater reverence, to distinguish (*διακρίνειν*) the Lord's body from their

¹ The plural *κλάμεν* has been understood as implying that the congregation took part in the act of breaking (Stanley, *Corinthians*; and Estius, *ad loc.*). It may be questioned, however, whether this is sufficient ground for an interpretation for which there is no support either in the analogous custom of the Jews or in the traditions of the Church. The *εὐλογοῦμεν*, which stands parallel to *κλάμεν*, can hardly be referred to the whole body of partakers. When the act is described historically, the singular is always used (Acts xx. 11, xxvii. 35). Tertullian, in the passage to which Prof. Stanley refers, speaks of the other practice ("nec de allorum quam præsidentium manibus," *de Cor. Mil. c. 3*) as an old tradition, not as a change.

² The word *κριακός* appears to have been coined for the purpose of expressing the new thought.

³ It has been ingeniously contended that the change from evening to morning was the direct result of St. Paul's reposition (*Christian Remembrancer*, art. on "Evening Remembrances" July, 1866).

⁴ That presented by the Council of Gangra (can. xi.) is

common food. Unless they did so, they would bring upon themselves condemnation. What was to be the remedy for this terrible and growing evil he does not state explicitly. He reserves formal regulations for a later personal visit. In the meantime he gives a rule which would make the union of the Agapè and the Lord's Supper possible without the risk of profanation. They were not to come even to the former with the keen edge of appetite. They were to wait till all were met, instead of scrambling tumultuously to help themselves (1 Cor. xi. 33, 34). In one point, however, the custom of the Church of Corinth differed apparently from that of Jerusalem. The meeting for the Lord's Supper was no longer daily (1 Cor. xi. 20, 33). The directions given in 1 Cor. xvi. 2, suggest the constitution of a celebration on the first day of the week (comp. Just. Mart. *Apol. i. 67*; Pliny, *Ep. ad Traj.*). The meeting at Troas is on the same day (Acts xx. 7). The tendency of this language, and therefore probably of the order subsequently established, was to separate what had hitherto been united.³ We stand as it were at the dividing point of the history of the two institutions, and henceforth each takes its own course. One, as belonging to a transient phase of the Christian life, and varying in its effects with changes in national character or forms of civilisation, passes through many stages⁴—becomes more and more a merely local custom—is found to be productive of evil rather than of good—is discouraged by bishops and forbidden by councils—and finally dies out.⁵ Traces of it linger in some of the traditional practices of the Western Church.⁶ There have been attempts to revive it among the Moravians and other religious communities. The other also has its changes. The morning celebration takes the place of the evening. New names—Eucharist, Sacrifice, Altar, Mass, Holy Mysteries—gather round it. New epithets and new ceremonies express the growing reverence of the people. The mode of celebration at the high altar of a basilica in the 4th century differs so widely from the circumstances of the original institution, that a careless eye would have found it hard to recognise their identity. Speculations, controversies, superstitions crystallise round this as their nucleus. Great disruptions and changes threaten to destroy the life and unity of the Church. Still, through all the changes, the Supper of the Lord vindicates its claim to universality, and bears a permanent witness of the truths with which it was associated.

In Acts xx. 11 we have an example of the way in which the transition may have been effected.

noticeable as an attempt to preserve the primitive custom of an Agapè in church against the assaults of a false asceticism.

⁴ The history of the Agapæ, in their connexion with the life of the Church, is full of interest, but would be out of place here. An outline of it may be found in Augustin, *Christi. Archæol.* iii. 704-711.

⁵ The practice of distributing bread, which has been blessed but not consecrated, to the congregation generally (children included), at the greater festivals of the Church, presents a vestige, or at least an analogue, of the old Agapè. Liturgical writers refer it to the period (A.D. 153-385) when the earlier practice was falling into disuse, and this taking its place as the expression of the same feeling. The bread thus distributed is known in the Eastern Church as *εὐλογία*, in the Western as the *panis benedictus*, the "pain béni" of the modern French Church. The practice is still common in France and other parts of Europe. (Comp. Moroni, *Dictionar. Eccles.*, Pascal, *Adrup Cathol.*, in Migne's *Encyc. Theol.*, s. v. "Eulogie.")

The disciples at Troas meet together to break bread. The hour is not definitely stated, but the fact that St. Paul's discourse was protracted till past midnight, and the mention of the many lamps, indicate a later time than that commonly fixed for the Greek *Leisvor*. If we are not to suppose a scene at variance with St. Paul's rule in 1 Cor. xi. 34, they must have had each his own supper before they assembled. Then came the teaching and the prayers, and then, towards early dawn, the breaking of bread, which constituted the Lord's Supper, and for which they were gathered together. If this midnight meeting may be taken as indicating a common practice, originating in reverence for an ordinance which Christ had enjoined, we can easily understand how the next step would be (as circumstances rendered the midnight gatherings unnecessary or inexpedient) to transfer the celebration of the Eucharist permanently to the morning hour, to which it had gradually been approximating.³ Here also in later times there were traces of the original custom. Even when a later celebration was looked on as at variance with the general custom of the Church (Nocturns, *supra*) it was recognised as legitimate to hold an evening communion, as a special commemoration of the original institution, on the Thursday before Easter (August. *Ep.* 118; *ad Jan.* c. 5-7); and again on Easter-eve, the celebration in the latter case probably taking place "very early in the morning while it was yet dark" (Tertull. *ad Uxor.* ii. c. 4).

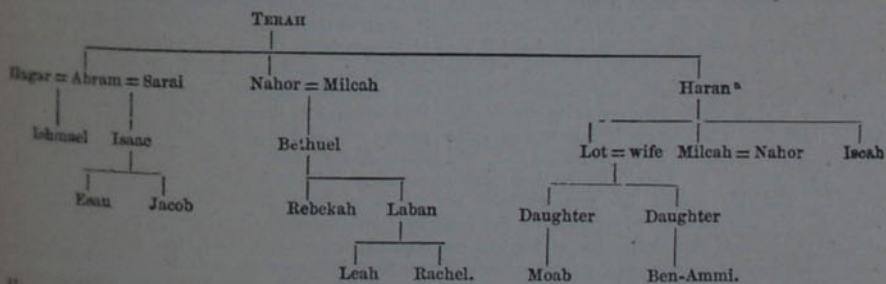
The recurrence of the same liturgical words in Acts xvii. 35 makes it probable, though not certain, that the food of which St. Paul thus partook was intended to have, for himself and his Christian companions, the character at once of the Agapè and the Eucharist. The heathen soldiers and sailors, it may be noticed, are said to have followed his example, not to have partaken of the bread which he had broken. If we adopt this explanation, we have in this narrative another example of a celebration in the early hours between midnight and dawn (comp. v. 27, 39), at the same time, i. e., as we have met with in the meeting at Troas.

All the distinct references to the Lord's Supper which occur within the limits of the N. T. have, it is believed, been noticed. To find, as a recent writer has done (*Christian Remembrancer for April, 1860*), quotations from the Liturgy of the Eastern Church in the Pauline Epistles, involves (ingeniously as the hypothesis is supported) assumptions too many and too bold to justify our acceptance of it.⁴ Extending the inquiry, however, to the times as well as the writings of the N. T., we find reason to believe that we can trace in the later worship of the Church some fragments of that which belonged to it from the beginning. The agreement of the four great families of liturgies implies the substratum of a common order. To that order may well have belonged the Hebrew words Hallelujah, Amen, Hosanna, Lord of Sabaoth; the salutations "Peace to all," "Peace to thee;" the Sursum Corda (*ἀνὼ σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας*), the Trisagion, the Kyrie Eleison. We are justified in looking at these as having been portions of a liturgy that was really primitive; guarded from change with the tenacity with which the Christians of the second century clung to the traditions (the *παράδοσις* of 2 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 6) of the first, forming part of the great deposit (*παρακαταθήκη*) of faith and worship which they had received from the apostles and have transmitted to later ages (comp. Bingham, *Eccles. Antiq.* b. xv. c. 7; Augusti, *Christl. Archæol.* b. viii.; Stanley on 1 Cor. x. and xi.). [E. H. P.]

LO-RUH'AMAH (לוֹרֵחַ אֵמָה: οὐκ ἠλεημένη:

absque misericordia), i. e. "the uncompassionated," the name of the daughter of Hosea the prophet, given to denote the utterly ruined and hopeless condition of the kingdom of Israel, on whom Jehovah would no more have mercy (Hos. i. 6).

LOT (לֹט: לוֹט; Joseph. *Λῶτος*, and so Veneto-Greek Vers.: *Lot*), the son of Haran, and therefore the nephew of Abraham (Gen. xi. 27, 31). His sisters were MILCAH the wife of Nahor, and ISCAH, by some identified with Sarah. The following genealogy exhibits the family relations:—



Haran died before the emigration of Terah and his family from Ur of the Chaldees (ver. 28), and Lot was therefore born there. He removed with the rest of his kindred to Charan, and again subsequently

with Abram and Sarai to Canaan (xii. 4, 5). With them he took refuge in Egypt from a famine, and with them returned, first to the "South" (xiii. 1), and then to their original settlement between Bethel

³ Comp. the "antelucanis coetibus" of Tertull. (*de Cor.* c. 3). The amalgamation in the ritual of the nocturnal offices, of the Nocturns, and Matin-Lauds, into the single office of Matins, presents an instance of an analogous transition (Palmer, *Orig. Liturg.* i. 202).

⁴ 1 Cor. ii. 9, compared with the recurrence of the same words in the Liturgy with an antecedent to the relative which appears in the Epistle without one, is the passage on which most stress is laid. 1 Pet. ii. 16, and Eph. v. 14, are adduced as further instances.

^a Terah's sons are given above in the order in which they occur in the record (Gen. xi. 27-32). But the facts that Nahor and Isaac (and if Iscah be Sarai, Abram also) married wives not of their own generation, but of the next below them, and that Abram and Lot travel together and behave as if exactly on equal terms, seem to show that Haran was the eldest of Terah's three descendants, and Abram the youngest. It would be a parallel to the case of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, where Japhet was really the eldest, though enumerated last.

and Ai (ver. 3, 4), where Abram had built his first altar (xiii. 4; comp. xii. 7), and invoked on it the name of Jehovah. But the pastures of the hills of Bethel, which had with ease contained the two strangers on their first arrival, were not able any longer to bear them, so much had their possessions of sheep, goats, and cattle increased since that time. It was not any disagreement between Abram and Lot—their relations continued good to the last; but between the slaves who tended their countless herds disputes arose, and a parting was necessary. The exact equality with which Abram treats Lot is very remarkable. It is as if they were really, according to the very ancient idiom of these records (Ewald on Gen. xxxi.), "brethren," instead of uncle and nephew. From some one of the round swelling hills which surround Bethel—from none more likely than that which stands immediately on its east [BETHEL, vol. i. 199]—the two Hebrews looked over the comparatively empty land, in the direction of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Zoar (xiii. 10). "The occasion was to the two lords of Palestine—then almost 'free before them where to choose'—what in Grecian legends is represented under the figure of the Choice of Hercules; in the fables of Islam under the story of the Prophet turning back from Damascus." And Lot lifted up his eyes towards the left, and beheld all the precinct of the Jordan that it was well watered everywhere; like a garden of Jehovah; like that unutterably green and fertile land of Egypt he had only lately quitted. Even from that distance, through the clear air of Palestine, can be distinctly discovered the long and thick masses of vegetation which fringe the numerous streams that descend from the hills on either side, to meet the central stream in its tropical depths. And what it now is immediately opposite Bethel, such it seems then to have been "even to Zoar," to the farthest extremity of the sea which now covers the "valley of the fields"^b—the fields of Sodom and Gomorrah. "No crust of salt, no volcanic convulsions, had as yet blasted its verdure, or alarmed the secure civilisation of the early Phœnician settlements which had struck root in its fertile depths." It was exactly the prospect to tempt a man who had no fixed purpose of his own, who had not like Abram obeyed a stern inward call of duty. So Lot left his uncle on the barren hills of Bethel, and he "chose all the precinct of the Jordan, and journeyed east," down the ravines which give access to the Jordan valley; and then when he reached it turned again southward and advanced as far as Sodom (11, 12). Here he "pitched his tent," for he was still a nomad. But his nomad life was virtually at an end. He was now to relinquish the freedom and independence of the simple life of the tent—a mode of life destined to be one of the great methods of educating the descendants of Abram—and encounter the corruptions which seem always to have attended the life of cities in the East—"the men of Sodom were wicked, and sinners before Jehovah exceedingly."

2. The next occurrence in the life of Lot is his capture by the four kings of the East, and his rescue by Abram (Gen. xiv.). Whatever may be the age of this chapter in relation to those before and after

^b "Valley of Siddim"—Siddim = fields.

^c The story of Baucis and Philemon, who unwittingly entertained Jupiter and Mercury (see *Dict. of Biography*, &c.), has been often compared with this.

^d Δείσιμος, possibly referring to Gen. xviii. 23-33, where Ge. LXX. employ this word throughout. The rabbinical

tradition is that he was actually "judge" of Sodom, and sat in the gate in that capacity. (See quotations in Otho, *Lex. Rabb.*, "Loth," and "Sodomah.")
 It, there is no doubt that, as far as the history of Lot is concerned, it is in its right position in the narrative. The events which it narrates must have occurred after those of ch. xiii., and before those of xviii. and xix. Abram has moved further south, and is living under the oaks of Mamre the Amorite, where he remained till the destruction of Sodom. There is little in it which calls for remark here. The term "brother" is once used (ver. 16) for Lot's relation to Abram (but comp. ver. 12, "brother's son"), and a word is employed for the possessions of Lot (ver. 11, A. V. "goods"), which from its being elsewhere in these early records (xvi. 6; Num. xxxi. 3) distinguished from "cattle," and employed especially for the spoil of Sodom and Gomorrah, may perhaps denote that Lot had exchanged the wealth of his pastoral condition for other possessions more peculiar to his new abode. Women are also named (ver. 16), though these may belong to the people of Sodom.

3. The last scene preserved to us in the history of Lot is too well known to need repetition. He is still living in Sodom (Gen. xix.). Some years have passed, for he is a well-known resident in the town, with wife, sons, and daughters, married and marriageable. But in the midst of the licentious corruption of Sodom—the eating and drinking, the buying and selling, the planting and building (Luk. xvii. 28), and of the darker evils exposed in the ancient narrative—he still preserves some of the delightful characteristics of his wandering life, his fervent and chivalrous hospitality (ix. 2, 8), the unleavened bread of the tent of the wilderness (ver. 3), the water for the feet of the wayfarers (ver. 1), affording his guests a reception identical with that which they had experienced that very morning at Abraham's tent on the heights of Hebron (comp. xvi. 3, 6). It is this hospitality which receives the commendation of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews in words which have passed into a familiar proverb, "be not forgetful to entertain strangers, for thereby some have entertained angels unawares" (Heb. xiii. 2). On the other hand, it is his deliverance from the guilty and condemned city—the one just man in that mob of sensual lawless wretches—which points to the allusion of St. Peter, to "the godly delivered out of temptations, the unjust reserved unto the day of judgment to be punished, an ensample to those that after should live ungodly" (2 Pet. ii. 6-9). Where Zoar was situated, in which he found a temporary refuge during the destruction of the other cities of the plain, we do not know with absolute certainty. If, as is most probable, it was at the mouth of *Wady Kerak* (Rob. ii. 188, 517), then by "the mountain" is meant the very elevated ground east of the Dead Sea. If with De Saussure we place it in *es-Zouara*, on the precipitous descent from Hebron, "the mountain" was the high ground of Judah. Either would afford caves for his subsequent dwelling. The former situation—on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, has in its favour the fact that it is in accordance with the position subsequently occupied by the Ammonites and Moabites. But this will be best examined under ZOAR.

The end of Lot's wife^e is commonly treated in

tradition is that he was actually "judge" of Sodom, and sat in the gate in that capacity. (See quotations in Otho, *Lex. Rabb.*, "Loth," and "Sodomah.")

^e In the Jewish traditions her name is Edith—עֲדִית. One of the daughters was called Plutith—פְּלוּתִית. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep.* V. T. 431.

use of the "difficulties" of the Bible. But it surely need not be so. It cannot be necessary, as some have done, to create the details of the story where none are given—to describe "the unhappy woman struck dead"—"a blackened corpse—smothered and stifled as she stood, and fixed for the time to the soil by saline or bituminous incrustations—like a pillar of salt." On these points the record is silent. Its words are simply these: "His wife looked back from behind him,¹ and became a pillar of salt;"—words which neither in themselves nor in their position in the narrative afford any warrant for such speculations. In fact, when taken with what has gone before, they contradict them, for it seems plain, from vers. 22, 23, that the work of destruction by fire did not commence till after Lot had entered Zoar. But this, like the rest of her fate, is left in mystery.

The value and the significance of the story to us are contained in the allusion of Christ (Luke xiv. 32):—"In that day he that is in the field let him not return back: remember Lot's wife," who did. "Whosoever shall seek to save his life shall lose it." It will be observed that there is no attempt in the narrative to invest the circumstance with permanence; no statement—as in the case of the pillar erected over Rachel's grave (xxxv. 20)—that it was to be seen at the time of the compilation of the history. And in this we surely have a remarkable instance of that sobriety which characterises the statements of Scripture, even where the events narrated are most out of the ordinary course.

Later ages have not been satisfied so to leave the matter, but have insisted on identifying the "pillar" with some one of the fleeting forms which the perishable rock of the south end of the Dead Sea is constantly assuming in its process of decomposition and liquefaction (Anderson's *Off. Narr.* 180, 1). The first allusion of this kind is perhaps that in Wisd. x. 7, where "a standing pillar of salt, the monument (*μνημείον*) of an unbelieving soul," is mentioned with the "waste land that smoketh," and the "plants bearing fruit that never come to ripeness," as remaining to that day, a testimony to the wickedness of Sodom. Josephus also (*Ant.* i. 11, §4) says that he had seen it, and that it was then remaining. So too do Clemens Romanus and Irenaeus (quoted by Kott, *Cycl.* "Lot").² So does Benjamin of Tudela, whose account is more than usually circumstantial (*ed.* Asher, i. 72).³ And so doubtless have travellers in every age—they certainly have in our own times. See Maundrell, March 30; Lynch, *Report*, p. 15; and Anderson's *Off. Narrative*, 181, where an account is given of a pillar or spur standing out detached from the general mass of the *Jebel Gaddis*, about 40 feet in height, and which was recognized by the sailors of the expedition as "Lot's wife."

The story of the origin of the nations of Moab and Ammon from the incestuous intercourse between Lot and his two daughters, with which his history abruptly concludes, has been often treated

as if it were a Hebrew legend which owed its origin to the bitter hatred existing from the earliest to the latest times between the "Children of Lot" and the Children of Israel.⁴ The horrible nature of the transaction—not the result of impulse or passion, but a plan calculated and carried out, and that not once but twice, would prompt the wish that the legendary theory were true.⁵ But even the most destructive critics (as, for instance, Tuch) allow that the narrative is a continuation without a break of that which precedes it, while they fail to point out any marks of later date in the language of this portion; and it cannot be questioned that the writer records it as an historical fact.

Even if the legendary theory were admissible, there is no doubt of the fact that Ammon and Moab sprang from Lot. It is affirmed in the statements of Deut. ii. 9 and 19, as well as in the later document of Ps. xxxiii. 8, which Ewald ascribes to the time when Nehemiah and his newly-returned colony were suffering from the attacks and obstructions of Tobiah the Ammonite and Sanballat the Horonite (Ewald, *Dichter*, Ps. 83).

The Mohammedan traditions of Lot are contained in the Koran, chiefly in chaps. vii. and xi.: others are given by D'Herbelot (s. v. "Loth"). According to these statements he was sent to the inhabitants of the five cities as a preacher, to warn them against the unnatural and horrible sins which they practised—sins which Mohammed is continually denouncing, but with less success than that of drunkenness, since the former is perhaps the most common, the latter the rarest vice, of Eastern cities. From Lot's connexion with the inhabitants of Sodom, his name is now given not only to the vice in question (Freytag, *Lexicon*, iv. 136 a), but also to the people of the five cities themselves—the *Lothi*, or *Kaum Loth*. The local name of the Dead Sea is *Bahr Lût*—Sea of Lot. [G.]

LOT. The custom of deciding doubtful questions by lot is one of great extent and high antiquity, recommending itself as a sort of appeal to the Almighty, secure from all influence of passion or bias, and is a sort of divination employed even by the gods themselves (Hom. *Il.* xxii. 209; Cic. *de Div.* i. 34, ii. 41). The word *sors* is thus used for an oracular response (Cic. *de Div.* ii. 56). [DIVINATION.] Among heathen instances the following may be cited:—1. Choice of a champion or of priority in combat (*Il.* iii. 316, vii. 171; Her. iii. 108). 2. Decision of fate in battle (*Il.* xx. 209). 3. Appointment of magistrates, jurymen, or other functionaries (Arist. *Pol.* iv. 16; Schol. *on Aristoph.* *Plut.* 277; Her. vi. 109; Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 5, 55; Demosth. *c. Aristog.* i. p. 778, 1; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Dicastes"). 4. Priests (Aesch. *in Tim.* p. 188, Bekk.). 5. A German practice of deciding by marks on twigs, mentioned by Tacitus (*German.* 10). 6. Division of conquered or colonized land (Thuc. iii. 50; Plut. *Pericl.* 84; Boeckh, *Public Econ. of Ath.* ii. 170).

Among the Jews also the use of lots, with a religious intention, direct or indirect, prevailed extensively. The religious estimate of them may

¹ LXX, *ἐκὼς ὀπίσσω*; comp. Luke ix. 62, Phil. iii. 13.

² See the quotations from the Fathers and others in Niebuhr's *Lexicon* (s. v. "Lot"), and in Mislin, *Lieuux Saints* (iii. 224).

³ Balth. Putschin, on the other hand, looked for it but did not see it; it no longer exists" (Ed. Benisch, 43).

⁴ *ibid.* 15.

⁵ See Tuch, *Genesis*, 369. Von Bohlen ascribes the legend to the latter part of the reign of Josiah.

⁶ For the pretty legend of the repentance of Lot, and of the tree which he planted, which, being cut down for use in the building of the Temple, was afterwards employed for the Cross, see Fabricius, *Coel. Pseudop.* V. T., 428-91.

le gathered from Prov. xvi. 33. The following historical or ritual instances correspond in most respects to those of a heathen kind mentioned above:—

1. Choice of men for an invading force (Judg. i. 1, xx. 10).

2. Partition, (a) of the soil of Palestine among the tribes (Num. xxvi. 55; Josh. xviii. 10; Acts xiii. 19). (b) of Jerusalem; i. e. probably its spoil or captives among captors (Obad. 11); of the land itself in a similar way (1 Macc. iii. 36). (c) After the return from captivity, Jerusalem was populated by inhabitants drawn by lot in the proportion of $\frac{1}{10}$ of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (Neh. xi. 1, 2; see Ps. xvi. 5, 6, Ez. xxiv. 6). (d) Apportionment of possessions, or spoil, or of prisoners, to foreigners or captors (Joel iii. 3; Nah. iii. 10; Matt. xxvii. 35).

3. (a) Settlement of doubtful questions (Prov. xvi. 33, where "lap" is perhaps = urn; xviii. 18). (b) A mode of divination among heathens by means of arrows, two inscribed, and one without mark, *Βελομαντεία* (Hos. iv. 12; Ez. xxi. 21; Mauritius, *de Sortitione*, c. 14, §4; see also Esth. iii. 7, ix. 24-32; Mishna, *Taanith*, ii. 10. [DIVINATION; PURIM.] (c) Detection of a criminal, as in the case of Achan (Josh. vii. 14, 18). A notion prevailed among the Jews that this detection was performed by observing the shining of the stones in the high-priest's breastplate (Mauritius, c. 21, §4). Jonathan was discovered by lot (1 Sam. xiv. 41, 42). (d) Appointment of persons to offices or duties. Saul (1 Sam. x. 20, 21), said to have been chosen as above in Achan's case. St. Matthias, to replace Judas among the Twelve (Acts i. 24-26). Distribution of priestly offices in the Temple-service among the sixteen of the family of Eleazar, and the eight of that of Ithamar (1 Chr. xxiv. 3, 5, 19; Luke i. 9). Also of the Levites for similar purposes (1 Chr. xxiii. 28, xxiv. 20-31, xxv. 8, xxvi. 13; Mishna, *Tamid*, i. 2, iii. 1, v. 2; *Joma*, ii. 2, 3, 4; *Shabb*, xxiii. 2; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* in Luke i. 8, 9, vol. ii. p. 489).

Election by lot appears to have prevailed in the Christian Church as late as the 7th century (Bingham, *Eccles. Antiq.* iv. 1, 1, vol. i. p. 426; Bruns, *Conc.* ii. 66).

(e) Selection of the scape-goat on the Day of Atonement (Lev. xvi. 8, 10). The two inscribed tablets of boxwood, afterwards of gold, were put into an urn, which was shaken, and the lots drawn out (*Joma*, iii. 9, iv. 1). [ATONEMENT, DAY OF.]

4. The use of words heard or passages chosen at random from Scripture. *Sortes Biblicae*, like the *Sortes Virgilianae*, prevailed among Jews, as they have also among Christians, though denounced by several Councils (*Dict. of Antiq.* "Sortes;" Johnson, "Life of Cowley," *Works*, ix. 8; Bingham, *Eccles. Ant.* xvi. 5, 3, id. vi. 53, &c.; Bruns, *Conc.* ii. 145-154, 166; Mauritius, c. 15; Hofmann, *Lex.* "Sortes"). [H. W. P.]

LOTAN (לוטן): *Λωτάν*: Lotan), the eldest son of Seir the Horite, and a "duke" or chief of his tribe in the land of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 20, 22, 29; 1 Chr. i. 38, 39).

LOTHASUBUS (*Λοθάσουβος*: *Abusthas*, *Ebnus*), a corruption of HASHUM in Neh. viii. 4, for which it is not easy to account (1 Esd. ix. 44). The Vulg. is a further corruption of the LXX.

LOTS, FEAST OF. [PURIM.]

LOVE-FEASTS (*ἀγάται*: *epulae*, *convivia*) in this sense used only twice, Jude 12, and 2 Tim. ii. 13, in which latter place, however, *ἀγάται* is also read), an entertainment in which the poorer members of the Church partook, furnished from the contributions of Christians resorting to the Eucharistic celebration, but whether before or after may be doubted. The true account of the matter is probably that given by Chrysostom, who says that after the early community of goods had ceased the richer members brought to the Church contributions of food and drink, of which, after the conclusion of the services and the celebration of the Eucharist, all partook together, by this means holding to promote the principle of love among Christians (*Hom.* in 1 Cor. xi. 19, vol. iii. p. 293, and *Hom.* xxvii. in 1 Cor. xi. vol. x. p. 281, ed. Gassner). The intimate connexion, especially in early times, between the Eucharist itself and the love-feast, led several writers to speak of them almost as identical. Of those who either take this view, or regard the feast as subsequent to the Eucharist, may be mentioned Pliny, who says the Christians met and exchanged sacramental pledges against all sorts of immorality; after which they separated and met again to partake in an entertainment. The same view is taken by Ignatius, *ad Smyrn.* c. 8; Tertullian, *Apol.* 39; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* c. 322 (vol. ii. p. 892). *Jii.* 185 (vol. i. 514), *luc. Paed.* ii. 61 (vol. i. p. 165) he seems to regard them as distinct; *Apost. Const.* ii. 28, 1; besides these, Jerome on 1 Cor. xi.; Theodoret on Oecumenius, quoted by Bingham, who considers that the *Agapé* was subsequent (*Orig. Eccl.* v. 6, 7; vol. v. p. 284); Hofmann, *Lex.* "Agapé." On the other side may be mentioned Grotius, 2 Pet. ii. 13, in *Crit. Sacr.*), Suicer (*Theol. Lex.* vol. i. s. v.), Hammond, Whitby, Corn. à Laporte, and authorities quoted by Bingham, *l. c.* ^b The almost universal custom to receive the Eucharist fasting proves that in later times the love-feast must have followed, not preceded, the Eucharist (Sozomen, *H. E.* vii. 19; Aug. c. *Faust.* xi. 2; *Ep.* liv. (alias cxviii.); *ad Januar.* c. 6, vol. i. p. 203, ed. Migne; *Conc. Carth.* iii. A.D. c. 29; Bruns, *Conc.* i. p. 127); but the exemption of one day from the general rule (the day of the Coena Domini, or Maunday Thursday) seems to be a previously different practice. The love-feasts were forbidden to be held in churches by the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 320, *Conc. Quinisext.*, A.D. 529, c. 74, Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 816; but in some places or other they continued to a much later period. Entertainments at births, deaths, and marriages were also in use under the names of *αγοπαικωνελitia*, *nuptiales*, and *funerales*. (Bede, *Hist. Gent. Angl.* i. 30; Ap. Const. viii. 44, 1; Bede, *Evang. Verit.* viii. p. 923, 924, ed. Schott; Greg. Naz. *Ep.* i. 14, and *Carm.* x.; Hofmann, *Lex.* l. c.) [H. W. P.]

LOZ'ON (*Λοζόν*: *Dedon*), one of the names of "Solomon's servants" who returned with Zerubbabel (1 Esd. v. 33). The name corresponds with *Λοζόν* in the parallel lists of Ezr. ii. 56 and Neh. vii. 58, and the variation may be an error of the

* Promiscuum et innoxium, quod ipsam "etiam" in entertainment, surely not the sacramentum" (*Ep.* x. 97).

^b This subject is also discussed under LOON'S SUBJECTS.

transl. er, which is easily traceable when the word is written in the uncial character.

LUBIM (לִבִּים), 2 Chr. xii. 3, xvi. 8; Nah. iii. 1, Dan. xi. 43: *Libues*: *Libyes*; except Daniel, *Libyz*), a nation mentioned as contributing, together with Cushites and Sukkiim, to Shishak's army (2 Chr. xii. 3); and apparently as forming with Cushites the bulk of Zerah's army (xvi. 8), spoken of by Nahum (iii. 9) with Put or Phut, as helping No-Amon (Thebes), of which Cush and Egypt were the strength; and by Daniel (xi. 43) as paying court with the Cushites to a conqueror of Egypt or the Egyptians. These particulars indicate an African nation under tribute to Egypt, if not under Egyptian rule, contributing, in the 10th century B.C., valuable aid in mercenaries or auxiliaries to the Egyptian armies, and down to Nebuch's time, and a period prophesied of by Daniel, probably the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes [ANTIOCHUS IV.], assisting, either politically or commercially, to sustain the Egyptian power, or, in the last case, dependent on it. These indications do not fix the geographical position of the Lubim, but they favour the supposition that their territory was near Egypt, either to the west or south.

For more precise information we look to the Egyptian monuments, upon which we find representations of a people called REBU, or LEBU (R and L having no distinction in hieroglyphics), who cannot be doubted to correspond to the Lubim. These Rebu were a warlike people, with whom Mephtah (the son and successor of Rameses II.) and Rameses III., who both ruled in the 13th century B.C., waged successful wars. The latter king routed them with much slaughter. The sculptures of the great temple he raised at Thebes, now called that of Medeenet Haboo, give us representations of the Rebu, showing that they were fair, and of what is called a Semitic type, like the Berbers and Kabyles. They are distinguished as northern, that is, as parallel to, or north of, Lower Egypt. Of their being African there can be no reasonable doubt, and we may assign them to the coast of the Mediterranean, commencing not far to the westward of Egypt. We do not find them to have been mercenaries of Egypt from the monuments, but we know that the kindred Mashawasha-u were so employed by the Bubastite family, to which Shishak and probably Zerah also belonged; and it is not unlikely that the latter are intended by the Lubim, used in a more generic sense than Rebu, in the Biblical mention of the armies of these kings [Geogr. *Inscr.* ii. 79, seq.]. We have already shown that the Lubim are probably the Mizraite LEHABIM; if so, their so-called Semitic physical characteristics, as represented on the Egyptian monuments, afford evidence of great importance for the inquirer into primeval history. The mention in Manetho's Dynasties that, under Sesostris, or Necherochis, the first Memphite king, and head of the third dynasty (B.C. cir. 2600), the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians, but returned to their allegiance through fear, on a wonderful increase of the moon,* may refer to the Lubim, but may as probably relate to some other African people, perhaps the Naphtuhim, or Phut (Put).

* *Μεγαλομένης . . . τῆς σελήνης ἀπέστησαν Αἰγυπτίους ἐκ τῆς ἐπιτοῆς καὶ λόγων αὐθιχίας διὰ δέος ἐαυτοῦς* (Afr. *sp. Cory. Anc. Frag.* 2nd ed. p. 100, comp. 103.)

The historical indications of the Egyptian monuments thus lead us to place the seat of the Lubim, or primitive Libyans, on the African coast to the westward of Egypt, perhaps extending far beyond the Cyrenaica. From the earliest ages of which we have any record, a stream of colonization has flowed from the East along the coast of Africa, north of the Great Desert, as far as the Pillars of Hercules. The oldest of these colonists of this region were doubtless the Lubim and kindred tribes, particularly the Mashawasha-u and Tahen-uu of the Egyptian monuments, all of which appear to have ultimately taken their common name of Libyans from the Lubim. They seem to have been first reduced by the Egyptians about 1250 B.C., and to have been afterwards driven inland by the Phœnician and Greek colonists. Now, they still remain on the northern confines of the Great Desert, and even within it, and in the mountains, while their later Shemite rivals pasture their flocks in the rich plains. Many as are the Arab tribes of Africa, one great tribe, that of the Benue 'Alee, extends from Egypt to Morocco, illustrating the probable extent of the territory of the Lubim and their cognates. It is possible that in Ezek. xxx. 5, Lub, לִבִּי, should be read for Chub, כּוּב; but there is no other instance of the use of this form: as, however, לִבִּי and לִבְרִים are used for one people, apparently the Mizraite Ludim, most probably kindred to the Lubim, this objection is not conclusive [CHUB; LUDIM.] In Jer. xvi. 9, the A. V. renders Phut "the Libyans;" and in Ezek. xxxviii 5, "Libya." [R. S. P.]

LUCAS (Λουκάς: *Lucas*), a friend and companion of St. Paul during his imprisonment at Rome (Philem. 24). He is the same as Luke, the beloved physician, who is associated with Demas in Col. iv. 14, and who remained faithful to the apostle when others forsook him (2 Tim. iv. 11), on his first examination before the emperor. For the grounds of his identification with the evangelist St. Luke, see article LUKE.

LUCIFER (הִילֵל: *Ἐωσφόρος*: *Lucifer*). The name is found in Is. xiv. 12, coupled with the epithet "son of the morning," and (being derived from הִילֵל, "to shine") clearly signifies a "bright star," and probably what we call the morning star.^a In this passage it is a symbolical representation of the king of Babylon, in his splendour and in his fall; perhaps also it refers to his glory as paling before the unveiled presence of God. Its application (from St. Jerome downwards) to Satan in his fall from heaven, arises probably from the fact that the Babylonian Empire is in Scripture represented as the type of tyrannical and self-idolising power, and especially connected with the empire of the Evil One in the Apocalypse. The fall of its material power before the unseen working of the providence of God is therefore a type of the defeat of all manifestations of the tyranny of Satan. This application of the name "Lucifer" as a proper name of the devil is plainly ungrounded; but the magnificence of the imagery of the prophet, far transcending in grandeur the fall of Nebuchadnezzar to

^a The other interpretation, which makes הִילֵל an imperative of the verb הִלֵּץ, in the sense of "wall" or "lament," injures the parallelism, and is generally regarded as untenable.