which it immediately refers, has naturally given a colour to the symbolical interpretation of the passage, and fixed that application in our modern language. [A. B.]

LU'CIUS (Λεύκιος, Λούκιος), a Roman consul (ὕπατος Ῥωμαίων), who is said to have written the letter to Ptolemy (Euergetes), which assured Simon I. of the protection of Rome (cir. B.C. 139-8; 1 Macc. xv. 10, 15-24). The whole form of the letter—the mention of one consul only, the description of the consul by the praenomen, the omission of the senate and of the date (comp. Wernsdorf, *De fide Macc.* § cxix.)—shows that it cannot be an accurate copy of the original document; but there is nothing in the substance of the letter which is open to just suspicion.

The imperfect transcription of the name has led to the identification of Lucius with three distinct persons—(1.) [Lucius] Furius Philus (the lists, Clinton, *Fasti Hell.* ii. 112, give P. Furius Philus), who was not consul till B.C. 136, and is therefore at once excluded. (2.) Lucius Caecilius Metellus Calvus, who was consul in B.C. 142, immediately after Simon assumed the government. On this supposition it might seem not unlikely that the answer which Simon received to an application for protection, which he made to Rome directly on his assumption of power (comp. 1 Macc. xiv. 17, 18) in the consulship of Metellus, has been combined with the answer to the later embassy of Numenius (1 Macc. xiv. 24, xv. 18). (3.) But the third identification with Lucius Calpurnius Piso, who was consul B.C. 139, is most probably correct. The date exactly corresponds, and, though the praenomen of Calpurnius is not established beyond all question, the balance of evidence is decidedly against the common lists. The *Fasti Capitolini* are defective for this year, and only give a fragment of the name of Popillius, the fellow-consul of Calpurnius. Cassiodorus (*Chron.*), as edited, gives *Cn.* Calpurnius, but the eye of the scribe (if the reading is correct) was probably misled by the names in the years immediately before. On the other hand Valerius Maximus (i. 3) is wrongly quoted from the printed text as giving the same praenomen. The passage in which the name occurs is in reality no part of Valerius Maximus, but a piece of the abstract of Julius Paris inserted in the text. Of eleven MSS. of Valerius which the writer has examined, it occurs only in one (Mus. Brit. *Burn.* 209), and there the name is given *Lucius* Calpurnius, as it is given by Mai in his edition of Julius Paris (*Script. Vet. Nova Coll.* iii. 7). Sigonius says rightly (*Fasti Cons.* p. 207): "Cassiodorus prodit consules Cn. Pisonem . . . . epitoma L. Calpurnium" . . . . The chance of an error of transcription in Julius Paris is obviously less than in the *Fasti* of Cassiodorus; and even if the evidence were equal, the authority of 1 Macc. might rightly be urged as decisive in such a case.

Josephus omits all mention of the letter of "Lucius" in his account of Simon, but gives one very similar in contents (*Ant.* xiv. 8, §5), as written on the motion of *Lucius* Valerius in the ninth (nineteenth) year of Hyrcanus II.; and unless the two letters and the two missions which led to them were purposely assimilated, which is not wholly improbable, it must be supposed that he has been guilty of a strange oversight in removing the incident from its proper place. [B. F. W.]

LU'CIUS (Λούκιος: *Lucius*), a kinsman or fellow-tribesman of St. Paul (Rom. xvi. 21), whom he is said by tradition to have been ordained bishop of the church of Cenchreae, from which the Epistle to the Romans was written (*Apost. Const.* vii. 46). He is thought by some to be the same with Lucius of Cyrene. (See the following article.)

LU'CIUS OF CYRE'NE (Λούκιος ὁ Κυρηναῖος). Lucius, thus distinguished by the name of his city—the capital of a Greek colony in North Africa, and remarkable for the number of its Jewish inhabitants—is first mentioned in the N. T. in company with Barnabas, Simeon called Niger, Manaen, and Saul, who are described as prophets and teachers of the church at Antioch (Acts xiii. 1). These honoured disciples having, while engaged in the office of common worship, received commandment from the Holy Ghost to set apart Barnabas and Saul for the special service of God, proceeded after fasting and prayer, to lay their hands on them. This is the first recorded instance of formal ordination to the office of Evangelist, but cannot be supposed that so solemn a command would have been given to any but such as had themselves been ordained to the ministry of the Word, and we may therefore assume that Lucius and his companions were already of that number. Whether Lucius was one of the seventy disciples as stated by Pseudo-Hippolytus, is quite a matter of conjecture, but it is highly probable that he formed one of the congregation to whom St. Peter preached on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 14), and there can hardly be a doubt that he was one of "the men of Cyrene" who, being "scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen," went to Antioch preaching the Lord Jesus (Acts xi. 19, 20).

It is commonly supposed that Lucius is the kinsman of St. Paul mentioned by that apostle as joining with him in his salutation to the Roman brethren (Rom. xvi. 21). There is certainly no sufficient reason for regarding him as identical with St. Luke the Evangelist, though this opinion was apparently held by Origen (*in loco*), and is supported by Calmet, as well as by Wetstein, who adduces in confirmation of it the fact reported by Herodotus (iii. 121), that the Cyrenians had through Greece a high reputation as physicians. But it must be observed that the names are clearly distinct. The missionary companion of St. Paul was not Lucius, but Lucas or Lucanus, "the beloved physician," who, though named in three different Epistles (Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Philem. 24), is never referred to as a relation. Again, it is hardly probable that St. Luke, who suppresses his own name as the companion of St. Paul, would have mentioned himself as one among the many distinguished prophets and teachers at Antioch. Olshausen, indeed, asserts confidently that the tradition of St. Luke and Lucius being the same person has nothing whatever to support it (Clark's *Foreign Lib.* iv. 513). In the *Apostolical Constitutions* vii. 46, it is stated that St. Paul consecrated Lucius bishop of Cenchreae. Different traditions make Lucius the first bishop of Cyrene and Laodicea in Syria. [E. H—e.]

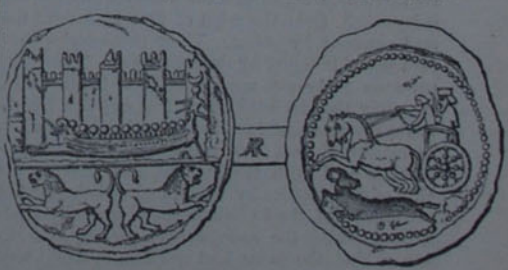
LUD (לוּד: Λούδ: *Lud*), the fourth name in the list of the children of Shem (Gen. x. 22; 1 Chr. i. 17), that of a person or tribe, or both, descended from him. It has been supposed that he was the ancestor of the Lydians (Jos. *Ant.* i. 6, §4;

and were represented by the Lydus of their mythical ancestor (Herod. i. 7). The Shemite character of their manners, and the strong orientalism of the art of the Lydian kingdom during its latest period and after the Persian conquest, but before the predominance of Greek art in Asia Minor, favour this idea; but, on the other hand, the Egyptian monuments show us in the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries B.C. a powerful people called RUTEN or LUDEN, probably seated near Mesopotamia, and apparently north of Palestine, whom some, however, make the Assyrians. We may perhaps conjecture that the Lydians first established themselves near Palestine, and afterwards spread into Asia Minor; the occupiers of the old seat of the race being destroyed or removed by the Assyrians. For the question whether the Lud or Ludim mentioned by the prophets be of this stock or the Mizraite Ludim of Gen. x., see the next article. [R. S. P.]

LUDIM (לוּדִים, Gen. x. 13, לוּדִיִּם, 1 Chr. i. 11; Ἀναμείμ: *Ludim*), a Mizraite people or tribe. From their position at the head of the list of the Mizraites, it is probable that the Ludim were settled to the west of Egypt, perhaps further than any other Mizraite tribe. Lud and the Ludim are mentioned in four passages of the prophets. It is important to ascertain, if possible, whether the Mizraite Ludim or the Shemite Lud be referred to in each of these passages. Isaiah mentions "Tarshish, Pul, and Lud, that draw the bow (מֹשְׁכֵי קֶשֶׁת), Tubal, and Javan, the isles afar off" (lxvi. 19). Here the expression in the plural, "that draw the bow" (*tendentes* sagittam, Vulg.), may refer only to Lud, and therefore not connect it with one or both of the names preceding. A comparison with the other three passages, in all which Phut is mentioned immediately before or after Lud or the Ludim, makes it almost certain that the LXX. reading, Phut, Φούδ, for Pul, a word not occurring in any other passage, is the true one, extraordinary as is the change from מֹשְׁכֵי to Μοσόχ. [PUL.] Jeremiah, in speaking of Pharaoh Necho's army, makes mention of "Cush and Phut that handle the buckler; and the Ludim that handle [and] bend the bow"[a] (xlvi 9). Here the Ludim are associated with African nations, as mercenaries or auxiliaries of the king of Egypt, and therefore it would seem probable, *primâ facie*, that the Mizraite Ludim are intended. Ezekiel, in the description of Tyre,[b] speaks thus of Lud: "Persia and Lud and Phut were in thine army, thy men of war: buckler (מָגֵן) and helmet hung they up in thee; they set thine adorning" (xxvii. 10). In this place Lud might seem to mean the Shemite Lud, especially if the latter be connected with Lydia; but the association with Phut renders it as likely that the nation or country is that of the African Ludim. In the prophecy against Gog a similar passage occurs. "Persia, Cush, and Phut (A.V. "Libya") with them [the army of Gog]; all of them [with] buckler (מָגֵן) and helmet" (xxxviii. 5). It seems from this that there were Persian mercenaries at this time, the prophet perhaps, if speaking of a remote future period, using their name and that of other well-known mercenaries in a general sense. The association of Persia and Lud in the former passage loses therefore somewhat of its weight. In one of the prophecies against Egypt Lud is thus mentioned among the supports of that country: "And the sword shall come upon Mizraim, and great pain shall be in Cush, at the falling of the slain in Mizraim, and they shall take away her multitude (הֲמוֹנָהּ),[c] and her foundations shall be broken down. Cush, and Phut, and Lud, and all the mingled people (עֶרֶב), and Chub, and the

[a] The manner in which these foreign troops in the Egyptian army are characterized is perfectly in accordance with the evidence of the monuments, which, although about six centuries earlier than the prophet's time, no doubt represent the same condition of military matters. The only people of Africa beyond Egypt, portrayed on the monuments, whom we can consider as most probably of the same stock as the Egyptians, are the ReBU, who are the Lubim of the Bible, almost certainly the same as the Mizraite Lehabim. [LEHABIM; LUBIM.] Therefore we may take the ReBU as probably illustrating the Ludim, supposing the latter to be Mizraites, in which case they may indeed be included under the same name as the Lubim, if the appellation ReBU be wider than the Lubim of the Bible, and also as illustrating Cush and Phut. The last two are spoken of as handling the buckler. The Egyptians are generally represented with small shields, frequently round; the ReBU with small round shields, for which the term here used, מָגֵן, the small shield, and the expression "that handle," are perfectly appropriate. That the Ludim should have been archers, and apparently armed with a long bow that was strung with the aid of the foot by treading (דֹּרְכֵי קֶשֶׁת), is note-worthy, since the Africans were always famous for their archery. The ReBU, and one other of the foreign nations that served in the Egyptian army—the monuments show the former only as enemies—were bowmen, being armed with a bow of moderate length; the other mercenaries—of whom we can only identify the Philistine Cherethim, though they probably include certain of the mercenaries or auxiliaries mentioned in the Bible—carrying swords and javelins, without bows. These points of agreement, founded on our knowledge of the monuments, are of no little weight, as showing the accuracy of the Bible.

[b] The description of Tyre in this prophecy of Ezekiel receives striking illustration from what we believe to be its earliest coins. These coins were held to be most probably of Tyre, or some other Phoenician city, or possibly of Babylon, on numismatic evidence alone, by the writer's lamented colleague at the British Museum, Mr Burgon. They probably date during the 5th century B.C., they may possibly be a little older; but it is most reasonable to consider them as of the time of, and issued by Darius Hystaspis. The chief coins are octodrachms of the earlier Phoenician weight [MONEY], bearing, on the obverse, a war-galley beneath the towered walls of a city, and, on the reverse, a king in a chariot, with an incuse



goat beneath. This combination of galley and city is exactly what we find in the description of Tyre in Ezekiel, which mainly portrays a state-galley, but also refers to a port, and speaks of towers and walls.

[c] There may perhaps be here a reference by paronomasia to Amon, the chief divinity of Thebes, the Hebrew name of which נֹא אָמוֹן contains his name. [AMON.]

children of the land of the covenant, shall fall by the sword with them" (xxx. 4, 5). Here Lud is associated with Cush and Phut, as though an African nation. The Ereb, whom we have called "mingled people" rather than "strangers," appear to have been an Arab population of the Sinaitic peninsula, perhaps including Arab or half-Arab tribes of the Egyptian desert to the east of the Nile. Chub is a name nowhere else occurring, which perhaps should be read Lub, for the country or nation of the Lubim. [CHUB; LUBIM.] The "children of the land of the covenant" may be some league of tribes, as probably were the Nine Bows of the Egyptian inscriptions; or the expression may mean nations or tribes allied with Egypt, as though a general designation for the rest of its supporters besides those specified. It is noticeable that in this passage, although Lud is placed among the close allies or supporters of Egypt, yet it follows African nations, and is followed by a nation or tribe at least partly inhabiting Asia, although possibly also partly inhabiting Africa.

There can be no doubt that but one nation is intended in these passages, and it seems that thus far the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the Mizraite Ludim. There are no indications in the Bible known to be positive of mercenary or allied troops in the Egyptian armies, except of Africans, and perhaps of tribes bordering Egypt on the east. We have still to inquire how the evidence of the Egyptian monuments and of profane history may affect our supposition. From the former we learn that several foreign nations contributed allies or mercenaries to the Egyptian armies. Among them we identify the REBU with the Lubim, and the SHARYATANA with the Cherethim, who also served in David's army. The latter were probably from the coast of Palestine, although they may have been drawn in the case of the Egyptian army from an insular portion of the same people. The rest of these foreign troops seem to have been of African nations, but this is not certain. The evidence of the monuments reaches no lower than the time of the Bubastite line. There is a single foreign contemporary inscribed record on one of the colossi of the temple of Aboo-Simbel in Nubia, recording the passage of Greek mercenaries of a Psammetichus, probably the first (Wilkinson, *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, ii. 329).[d] From the Greek writers, who give us information from the time of Psammetichus I. downwards, we learn that Ionian, Carian, and other Greek mercenaries, formed an important element in the Egyptian army in all times when the country was independent, from the reign of that king until the final conquest by Ochus. These mercenaries were even settled in Egypt by Psammetichus. There does not seem to be any mention of them in the Bible, excepting they be intended by Lud and the Ludim in the passages that have been considered. It must be recollected that it is reasonable to connect the Shemite Lud with the Lydians, and that at the time of the prophets by whom Lud and the Ludim are mentioned, the Lydian kingdom generally or always included the more western part of Asia Minor, so that the terms Lud and Ludim might well apply to the Ionian and Carian mercenaries drawn from this territory.[e] We must therefore hesitate before absolutely concluding that this important portion of the Egyptian mercenaries is not mentioned in the Bible, upon the *primâ facie* evidence that the only name which could stand for it would seem to be that of an African nation. [R. S. P.]

LU'HITH, THE ASCENT OF (הַלּוּחִית, in Isaiah; and so also in the *Kri* or corrected text of Jeremiah, although there the original text has הלחוּת, *i. e.* hal-Luhôth: ἡ ἀνάβασις Λουείθ; in Jeremiah, Ἀλαώθ,[a] Alex. Ἀλαιθ, *ascensus Luith*), a place in Moab; apparently the ascent to a sanctuary or holy spot on an eminence. It occurs only in Is. xv. 5, and the parallel passage of Jeremiah (xlviii. 5). It is mentioned with ZOAR and HORONAIM, but whether because they were locally connected, or because they were all sanctuaries, is doubtful. In the days of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, "Luith") it was still known and stood between Areopolis (Rabbath-Moab) and Zoar, the latter being probably at the mouth of the *Wady Kerak*. M. de Saulcy (*Voyage*, ii. 12, and *Map*, sheet 9) places it at "Kharbet-Nouêlan," but this is north of Areopolis, and cannot be said to lie between it and Zoar, whether we take it on the east or the west side of the sea. The writer is not aware that any one else has attempted to identify the place.

The signification of the name hal-Luhith must remain doubtful. As a Hebrew word it signifies "made of boards or posts" (Gesen. *Thes.* 7 but why assume that a Moabite spot should have a Hebrew name? By the Syriac interpreters it is rendered "paved with flagstones" (Eichhorn, *Bibliothek*, i. 845, 872). In the Targums (*Pseudo-jon.* and *Jerus.* on Num. xxi. 16, and *Jonathan* on Is. xv. 1) Lechaiath is given as the equivalent of Ar-Moab. This may contain an allusion to Luhith, or it may point to the use of a term meaning "gate" for certain eminences, not only in the case of Ramath-Lehi of Samson, but also elsewhere. (See Michaelis, *Suppl.* No. 1307; but, on the other hand, Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb.* 1134.) It is probably, like AKRABBIM, the name of the ascent, and not of any town on the summit, as in that case the word would appear as Luhithah, with the particle of motion added. [G.]

LUKE. The name Luke (Λουκᾶς), is an abbreviated form of Lucanus or of Lucilius (Meyer). It is not to be confounded with Lucius (Acts xiii. 1; Rom. xvi. 21), which belongs to a different person. The name Luke occurs three times in the New Testament (Col. iv. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 11; Philem. 24), and probably in all three, the third evangelist is the person spoken of. To the Colossians he is described as "the beloved physician," probably because he had been known to them in that character. Timothy needs no additional mark for identification; to him the words are, "only Luke is with me." To Philemon Luke sends his salutation in common with other "fellow-labourers" of St. Paul. As there is every reason to believe that the Luke of these passages is the author of the Acts of the Apostles as well as of the Gospel which bears his name, it is natural to seek in the former book

[d] The leader of these mercenaries is called in the inscription "Psammatichus, son of Theocles;" which shows, in the adoption of an Egyptian name, the domestication of these Greeks in Egypt.

[e] Any indications of an alliance with Lydia under Amasis are insufficient to render it probable that even then Lydians fought in the Egyptian army, and throw no light on the earlier relations of the Egyptians and Lydians.

[a] The LXX. follow the *Cethîb* rather than the *Kri*, as they frequently do elsewhere, and also include the definite article of the Hebrew.

some traces of that connexion with St. Paul which these passages assume to exist; and although the name of St. Luke does not occur in the Acts, there is reason to believe that under the pronoun "we," several references to the evangelist are to be added to the three places just quoted.

Combining the traditional element with the scriptural, the uncertain with the certain, we are able to trace the following dim outline of the Evangelist's life. He was born at Antioch in Syria (Eusebius, *Hist.* iii. 4); in what condition of life is uncertain. That he was taught the science of medicine does not prove that he was of higher birth than the rest of the disciples; medicine in its earlier and ruder state was sometimes practised even by a slave. The well-known tradition that Luke was also a painter, and of no mean skill, rests on the authority of Nicephorus (ii. 43), of the Menology of the Emperor Basil, drawn up in 980, and of other late writers; but none of them are of historical authority, and the Acts and Epistles are wholly silent upon a point so likely to be mentioned. He was not born a Jew, for he is not reckoned among them "of the circumcision" by St. Paul (comp. Col. iv. 11 with ver. 14). If this be not thought conclusive, nothing can be argued from the Greek idioms in his style, for he might be a Hellenist Jew, nor from the Gentile tendency of his Gospel, for this it would share with the inspired writings of St. Paul, a Pharisee brought up at the feet of Gamaliel. The date of his conversion is uncertain. He was not indeed "an eye-witness and minister of the word from the beginning" (Luke i. 2), or he would have rested his claim as an evangelist upon that ground. Still he may have been converted by the Lord Himself, some time before His departure; and the statement of Epiphanius (*Cont. Haer.* li. 11) and others, that he was one of the seventy disciples, has nothing very improbable in it; whilst that which Theophylact adopts (on Luke xxiv.) that he was one of the two who journeyed to Emmaus with the risen Redeemer, has found modern defenders. Tertullian assumes that the conversion of Luke is to be ascribed to Paul—"Lucas non apostolus, sed apostolicus; non magister, sed discipulus, utique magistro minor, certe tanto posterior quanto posterioris Apostoli sectator, Pauli sine dubio" (*Adv. Marcion*, iv. 2); and the balance of probability is on this side.

The first ray of historical light falls on the Evangelist when he joins St. Paul at Troas, and shares his journey into Macedonia. The sudden transition to the first person plural in Acts xvi. 9, is most naturally explained, after all the objections that have been urged, by supposing that Luke, the writer of the Acts, formed one of St. Paul's company from this point. His conversion had taken place before, since he silently assumes his place among the great Apostle's followers without any hint that this was his first admission to the knowledge and ministry of Christ. He may have found his way to Troas to preach the Gospel, sent possibly by St. Paul himself. As far as Philippi the Evangelist journeyed with the Apostle. The resumption of the third person on Paul's departure from that place (xvii. 1) would show that Luke was now left behind. During the rest of St. Paul's second missionary journey we hear of Luke no more. But on the third journey the same indication reminds us that Luke is again of the company (Acts xx. 5), having joined it apparently at Philippi, where he had been left. With the Apostle he passed through Miletus, Tyre, and Caesarea to Jerusalem (xx. 5, xxi. 18). Between the two visits of Paul to Philippi seven years had elapsed (A.D. 51 to A.D. 58), which the Evangelist may have spent in Philippi and its neighbourhood, preaching the Gospel.

There remains one passage, which, if it refers to St. Luke, must belong to this period. "We have sent with him" (*i. e.* Titus) "the brother whose praise is in the gospel throughout all the churches" (2 Cor. viii. 18). The subscription of the epistle sets out that it was "written from Philippi, a city of Macedonia, by Titus *and Lucas*," and it is an old opinion that Luke was the companion of Titus, although he is not named in the body of the Epistle. If this be so, we are to suppose that during the "three months" of Paul's sojourn at Philippi (Acts xx. 3) Luke was sent from that place to Corinth on this errand; and the words "whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches," enable us to form an estimate of his activity during the interval in which he has not been otherwise mentioned. It is needless to add that the praise lay in the activity with which he preached the Gospel, and not, as Jerome understands the passage, in his being the author of a written gospel. "Lucas . . . scripsit Evangelium de quo idem Paulus 'Misimus, inquit, cum illo fratrem, cujus laus est in Evangelio per omnes ecclesias'" (*De Viris Ill.* ch. 7).

He again appears in the company of Paul in the memorable journey to Rome (Acts xxvii. 1). He remained at his side during his first imprisonment (Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24); and if it is to be supposed that the Second Epistle to Timothy was written during the second imprisonment, then the testimony of that Epistle (iv. 11) shows that he continued faithful to the Apostle to the end of his afflictions.

After the death of St. Paul, the acts of his faithful companion are hopelessly obscure to us. In the well-known passage of Epiphanius (*cont. Haer.* li. 11, vol. ii. 464, in Dindorf's recent edition), we find that "receiving the commission to preach the Gospel, [Luke] preaches first in Dalmatia and Gallia, in Italy and Macedonia, but first in Gallia, as Paul himself says of some of his companions, in his epistles, '*Crescens in Gallia*,' for we are not to read '*in Galatia*' as some mistakenly think, but '*in Gallia*.'" But there seems to be as little authority for this account of St. Luke's ministry as there is for the reading *Gallia* in 2 Tim. iv. 10. How scanty are the data, and how vague the results, the reader may find by referring to the *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. viii., in the recent Brussels edition. It is, as perhaps the Evangelist wishes it to be: we only know him whilst he stands by the side of his beloved Paul; when the master departs the history of the follower becomes confusion and fable. As to the age and death of the Evangelist there is the utmost uncertainty. It seems probable that he died in advanced life; but whether he suffered martyrdom or died a natural death; whether Bithynia or Achaia, or some other country witnessed his end, it is impossible to determine amidst contradictory voices. That he died a martyr, between A.D. 75 and A.D. 100, would seem to have the balance of suffrages in its favour. It is enough for us, so far as regards the Gospel of St. Luke, to know that the writer was the tried and constant friend of the Apostle Paul, who shared his labours, and was not driven from his side by danger. [W. T.]

LUKE, GOSPEL OF. The third Gospel is ascribed, by the general consent of ancient Christendom, to "the beloved physician," Luke, the friend and companion of the Apostle Paul. In the well-known Muratorian fragment (see vol. i. p. 712) we find "Tertio evangelii librum secundum Lucam. Lucas iste medicus post ascensum Christi cum eum Paulus, quasi ut juris studiosum secundum adsumsisset, nomine suo ex opinione conscripsit. Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne. Et idem prout, assequi potuit. Ita et ab nativitate Johannis incipit dicere." (Here Credner's restoration of the text is followed; see his *Geschichte des N. T. Kanon*, p. 153, §76; comp. Routh's *Reliquiae*, vol. iv.). The citations of Justin Martyr from the Gospel narrative show an acquaintance with and use of St. Luke's account (see Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*, p. 132, for the passages). Irenaeus (*cont. Haer.* iii. 1) says that "Luke, the follower of Paul, preserved in a book the Gospel which that apostle preached." The same writer affords (iii. 14) an account of the contents of the Gospel, which proves that in the book preserved to us we possess the same which he knew. Eusebius (iii. iv.) speaks without doubting, of the two books, the Gospel and the Acts, as the work of St. Luke. Both he and Jerome (*Catal. Script. Eccl.* p. 7) mention the opinion that when St. Paul uses the words "according to my Gospel" it is to the work of St. Luke that he refers: both mention that St. Luke derived his knowledge of divine things, not from Paul only, but from the rest of the Apostles, with whom (says Eusebius) he had active intercourse. Although St. Paul's words refer in all probability to no written Gospel at all, but to the substance of his own inspired preaching, the error is important, as showing how strong was the opinion in ancient times that Paul was in some way connected with the writing of the third Gospel.

It has been shown already [GOSPELS, vol. i. p. 712] that the Gospels were in use as one collection, and were spoken of undoubtingly as the work of those whose names they bear, towards the end of the second century. But as regards the genuineness of St. Luke any discussion is entangled with a somewhat difficult question, namely, what is the relation of the Gospel we possess to that which was used by the heretic Marcion? The case may be briefly stated.

The religion of Jesus Christ announced salvation to Jew and Gentile, through Him who was born a Jew, of the seed of David. The two sides of this fact produced very early two opposite tendencies in the Church. One party thought of Christ as the Messiah of the Jews; the other as the Redeemer of the human race. The former viewed the Lord as the Messiah of Jewish prophecy and tradition; the other as the revealer of a doctrine wholly new, in which atonement and salvation and enlightenment were offered to men for the first time. Marcion of Sinope, who flourished in the first half of the second century, expressed strongly the tendency opposed to Judaism. The scheme of redemption, so full of divine compassion and love, was adopted by him, though in a perverted form, with his whole heart. The aspersions on his sincerity are thrown out in the loose rhetoric of controversy, and are to be received with something more than caution. The heathen world, into the discord of which the music of that message had never come, appeared to him as the kingdom of darkness and of Satan. So far Marcion and his opponents would go together. But how does Marcion deal with the O. T.? He views it, not as a preparation for the coming of the Lord, but as something hostile in spirit to the Gospel. In God, as revealed in the O. T., he saw only a being jealous and cruel. The heretic Cerdo taught that the just and severe God of the Law and the Prophets was not the same as the merciful Father of the Lord Jesus. This dualism Marcion carried further, and blasphemously argued that the God of the O. T. was represented as doing evil and delighting in strife, as repenting of His decrees and inconsistent with Himself.[a] This divorcement of the N. T. from the Old was at the root of Marcion's doctrine. In his strange system the God of the O. T. was a lower being, to whom he gave the name of **Δημιουργός**, engaged in a constant conflict with matter (**Ὕλη**), over which he did not gain a complete victory. But the holy and eternal God, perfect in goodness and love, comes not in contact with matter, and creates only what is like to and cognate with himself. In the O. T. we see the "Demiurgus;" the history of redemption is the history of the operation of the true God. Thus much it is necessary to state as bearing upon what follows: the life and doctrine of Marcion have received a much fuller elucidation from Neander, *Kirchengeschichte*, vol. ii.; *Antignostikus*, and *Dogmengeschichte*; and from Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, p. 25. The data in other writers are found in the apology of Justin Martyr, in Tertullian against Marcion i.–v.; Irenaeus, i. ch. xxvii.; and Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii.

For the present purpose it is to be noticed that a teacher, determined as Marcion was to sever the connexion between the Old and New Testament, would approach the Gospel history with strong prejudices, and would be unable to accept as it stands the written narrative of any of the three Evangelists, so far as it admitted allusions to the Old Testament as the soil and root of the New. It is clear, in fact, that he regarded Paul as the only apostle who had remained faithful to his calling. He admitted the Epistles of St. Paul, and a Gospel which he regarded as Pauline, and rejected the rest of the N. T., not from any idea that the books were not genuine, but because they were, as he alleged, the genuine works of men who were not faithful teachers of the Gospel they had received.

But what was the Gospel which Marcion used? The ancient testimony is very strong on this point: it was the Gospel of St. Luke, altered to suit his peculiar tenets. "Et super haec," says Irenaeus, "id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens, et omnia quae sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa auferens, in quibus manifestissime conditorem hujus universitatis suum Patrem confitens Dominus conscriptus est; semetipsum enim veraciorem quam sunt hi, qui Evangelium tradiderunt apostoli, suasit discipulis suis; non Evange-

[a] "Cerdon autem .... docuit eum qui a lege et prophetis annuntiatus sit Deus, non esse patrem Domini nostri Christi Jesu. Hunc enim cognosci, illum autem ignorari; et alterum quidem justum, alterum autem bonum esse. Succedens autem ei Marcion Ponticus adamplavit doctrinam, impudorate blasphemans eum, qui a lege et prophetis annuntiatus est Deus; maiorum facterum et bellorum concupiscentem et inconstantem quoque sententia, et contrarium sibi ipsum dicens" (Irenaeus, i. xxvii. 1 and 2, p. 256, Stieren's ed.).

sed particulam Evangelii tradens eis. Similiter autem et apostoli Pauli Epistolas abscidit, auferens quaecumque manifeste dicta sunt ab apostolo de eo Deo, qui mundum fecit, quoniam hic Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et quaecumque ex propheticis memoratis apostolus docuit, praenuntiantibus adventum Domini" (*cont. Haer.* i. xxvii. 2). "Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse," says Tertullian, "quem caederet" (*cont. Marc.* iv. 2; comp. Origen, *cont. Celsum*, ii. 27; Epiphanius, *Haer.* xlii. 11; Theodoret, *Haeret. Fab.* i. 24). Marcion, however, did not ascribe to Luke by name the Gospel thus corrupted (Tert. *cont. Marc.* iv. 6), calling it simply the Gospel of Christ.

From these passages the opinion that Marcion formed for himself a Gospel, on the principle of rejecting all that savoured of Judaism in an existing narrative, and that he selected the Gospel of St. Luke as needing the least alteration, seems to have been held universally in the Church, until Semler started a doubt, the prolific seed of a large controversy; from the whole result of which, however, the cause of truth has little to regret. His opinion was that the Gospel of St. Luke and that used by Marcion were drawn from one and the same original source, neither being altered from the other. He thinks that Tertullian erred from want of historical knowledge. The charge of Epiphanius, of omissions in Marcion's Gospel, he meets by the fact of Tertullian's silence. Griesbach, about the same time, cast doubt upon the received opinion. Eichhorn applied his theory of an "original Gospel" [see article GOSPELS, vol. i. p. 715] to this question, and maintained that the Fathers had mistaken the short and unadulterated Gospel used by Marcion for an abridgment of St. Luke, whereas it was probably more near the "original Gospel" than St. Luke. Hahn has more recently shown, in an elaborate work, that there were sufficient motives, of a doctrinal kind, to induce Marcion to wish to get rid of parts of St. Luke's Gospel; and he refutes Eichhorn's reasoning on several passages which he had misunderstood from neglecting Tertullian's testimony. He has the merit, admitted on all hands, of being the first to collect the data for a restoration of Marcion's text in a satisfactory manner, and of tracing out in detail the bearing of his doctrines on particular portions of it. Many were disposed to regard Hahn's work as conclusive; and certainly most of its results are still undisturbed. Ritschl, however, took the other side, and held that Marcion only used the Gospel of St. Luke in an older and more primitive form, and that what we charged against the former as omissions are often interpolations in the latter. A controversy, in which Baur, Hilgenfeld, and Volckmar took part, has resulted in the confirmation, by an overpowering weight of argument, of the old opinion that Marcion corrupted the Gospel of Luke for his own purposes. Volckmar, whose work contains the best account of the whole controversy, sweeps away, it is to be hoped for ever, the opinion of Ritschl and Baur that Marcion quoted the "original Gospel of Luke," as well as the later view of Baur, for which there is really not a particle of evidence, that the Gospel had passed through the hands of two authors or editors, the former with strong inclinations against Judaism, a zealous follower of St. Paul, and the latter with leanings to Judaism and against the Gnostics! He considers the Gospel of St. Luke, as we now possess it, to be in all its general features that which Marcion found ready to his hand, and which for doctrinal reasons he abridged and altered. In certain passages, indeed, he considers that the Gospel used by Marcion, as cited by Tertullian and Epiphanius, may be employed to correct our present text. But this is only putting the copy used by Marcion on the footing of an older MS. The passages which he considers to have certainly suffered alteration since Marcion's time are only these:—Luke x. 21 (*εὐχαριστῶ καὶ ἐξομολογοῦμαι*), 22 (*καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τίς ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός, καὶ τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται κ. τ. λ.*), xi. 2 (*δὸς ἡμῖν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμά σου*), xii. 38 (*τῇ ἐσπερινῇ φυλακῇ*), xvii. 2 (supply *εἰ μὴ ἐγεννήθη ἢ κ.τ.λ.*), xviii. 19 (*μή με λέγε ἀγαθόν· εἷς ἐστιν ἀγαθὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*). In all these places the deviations are such as may be found to exist between different MSS. A new witness as to the last, which is of the greatest importance, appears in Hippolytus, *Refutatio Haeresium*, p. 254, Oxford edition, where the *τί με λέγετε ἀγαθόν* appears. See, on all these passages, Tischendorf's *Greek Testament*, ed. vii., and critical notes. Of four other places Volckmar speaks more doubtfully, as having been disturbed, but possibly before Marcion (vi. 17, xii. 32, xvii. 12, xxiii. 2).

From this controversy we gain the following result:—Marcion was in the height of his activity about A.D. 138, soon after which Justin Martyr wrote his Apology; and he had probably given forth his Gospel some years before, *i. e.* about A. D. 130. At the time when he composed it he found the Gospel of St. Luke so far diffused and accepted that he based his own Gospel upon it, altering and omitting. Therefore we may assume that, about A.D. 120, the Gospel of St. Luke which we possess was in use, and was familiarly known. The theory that it was composed about the middle or end of the 2nd century is thus overthrown; and there is no positive evidence of any kind to set against the harmonious assertion of all the ancient Church that this Gospel is the genuine production of St. Luke.

(On St. Luke's Gospel in its relation to Marcion, see, besides the fathers quoted above, Hahn, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, Königsberg, 1823; Olshausen, *Echtheit der vier Kanon. Evangelien*, Königsberg, 1823; Ritschl, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, &c., Tübingen, 1846, with his retractation in *Theol. Jahrb.* 1851; Baur, *Krit. Untersuchung über d. Kan. Evangelien*, Tübingen, 1847; Hilgenfeld, *Krit. Untersuchungen* &c., Halle, 1850; Volckmar, *Das Evangelium Marcions*, Leipzig, 1852; Bishop Thirlwall's *Introduction to Schleiermacher on St. Luke*; De Wette, *Lehrbuch d. N. T.*, Berlin, 1848. These are but a part of the writers who have touched the subject. The work of Volckmar is the most comprehensive and thorough; and, though some of his views cannot be adopted, he has satisfactorily proved that our Gospel of St. Luke existed before the time of Marcion.)

II. *Date of the Gospel of Luke.*—We have seen that this Gospel was in use before the year 120. From internal evidence the date can be more nearly fixed. From Acts i. 1, it is clear that it was written before the Acts of the Apostles. The latest time actually mentioned in the Acts is the term of two years during which Paul dwelt at Rome "in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him" (xxviii. 30, 31). The writer who

has tracked the footsteps of Paul hitherto with such exactness, leaves him here abruptly, without making known the result of his appeal to Caesar, or the works in which he engaged afterwards. No other motive for this silence can be suggested than that the writer, at the time when he published the Acts, had no more to tell; and in that case the book of the Acts was completed about the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment, that is, about A.D. 63 (Wieseler, Olshausen, Alford). How much earlier the Gospel, described as "the former treatise" (Acts i. 1), may have been written is uncertain. But Dean Alford (*Prolegomena*) remarks that the words imply some considerable interval between the two productions. The opinion of the younger Thiersch (*Christian Church*, p. 148, Carlyle's translation) thus becomes very probable, that it was written at Caesarea during St. Paul's imprisonment there, A.D. 58-60. The Gospel of St. Matthew was probably written about the same time; and neither Evangelist appears to have used the other, although both made use of that form of oral teaching which the apostles had gradually come to employ. [GOSPELS.] It is painful to remark how the opinions of many commentators, who refuse to fix the date of this Gospel earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem, have been influenced by the determination that nothing like prophecy shall be found in it. Believing that our Lord did really prophesy that event, we have no difficulty in believing that an Evangelist reported the prophecy before it was fulfilled (see Meyer's *Commentary*, Introduction).

III. *Place where the Gospel was written.*—If the time has been rightly indicated, the place would be Caesarea. Other suppositions are—that it was composed in Achaia and the region of Boeotia (Jerome), in Alexandria (Syriac version), in Rome (Ewald, &c.), in Achaia and Macedonia (Hilgenfeld), and Asia Minor (Köstlin). It is impossible to verify these traditions and conjectures.

IV. *Origin of the Gospel.*—The preface, contained in the four first verses of the Gospel, describes the object of its writer. "Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed." Here are several facts to be observed. There were many narratives of the life of our Lord current at the early time when Luke wrote his Gospel. The word "many" cannot apply to Matthew and Mark, because it must at any rate include more than two, and because it is implied that former labourers leave something still to do, and that the writer will supersede or supplement them either in whole or in part. The ground of fitness for the task St. Luke places in his having carefully followed out the whole course of events from the beginning. He does not claim the character of an eye-witness from the first; but possibly he may have been a witness of some part of our Lord's doings (see above LUKE, LIFE).

The ancient opinion, that Luke wrote his Gospel under the influence of Paul, rests on the authority of Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius. The two first assert that we have in Luke the Gospel preached by Paul (Iren. *cont. Haer.* iii. 1; Tert. *cont. Marc.* iv. 5); Origen calls it "the Gospel quoted by Paul," alluding to Rom. ii. 16 (Euseb. *E. Hist.* vi. 25); and Eusebius refers Paul's words "according to my Gospel" (2 Tim. ii. 8), to that of Luke (*E. Hist.* iii. 4), in which Jerome concurs (*De Vir. Ill.* 7). The language of the preface is against the notion of any exclusive influence of St. Paul. The Evangelist, a man on whom the Spirit of God was, made the history of the Saviour's life the subject of research, and with materials so obtained wrote, under the guidance of the Spirit that was upon him, the history now before us. The four verses could not have been put at the head of a history composed under the exclusive guidance of Paul or of any one apostle, and as little could they have introduced a gospel simply communicated by another. Yet if we compare St. Paul's account of the institution of the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. xi. 23-25) with that in St. Luke's Gospel (xxii. 19, 20), none will think the verbal similarity could be accidental. A less obvious parallel between 1 Cor. xv. 3 and Luke xxiv. 26, 27, more of thought than of expression, tends the same way. The truth seems to be that St. Luke, seeking information from every quarter, sought it from the preaching of his beloved master, St. Paul; and the apostle in his turn employed the knowledge acquired from other sources by his disciple. Thus the preaching of the apostle, founded on the same body of facts, and the same arrangement of them as the rest of the apostles used, became assimilated especially to that which St. Luke set forth in his narrative. This does not detract from the worth of either. The preaching and the Gospel proceeded each from an inspired man; for it is certain that Luke, employed as he was by Paul, could have been no exception to the plentiful effusion of the Holy Ghost to which Paul himself bears witness. That the teaching of two men so linked together (see LIFE) should have become more and more assimilated is just what would be expected. But the influence was mutual, and was one-sided; and Luke still claims with right the position of an independent inquirer into historic facts.

Upon the question whether Luke made use of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, no opinion given here could be conclusive. [GOSPELS, vol. i. p. 714.] Each reader should examine it for himself, with the aid of a Greek Harmony. It is probable that Matthew and Luke wrote independently, and about the same time. Some of their coincidences arise from their both incorporating the oral teaching of the apostles, and others, it may be, from their common use of written documents, such as are hinted at in Luke i. 1. As regards St. Mark, some regard his Gospel as the oldest New Testament writing, which others infer, from apparent abbreviations (Mark xii. 12, xvi. 12), from insertions of matter from other places (Mark iv. 10-34, ix. 38-48), and from the mode in which additional information is introduced—now with a seeming connexion with Matthew and now with Luke—that Mark's Gospel is the last, and has been framed upon the other two (De Wette, *Einleitung*, §94). The result of this controversy should be to inspire distrust of all such seeming proofs, which conduct different critics to exactly opposite results.

V. *Purpose for which the Gospel was written.*—The Evangelist professes to write that Theophilus "might know the certainty of those things wherein he had been instructed" (i. 4). Who was this Theophilus? Some have supposed that it is a ge-

nificant name, applicable not to one man, but to any *amans Dei*; but the addition of *κράτιστος*, a term of honour which would be used towards a man of station, or sometimes (see passages in Kuinöl and Wetstein) towards a personal friend, seems against this. He was, then, an existing person. Conjecture has been wildly busy in endeavouring to identify him with some person known to history. Some indications are given in the Gospel about him, and beyond them we do not propose to go. He was not an inhabitant of Palestine, for the Evangelist minutely describes the position of places which to such a one would be well known. It is so with Capernaum (iv. 31), Nazareth (i. 26), Arimathea (xxiii. 51), the country of the Gadarenes (viii. 26), the distance of Mount Olivet and Emmaus from Jerusalem (Acts i. 12; Luke xxiv. 13). If places in England—say Bristol, and Oxford, and Hampstead—were mentioned in this careful minute way, it would be a fair inference that the writer meant his work for other than English readers.

By the same test he probably was not a Macedonian (Acts xvi. 12), nor an Athenian (Acts xvii. 21), nor a Cretan (Acts xxvii. 8, 12). But that he was a native of Italy, and perhaps an inhabitant of Rome, is probable from similar data. In tracing St. Paul's journey to Rome, places which an Italian might be supposed not to know are described minutely (Acts xxvii. 8, 12, 16); but when he comes to Sicily and Italy this is neglected. Syracuse and Rhegium, even the more obscure Puteoli, and Appii Forum and the Three Taverns, are mentioned as to one likely to know them. (For other theories see Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iii. Part i. p. 236; Kuinöl's *Prolegomena*, and Winer's *Realwbuch*, art. "Theophilus.") All that emerges from this argument is, that the person for whom Luke wrote in the first instance was a Gentile reader. We must admit, but with great caution, on account of the abuses to which the notion has led, that there are traces in the Gospel of a leaning towards Gentile rather than Jewish converts. The genealogy of Jesus is traced to Adam, not from Abraham; so as to connect Him with the whole human race, and not merely with the Jews. Luke describes the mission of the Seventy, which number has been usually supposed to be typical of all nations; as twelve, the number of the apostles, represents the Jews and their twelve tribes. As each Gospel has within certain limits its own character and mode of treatment, we shall recognise with Olshausen that "St. Luke has the peculiar power of exhibiting with great clearness of conception and truth (especially in the long account of Christ's journey, from ix. 51 to xviii. 34), not so much the discourses of Jesus as His conversations, with all the incidents that gave rise to them, with the remarks of those who were present, and with the final results."

On the supposed "doctrinal tendency" of the Gospel, however, much has been written which it is painful to dwell on, but easy to refute. Some have endeavoured to see in this divine book an attempt to engraft the teaching of St. Paul on the Jewish representations of the Messiah, and to elevate the doctrine of universal salvation, of which Paul was the most prominent preacher, over the Judaizing tendencies, and to put St. Paul higher than the twelve Apostles! (See Zeller, *Apost.*; Baur, *Kanon. Evang.*; and Hilgenfeld.) How two impartial historical narratives, the Gospel and the Acts, could have been taken for two tracts written for polemical and personal ends, is to an English mind hardly conceivable. Even its supporters found that the inspired author had carried out his purpose so badly, that they were forced to assume that a second author or editor had altered the work with a view to work up together Jewish and Pauline elements into harmony (Baur, *Kanon. Evang.* p. 502). Of this editing and re-editing there is no trace whatever; and the invention of the second editor is a gross device to cover the failure of the first hypothesis. By such a machinery, it will be possible to prove in after ages that Gibbon's History was originally a plea for Christianity, or any similar paradox.

The passages which are supposed to bear out this "Pauline tendency," are brought together by Hilgenfeld with great care (*Evangelien*, p. 220); but Reuss has shown, by passages from St. Matthew which have the same "tendency" against the Jews, how brittle such an argument is, and has left no room for doubt that the two Evangelists wrote facts and not theories, and dealt with those facts with pure historical candour (Reuss, *Histoire de la Théologie*, vol. ii. b. vi. ch. vi.). Writing to a Gentile convert, and through him addressing other Gentiles, St. Luke has adapted the form of his narrative to their needs; but not a trace of a subjective bias, not a vestige of a personal motive, has been suffered to sully the inspired page. Had the influence of Paul been the exclusive or principal source of this Gospel, we should have found in it more resemblance to the Epistle to the Ephesians, which contains (so to speak) the Gospel of St. Paul.

VI. *Language and style of the Gospel.*—It has never been doubted that the Evangelist wrote his Gospel in Greek. Whilst Hebraisms are frequent, classical idioms and Greek compound words abound. The number of words used by Luke only is unusually great, and many of them are compound words for which there is classical authority (see Dean Alford's valuable *Greek Test.*).

Some of the leading peculiarities of style are here noted: a more minute examination will be found in Prof. Davidson's *Introduction to N. T.* (Bagster, 1848).

1. The very frequent use of *ἐγένετο* in introducing a new narrative or a transition, and of *ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ* with an infinitive, are traceable to the Hebrew.

2. The same may be said of the frequent use of *καρδία*, answering to the Hebrew לֵב.

3. *Νομικοί*, used six times instead of the usual *γραμματεῖς*, and *ἐπιστάτης* used six times for *ῥαββι*, *διδάσκαλος*, are cases of a preference for words more intelligible to Greeks or Gentiles.

4. The neuter participle is used frequently for a substantive, both in the Gospel and the Acts.

5. The infinitive with the genitive of the article, to indicate design or result, as in i. 9, is frequent in both books.

6. The frequent use of *δὲ καί*, for the sake of emphasis, as in iii. 9.

7. The frequent use of *καὶ αὐτός*, as in i. 17.

8. The preposition *σύν* is used about seventy-five times in Gospel and Acts: in the other Gospels rarely.

9. *Ἀτενίζειν* is used eleven times in Gospel and Acts; elsewhere only twice, by St. Paul (2 Cor.).

10. *Εἰ δὲ μή γε* is used five times for the *εἰ δὲ μή* of Mark and John.

11. Εἰπεῖν πρός, which is frequent in St. Luke, is used elsewhere only by St. John: λαλεῖν πρός, also frequent, is only thrice used by other writers.

12. St. Luke very frequently uses the auxiliary verb with a participle for the verb, as in v. 17, i. 20.

13. He makes remarkable use of verbs compounded with διὰ and ἐπί.

14. Χάρις, very frequent in Luke, is only used thrice by John, and not at all by Matthew and Mark. Σωτήρ, σωτηρία, σωτήριον, are frequent with Luke; the two first are used once each by John, and not by the other Evangelists.

15. The same may be said of εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, once in Matthew, and not at all in Mark and John; ὑποστρέφειν, once in Mark, not in other Gospels; ἐφίστανται, not used in the other three Gospels; διέρχεσθαι, thirty-two times in Luke's Gospel and the Acts, and only twice each in Matthew, Mark, and John; παραχρῆμα frequent in Luke, and only twice elsewhere, in Matthew.

16. The words ὁμοθυμαδόν, εὐλαβής, ἀνήρ, as a form of address and before substantives, are also characteristic of Luke.

17. Some Latin words are used by Luke: λεγεών (viii. 30), δηνάριον (x. 35), σουδάριον (xix. 20), κολωνία (Acts xvi. 12).

On comparing the Gospel with the Acts it is found that the style of the latter is more pure and free from Hebrew idioms; and the style of the later portion of the Acts is more pure than that of the former. Where Luke used the materials he derived from others, oral or written, or both, his style reflects the Hebrew idioms of them; but when he comes to scenes of which he was an eye-witness and describes entirely in his own words, these disappear.

VII. *Quotations from the Old Testament.*—In the citations from the O. T., of the principal of which the following is a list, there are plain marks of the use of the Septuagint version:—

Luke i. 17.	Mal. iv. 4, 5.
„ ii. 23.	Ex. xiii. 2.
„ ii. 24.	Lev. xii. 8.
„ iii. 4, 5, 6.	Is. xl. 3, 4, 5.
„ iv. 4.	Deut. viii. 3.
„ iv. 8.	Deut. vi. 13.
„ iv. 10, 11.	Ps. xci. 11, 12.
„ iv. 12.	Deut. vi. 14.
„ iv. 18.	Is. lxi. 1, 2.
„ vii. 27.	Mal. iii. 1.
„ viii. 10.	Is. vi. 9.
„ x. 27.	Deut. vi. 5; Lev xix. 18.
„ xviii. 20.	Ex. xx. 12.
„ xix. 46.	Is. lvi. 7; Jer. viii. 11.
„ xx. 17.	Ps. cxviii. 22, 23.
„ xx. 28.	Deut. xxv. 5.
„ xx. 42, 43.	Ps. cx. 1.
„ xxii. 37.	Is. liii. 12.
„ xxiii. 46.	Ps. xxxi. 5.

VIII. *Integrity of the Gospel — the first two Chapters.*—The Gospel of Luke is quoted by Justin Martyr and by the author of the Clementine Homilies. The silence of the apostolic fathers only indicates that it was admitted into the Canon somewhat late, which was probably the case. The result of the Marcion controversy is, as we have seen, that our Gospel was in use before A.D. 120. A special question, however, has been raised about the two first chapters. The critical history of these is best drawn out perhaps in Meyer's note. The chief objection against them is founded on the garbled opening of Marcion's Gospel, who omits the two first chapters, and connects iii. 1 immediately with iv. 31. (So Tertullian, "Anno quintodecimo principatus Tiberiani proponit Deum descendisse in civitatem Galilaeae Capharnaum," *cont. Marc.* iv. 7). But any objection founded on this would apply to the third chapter as well; and the history of our Lord's childhood seems to have been known to and quoted by Justin Martyr (see *Apology*, i. §33, and an allusion, *Dial. cum Tryph.* 100) about the time of Marcion. There is therefore no real ground for distinguishing between the two first chapters and the rest; and the arguments for the genuineness of St. Luke's Gospel apply to the whole inspired narrative as we now possess it (see Meyer's note; also Volckmar, p. 130).

IX. *Contents of the Gospel.*—This Gospel contains—1. A preface, i. 1-4. 2. An account of the time preceding the ministry of Jesus, i. 5 to ii. 52. 3. Several accounts of discourses and acts of our Lord, common to Luke, Matthew, and Mark, related for the most part in their order, and belonging to Capernaum and the neighbourhood, iii. 1 to ix. 50. 4. A collection of similar accounts, referring to a certain journey to Jerusalem, most of them peculiar to Luke, ix. 51 to xviii. 14. 5. An account of the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Jesus, common to Luke with the other Evangelists, except as to some of the accounts of what took place after the resurrection, xviii. 15 to the end.

SOURCES. Works of Irenaeus (ed. Stieren); Justin Martyr (ed. Otto); Tertullian, Origen, and Epiphanius (ed. Dindorf); Hippolytus (ed. Miller); and Eusebius (ed. Valesius); Marsh's *Michaelis*; De Wette, *Einleitung*; Meyer, *Kommentar*; the work of Hahn, Ritschl, Baur, and Volckmar, quoted above; Credner, *Kanon*; Dean Alford's *Commentary*; Dictionaries of Winer and Herzog; Commentaries of Kuinöl, Wetstein, and others; Thiersch, *Church History* (Eng. Trans.); Olshausen, *Echtheit*; Hug, *Einleitung*; Weisse, *Evangelienfrage*; Greek Testament, Tischendorf, ed. vii., and notes there. [W. T.]

LUNATICS (σεληνιαζόμενοι). This word is used twice in the N. T. In the enumeration of Matt. iv. 24, the "lunatics" are distinguished from the demoniacs; in Matt. xvii. 15, the name is applied to a boy who is expressly declared to have been possessed. It is evident, therefore, that the word itself refers to some disease, affecting both the body and the mind, which might, or might not, be a sign of possession (see on this subject DEMONIACS). By the description of Mark ix. 17-26, it is concluded that this disease was epilepsy (see Winer, *Realw.* "Besessene;" Trench, *On the Miracles*, p. 363). The origin of the name (as of σεληνιασμός and σεληνόβλητος in earlier Greek, "lunaticus" in Latin, and equivalent words in modern languages), is to be found in the belief that diseases of a paroxysmal character were affected by the light, or by the changes of the moon. [A. B.]

LUZ (לוּז, and perhaps לֻזָה,* *i. e.* Luzah, which is also the reading of the Samar. Codex and

* The ground for this suggestion, besides the remarkable agreement of the ancient versions as given above, is Josh. xviii. 13, where the words אֶל־כֶּתֶף לֻזָה should, according to ordinary usage, be rendered "to the shoulder of Luzah;" the *ah*, which is the particle of motion in Hebrew, not being required here, as it is in the former part of the same verse. Other names are found both with and without a similar termination, as Jotbah, Jotbathah; Timnath, Timnathah; Riblah, Riblathah. Laish and Laishah are probably distinct places.

of its two versions: of the LXX. and Eusebius, Λουζά and Λουζᾶ:[b] and the Vulgate *Luza*). The uncertainty which attends the name attaches in a greater degree to the place itself. It seems impossible to discover with precision whether Luz and Bethel represent one and the same town—the former the Canaanite, the latter the Hebrew name—or whether they were distinct places, though in close proximity. The latter is the natural inference from two of the passages in which Luz is spoken of. Jacob "called the name of the *place* Bethel, but the name of the *city* was called Luz in the beginning" (Gen. xxviii. 19); as if the spot—the "certain place"—on which he had "lighted," where he saw his vision and erected his pillar, were outside the walls of the Canaanite town. And with this agree the terms of the specification of the common boundary of Ephraim and Benjamin. It ran "from Bethel to Luz" (Josh. xvi. 2), or "from the wilderness of Bethaven . . . to Luz, to the shoulder of Luzah southward, that is Bethel" (xviii. 13); as if Bethel were on the south side of the hill on which the other city stood.

Other passages, however, seem to speak of the two as identical—"Luz in the land of Canaan, that is Bethel" (Gen. xxxv. 6); and in the account of the capture of Bethel, after the conquest of the country, it is said that "the name of the city before was Luz" (Judg. i. 23). Nor should it be overlooked that in the very first notice of Abram's arrival in Canaan, Bethel is mentioned without Luz (Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3), just as Luz is mentioned by Jacob without Bethel (xlviii. 3).

Perhaps there never was a point on which the evidence was so curiously contradictory. In the passages just quoted we find Bethel mentioned in the most express manner two generations before the occurrence of the event which gave it its name; while the patriarch to whom that event occurred, and who made there the most solemn vow of his life, in recurring to that very circumstance, calls the place by its heathen name. We further find the Israelite name attached, before the conquest of the country by the Israelites, to a city of the building of which we have no record, and which city is then in the possession of the Canaanites.

The conclusion of the writer is that the two places were, during the times preceding the conquest, distinct, Luz being the city and Bethel the pillar and altar of Jacob: that after the destruction of Luz by the tribe of Ephraim the town of Bethel arose: that the close proximity of the two was sufficient to account for their being taken as identical in cases where there was no special reason for discriminating them, and that the great subsequent reputation of Bethel will account for the occurrence of its name in Abram's history in reference to a date prior to its existence, as well as in the records of the conquest.

2. When the original Luz was destroyed, through the treachery of one of its inhabitants, the man who had introduced the Israelites into the town went into the "land of the Hittites" and built a city, which he named after the former one. This city was standing at the date of the record (Judg. i. 26). But its situation, as well as that of the "land of the Hittites," has never been discovered since, and is one of the favourite puzzles of Scripture geographers. Eusebius (*Onom.* Λουζά) mentions a place of the name as standing near Shechem, nine (Jerome, three) miles from Neapolis (*Nablus*). The objection to this is the difficulty of placing in central Palestine, and at that period, a district exclusively Hittite. Some have imagined it to be in Cyprus, as if Chittim were the country of the Hittites; others in Arabia, as at Lysa, a Roman town in the desert south of Palestine, on the road to Akabah (Rob. i. 187).

The signification of the name is quite uncertain. It is usually taken as meaning "hazel," and denoting the presence of such trees; but the latest lexicographer (Fuerst, *Hdwbh.* 666) has returned to the opinion of an earlier scholar (Hiller, *Onom.* 701), that the notion at the root of the word is rather "bending" or "sinking," as of a valley. [G.]

LYCAO'NIA (Λυκαονία). This is one of those districts of Asia Minor, which, as mentioned in the N. T., are to be understood rather in an ethnological than a strictly political sense. From what is said in Acts xiv. 11 of "the speech of Lycaonia," it is evident that the inhabitants of the district, in St. Paul's day, spoke something very different from ordinary Greek. Whether this language was some Syrian dialect [CAPPADOCIA], or a corrupt form of Greek, has been much debated (Jablonsky, *Opusc.* iii. 3; Gukling, *De Ling. Lycaon.* 1726). The fact that the Lycaonians were familiar with the Greek mythology is consistent with either supposition. It is deeply interesting to see these rude country people, when Paul and Barnabas worked miracles among them, rushing to the conclusion that the strangers were Mercury and Jupiter, whose visit to this very neighbourhood forms the subject of one of Ovid's most charming stories (Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 626). Nor can we fail to notice how admirably St. Paul's address on the occasion was adapted to a simple and imperfectly civilised race (xiv. 15-17). This was at LYSTRA, in the heart of the country. Further to the east was DERBE (ver. 6), not far from the chief pass which leads up through Taurus, from CILICIA and the coast, to the central table-land. At the western limit of Lycaonia was ICONIUM (ver. 1), in the direction of ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA. A good Roman road intersected the district along the line thus indicated. On St. Paul's first missionary journey he traversed Lycaonia from west to east, and then returned on his steps (ver. 21; see 2 Tim. iii. 11). On the second and third journeys he entered it from the east; and after leaving it, travelled in the one case to Troas (Acts xvi. 1-8), in the other to Ephesus (Acts xviii. 23, xix. 1). Lycaonia is for the most part a dreary plain, bare of trees, destitute of fresh water, and with several salt lakes. It is, however, very favourable to sheep-farming. In the first notices of this district, which occur in connexion with Roman history, we find it under the rule of robber-chieftains. After the provincial system had embraced the whole of Asia Minor, the boundaries of the provinces were variable; and Lycaonia was, politically, sometimes in Cappadocia, sometimes in Galatia. A question has been raised, in connexion with this point, concerning the chronology of parts of St. Paul's life. This subject is noticed in the article on GALATIA. [J. S. H.]

[b] In one case only do the LXX. omit the termination, namely, in Gen. xxviii. 19, and here they give the name as Βαιθηλαμούν, incorporating with it the preceding Hebrew word Ulam, אוּלָם, as they have also done in the case of Laish (see p. 55*b* note). The eagerness with which Jerome attacks this monstrous name at every possible opportunity is very curious and characteristic.

LYCIA (Λυκία) is the name of that south-western region of the peninsula of Asia Minor which is immediately opposite the island of Rhodes It is a remarkable district both physically and historically. The last eminences of the range of Taurus come down here in majestic masses to the sea, forming the heights of Cragus and Anticragus, with the river Xanthus winding between them, and ending in the long series of promontories called by modern sailors the "seven capes," among which are deep inlets favourable to seafaring and piracy. In this district are those curious and very ancient architectural remains, which have been so fully illustrated by our English travellers, Sir C. Fellows, and Messrs. Spratt and Forbes, and many specimens of which are in the British Museum. Whatever may have been the political history of the earliest Lycians, their country was incorporated in the Persian empire, and their ships were conspicuous in the great war against the Greeks (Herod. vii. 91, 92). After the death of Alexander the Great, Lycia was included in the Greek Seleucid kingdom, and was a part of the territory which the Romans forced Antiochus to cede (Liv. xxxvii. 55). It was made in the first place one of the continental possessions of Rhodes [CARIA]: but before long it was politically separated from that island, and allowed to be an independent state. This has been called the golden period of the history of Lycia. It is in this period that we find it mentioned (1 Macc. xv. 23) as one of the countries to which the Romans sent despatches in favour of the Jews under Simon Maccabaeus. It was not till the reign of Claudius that Lycia became part of the Roman provincial system. At first it was combined with Pamphylia: and the governor bore the title of "Proconsul Lyciae et Pamphyliae" (Gruter, *Thes.* p. 458). Such seems to have been the condition of the district when St. Paul visited the Lycian towns of PATARA (Acts xxi. 1) and MYRA (Acts xxvii. 5). At a later period of the Roman empire it was a separate province, with Myra for its capital. [J. S. H.]

LYDDA (Λύδδα: *Lydda*), the Greek form of the name which originally appears in the Hebrew records as LOD. It is familiar to us as the scene of one of St. Peter's acts of healing, on the paralytic Aeneas, one of "the saints who dwelt at Lydda" (Acts ix. 32), the consequence of which was the conversion of a very large number of the inhabitants of the town and of the neighbouring plain of Sharon (ver. 35). Here Peter was residing when the disciples of Joppa fetched him to that city in their distress at the death of Tabitha (ver. 38).

Quite in accordance with these and the other scattered indications of Scripture is the situation of the modern town, which exactly retains its name, and probably its position. *Lidd* (Tobler, *3tte. Wand.* 69, 456), or *Lūdd* (Robinson, *B. R.* ii. 244), stands in the *Merj*, or meadow, of *ibn Omeir*, part of the great maritime plain which anciently bore the name of SHARON, and which, when covered with its crops of corn, reminds the traveller of the rich wheat-fields of our own Lincolnshire (Rob. iii. 145; and see Thomson, *L. & B.* ch. xxxiv.). It is 9 miles from Joppa, and is the first town on the northernmost of the two roads between that place and Jerusalem. Within a circle of 4 miles still stand Ono (*Kefr Auna*), Hadid (*el-Haditheh*), and Neballat (*Beit-Neballah*), three places constantly associated with Lod in the ancient records. The watercourse outside the town is said still to bear the name of *Abi-Butrus* (Peter), in memory of the Apostle (Rob. ii. 248; Tobler, 471). Lying so conspicuously in this fertile plain, and upon the main road from the sea to the interior, Lydda could hardly escape an eventful history. It was in the time of Josephus a place of considerable size, which gave its name to one of the three (or four, xi. 57) "governments" or toparchies (see Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, §5) which Demetrius Soter (B.C. cir. 152), at the request of Jonathan Maccabaeus, released from tribute, and transferred from Samaria to the estate of the Temple at Jerusalem (1 Macc. xi. 34; comp. x. 30, 38; xi. 28, 57); though by whom these districts were originally defined does not appear (see Michaelis, *Bib. für Ungel.*). A century later (B.C. cir. 43) Lydda, with Gophna, Emmaus, and Thamna, became the prey of the insatiable Cassius, by whom the whole of the inhabitants were sold into slavery to raise the exorbitant taxes imposed (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 11, §2). From this they were, it is true, soon released by Antony; but a few years only elapsed before their city (A.D. 66) was burnt by Cestius Gallus on his way from Caesarea to Jerusalem. He entered it when all the people of the place but fifty were absent at the feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 19, §1). He must have passed the hardly cold ruins not more than a fortnight after, when flying for his life before the infuriated Jews of Jerusalem. Some repair appears to have been immediately made, for in less than two years, early in A.D. 68, it was in a condition to be again taken by Vespasian, then on his way to his campaign in the south of Judaea. Vespasian introduced fresh inhabitants from the prisoners lately taken in Galilee (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 8, §1). But the substantial rebuilding of the town—lying as it did in the road of every invader and every countermarch—can hardly have been effected till the disorders of this unhappy country were somewhat composed. Hadrian's reign, after the suppression of the revolt of Bar-Cocheba (A.D. cir. 136), when Paganism was triumphant, and Jerusalem rebuilding as Aelia Capitolina, would not be an improbable time for this, and for the bestowal on Lydda of the new name of Diospolis[a]—City of Zeus—which is stated by Jerome to have accompanied the rebuilding. (See Quaresmius, *Peregr.* i., lib. 4, cap. 3.) We have already seen that this new name, as is so often the case in Palestine, has disappeared in favour of the ancient one. [ACCHO; KENATH, &c.]

When Eusebius wrote (A.D. 320-330) Diospolis was a well-known and much-frequented town, to which he often refers, though the names of neither it nor Lydda occur in the actual catalogue of his *Onomasticon*. In Jerome's time (*Epitaph. Paulae* §8),[b] A.D. 404, it was an episcopal see. Tradition reports that the first bishop was "Zenas the lawyer" (Tit. iii. 13), originally one of the seventy disciples (Dorotheus, in Reland, 879); but the first historical mention of the see is the signature of "Aetius Lyd-

[a] Was this the Diospolis mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 5, §1, and *B. J.* i. 4, §6? But it is difficult to discover if two places are not intended, possibly neither of them identical with Lydda.

Can there be any connexion, etymological or other, between the two names? In the *Dict. of Geogr.* i. 778, a modern Egyptian village is mentioned named Lesan of which the ancient name was also Diospolis.

[b] Jerome is wrong here in placing the raising of Dorcas at Lydda. So also Ritter (*Palästina*, 851) ascribes the miracle to *St. Paul*.

present" to the acts of the Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325; Reland, 878). After this the name is found, now Diospolis, now Lydda, amongst the lists of the Councils down to A.D. 518 (Rob. ii. 245; Mislin, ii. 149). The bishop of Lydda, originally subject to Caesarea, became at a later date suffragan to Jerusalem (see the two lists in Von Raumer, 401); and this is still the case. In the latter end of 415 a Council of 14 bishops was held here, before which Pelagius appeared, and by whom, after much tumultuous debate, and in the absence of his two accusers, he was acquitted of heresy, and received as a Christian brother[c] (Milner, *Hist. of Ch. of Christ*, Cent. V. ch. iii.). St. George, the patron saint of England, was a native of Lydda. After his martyrdom his remains were buried there (see quotations by Robinson, ii. 245), and over them a church was afterwards built and dedicated to his honour. The erection of this church is commonly ascribed to Justinian, but there seems to be no real ground for the assertion,[d] and at present it is quite uncertain by whom it was built. When the country was taken possession of by the Saracens in the early part of the 8th cent. the church was destroyed; and in this ruined condition it was found by the Crusaders in A.D. 1099, who reinstituted the see, and added to its endowment the neighbouring city and lands of Ramleh. Apparently at the same time the church was rebuilt and strongly fortified (Rob. ii. 247). It appears at that time to have been outside the city. Again destroyed by Saladin after the battle of Hattin in 1191, it was again rebuilt, if we are to believe the tradition, which, however, is not so consistent or trustworthy as one would desire, by Richard Coeur-de-lion (Will. Tyr.; but see Rob. ii. 245, 246). The remains of the church still form the most remarkable object in the modern village. A minute and picturesque account of them will be found in Robinson (ii. 244), and a view in Van de Velde's *Pays d'Israel* (plate 55). The town is, for a Mohammedan place, busy and prosperous (see Thomson, *Land and Book*; Van de Velde, *S. & P.* i. 245). Buried in palms, and with a large well close to the entrance, it looks from a distance inviting enough, but its interior is very repulsive on account of the extraordinary number of persons, old and young, whom one encounters at every step, either totally blind or afflicted with loathsome diseases of the eyes. Indeed it is proverbial for this; and the writer was told on the spot in 1858, as a common saying, that in *Lydd* every man has either but one eye or none at all.

Lydda was, for some time previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, the seat of a very famous Jewish school, scarcely second to that of Jabneh. About the time of the siege it was presided over by Rabbi Gamaliel, second of the name (Lightfoot, *Chor. Cent.* xvi.). Some curious anecdotes and short notices from the Talmuds concerning it are preserved by Lightfoot. One of these states that "Queen Helena celebrated the Feast of Tabernacles there"!

As the city of St. George, who is one with the famous personage *El-Khudr*, Lydda is held in much honour by the Muslims. In their traditions the gate of the city will be the scene of the final combat between Christ and Antichrist (Sale's *Koran*, note to ch. 43; and *Prel. Disc.* iv. §4; also Jalal al-Din, *Temple of Jerusalem*, 434). [G.]

LYD'IA (Λυδία), a maritime province in the west of Asia Minor, bounded by Mysia on the N. Phrygia on the E., and Caria on the S. The name occurs only in 1 Macc. viii. 8 (the rendering of the A. V. in Ez. xxx. 5 being incorrect for Ludim); it is there enumerated among the districts which the Romans took away from Antiochus the Great after the battle of Magnesia in B.C. 190, and transferred to Eumenes II., king of Pergamus. Some difficulty arises in the passage referred to from the names "India and Media" found in connexion with it: but if we regard these as incorrectly given either by the writer or by a copyist for "Ionia and Mysia," the agreement with Livy's account of the same transaction (xxxvii. 56) will be sufficiently established, the notice of the *maritime* provinces alone in the book of Maccabees being explicable on the ground of their being best known to the inhabitants of Palestine. For the connexion between Lydia and the Lud and Ludim of the O. T., see LUDIM. Lydia is included in the "Asia" of the N. T. [W. L. B.]

LYD'IA (Λυδία), the first European convert of St. Paul, and afterwards his hostess during his first stay at Philippi (Acts xvi. 14, 15, also 40). She was a Jewish proselyte (*σεβομένη τὸν Θεόν*) at the time of the Apostle's coming; and it was at the Jewish Sabbath-worship by the side of a stream (ver. 13) that the preaching of the Gospel reached her heart. She was probably only a temporary resident at Philippi. Her native place was THYATIRA, in the province of Asia (ver. 14; Rev. ii. 18); and it is interesting to notice that through her, indirectly, the Gospel may have come into that very district, where St. Paul himself had recently been forbidden directly to preach it (Acts xvi. 6). Thyatira was famous for its dyeing-works; and Lydia was connected with this trade (*πορφυρόπωλις*), either as a seller of dye, or of dyed goods. We infer that she was a person of considerable wealth, partly from the fact that she gave a home to St. Paul and his companions, partly from the mention of the conversion of her "household," under which term, whether children are included or not, slaves are no doubt comprehended. Of Lydia's character we are led to form a high estimate, from her candid reception of the Gospel, her urgent hospitality, and her continued friendship to Paul and Silas when they were persecuted. Whether she was one of "those women who laboured with Paul in the Gospel" at Philippi, as mentioned afterwards in the Epistle to that place (Phil. iv. 3), it is impossible to say. As regards her name, though it is certainly curious that Thyatira was in the district anciently called "Lydia," there seems no reason for doubting that it was simply a proper name, or for supposing with Grotius that she was "ita dicta a solo natali." [J. S. H.]

LYSA'NIAS (Λυσανίας), mentioned by St. Luke in one of his chronological passages (iii. 1) as being tetrarch of ABILENE (*i. e.* the district round Abila) in the 15th year of Tiberius, at the time when Herod Antipas was tetrarch of Galilee,

[c] "Ita insensibilis Synodus Diospolitanus" (Jerome, *Ep. ad Alipp. et Aug.* §2).

[d] The church which Justinian built to St. George was in Sinaea (*ap.* Bellarmi), somewhere in Armenia (Procopius, *de Aed. Justr.* 5, 4; in Rob. 246). See the remarks of Robinson against the possibility of Constantine having built the church at Lydda. But were there not probably two churches at Lydda, one dedicated to St. George, and one to the Virgin? See Reland, 878.

and Herod Philip tetrarch of Ituraea and Trachonitis. It happens that Josephus speaks of a prince named Lysanias who ruled over a territory in the neighbourhood of Lebanon in the time of Antony and Cleopatra, and that he also mentions Abilene as associated with the name of a tetrarch Lysanias, while recounting events of the reigns of Caligula and Claudius. These circumstances have given to Strauss and others an opportunity for accusing the Evangelist of confusion and error: but we shall see that this accusation rests on a groundless assumption.

What Josephus says of the Lysanias who was contemporary with Antony and Cleopatra (*i. e.* who lived 60 years before the time referred to by St. Luke) is, that he succeeded his father Ptolemy, the son of Mennaeus, in the government of Chalcis, under Mount Lebanon (*B. J.* i. 13, §1; *Ant.* xiv. 7, §4); and that he was put to death at the instance of Cleopatra (*Ant.* xv. 4, §1), who seems to have received a good part of his territory. It is to be observed that Abila is not specified here at all, and that Lysanias is not called tetrarch.

What Josephus says of Abila and the tetrarchy in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius (*i. e.* about 20 years after the time mentioned in St. Luke's Gospel) is, that the former emperor promised the "tetrarchy of Lysanias" to Agrippa (*Ant.* xviii. 6, §10), and that the latter actually gave to him "Abila of Lysanias" and the territory near Lebanon (*Ant.* xix. 5, §1, with *B. J.* ii. 12, §8).

Now, assuming Abilene to be included in both cases, and the former Lysanias and the latter to be identical, there is nothing to hinder a prince of the same name and family from having reigned as tetrarch over the territory in the intermediate period. But it is probable that the Lysanias mentioned by Josephus in the second instance is actually the prince referred to by St. Luke. Thus, instead of a contradiction, we obtain from the Jewish historian a confirmation of the Evangelist; and the argument becomes very decisive if, as some think, Abilene is to be excluded from the territory mentioned in the story which has reference to Cleopatra.

Fuller details are given in Davidson's *Introduction to the N. T.* i. 214-220; and there is a good brief notice of the subject in Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures for* 1859, p. 203, and note 113. [J. S. H.]

LYSIAS (Λυσίας), a nobleman of the blood-royal (1 Macc. iii. 32; 2 Macc. xi. 1), who was entrusted by Antiochus Epiphanes (cir. B.C. 166) with the government of southern Syria, and the guardianship of his son Antiochus Eupator (1 Macc. iii. 32; 2 Macc. x. 11). In the execution of his office Lysias armed a very considerable force against Judas Maccabaeus. Two detachments of this army under Nicanor (2 Macc. viii.) and Gorgias were defeated by the Jews near Emmaus (1 Macc. iv.), and in the following year Lysias himself met with a much more serious reverse at Bethsura (B.C. 165), which was followed by the purification of the Temple. Shortly after this Antiochus Epiphanes died (B.C. 164), and Lysias assumed the government as guardian of his son, who was yet a child (App. *Syr.* 46, ἐναϵτὲς παιδίον; 1 Macc. vi. 17). The war against the Jews was renewed, and, after a severe struggle, Lysias, who took the young king with him, captured Bethsura, and was besieging Jerusalem, when he received tidings of the approach of Philip, to whom Antiochus had transferred the guardianship of the prince (1 Macc. vi. 18; 2 Macc. xiii.). He defeated Philip (B.C. 163), and was supported at Rome; but in the next year, together with his ward, fell into the hands of Demetrius Soter [DEMETRIUS I.], who put them both to death (1 Macc. vii. 2-4; 2 Macc. xiv. 2; *Ant.* xii. 12, §15, 16; App. *Syr.* 45-47; Polyb. xxxi. 15, 19).

There are considerable differences between the first and second books of Maccabees with regard to the campaigns of Gorgias and the subsequent one of Lysias: the former places the defeat of Lysias in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes before the purification of the Temple (1 Macc. iv. 26-35), the latter in the reign of Antiochus Eupator after the purification (2 Macc. x. 10, xi. 1, &c.). There is no sufficient ground for believing that the events recorded are different (Patricius, *De Consens. Macc.* §xxvii. xxxvii.), for the mistake of date in 2 Maccabees is one which might easily arise (comp. Wernsdorf, *De fide Macc.* §lxvi.; Grimm, *ad Macc.* xi. 1). The idea of Grotius that 2 Macc. x. and 2 Macc. xiii. are duplicate records of the same event, in spite of Ewald's support (*Geschichte*, iv. 365 *note*), is scarcely tenable, and leaves half the difficulty unexplained. [B. F. W.]

LYSIM'ACHUS (Λυσίμαχος). 1. "A son of Ptolemaeus of Jerusalem" (Λ. Πτολεμαίου ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ), the Greek translator of the book of Esther (ἐπιστολή. Comp. Esth. ix. 20), according to the subscription of the LXX. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the translator was also the author of the additions made to the Hebrew text. [ESTHER.]

2. A brother of the high-priest Menelaus, who was left by him as his deputy (διάδοχος) during his absence at the court of Antiochus. His tyranny and sacrilege excited an insurrection, during which he fell a victim to the fury of the people, cir. B.C. 170 (2 Macc. iv. 29-42). The Vulgate, by a mistranslation (Menelaus amotus est a sacerdotio, succedente Lysimacho fratre suo, 2 Macc. iv. 29), makes Lysimachus the successor instead of the deputy of Menelaus. [B. F. W.]

LYSTRA (Λύστρα) has two points of extreme interest in connexion respectively with St. Paul's first and second missionary journeys—(1) as the place where divine honours were offered to him and where he was presently stoned; (2) as the home of his chosen companion and fellow-missionary TIMOTHEUS.

We are told in the 14th chapter of the Acts that Paul and Barnabas, driven by persecution from ICONIUM (ver. 2), proceeded to Lystra and its neighbourhood, and there preached the Gospel. In the course of this service a remarkable miracle was worked in the healing of a lame man (ver. 8). The occurrence produced such an effect on the minds of the ignorant and superstitious people of the place, that they supposed that the two gods, Mercury and JUPITER, who were said by the poets to have formerly visited this district in human form [LYCAONIA] had again bestowed on it the same favour, and consequently were proceeding to offer sacrifice to the strangers (ver. 13). The apostles rejected this worship with horror (ver. 14), and St. Paul addressed a speech to them, turning their minds to the true Source of all the blessings of nature. The distinct proclamation of Christian doctrine is not mentioned, but it is implied, and as much as a church was founded at Lystra. The adoration of the Lystrians was rapidly followed by a change of feeling. The persecuting Jews arrived

from Antioch in Pisidia and Iconium, and had such influence that Paul was stoned and left for dead (ver. 19). On his recovery he withdrew, with Barnabas, to DERBE (ver. 20), but before long retraced his steps through Lystra (ver. 21), encouraging the new disciples to be stedfast.

It is evident from 2 Tim. iii. 10, 11, that Timotheus was one of those who witnessed St. Paul's sufferings and courage on this occasion: and it can hardly be doubted that his conversion to Christianity resulted partly from these circumstances, combined with the teaching of his Jewish mother and grandmother, EUNICE and LOIS (2 Tim. i. 5). Thus, when the apostle, accompanied by Silas, came, on his second missionary journey, to this place again (and here we should notice how accurately Derbe and Lystra are here mentioned in the inverse order), Timotheus was already a Christian (Acts xvi. 1). Here he received circumcision, "because of the Jews in those parts" (ver. 3); and from this point began his connexion with St. Paul's travels. We are doubly reminded here of Jewish residents in and near Lystra. Their first settlement, and the ancestors of Timotheus among them, may very probably be traced to the establishment of Babylonian Jews in Phrygia by Antiochus three centuries before (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, §4). Still it is evident that there was no influential Jewish population at Lystra: no mention is made of any synagogue; and the whole aspect of the scene described by St. Luke (Acts xiv.) is thoroughly heathen. With regard to St. Paul, it is not absolutely stated that he was ever in Lystra again, but from the general description of the route of the third missionary journey (Acts xviii. 23) it is almost certain that he was.

Lystra was undoubtedly in the eastern part of the great plain of Lycaonia; and there are very strong reasons for identifying its site with the ruins called *Bin-bir-Kilisseh*, at the base of a conical mountain of volcanic structure, named the *Karadaghi* (Hamilton, *Res. in A. M.* ii. 313). Here are the remains of a great number of churches: and it should be noticed that Lystra has its post-apostolic Christian history, the names of its bishops appearing in the records of early councils.

Pliny (v. 42) places this town in Galatia, and Ptolemy (v. 4, 12) in Isauria: but these statements are quite consistent with its being placed in Lycaonia by St. Luke, as it is by Hierocles (*Synecd.* p. 675). As to its condition in heathen times, it is worth while to notice that the words in Acts xiv. 13 (τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως) would lead us to conclude that it was under the tutelage of Jupiter. Walch. in his *Spicilegium Antiquitatum Lystrensium* (*Diss. in Acta Apostolorum*, Jena, 1766, vol. iii.), thinks that in this passage a statue, not a temple, of the god is intended. [J. S. H.]

M

MA'ACAH (מַעֲכָה: Μααχά; Alex. Μααχάθ *Maacha*). 1. The mother of Absalom = MAACHAH 5 (2 Sam. iii. 3).

2. MAACAH, and (in Chron.) MAACHAH: in Samuel Ἀμαλήκ,[a] and so Josephus; in Chron. Μωχᾶ and Μοοχᾶ; Alex. in both, Μααχα: *Machati, Maacha*. A small kingdom in close proximity to Palestine, which appears to have lain outside Argob (Deut. iii. 14) and Bashan (Josh. xii. 5). These districts, probably answering to the *Lejah* and *Jaulân* of modern Syria, occupied the space from the Jordan on the west to Salcah (*Sulkhad*) on the east and Mount Hermon on the north. There is therefore no alternative but to place Maacah somewhere to the east of the *Lejah*, in the country that lies between that remarkable district and the *Sufâ*, namely the stony desert of *el-Krâ*[b] (see Kiepert's *map* to Wetzstein's *Haurân*, &c., 1860), and which is to this day thickly studded with villages. In these remote eastern regions was also probably situated Tibchath, Tebach, or Betach, which occurs more than once in connexion with Maacah[c] (1 Chr. xviii. 8; Gen. xxii. 24; 2 Sam. viii. 8). Maacah is sometimes assumed to have been situated about ABEL-BETH-MAACAH; but, if *Abil* be the modern representative of that town, this is hardly probable, as it would bring the kingdom of Maacah west of the Jordan, and within the actual limits of Israel. It is possible that the town was a colony of the nation, though even this is rendered questionable by the conduct of Joab towards it (2 Sam. xx. 22). That implacable soldier would hardly have left it standing and unharmed had it been the city of those who took so prominent a part against him in the Ammonite war.

That war was the only occasion on which the Maacathites came into contact with Israel, when their king assisted the Bene-Ammon against Joab with a force which he led himself (2 Sam. x. 6, 8; 1 Chr. xix. 7. In the first of these passages "of" is inaccurately omitted in the A. V.). The small

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[a] Gesenius (*Thes.* 811 a) suggests that the name may have been originally מַלְכָה, the ל having changed into ע in accordance with Phoenician custom. (See also Ewald, *Hebr.* 76§ b; though he derives the name itself from a root signifying depression—lowland.) It is perhaps some support to this idea, that Eusebius in the Onomasticon gives the same Μαλαεκ, and that the LXX. read in one passage "Amalek," as above. Is it not also possible that in 2 Sam. viii. 12 "Amalek" may more accurately be Maacah? At least, no campaign against Amalek is recorded in these wars—none since that before the death of Saul (1 Sam. xxx.), which can hardly be referred to in this catalogue.

[b] This is probably the origin of the name *Crau* attached to the great stony plain north of Marseilles.

[c] The ancient versions do not assist us much in fixing the position of Maacah. The Syriac Peshito in 1 Chr. xix. has Charran, ܚܪܢ. If this could be identified with *El-Charra*, the district east of *Sulkhad*, and south of the *Sufâ* (see Wetzstein, and Cyril Graham), it would support the view taken in the text, and would also fall in with the suggestion of Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 197), that the *Sufâ* is connected with Zobah. In Josh. xiii. the Peshito has *Kuroe*, ܩܘܪܘܥ, of which the writer can make nothing. The Targums of Onkelos, Jonathan, and Jerusalem have Aphikeros, אֲפִיקְרוֹס (with some slight variations in spelling). This is probably intended for the Ἐπίκαιρος of Ptolemy, which he mentions in company with Livias, Callirhoë, and Jazer (?). (See Reland, *Pal.* 462; and compare the expression of Josephus with regard to Machaerus, *B. J.* vii. 6, §2). But this would surely be too far south for Maacah. The Targum Pseudojon. has *Antikeros*, אַנְטִיקִירוֹס, which remains obscure. It will be observed, however, that every one of these names contains *Kr* or *Chr*.

extent of the country may be inferred from a comparison of the number of this force with that of the people of Zobah, Ishtob, and Rehob (2 Sam. x. 6), combined with the expression "his people" in 1 Chr. xix. 7, which perhaps imply that a thousand men were the whole strength of his army. [MAACHATHI.]

To the connexion which is always implied between Maacah and Geshur we have no clue. It is perhaps illustrated by the fact of the daughter of the king of Geshur—wife of David and mother of Absalom—being named Maacah. [G.]

MA'ACHAH (מַעֲכָה: Μοχά; Alex. Μωχα: *Maacha*). 1. The daughter of Nahor by his concubine Reumah (Gen. xxii. 24). Ewald connects her name with the district of Maachah in the Hermon range (*Gesch.* i. 414, *note* 1).

2. (Μααχά.) The father of Achish, who was king of Gath at the beginning of Solomon's reign (1 K. ii. 39). [MAOCH.]

3. The daughter, or more probably granddaughter, of Absalom, named after his mother; the third and favourite wife of Rehoboam, and mother of Abijah (1 K. xv. 2; 2 Chr. xi. 20-22). According to Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 10. §1) her mother was Tamar, Absalom's daughter. But the mother of Abijah is elsewhere called "Michaiah, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeah" (2 Chr. xiii. 2). The LXX. and Syriac, in the latter passage, have Maachah, as in xi. 20. If Michaiah were a mere variation of Maachah, as has been asserted (the resemblance in English characters being much more close than in Hebrew), it would be easy to understand that Uriel of Gibeah married Tamar the daughter of Absalom, whose granddaughter therefore Maachah was. But it is more probable that "Michaiah" is the error of a transcriber, and that "Maachah" is the true reading in all cases (Capelli, *Crit. Sacr.* vi. 7, §3). Houbigant proposed to alter the text, and to read "Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom (or Absalom), the son of Uriel." During the reign of her grandson Asa she occupied at the court of Judah the high position of "King's Mother" (comp. 1 K. ii. 19), which has been compared with that of the *Sultana Valide* in Turkey. It may be that at Abijah's death, after a short reign of three years, Asa was left a minor, and Maachah acted as regent, like Athaliah under similar circumstances. If this conjecture be correct, it would serve to explain the influence by which she promoted the practice of idolatrous worship. The idol or "horror" which she had made for Asherah (1 K. xv. 13; 2 Chr. xv. 16) is supposed to have been the emblem of Priapus, and was so understood by the Vulgate. [IDOL, vol. i. p. 849 *a*.] It was swept away in Asa's reformation, and Maachah was removed from her dignity. Josephus calls Maachah Μαχάνη, perhaps a corruption of Μαχά, and makes Asa the son of Μαχαία. See Burrington's *Genealogies*, i. 222-228, where the two Maachahs are considered distinct.

4. (Μαχά.) The concubine of Caleb the son of Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 48).

5. (Μωχά.) The daughter of Talmai, king of Geshur, and mother of Absalom (1 Chr. iii. 2): also called MAACAH in A. V. of 2 Sam. iii. 3. Josephus gives her name Μαχάμη (*Ant.* vii. 1, §4). She is said, according to a Hebrew tradition recorded by Jerome (*Qu. Hebr. in Reg.*), to have been taken by David in battle and added to the number of his wives.

6. (Μοωχά; Alex. Μοοχά.) The wife of Machir the Manassite, the father or founder of Gilead and sister of Huppim and Shuppim (1 Chr. vii. 15, 16), who were of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 12). In the Peshito Syriac Maachah is the mother of Machir.

7. (Μοαχά; Alex. Μααχα.) The wife of Jeiel father or founder of Gibeon, from whom descended the family of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 29, ix. 35).

8. (Μωχά; Alex. Μαχά.) The father of Hanan one of the heroes of David's body-guard (1 Chr. xi. 43), who is classed among the warriors [illegible] from the eastern side of the Jordan. It is impossible that Maachah in this instance may be the same as Syria-Maachah in 1 Chr. xix. 6, 7.

9. (Μααχά.) A Simeonite, father of Shephatiah prince of his tribe in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 16). [W. A. W.]

MAA'CHATHI, and MAA'CHATHITE (הַמַּעֲכָתִי: Ὁμαχαθεί, ἡ Μαχεί, ἡ Χατεί; Alex. Μαχαθι: *Machathi, Machathite*), words—the former taking the form of the Hebrew which denote the inhabitants of the small kingdom of MAACHAH (Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5, xiii. 13). Individual Maachathites were not unknown among the warriors of Israel. One, recorded only as "son of the Maachathite," or possibly "Ahasbai phelet, son of Ahasbai the Maachathite" (see Bennicott, *Dissertation*, 205, 206), was a member of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 34). Another, Jezaniah, was one of the chiefs who rallied round Gedaliah the superintendent, after the first destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. xl. 8; 2 K. xxv. 23). Jehoiachin temoa the Maachathite (1 Chr. iv. 19) more probably derives that title from the concubine Caleb (ii. 48) than from the Syrian kingdom. [MAACAH, 2.]

MAADA'I (מַעֲדַי: Μοοδία; Alex. Μοοδ Cod. Fr. Aug. Δεδία: *Maaddi*), one of the sons of Bani who returned with Ezra and had intermarried with the people of the land (Ezr. x. 34). He is called MOMDIS in 1 Esd. ix. 34.

MAADI'AH (מַעַדְיָה: om. in Vat. MS.: Αδ Μααδιας: *Madia*), one of the priests, or families of priests, who returned with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh. xii. 5); elsewhere (v. 17) called MOADIAH.

MAA'I (מַעַי: Ἀία: *Maai*), one of the sons of Asaph who took part in the solemn musical service by which the wall of Jerusalem was dedicated after it had been rebuilt by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 36).

MA'ALEH-ACRABBIM (מַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים ἡ προσανάβασις Ἀκραβείν; *ascensus Scorpionis*). The full form of the name which in its other occurrences (in the original identical with the above) is given in the A. V. as "the ascent of, or the going up to, Akrabbim." It is found only in Josh. xv. 3. For the probable situation of the pass, see AKRABBIM.

MA'ANI (Βααν: *Banni*), 1 Esd. ix. 34 identical with BANI, 4.

MA'ARATH (מַעֲרָת: Μαγαράθ[a]: *Maarath*), one of the towns of Judah, in the district of the mountains, and in the same group which contained HALHUL, BETH-ZUR, and GEDOR (Josh. xv. 58). The places which occur in company with it

[a] The LXX. here represent the Hebrew *Ain* by γ as in Gomorrah.

been identified at a few miles to the north of Hebron, but Maarath has hitherto eluded observation. It does not seem to have been known to Eusebius or Jerome, although its name is mentioned by them (*Onomasticon*, "Maroth").

By Gesenius (*Thes.* 1069*a*) the name is derived from a root signifying openness or bareness; but may it not with equal accuracy and greater plausibility be derived from that which has produced the similar word, *Mearah*, a cave? It would thus point to a characteristic feature of the mountainous districts of Palestine, one of which, the Mearath-Adullam, or cave of Adullam, was probably at no great distance from this very locality. [G.]

MAASEI'AH (מַעֲשֵׂיָה: Μαασία; Alex. Μαασηα; Cod. Fr. Aug. Μαασήα: *Maasia*). **1.** A descendant of Jeshua the priest, who in the time of Ezra had married a foreign wife, and was divorced from her (Ezr. x. 18). He is called MATTHELAS in 1 Esd. ix. 19, but in the margin, MAASIAS.

2. (Μαασήλ; Alex. Μαασειας.) A priest, of the sons of Harim, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 21). MAASIAH in margin of 1 Esd. ix. 19.

3. (Cod. Fr. Aug. Μααναία.) A priest, of the sons of Pashur, who had married a foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 22). He is called MASSIAS in 1 Esd. ix. 22.

4. (Alex. Μααηια; Cod. Fr. Aug. Μασή: *Maasias.*) One of the laymen, a descendant of Pahath-Moab, who put away his foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 30). Apparently the same as MOSSIAS in 1 Esd. ix. 31.

5. (Μαασίας; Cod. Fr. Aug. Μαδασήλ: *Maasias.*) The father of Azariah, one of the priests from the oasis of the Jordan, who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 23).

6. (Cod. Fr. Aug. Μαασαία.) One of those who stood on the right hand of Ezra when he read the law to the people (Neh. viii. 4). He was probably a priest, but whether one of those mentioned in ch. iii. 41, 42, is uncertain. The corresponding name in 1 Esd. ix. 43 is BALASAMUS.

7. (Om. in LXX.) A Levite who assisted on the same occasion in expounding the law to the people (Neh. viii. 7). He is called MAIANEAS in 1 Esd. ix. 48.

8. (Alex. Μααδια; Cod. Fr. Aug. Μαασαία.) One of the heads of the people whose descendants signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 25).

9. (Alex. Μαδια.) Son of Baruch and descendant of Pharez, the son of Judah. His family dwelt in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 5). In the corresponding narrative of 1 Chr. ix. 5 he is called ASAIAH.

10. (Μασσίας; *Masia.*) A Benjamite, ancestor of Sallu, who dwelt at Jerusalem after the captivity (Neh. xi. 7).

11. (Om. in Vat. MS.; Alex. Μαασιας.) Two priests of this name are mentioned (Neh. xii. 41, 42) as taking part in the musical service which accompanied the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem under Ezra. One of them is probably the same as 6.

12. (Μασσίας; Cod. Fr. Aug. Μασσέας in Jer. xxi. 1; Μαασίας; Alex. Μασαιας, Jer. xxxvii. 3.) Father of Zephaniah, who was a priest in the reign of Zedekiah (Jer. xxix. 25).

13. (Om. in LXX.) The father of Zedekiah the false prophet, in the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah (Jer. xxix. 21).

14. (מַעֲשִׂיָהוּ: Μαασαία; Alex. Μαασια: *Maasias*), one of the Levites of the second rank, appointed by David to sound "with psalteries on Alamoth," when the ark was brought from the house of Obed-edom. He was also one of the "porters" or gate-keepers for the ark (1 Chr. xv. 18, 20).

15. (Alex. Μασια.) The son of Adaiah, and one of the captains of hundreds in the reign of Joash king of Judah. He assisted Jehoiada in the revolution by which Joash was placed on the throne (2 Chr. xxiii. 1).

16. (Μαασίας; Alex. Μασσαίας.) An officer of high rank (*shôtêr*) in the reign of Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 11). He was probably a Levite (comp. 1 Chr. xxiii. 4), and engaged in a semi-military capacity, corresponding to the civic functions of the judges, with whom the *shôterim* are frequently coupled.

17. (Μαασίας; Alex. Μασια.) The "king's son," killed by Zichri the Ephraimitish hero in the invasion of Judah by Pekah king of Israel, during the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 7). The personage thus designated is twice mentioned in connexion with the "governor of the city" (1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Chr. xviii. 23), and appears to have held an office of importance at the Jewish court (perhaps acting as viceroy during the absence of the king), just as the queen dowager was honoured with the title of "king's mother" (comp. 2 K. xxiv. 12 with Jer. xxix. 2), or *gebîrâh*, *i. e.* "mistress," or "powerful lady." [MALCHIAH, 8.] For the conjecture of Geiger see JOASH, 4.

18. (Μαασά.) The governor of Jerusalem in the reign of Josiah, appointed by the king, in conjunction with Shaphan and Joah, to superintend the restoration of the temple (2 Chr. xxxiv. 8).

19. (Μαασαίας; Alex. Μασαιας.) The son of Shallum, a Levite of high rank, and one of the gate-keepers of the Temple in the reign of Jehoiakim (Jer. xxxv. 4; comp. 1 Chr. ix. 19).

20. (מַחְסֵיָה: Μαασαΐας: Alex. Μασσιας: *Maasias*, Jer. xxxii. 12; Alex. Μαασσαίας; *Masias*, Jer. li. 59). A priest; ancestor of Baruch and Seraiah, the sons of Neriah. [W. A. W.]

MAASIA'I (מַעֲשַׂי: Μαασαία; Alex. Μασαί: *Maasai*), a priest who after the return from Babylon dwelt in Jerusalem (1 Chr. ix. 12). He is apparently the same as AMASHAI in Neh. xi. 13.

MASSIAS (Μασσίας: *Massias*). The same as MASSEIAH, 20, the ancestor of Baruch (Bar. i. 1).

MA'AZ (מַעַז: Μαάς: *Moos*), son of Ram, the firstborn of Jerahmeel (1 Chr. ii. 27).

MAAZI'AH (מַעַזְיָה: Μααζία; Cod. Fr. Aug. Ἀζία: *Maazia*). **1.** One of the priests who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 8). From the coincidence between many of the names of the priests in the lists of the twenty-four courses established by David, of those who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x.), and those who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii.), it would seem either that these names were hereditary in families, or that they were applied to the families themselves. This is evidently the case with the names of the "heads of the people" enumerated in Neh. x. 14-27.

2. (מַעַזְיָהוּ: Μαασαί; Alex. Μοοζαλ: *Maaziaü*). A priest in the reign of David, head of the twenty-fourth course (1 Chr. xxiv. 18). See the preceding.

MABDA'I (Μαβδαΐ; Alex. Μανδαι: *Baneas*). The same as BENAIAH (1 Esd. ix. 34; see Ezr. x. 35).

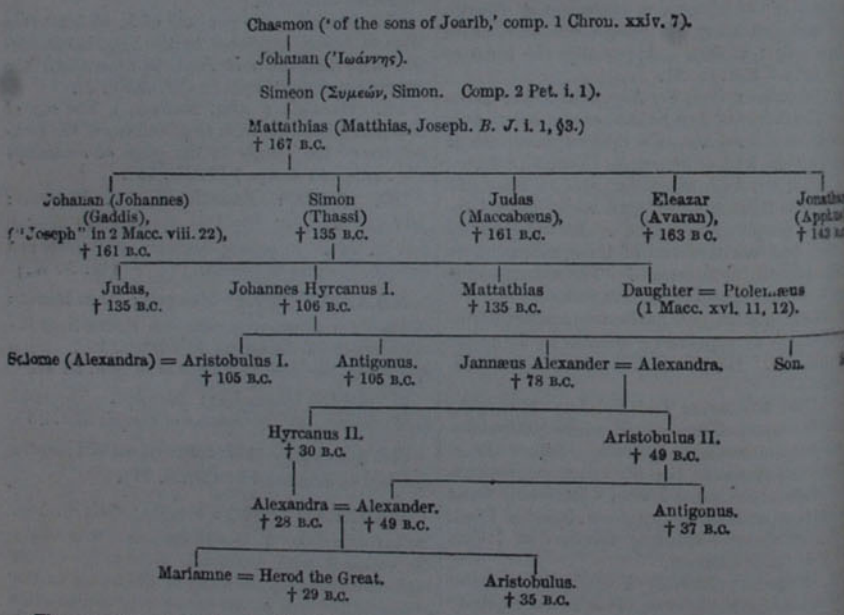
MACALON (Μακάλων, in both MSS.: *Bastaro*), 1 Esd. v. 21. This name is the equivalent of MICHMASH in the lists of Ezra and Nehemiah. [G.]

MACCABEES, THE (οἱ Μακκαβαῖοι). This title, which was originally the surname of Judas, one of the sons of Mattathias (*infr.* §2), was afterwards extended to the heroic family of which he was one of the noblest representatives, and in a still wider sense to the Palestinian martyrs in the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes [4 MACCABEES], and even to the Alexandrine Jews who suffered for their faith at an earlier time [3 MACCABEES]. The original term *Maccabi* (ὁ Μακκαβαῖος) has been variously derived. Some have maintained that it was formed from the combination of the initial letters of the Hebrew sentence, "Who among the gods is like unto thee, Jehovah?" (Ex. xv. 11, Hebr. י, ב, כ, מ), which is supposed to have been inscribed upon the banner of the patriots; or, again, of the initials of the simply descriptive title, "Mattathias, a priest, the son of Johanan." But even if the custom of forming such words was in use among the Jews at this early time, it is obvious that such a title would not be an individual title in the first instance, as Maccabee undoubtedly was (1 Macc. ii. 4), and still remains among the Jews (Raphall, *Hist. of Jews*, i. 249). Moreover the orthography of the word in Greek and Syriac (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. 352 *note*) points to the form מקבי, and not טכבי. Another derivation has been proposed, which, although direct evidence is wanting, seems satisfactory. According to this the word is formed from מַקָּבָה, "a hammer" (like *Malachi*, Ewald, 353 *note*), giving a sense not altogether unlike that in which Charles Martel derived a surname from his favourite weapon, but still more like the *Malleus Scotorum* and *Malleus Haereticorum* of the Middle Ages.

Although the name *Maccabees* has gained the widest currency, that of *Asmonaeans*, or *Hasmonaeans*, is the proper name of the family. The origin of this name also has been disputed, but the obvious derivation from Chashmon (חַשְׁמֹן, Ἀσαμωναῖος; comp. Ges. *Thes.* 534*b*), great-grandfather of Mattathias, seems certainly correct. How it came to pass that a man, otherwise obscure, gave his name to the family, cannot now be discovered; but no stress can be laid upon this difficulty, nor upon the fact that in Jewish prayers (Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Jud.* i. 264) Mattathias himself is called *Hashmonai*.[a]

The connexion of the various members of the Maccabaean family will be seen from the accompanying table:—

THE ASMONAEAN FAMILY.



The original authorities for the history of the Maccabees are extremely scanty; but for the course of the war itself the first book of Maccabees is a most trustworthy, if an incomplete witness. [MACCABEES, BOOKS OF.] The second book adds some important details to the history of the earlier part of the struggle, and of the events which immediately preceded it; but all the statements which it contains require close examination, and must be received with caution. Josephus follows 1 Macc., for the period which it embraces, very closely, but slight additions of names and minute particulars indicate that he was in possession of other materials, probably oral traditions, which have not been elsewhere preserved. On the other hand there are cases, in which, from haste or carelessness, he has misinterpreted his authority. From other sources little can be gleaned. Hebrew and classical literature furnishes nothing more than a few traditional fragments which illustrate Maccabaean history. So long an interval elapsed before the Hebrew traditions were committed to writing, that facts, which not embodied in rites or precepts, became shadowy distorted. Classical writers, again, were little

[a] Herzfeld derives the name from חסן, "to temper steel;" so that it becomes in sense a synonym of "Maccabee."

to chronicle a conflict which probably they could not have understood. Of the great work of Polybius—who alone might have been expected to appreciate the importance of the Jewish war—only fragments remain which refer to this period; but the omission of all mention of the Maccabaean campaigns in the corresponding sections of Livy, who usually follows very closely in the track of the Greek historian, seems to prove that Polybius also omitted them. The account of the Syrian kings in Appian is too meagre to make his silence remarkable; but indifference or contempt must be the explanation of a general silence which is too widespread to be accidental. Even when the fall of Jerusalem had directed unusual attention to the past fortunes of its defenders, Tacitus was able to dismiss the Maccabaean conflict in a sentence remarkable for scornful carelessness. "During the dominion of the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians, the Jews," he says, "were the most abject of their dependent subjects. After the Macedonians obtained the supremacy of the East, King Antiochus endeavoured to do away with their superstition, and introduce Greek habits, but was hindered by a Parthian war from reforming a most repulsive people" (*teterrimam gentem*, Tac. *Hist.* v. 8).[b]

1. The essential causes of the Maccabaean War have been already pointed out [ANTIOCHUS IV. vol. i. p. 75a]. The annals of the Maccabaean family, "by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel" (1 Macc. v. 62), present the record of its progress. The standard of independence was first raised by MATTATHIAS, a priest[c] of the course of Joarib, which was the first of the twenty-four courses (1 Chr. xxiv. 7), and consequently of the noblest blood (comp. Jos. *Vit.* i.; Grimm, on 1 *Macc.* ii. 1). The persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes had already roused his indignation, when emissaries of the king, headed by Apelles (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 6, §2), came to MODIN, where he dwelt, and required the people to offer idolatrous sacrifice (1 Mac. ii. 15, &c.). Mattathias rejected the overtures which were made to him first, and when a Jew came to the altar to renounce his faith, slew him, and afterwards Apelles, "as Phinees—from whom he was descended—did unto Zambri." After this he fled with his sons to the mountains (B.C. 168), whither he was followed by numerous bands of fugitives. Some of them, not in close connexion with Mattathias, being attacked on the Sabbath, offered no resistance, and fell to the number of a thousand. When Mattathias heard of the disaster he asserted the duty of self-defence, and continued the war with signal success, destroying the idolatrous altars, and restoring the observance of the Law. He seems, however, to have been already advanced in years when the rising was made, and he did not long survive the fatigues of active service. He died B.C. 166, and "was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin." The speech which he is said to have addressed to his sons before his death is remarkable as containing the first distinct allusion to the contents of Daniel, a book which seems to have exercised the most powerful influence on the Maccabaean conflict (1 Macc. ii. 60; comp. Jos. *Ant.* xii. 6, §3).

2. Mattathias himself named JUDAS—apparently his third son—as his successor in directing the war of independence (1 Macc. ii. 66). The energy and skill of "THE MACCABEE" (ὁ Μακκαβαῖος), as Judas is often called in 2 Macc., fully justified his father's preference. It appears that he had already taken a prominent part in the first secession to the mountains (2 Macc. v. 27, where Mattathias is not mentioned); and on receiving the chief command he devoted himself to the task of combining for common action those who were still faithful to the religion of their fathers (2 Macc. viii. 1). His first enterprises were night attacks and sudden surprises, which were best suited to the troops at his disposal (2 Macc. viii. 6, 7); and when his men were encouraged by these means, he ventured on more important operations, and defeated Apollonius (1 Macc. iii. 10-12) and Seron (1 Macc. iii. 13-24), who hearing of his success came against him with very superior forces, at Bethhoron, the scene of the most glorious victories of the Jews in earlier and later times. [BETH-HORON.] Shortly afterwards Antiochus Epiphanes, whose resources had been impoverished by the war (1 Macc. iii. 27-31), left the government of the Palestinian provinces to Lysias, while he himself undertook an expedition against Persia in the hope of recruiting his treasury. Lysias organised an expedition against Judas; but his army, a part of which had been separated from the main body to effect a surprise, was defeated by Judas at Emmaus with great loss (B.C. 166), after the Jews had kept a solemn fast at Mizpeh (1 Macc. iii. 46-53); and in the next year Lysias himself was routed at Bethsura. After this success Judas was able to occupy Jerusalem, except the "tower" (1 Macc. vi. 18, 19), and he purified the Temple (1 Macc. iv. 36, 41-53) on the 25th of Cisleu, exactly three years after its profanation (1 Macc. i. 59 [DEDICATION]; Grimm, on 1 Macc. iv. 59). The next year was spent in wars with frontier nations (1 Macc. v.); but in spite of continued triumphs the position of Judas was still precarious. In B.C. 163 Lysias, with the young king Antiochus Eupator, took Bethsura, which had been fortified by Judas as the key of the Idumaean border (1 Macc. iv. 61), after having defeated the patriots who came to its relief; and next laid siege to Jerusalem. The city was on the point of surrendering, when the approach of Philip, who claimed the guardianship of the king, induced Lysias to guarantee to the Jews complete liberty of religion. The compact thus made was soon broken, but shortly afterwards Lysias fell into the hands of Demetrius, a new claimant of the throne, and was put to death. The accession of Demetrius brought with it fresh troubles to the patriot Jews. A large party of their countrymen, with ALCIMUS at their head, gained the ear of the king, and he sent Nicanor against Judas. Nicanor was defeated, first at Capharsalama, and again in a decisive battle at Adasa, near to the glorious field of Bethhoron (B.C. 161, on the 13th Adar; 1 Macc. vii. 49; 2 Macc. xv. 36), where he was slain. This victory was the greatest of Judas's successes, and practically decided the question of Jewish independence, but it was followed by an unexpected reverse. Judas employed the short interval of peace which followed in negotiating a favourable league with the Romans. But in the same year, before the answer of the senate was returned, a new

[b] The short notice of the Jews in Diodorus Siculus (*Lib.* xl. Ecl. 1) is singularly free from popular misrepresentations, many of which, however, he quotes as used by the counsellors of Antiochus to urge the king to extirpate the nation (*Lib.* xxxiv., Ecl. 1).

[c] The later tradition, by a natural exaggeration, made him high-priest. Comp. Herzfeld, *Gesch.* i. 264, 379.

invasion under Bacchides took place. The Roman alliance seems to have alienated many of the extreme Jewish party from Judas (*Midr. Hhanuka*, quoted by Raphall, *Hist. of Jews*, i. 325), and he was able only to gather a small force to meet the sudden danger. Of this a large part deserted him on the eve of the battle; but the courage of Judas was unshaken, and he fell at Eleasa, the Jewish Thermopylae, fighting at desperate odds against the invaders. His body was recovered by his brothers, and buried at Modin "in the sepulchre of his fathers" (B.C. 161).[d]

3. After the death of Judas the patriotic party seems to have been for a short time wholly disorganised, and it was only by the pressure of unparalleled sufferings that they were driven to renew the conflict. For this purpose they offered the command to JONATHAN, surnamed Apphus (חַפּוּשׁ, *the wary*), the youngest son of Mattathias.

The policy of Jonathan shows the greatness of the loss involved in his brother's death. He made no attempt to maintain himself in the open country, but retired to the lowlands of the Jordan (1 Macc. ix. 42), where he gained some advantage over Bacchides (B.C. 161), who made an attempt to hem in and destroy his whole force. Not long afterwards Alcimus died (B.C. 160), and Bacchides losing, as it appears, the active support of the Grecizing party, retired from Palestine. Meanwhile Jonathan made such use of the interval of rest as to excite the fears of his Jewish enemies; and after two years Bacchides, at their request, again took the field against Jonathan (B.C. 158). This time he seems to have been but feebly supported, and after an unsuccessful campaign he accepted terms which Jonathan proposed; and after his departure Jonathan "judged the people at Michmash" (1 Macc. ix. 73), and gradually extended his power. The claim of Alexander Balas to the Syrian crown gave a new importance to Jonathan and his adherents. Demetrius I. empowered him to raise an army, a permission which was followed by the evacuation of all the outposts occupied by the Syrians except Bethsura, but Jonathan espoused the cause of Alexander, and refused the liberal offers which Demetrius made, when he heard that the Jews had resolved to join his rival (B.C. 153). The success of Alexander led to the elevation of Jonathan, who assumed the high-priestly office after the royal nomination* at the feast of tabernacles (1 Macc. x. 21), "the greatest and holiest feast" (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 4, §1); and not long after he placed the king under fresh obligations by the defeat of Apollonius, a general of the younger Demetrius (1 Macc. x.). [APOLLONIUS.] On the death of Alexander, Demetrius II., in spite of the reverse which he had experienced, sought to gain the support of the Jews (B.C. 145); but after receiving important assistance from them he failed to fulfil his promises, and on the appearance of Antiochus VI., Jonathan attached himself to his party, and though he fell into a position of great peril gained an important victory over the general of Demetrius. He then strengthened his position by alliances with Rome and "the Lacedaemonians" [SPARTANS], and gained several additional successes in the field (B.C. 144); but at last fell a victim to the treachery of Tryphon (B.C. 144), who feared that he would prove an obstacle to the design which he had formed of usurping the crown after the murder of the young Antiochus (1 Macc. xi. 8-xii. 4).

4. As soon as SIMON,[f] the last remaining brother of the Maccabaean family, heard of the detention of Jonathan in Ptolemais by Tryphon, he placed himself at the head of the patriot party, who were already beginning to despond, and effectually opposed the progress of the Syrians. His skill in war had been proved in the lifetime of Judas (1 Macc. v. 17-23), and he had taken an active share in the campaigns of Jonathan, when he was intrusted with a distinct command (1 Macc. xi. 59). He was soon enabled to consummate the object for which his family had fought gloriously but in vain. Tryphon, after carrying Jonathan about as a prisoner for some little time, put him to death, and then, having murdered Antiochus, seized the throne. On this Simon made overtures to Demetrius II. (B.C. 143), which were favourably received, and the independence of the Jews was at length formally recognised. The long struggle was now triumphantly ended, and it remained only to reap the fruits of victory. This Simon had now to do. In the next year he reduced "the tower" at Jerusalem, which up to this time had always been occupied by the Syrian faction; and during the remainder of his command extended and confirmed the power of his countrymen on all sides, in spite of the hostility of Antiochus Sidetes, who after a time abandoned the policy of Demetrius. [CENDEBAEUS.] The prudence and wisdom for which he was already distinguished at the time of his father's death (1 Macc. ii. 65), gained for the Jews the active support of Rome (1 Macc. xiv. 16-21), in addition to the confirmation of earlier treaties. After settling the external relations of the new state upon a sure basis, Simon regulated its internal administration. He encouraged trade and agriculture, and secured all the blessings of peace (1 Macc. xiv. 4-15). But in the midst of successes abroad and prosperity at home, he fell a victim to domestic treachery. Ptolemaeus, the governor of Jericho, his son-in-law, aspired to usurp the supreme power, and having invited Simon and two of his sons to a banquet in his castle at Dôk, he murdered them there B.C. 135 (1 Macc. xvi. 11-16).

5. The treason of Ptolemaeus failed in its object. JOHANNES HYRCANUS, one of the sons of Simon, escaped from the plot by which his life was threatened, and at once assumed the government (B.C. 135). At first he was hard pressed by Antiochus Sidetes, and only able to preserve

[d] Judas (like Mattathias) is represented in later times as high-priest. Even Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11, §2) speaks of the high-priesthood of Judas, and also says that he was elected by "the people" on the death of Alcimus (xii. 10, §6). But it is evident from 1 Macc. ix. 18, 56, that Judas died some time before Alcimus; and elsewhere (*Ant.* xx. 10, §3) Josephus himself says that the high-priesthood was vacant for seven years after the death of Alcimus, and that Jonathan was the first of the Asmonaean family who held the office.

* It does not appear that any direct claimant to the high-priesthood remained. Onias the younger, who asserted the claim of his father Onias, the last legitimate high-priest, had retired to Egypt.

[f] He was surnamed "Thassi" (Θασσί, Θασσεί); but the meaning of the title is uncertain. Michaelis (Comm. on 1 Macc. ii.) thinks that it represents the Chaldee תַּדְשֵׁי.

salem on condition of dismantling the fortifications and submitting to a tribute, B.C. 133. The foreign and civil wars of the Seleucidae gave him afterwards abundant opportunities to retrieve his losses. He reduced Idumaea (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 9, §1), confirmed the alliance with Rome, and at length succeeded in destroying Samaria, the hated rival of Jerusalem, B.C. 109. The external splendour of his government was marred by the growth of internal divisions (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10, §5, 6); but John escaped the fate of all the older members of his family, and died in peace B.C. 106-5. His eldest son Aristobulus I., who succeeded, was the first who assumed the kingly title, though Simon had enjoyed the fulness of the kingly power.

6. Two of the first generation of the Maccabaean family still remain to be mentioned. These, though they did not attain to the leadership of their countrymen like their brothers, shared their fate—Eleazer [ELEAZER, 8] by a noble act of self-devotion, John [JOHN, 2], apparently the eldest brother, by treachery. The sacrifice of the family was complete, and probably history offers no parallel to the undaunted courage with which such a band dared to face death, one by one, in the maintenance of a holy cause. The result was worthy of the sacrifice. The Maccabees inspired a subject-people with independence; they found a few personal followers, and they left a nation.

7. The great outlines of the Maccabaean contest, which are somewhat hidden in the annals thus briefly epitomised, admit of being traced with fair distinctness, though many points must always remain obscure from our ignorance of the numbers and distribution of the Jewish population, and of the general condition of the people at the time. The disputed succession to the Syrian throne (B.C. 153) was the political turning point of the struggle, which may thus be divided into two great periods. During the first period (B.C. 168-153) the patriots maintained their cause with varying success against the whole strength of Syria: during the second (B.C. 153-139), they were courted by rival factions, and their independence was acknowledged from time to time, though pledges given in times of danger were often broken when the danger was over. The paramount importance of Jerusalem is conspicuous throughout the whole war. The loss of the Holy City reduced the patriotic party at once to the condition of mere guerilla bands, issuing from "the mountains" or "the wilderness," to make sudden forays on the neighbouring towns. This was the first aspect of the war (2 Macc. viii. 1-7; comp. 1 Macc. ii. 45); and the scene of the early exploits of Judas was the hill-country to the N.E. of Jerusalem, from which he drove the invading armies at the famous battle-fields of BETH-HORON and EMMAUS (Nicopolis). The occupation of Jerusalem closed the first act of the war (B.C. 165); and after this Judas made rapid attacks on every side—in Idumaea, Ammon, Gilead, Galilee—but he made no permanent settlement in the countries which he ravaged. Bethsura was fortified as a defence of Jerusalem on the S.; but the authority of Judas seems to have been limited to the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem, though the influence of his name extended more widely (1 Macc. vii. 50, ἡ ἀγάπη αὐτοῦ). On the death of Judas the patriots were reduced to as great distress as at their first rising; and as Bacchides had the keys of the "mountains of Ephraim" (ix. 50) they were forced to find a refuge in the lowlands near Jericho, and after some slight successes Jonathan was allowed to settle at Michmash undisturbed, though the whole country remained absolutely under the sovereignty of Syria. So far it seemed that little had been gained when the contest between Alexander Balas and Demetrius I. opened a new period (B.C. 153). Jonathan was empowered to raise troops: the Jewish hostages were restored; many of the fortresses were abandoned; and apparently a definite district was assigned to the government of the high-priest. The former unfruitful conflicts at length produced their full harvest. The defeat at Eleasa, like the Swiss St. Jacob, had shown the worth of men who could face all odds, and no price seemed too great to secure their aid. When the Jewish leaders had once obtained legitimate power they proved able to maintain it, though their general success was chequered by some reverses. The solid power of the national party was seen by the slight effect which was produced by the treacherous murder of Jonathan. Simon was able at once to occupy his place, and carry out his plans. The Syrian garrison was withdrawn from Jerusalem; Joppa was occupied as a sea-port; and "four governments" (τέσσαρες νομοί, xi. 57, xiii. 37)—probably the central parts of the old kingdom of Judah, with three districts taken from Samaria (x. 38, 39)—were subjected to the sovereign authority of the high-priest.

8. The war, thus brought to a noble issue, if less famous is not less glorious than any of those in which a few brave men have successfully maintained the cause of freedom or religion against overpowering might. The answer of Judas to those who counselled retreat (1 Macc. ix. 10) was as true-hearted as that of Leonidas; and the exploits of his followers will bear favourable comparison with those of the Swiss, or the Dutch, or the Americans. It would be easy to point out parallels in Maccabaean history to the noblest traits of patriots and martyrs in other countries; but it may be enough here to claim for the contest the attention which it rarely receives. It seems, indeed, as if the indifference of classical writers were perpetuated in our own days, though there is no struggle—not even the wars of Joshua or David—which is more profoundly interesting to the Christian student. For it is not only in their victory over external difficulties that the heroism of the Maccabees is conspicuous: their real success was as much imperilled by internal divisions as by foreign force. They had to contend on the one hand against open and subtle attempts to introduce Greek customs, and on the other against an extreme Pharisaic party, which is seen from time to time opposing their counsels (1 Macc. vii. 12-18; comp. §2, end). And it was from Judas and those whom he inspired that the old faith received its last development and final impress before the coming of our Lord.

9. For that view of the Maccabaean war which regards it only as a civil and not as a religious conflict, is essentially one-sided. If there were no other evidence than the book of Daniel—whatever opinion be held as to the date of it—that alone would show how deeply the noblest hopes of the theocracy were centred in the success of the struggle. When the feelings of the nation were thus again turned with fresh power to their ancient faith, we might expect that there would be a new creative epoch in the national literature; or, if the form of Hebrew composition was already fixed by sacred

types, a prophet or psalmist would express the thoughts of the new age after the models of old time. Yet in part at least the leaders of Maccabaean times felt that they were separated by a real chasm from the times of the kingdom or of the exile. If they looked for a prophet in the future, they acknowledged that the spirit of prophecy was not among them. The volume of the prophetic writings was completed, and, as far as appears, no one ventured to imitate its contents. But the Hagiographa, though they were already long fixed as a definite collection [CANON], were not equally far removed from imitation. The apocalyptic visions of Daniel [DANIEL, §1] served as a pattern for the visions incorporated in the book of Enoch [ENOCH, BOOK OF]; and it has been commonly supposed that the Psalter contains compositions of the Maccabaean date. This supposition, which is at variance with the best evidence which can be obtained on the history of the Canon can only be received upon the clearest internal[g] proof; and it may well be questioned whether the hypothesis is not as much at variance with sound interpretation as with the history of the Canon. The extreme forms of the hypothesis, as that of Hitzig, who represents Ps. 1, 2, 44, 60, and all the last three books of the Psalms (Ps. 73-150) as Maccabaean (Grimm, 1 *Macc. Einl.* §9, 3), or of Just. Olshausen (quoted by Ewald, *Jahrb.* 1853, pp. 250 ff.), who is inclined to bring the whole Psalter with very few exceptions to that date, need only be mentioned as indicating the kind of conjecture which finds currency on such a subject. The real controversy is confined to a much narrower field; and the psalms which have been referred with the greatest show of reason to the Maccabaean age are Ps. 44, 60, 74, 79, 80, 83. It has been argued that all these speak of the dangers to which the house and people of God were exposed from heathen enemies, at a period later than the captivity; and the one ground for referring them to the time of the Maccabees is the general coincidence which they present with some features of the Greek oppression. But if it be admitted that the psalms in question are of a later date than the captivity, it by no means follows that they are Maccabaean. On the contrary they do not contain the slightest trace of those internal divisions of the people which were the most marked features of the Maccabaean struggle. The dangers then were as much from within as from without; and party jealousies brought the divine cause to the greatest peril (Ewald, *Psalmen*, 355). It is incredible that a series of Maccabaean psalms should contain no allusion to a system of enforced idolatry, or to a temporising priesthood, or to a faithless multitude. And while the obscurity which hangs over the history of the Persian supremacy from the time of Nehemiah to the invasion of Alexander, makes it impossible to fix with any precision a date to which the psalms can be referred, the one glimpse which is given of the state of Jerusalem in the interval (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 7) is such as to show that they

[g] The historical argument for the completion of the present collection of the Psalms before the compilation of Chronicles is very well given by Ewald (*Jahrb.* 1853, 4, pp. 20-32) In 1 Chr. xvi. 7-36 passages occur which are derived from Ps. cv., cvi., xcvi., of which the first two are among the latest hymns in the Psalter.

[h] It must, however, be noticed that the formula of quotation prefixed to the words from Ps. lxxix. in 1 Macc. vii. 17 is not that in which Scripture is quoted in later books, as is commonly said. It is not ὡς γέγραπται, or κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, but κατὰ τὸν λόγον ὃν ἔγραψε, which is variously altered by different authorities.

may well have found some sufficient occasion in the wars and disorders which attended the decline of the Persian power (comp. Ewald). It may, however, be doubted whether the arguments for a post-Babylonian date are conclusive. There is nothing in the psalms themselves which may not apply to the circumstances which attended the overthrow of the kingdom; and it seems incredible that the desolation of the Temple should have given occasion to no hymns of pious[h] sorrow.

10. The collection of the so-called *Psalms of Solomon* furnishes a strong confirmation of the belief that all the canonical Psalms are earlier than the Maccabaean era. This collection, which bears the clearest traces of unity of authorship, is, almost beyond question, a true Maccabaean work. There is every reason to believe (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. 343) that the book was originally composed in Hebrew; and it presents exactly those characteristics which are wanting in the other (conjectural) Maccabaean Psalms. "The holy ones" (*οἱ ὅσιοι*, חסידים [ASSIDAEANS]; *οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον*) appear throughout as a distinct class, struggling against hypocrites and men-pleasers, who make the observance of the law subservient to their own interests (Ps. Sol. iv., xiii.–xv.). The sanctuary is polluted by the abominations of professing servants of God before it is polluted by the heathen (Ps. Sol. i. 8, ii. 1 ff., viii. 8 ff., xvii. 15 ff.). National unfaithfulness is the cause of national punishment; and the end of trial is the "justification" of God (Ps. Sol. ii. 16, iii. 3, iv. 9, viii. 7 ff., ix.). On the other hand there is a holiness of works set up in some passages which violates the divine mean of Scripture (Ps. Sol. i. 2, 3, iii. 9); and, while the language is full of echoes of the Old Testament, it is impossible not to *feel* that it wants something which we find in all the canonical writings. The historical allusions in the Psalms of Solomon are as unequivocal as the description which they give of the state of the Jewish nation. An enemy "threw down the strong walls" of Jerusalem, and "Gentiles went up to the altar" (Ps. Sol. ii. 1-3; comp. 1 Macc. i. 31). In his pride "he wrought all things in Jerusalem, as the Gentiles in their cities do for their gods" (Ps. Sol. xvii. 16). "Those who loved the assemblies of the saints (*συναγωγὰς ὁσίων*), wandered (lit. *ἐπλανῶντο*) in deserts" (Ps. Sol. xvii. 19; comp. 1 Macc. i. 54, ii. 28); and there "was no one in the midst of Jerusalem who did mercy and truth" (Ps. Sol. xvii. 17; comp. 1 Macc. i. 38). One Psalm (viii.) appears to refer to a somewhat later period. The people wrought wickedly, and God sent upon them a spirit of error. He brought one "from the extremity of the earth" (viii. 16; comp. 1 Macc. vii. 1,—"Demetrius from Rome"). "The princes of the land met him with joy" (1 Macc. vii. 5-8), and he entered the land in safety (1 Macc. vii. 9-12,—Bacchides his general), "as a father in peace" (1 Macc. vii. 15). Then "he slew the princes and every one wise in counsel" (1 Macc. vii. 16), and "poured out the blood of those who dwelt in Jerusalem" (1 Macc. vii. 17).[i] The pro-

[i] The prominence given to the slaughter of the Assidaeans both in 1 Macc. and in the psalm, and the share which the Jews had directly in the second pollution of Jerusalem, seem to fix the events of the psalm to the time of Demetrius; but the close similarity (with this exception) between the invasions of Apollonius and Bacchides may leave some doubt as to the identification. (Compare 1 Macc. i. 29-38, with Ps. Sol. viii. 16-24.)

part of these evils, as a retributive and purifying judgment, leads to the most remarkable feature of the Psalms, the distinct expression of Messianic hope. In this respect they offer a direct contrast to the books of Maccabees (1 Macc. xiv. 41). The sorrow and the triumph are seen together in their spiritual aspect, and the expectation of "an anointed Lord" (χριστὸς Κύριος, Ps. Sol. xvii. 36 (xviii. 8); comp. Luke ii. 11) follows directly after the description of the impious assaults of Gentile enemies (Ps. Sol. xvii.; comp. Dan. xi. 45, xii.). "Blessed," it is said, "are they who are born in those days, to see the good things which the Lord shall do for the generation to come. [When men are brought] beneath the rod of correction of an anointed Lord (*or* the Lord's anointed, ὑπὸ ῥάβδον παιδείας χριστοῦ Κυρίου) in the fear of his God, in wisdom of spirit and of righteousness and of might" . . . then there shall be a "good generation in the fear of God, in the days of mercy" (Ps. Sol. xviii. 6-10).

11. Elsewhere there is little which marks the distinguishing religious character of the era. The notice of the Maccabaean heroes in the book of Daniel is much more general and brief than the corresponding notice of their great adversary; but it is not on that account less important as illustrating the relation of the famous chapter to the simple history of the period which it embraces. Nowhere is it more evident that facts are shadowed forth by the prophet only in their typical bearing on the development of God's kingdom. In this aspect the passage itself (Dan. xi. 29-35) will supersede in a great measure the necessity of a detailed comment. "*At the time appointed* [in the spring of 168 B.C.] *he* [Antiochus Epiph.] *shall return and come toward the south* [Egypt]; *but it shall not be as the first time, so also the last time* [though his first attempts shall be successful, in the end he shall fail]. *For the ships of Chittim* [the Romans] *shall come against him, and he shall be cast down, and return, and be very wroth against the holy covenant; and he shall do* [his will]; *yea he shall return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant* (comp. Dan. viii. 24, 25). *And forces from him* [at his bidding] *shall stand* [remain in Judaea as garrisons; comp. 1 Macc. i. 33, 34]; *and they shall pollute the sanctuary, the stronghold, and shall take away the daily* [sacrifice]; *and they shall set up the abomination that maketh desolate* [1 Macc. i. 45-47]. *And such as do wickedly against* (or rather *such as condemn*) *the covenant shall he corrupt* [to apostasy] *by smooth words; but the people that know their God shall be strong and do* [exploits]. *And they that understand* [know God and His law] *among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil* [some] *days* (1 Macc. i. 60-64). *Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help* (1 Macc. i. 28; 2 Macc. v. 27, Judas Macc. with nine others . . . .); *and many shall cleave to them* [the faithful followers of the law] *with hypocrisy* [dreading the prowess of Judas; 1 Macc. ii. 46, and yet ready to fall away at the first opportunity, 1 Macc. vii. 6]. *And some of them of understanding shall fall, to make trial among them, and to purge and to make them white, unto the time of the end: because* [the end is] *yet for a time appointed.*" From this point the prophet describes in detail the godlessness of the great oppressor (ver. 36-39), and then his last fortunes and death (ver. 40-45), but says nothing of the triumph of the Maccabees or of the restoration of the Temple, which preceded the last event by some months. This omission is scarcely intelligible unless we regard the facts as symbolising a higher struggle—a truth wrongly held by those who from early times referred verses 36-45 only to Antichrist, the antitype of Antiochus—in which that recovery of the earthly temple had no place. And at any rate it shows the imperfection of that view of the whole chapter by which it is regarded as a mere transcription of history.

12. The history of the Maccabees does not contain much which illustrates in detail the religious or social progress of the Jews. It is obvious that the period must not only have intensified old beliefs, but also have called out elements which were latent in them. One doctrine at least, that of a resurrection, and even of a material resurrection (2 Macc. xiv. 46), was brought out into the most distinct apprehension by suffering. "It is good to look for the hope from God, to be raised up again by Him" (πάλιν ἀναστήσεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ), was the substance of the martyr's answer to his judge; "as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life" (ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωήν, 2 Macc. vii. 14; comp. vi. 26, xiv. 46). "Our brethren," says another, "have fallen, having endured a short pain leading to everlasting life, being under the covenant of God" (2 Macc. vii. 36, πόνον ἀεννάου ζωῆς). And as it was believed that an interval elapsed between death and judgment, the dead were supposed to be in some measure still capable of profiting by the intercession of the living. Thus much is certainly expressed in the famous passage, 2 Macc. xii. 43-45, though the secondary notion of a purgatorial state is in no way implied in it. On the other hand it is not very clear how far the future judgment was supposed to extend. If the punishment of the wicked heathen in another life had formed a definite article of belief, it might have been expected to be put forward more prominently (2 Macc. vii. 17, 19, 35, &c.), though the passages in question may be understood of sufferings after death, and not only of earthly sufferings; but for the apostate Jews there was a certain judgment in reserve (vi. 26). The firm faith in the righteous providence of God shown in the chastening of His people, as contrasted with His neglect of other nations, is another proof of the widening view of the spiritual world, which is characteristic of the epoch (2 Macc. iv. 16, 17, v. 17-20, vi. 12-16, &c.). The lessons of the captivity were reduced to moral teaching; and in the same way the doctrine of the ministry of angels assumed an importance which is without parallel except in patriarchal times [2 MACCABEES]. It was perhaps from this cause also that the Messianic hope was limited in its range. The vivid perception of spiritual truths hindered the spread of a hope which had been cherished in a material form; and a pause, as it were, was made, in which men gained new points of sight from which to contemplate the old promises.

13. The various glimpses of national life which can be gained during the period, show on the whole a steady adherence to the Mosaic law. Probably the law was never more rigorously fulfilled. The importance of the Antiochian persecution in fixing the Canon of the Old Testament has been already noticed. [CANON, vol. i. 251.] The books of the law were specially sought out for destruction (1 Macc. i. 56, 57, iii. 48); and their distinctive value was in consequence proportionately increased To use the words of 1 Macc., "the holy books'

(τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ἡμῶν) were felt to make all other comfort superfluous (1 Macc. xii. 9). The strict observance of the sabbath (1 Macc. ii. 32; 2 Macc. vi. 11, viii. 26, &c.) and of the Sabbatical year (1 Macc. vi. 53), the law of the Nazarites (1 Macc. iii. 49), and the exemptions from military service (1 Macc. iii. 56), the solemn prayer and fasting (1 Macc. iii. 47; 2 Macc. x. 25, &c.), carry us back to early times. The provision for the maimed, the aged, and the bereaved (2 Macc. viii. 28, 30), was in the spirit of the law; and the new feast of the dedication was a homage to the old rites (2 Macc. i. 9) while it was a proof of independent life. The interruption of the succession to the high-priesthood was the most important innovation which was made, and one which prepared the way for the dissolution of the state. After various arbitrary changes the office was left vacant for seven years upon the death of Alcimus. The last descendant of Jozadak (Onias), in whose family it had been for nearly four centuries, fled to Egypt, and established a schismatic worship; and at last, when the support of the Jews became important, the Maccabaean leader, Jonathan, of the family of Joarib, was elected to the dignity by the nomination of the Syrian king (1 Macc. x. 20), whose will was confirmed, as it appears, by the voice of the people (comp. 1 Macc. xiv. 35).

14. Little can be said of the condition of literature and the arts which has not been already anticipated. In common intercourse the Jews used the Aramaic dialect which was established after the return: this was "their own language" (2 Macc. vii. 8, 21, 27, xii. 37); but it is evident from the narrative quoted that they understood Greek, which must have spread widely through the influence of Syrian officers. There is not, however, the slightest evidence that Greek was employed in Palestinian literature till a much later date. The description of the monument which was erected by Simon at Modin in memory of his family (1 Macc. xiii. 27-30), is the only record of the architecture of the time. The description is obscure, but in some features the structure appears to have presented a resemblance to the tombs of Porsena and the Curiatii (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 13), and perhaps to one still found in Idumaea. An oblong basement, of which the two chief faces were built of polished white marble (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 6, §5), supported "seven pyramids in a line ranged one against another," equal in number to the members of the Maccabaean family, including Simon himself. To these he added "other works of art (μηχανήματα), placing round (on the two chief faces?) great columns, (Josephus adds, each of a single block), bearing trophies of arms, and sculptured ships, which might be visible from the sea below." The language of 1 Macc. and Josephus implies that these columns were placed upon the basement, otherwise it might be supposed that the columns rose only to the height of the basement supporting the trophies on the same level as the pyramids. So much at least is evident, that the characteristics of this work—and probably of later Jewish architecture generally—bore closer affinity to the styles of Asia Minor and Greece than of Egypt or the East, a result which would follow equally from the Syriar dominion and the commerce which Simon opened by the Mediterranean (1 Macc. xiv. 5).

15. The only recognised relics of the time are the coins which bear the name of "Simon," or "Simon Prince (*Nasi*) of Israel" in Samaritan letters. The privilege of a national coinage was granted to Simon by Antiochus VII. Sidetes (1 Macc. xv. 6, κόμμα ἴδιον νόμισμα τῇ χώρᾳ); and numerous examples occur which have the dates of the first, second, third, and fourth years of the liberation of Jerusalem (Israel, Zion); and it is a remarkable confirmation of their genuineness, that in the first year the name Zion does not occur, as the citadel was not recovered till the second year of Simon's supremacy, while after the second year Zion alone is found (Bayer, *de Nummis*, 171). The privilege was first definitely accorded to Simon in B.C. 140, while the first year of Simon was B.C. 143 (1 Macc. xiii. 42); but this discrepancy causes little difficulty, as it is not unlikely that the concession of Antiochus was made in favour of a practice already existing. No date is given later than the fourth year, but coins of Simon occur without a date, which may belong to the four last years of his life. The emblems which the coins bear have generally a connexion with Jewish history—a vine-leaf, a cluster of grapes, a vase (of manna?), a trifid flowering rod, a palm branch surrounded by a wreath of laurel, a lyre (1 Macc. xiii. 51), a bundle of branches symbolic of the feast of tabernacles. The coins issued in the last war of independence by Bar-cochba, repeat many of these emblems, and there is considerable difficulty in distinguishing the two series. The authenticity of all the Maccabaean coins was impugned by Tychsen (*Die Unächtheit d. Jud. Münzen . . . bewiesen . . .* O. G. Tychsen, 1779), but on insufficient grounds. He was answered by Bayer, whose admirable essays (*De Nummis Hebr. Samaritanis*, Val. Ed. 1781; *Vindiciae . . .* 1780) give the most complete account of the coins, though he reckons some apparently later types as Maccabaean. Eckhel (*Doctr. Numm.* iii. p. 455 ff.) has given a good account of the controversy, and an accurate description of the chief types of the coins. Comp. De Saulcy, *Numism. Judaique*; Ewald, *Gesch.* vii. 366, 476. [MONEY.]

The authorities for the Maccabaean history have been given already. Of modern works, that of Ewald is by far the best. Herzfeld has collected a mass of details, chiefly from late sources, which are interesting and sometimes valuable; but the student of the period cannot but feel how difficult it is to realise it as a whole. Indeed, it seems that the instinct was true which named it from one chief hero. In this last stage of the history of Israel, as in the first, all life came from the leader; and it is the greatest glory of the Maccabees that while they found at first all turn upon their personal fortunes they left a nation strong enough to preserve an independent faith till the typical kingdom gave place to a universal Church. [B. F. W.]

MACCABEES, BOOKS OF (Μακκαβαίων α′, β′, &c. Four books which bear the common title of "Maccabees," are found in some MSS. of the LXX. Two of these were included in the early current Latin versions of the Bible, and thence passed into the Vulgate. As forming part of the Vulgate they were received as canonical by the council of Trent, and retained among the *apocrypha* by the reformed churches. The two other books obtained no such wide circulation, and have only a secondary connexion with the Maccabaean history. But all the books, though they differ most widely in character and date and worth, possess points of interest which make them a fruitful field for study. If the historic order were

observed, the so-called *third* book would come first, the *fourth* would be an appendix to the *second*, which would retain its place, and the *first* would come last; but it will be more convenient to examine the books in the order in which they are found in the MSS., which was probably decided by some vague tradition of their relative antiquity.

The controversy as to the mutual relations and historic worth of the first two books of Maccabees has given rise to much very ingenious and partial criticism. The subject was very nearly exhausted by a series of essays published in the last century, which contain in the midst of much unfair reasoning the substance of what has been written since. The discussion was occasioned by E. Frölich's *Annals of Syria* (*Annales . . . . Syriae . . . . veteribus illustrati.* Vindob. 1744). In this great work the author—a Jesuit—had claimed paramount authority for the books of Maccabees. This claim was denied by E. F. Wernsdorf in his *Prolusio de fontibus historiae Syriae in Libris Macc.* (Lips. 1746). Frölich replied to this essay in another. *De fontibus hist. Syriae in Libris Macc. prolusio . . . . in examen vocata* (Vindob. 1746); and then the argument fell into other hands. Wernsdorf's brother (Gli. Wernsdorf) undertook to support his cause, which he did in a *Commentatio historico-critica de fide librorum Macc.* (Wratisl. 1747); and nothing has been written on the same side which can be compared with his work. By the vigour and freedom of his style, by his surprising erudition and unwavering confidence—almost worthy of Bentley—he carries his reader often beyond the bounds of true criticism, and it is only after reflection that the littleness and sophistry of many of his arguments are apparent. But in spite of the injustice and arrogance of the book, it contains very much which is of the greatest value, and no abstract can give an adequate notion of its power. The reply to Wernsdorf was published anonymously by another Jesuit:—*Auctoritas utriusque Libri Macc. canonico-historica asserta . . . . a quodam Soc. Jesu sacerdote* (Vindob. 1749). The authorship of this was fixed upon J. Khell (Welte, *Einl.* p. 23 *note*); and while in many points Khell is unequal to his adversary, his book contains some very useful collections for the history of the canon. In more recent times, F. X. Patritius (another Jesuit) has made a fresh attempt to establish the complete harmony of the books, and, on the whole, his essay (*De Consensu utriusque Libri Macc.* Romae, 1856), though far from satisfactory, is the most able defence of the books which has been published.

1. The First Book of Maccabees.—1. The first book of Maccabees contains a history of the patriotic struggle, from the first resistance of Mattathias to the settled sovereignty and death of Simon, a period of thirty-three years (B.C. 168-135). The opening chapter gives a short summary of the conquests of Alexander the Great as laying the foundations of the Greek empire in the East, and describes at greater length the oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes, culminating in his desperate attempt to extirpate Judaism. The great subject of the book begins with the enumeration of the Maccabean family (ii. 1-5), which is followed by an account of the part which the aged Mattathias took in rousing and guiding the spirit of his countrymen (vv. 6-70). The remainder of the narrative is occupied with the exploits of his five sons, three of whom in succession carried on with varying fortune the work which he began, till it reached its triumphant issue. Each of the three divisions into which the main portion of the book thus naturally falls, is stamped with an individual character derived from its special hero. First Judas, by a series of brilliant successes, and scarcely less noble reverses, fully roused his countrymen to their work, and then fell at a Jewish Thermopylae (iii. 1–ix. 22, B.C. 167-161). Next Jonathan confirmed by policy the advantages which his brother had gained by chivalrous daring, and fell not in open field, but by the treachery of a usurper (ix. 23–xii. 53; B.C. 161-143). Last of all Simon, by wisdom and vigour, gave shape and order to the new state, and was formally installed in the princely office. He also fell, but by domestic and not by foreign treason; and his son succeeded to his power (xiii.–xvi. B.C. 143-135). The history, in this aspect, presents a kind of epic unity. The passing allusion to the achievements of after times (xvi. 23, 24) relieves the impression caused by the murder of Simon. But at his death the victory was already won: the life of Judaism had mastered the tyranny of Greece.

2. While the grandeur and unity of the subject invests the book with almost an epic beauty, it never loses the character of history. The earlier part of the narrative, including the exploits of Judas, is cast in a more poetic mould than any other part, except the brief eulogy of Simon (xiv. 4-15); but when the style is most poetical (i. 37-40, ii. 7-13, 49-68, iii. 3-9, 18-22, iv. 8-11, 30-33, 38, vi. 10-13, vii. 37, 38, 41, 42)—and this poetical form is chiefly observable in the speeches—it seems to be true in spirit. The great marks of trustworthiness are everywhere conspicuous. Victory and failure and despondency are, on the whole, chronicled with the same candour. There is no attempt to bring into open display the working of providence. In speaking of Antiochus Epiphanes (i. 10 ff.) the writer betrays no unjust violence, while he marks in one expressive phrase (i. 10, ῥίζα ἁμαρτωλός) the character of the Syrian type of antichrist (cf. Is. xi. 10; Dan. xi. 36); and if no mention is made of the reckless profligacy of Alexander Balas, it must be remembered that his relations to the Jews were honourable and liberal, and these alone fall within the scope of the history. So far as the circumstances admit, the general accuracy of the book is established by the evidence of other authorities; but for a considerable period it is the single source of our information. And, indeed, it has little need of external testimony to its worth. Its whole character bears adequate witness to its essential truthfulness; and Luther—no servile judge—expressed himself as not disinclined, on internal grounds, to see it "reckoned among the books of Holy Scripture" ("Diess Buch . . . . fast eine gleiche Weise hält mit Reden und Worten wie andere heilige Bücher und nicht unwürdig gewest wäre, hineinzurechnen, weil es ein sehr nöthig und nützlich Buch ist zu verstehen den Propheten Daniel im 11 Kapitel." *Werke*, von Walch, xiv. 94, ap. Grimm, p. xxii.).

3. There are, however, some points in which the writer appears to have been imperfectly informed, especially in the history of foreign nations; and some, again, in which he has been supposed to have magnified the difficulties and successes of his countrymen. Of the former class of objections two, which turn upon the description given of the foundation of the Greek kingdoms of the East

(1 Macc i. 5-9), and of the power of Rome (viii. 1-16), deserve notice from their intrinsic interest. After giving a rapid summary of the exploits of Alexander—the reading and interpretation of ver. 1 are too uncertain to allow of objections based upon the common text—the writer states that the king, conscious of approaching death "divided his kingdom among his servants who had been brought up with him from his youth" (1 Macc. i. 6, διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ἔτι ζῶντος αυτοῦ) . . . . "and after his death they all put on crowns." Various rumours, it is known (Curt. x. 10), prevailed about a will of Alexander, which decided the distribution of the provinces of his kingdom, but this narrative is evidently a different and independent tradition. It may rest upon some former indication of the king's wishes, but in the absence of all corroborative evidence it can scarcely be accepted as a historic fact (Patritius, *De Cons. Macc.* pref. viii.), though it is a remarkable proof of the desire which men felt to attribute the constitution of the Greek power to the immediate counsels of its great founder. In this instance the author has probably accepted without inquiry the opinion of his countrymen; in the other it is distinctly said that the account of the greatness of Rome was brought to Judas by common report (1 Macc. viii. 1, 2, ἤκουσεν . . . . διηγήσαντο). The statements made give a lively impression of the popular estimate of the conquerors of the west, whose character and victories are described chiefly with open or covert allusion to the Greek powers. The subjugation of the Galatians, who were the terror of the neighbouring people (Liv. xxxviii. 37), and the conquest of Spain, the Tarshish (comp. ver. 3) of Phoenician merchants, are noticed, as would be natural from the immediate interest of the events; but the wars with Carthage are wholly omitted (Josephus adds these in his narrative, *Ant.* xii. 10, §6). The errors in detail—as the capture of Antiochus the Great by the Romans (ver. 7), the numbers of his armament (ver. 6), the constitution of the Roman senate (ver. 15), the *one* supreme yearly officer at Rome (ver. 16; comp. xv. 16)—are only such as might be expected in oral accounts; and the endurance (ver. 4, μακροθυμία), the good faith (ver. 112), and the simplicity of the republic (ver. 14, οὐκ ἐπέθετο οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν διάδημα καὶ οὐ περιεβάλοντο πορφύραν ὥστε ἀδρυνθῆναι ἐν αὐτῇ, contrast i. 9), were features likely to arrest the attention of orientals. The very imperfection of the writer's knowledge—for it seems likely (ver. 11) that he remodels the rumours to suit his own time—is instructive, as affording a glimpse of the extent and manner in which fame spread the reputation of the Romans in the scene of their future conquests. Nor are the mistakes as to the condition of foreign states calculated to weaken the testimony of the book to national history. They are perfectly consistent with good faith in the narrator; and even if there are inaccuracies in recording the relative numbers of the Jewish and Syrian forces (xi. 45-47; vii. 46), these need cause little surprise, and may in some degree be due to errors of transcription.[a]

4. Much has been written as to the sources from which the narrative was derived, but there does not seem to be evidence sufficient to indicate them with any certainty. In one passage (ix. 22) the author implies that written accounts of some of the actions of Judas were in existence (τὰ περισσὰ . . . . κατεγράφη); and the poetical character of the first section of the book, due in a great measure to the introduction of speeches, was probably borrowed from the writings on which that part was based. It appears, again, to be a reasonable conclusion from the mention of the official records of the life of Hyrcanus (xvi. 24, ταῦτα γέγραπται ἐπὶ βιβλίῳ ἡμερῶν ἀρχιερωσύνης αὐτοῦ), that similar records existed at least for the high-priesthood of Simon. There is nothing certainly to indicate that the writer designed to fill up any gap in the history; and the notice of the change of reckoning which attended the elevation of Simon (xiii. 42) seems to suggest the existence of some kind of public register. The constant appeal to official documents is a further proof both of the preservation of public records and of the sense entertained of their importance. Many documents are inserted in the text of the history, but even when they are described as "copies" (ἀντίγραφα) it is questionable whether the writer designed to give more than the substance of the originals. Some bear clear marks of authenticity (viii. 22-32, xii. 6-18), while others are open to grave difficulties and suspicion; but it is worthy of notice that the letters of the Syrian kings generally appear to be genuine (x. 18-20, 25-45, xi. 30-37, xiii. 36-40, xv. 2-9). What has been said will show the extent to which the writer may have used written authorities, but while the memory of the events was still recent it is not possible that he should have confined himself to them. If he was not himself engaged in the war of independence, he must have been familiar with those who were, and their information would supplement and connect the narratives which were already current, and which were probably confined to isolated passages in the history. But whatever were the sources of different parts of the book, and in whatever way written, oral, and personal information was combined in its structure, the writer made the materials which he used truly his own; and the minute exactness of the geographical details carries the conviction that the whole finally rests upon the evidence of eye-witnesses.

5. The language of the book does not present any striking peculiarities. Both in diction and structure it is generally simple and unaffected, with a marked and yet not harsh hebraistic character. The number of peculiar words is not very considerable, especially when compared with those in 2 Macc. Some of these are late forms, as ψογέω (ψογίζω), xi. 5, 11; ἐξουδένωσις, i. 39; ὑπλοδοτέω, xiv. 32; ἀσπιδίσκη, iv. 57; δειλόομαι iv. 8, 21, v. 4, xvi. 6; ὄμηρα, viii. 7, ix. 53, &c.; ἀφαίρεμα, xv. 5; τελωνεῖσθαι, xiii. 39; ἐξουσιάζεσθαι, x. 70; or compounds, such as ἀποσκορπίζω xi. 55; ἐπισυστρέφω, xiv. 44; δειλόψυχος, viii. 15, xvi. 5; φονοκτονία, i. 24. Other words are used in new or strange senses, as ἀδρύνω, viii. 14; παράστασις, xv. 32; διαστολή, viii. 7. Some phrases clearly express a Semitic idiom (ii. 49 δοῦναι κέρας τῳ ἁμαρτ. vi. 23, x. 62, xii. 53), and the influence of the LXX. is continually perceptible (*e. g.* i. 54, ii. 63, vii. 17, ix. 23, xiv. 9); but in the main (comp. §6) the hebraisms which exist are such as might have been naturalised in the Hebrew-Greek of Palestine. Josephus undoubtedly made use of the Greek text (*Ant.* xii. 5 ff.);

[a] The relation of the history of Josephus to that of 1 Macc. is carefully discussed by Grimm, *Exeg. Handb. Einl.* §9 (5).

apart from external evidence, this might have been supposed to be the original. But,

6. The testimony of antiquity leaves no doubt but that the book was first written in Hebrew. Origen, in his famous catalogue of the books of Scripture (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25), after enumerating the contents of the O. T. according to the Hebrew canon, adds: "But without (*i. e.* excluded from the number of) these is the Maccabaean history (τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά), which is entitled *Sarbeth Sabbanaiel*."[b] In giving the names of the books of the O. T. he had subjoined the Hebrew to the Greek title in exactly the same manner, and there can be therefore no question but that he was acquainted with a Hebrew original for the *Maccabees*, as for the other books. The term *Maccabees* is, however, somewhat vague, though the analogy of the other parts of the list requires that it should be limited to one book; but the statement of Jerome is quite explicit:—"The first book of Maccabees," he says, "I found in Hebrew; the second is Greek, as can be shewn in fact from its style alone" (*Prol. Gal. ad Libr. Reg.*). Admitting the evidence of these two fathers, who were alone able to speak with authority on a subject of Hebrew literature during the first four centuries, the fact of the Hebrew original of the book may be supported by several internal arguments which would be in themselves insufficient to establish it. Some of the hebraisms are such as suggest rather the immediate influence of a Hebrew text than the free adoption of a Hebrew idiom (i. 4, ἐγένοντο εἰς φόρον; 16, ἡτοιμάσθη ἡ βασ.; 29, δύο ἔτη ἡμερῶν; 36, εἰς διάβολον πονηρόν; 58, ἐν παντὶ μηνὶ καὶ μηνί, &c.; ii. 57, i. 9, ἀπολλυμένους; iv. 2, v. 37, μετὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, &c.), and difficulties in the Greek text are removed by a recurrence to the words which may be supposed to have been used in the original (i. 28, 'πὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας for עַל־יֹשְׁבֵיהָ; i. 36, ii. 8, iv. 19, xvi. 3). A question, however, might be raised whether the book was written in biblical Hebrew, or in the later Aramaic (Chaldee); but it seems almost certain that the writer took the canonical histories as his model; and the use of the original text of Scripture by the learned class would preserve the Hebrew as a literary language when it had ceased to be the language of common life. But it is by no means unlikely (Grimm, *Exeg. Handb.* §4) that the Hebrew was corrupted by later idioms, as in the most recent books of the O. T. It seems almost incredible that any one should have imagined that the worthless *Megillath Antiochus*, of which Bartolocci's Latin translation is printed by Fabricius (*Cod. Pseud. V. T.* i. 1165-74), was the Hebrew original of which Origen and Jerome spoke.[c] This tract, which occurs in some of the Jewish services for the Feast of Dedication (Fabricius, *l. c.*), is a perfectly unhistorical narrative of some of the incidents of the Maccabaean war, in which John the high-priest, and not Judas, plays by far the most conspicuous part. The order of events is so entirely disregarded in it that, after the death of Judas, Mattathias is represented as leading his other sons to the decisive victory which preceded the purification of the Temple.

7. The whole structure of 1 Macc. points to Palestine as the place of its composition. This fact itself is a strong proof for a Hebrew original, for there is no trace of a Greek Palestinian literature during the Hasmonaean dynasty, though the wide use of the LXX. towards the close of the period prepared the way for the apostolic writings. But though the country of the writer can be thus fixed with certainty, there is considerable doubt as to his date. At the close of the book he mentions, in general terms, the acts of Johannes Hyrcanus as written "in the chronicles of his priesthood from the time that he was made high-priest after his father" (xvi. 23, 24). From this it has been concluded that he must have written after the death of Hyrcanus, B.C. 106; and the note in xiii. 30 (ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης), implies the lapse of a considerable time since the accession of Simon (B.C. 143). On the other hand, the omission of all mention of the close of the government of Hyrcanus, when the note of its commencement is given, may be urged as an argument for placing the book late in his long reign, but before his death. It cannot certainly have been composed long after his death; for it would have been almost impossible to write a history so full of simple faith and joyous triumph in the midst of the troubles which, early in the succeeding reign, threatened too distinctly the coming dissolution of the state. Combining these two limits, we may place the date of the original book between B.C. 120-100. The date and person of the Greek translator are wholly undetermined; but it is unlikely that such a book would remain long unknown or untranslated at Alexandria.

8. In a religious aspect the book is more remarkable negatively than positively. The historical instinct of the writer confines him to the bare recital of facts, and were it not for the words of others which he records, it might seem that the true theocratic aspect of national life had been lost. Not only does he relate no miracle, such as occur in 2 Macc., but he does not even refer the triumphant successes of the Jews to divine interposition.[d] It is a characteristic of the same kind that he passes over without any clear notice the Messianic hopes, which, as appears from the Psalms of Solomon and the Book of Enoch, were raised to the highest pitch by the successful struggle for independence. Yet he preserves faint traces of the national belief. He mentions the time from which "a prophet was not seen among them" (1 Macc. ix. 27, οὐκ ὤφθη προφήτης) as a marked epoch; and twice he anticipates the future coming of a prophet as of one who should make a direct revelation of the will of God to His people (iv. 46, μέχρι τοῦ παραγενηθῆναι προφήτην τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν), and supersede the temporary arrangements of a merely civil dynasty (xiv. 41, τοῦ εἶναι Σίμωνα ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἕως τοῦ ἀνασ-

[b] Σαβανὰὶλ Σαβαναὶελ. This is undoubtedly the true reading without the λ. All the explanations of the word with which I am acquainted start from the false reading —Sarbeth—. "The rod of the renegades" (סַרְבַּנְיֵאל, Ewald). "The sceptre of the prince of the sons of God" (שֵׁרְבֵּי בְנֵי, Ewald). "The history of the princes of the sons of God" (שִׂרְבֵּי בְנֵי); and I cannot propose any satisfactory transcription of the true reading.

[c] The book is found not only in Hebrew, but also in Chaldee (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V. T.* i. 441 *note*).

[d] The passage xi. 71, 2, may seem to contradict this assertion; but though some writers, even from early times, have regarded the event as miraculous, the tone of the writer seems only to be that of one describing a noble act of successful valour.

τῆναι προφήτην πιστόν). But the hope or belief occupies no prominent place in the book; and, like the book of Esther, its greatest merit is, that it is throughout inspired by the faith to which it gives no definite expression, and shows, in deed rather than in word, both the action of Providence and a sustaining trust in His power.

9. The book does not seem to have been much used in early times. It offered far less for rhetorical purposes than the second book; and the history itself lay beyond the ordinary limits of Christian study. Tertullian alludes generally to the conduct of the Maccabaean war (*adv. Jud.* 4). Clement of Alexandria speaks of "the book of the Maccabaean history" (τὸ [βιβλίον] τῶν Μακκαβαϊκῶν, *Strom.* i. § 123), as elsewhere (*Strom.* v. § 98) of "the epitome" (ἡ τῶν Μακκαβαϊκῶν ἐπιτομή). Eusebius assumes an acquaintance with the two books (*Praep. Ev.* viii. 9, ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Μακκαβαίων); and scanty notices of the first book, but more of the second, occur in later writers.

10. The books of Maccabees were not included by Jerome in his translation of the Bible. "The first book," he says, "I found in Hebrew" (*Prol. Gal. in Reg.*), but he takes no notice of the Latin version, and certainly did not revise it. The version of the two books which has been incorporated in the Romish Vulgate was consequently derived from the old Latin, current before Jerome's time. This version was obviously made from the Greek, and in the main follows it closely. Besides the common text, Sabatier has published a version of a considerable part of the first book (cap. i.–xiv. 1) from a very ancient Paris MS. (*S. Germ.* 15) (*annorum saltem nongentorum*, in 1751), which exhibits an earlier form of the text. Grimm, strangely misquoting Sabatier (*Exeg. Handb.* §10), inverts the relation of the two versions; but a comparison of the two, even for a few verses, can leave no doubt but that the St. Germain MS. represents the most ancient text, following the Greek words and idioms with a slavish fidelity (Sabatier, p. 1014, "Quemadmodum autem etiamnum inveniri possunt MSS. codices qui Psalmos ante omnem Hieronymi correctionem exhibeant, ita pariter inventus est a nobis codex, qui libri primi Machabaeorum partem continet majorem, minime quidem correctam, sed qualis olim in nonullis MSS. antiquis reperiebatur"). Mai (*Spicil. Rom.* ix. *App.* 60) has published a fragment of another Latin translation (c. ii. 49-64), which differs widely from both texts. The Syriac version given in the Polyglotts is, like the Latin, a close rendering of the Greek. From the rendering of the proper names, it has been supposed that the translator lived while the Semitic forms were still current (Grimm, *Einl.* § 10); but the arguments which have been urged to show that the Syriac was derived directly from the Hebrew original, are of no weight against the overwhelming proof of the influence of the Greek text.

11. Of the early commentators on the first two books of Maccabees, the most important are Drusius and Grotius, whose notes are reprinted in the *Critici Sacri*. The annotations of Calmet (*Commentaire literal*, &c., Paris, 1724) and Michaelis (*Uebersetzung der 1 Macc. B.'s mit Anmerk.* Leipz. 1778), are of permanent interest; but for practical use the manual of Grimm (*Kurzgefasstes Exeg. Handb. zu den Apokryphen*, &c., Leipz. 1853-7) supplies everything which the student can require.

THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES.—1. The history of the Second Book of the Maccabees begins some years earlier than that of the First Book, and closes with the victory of Judas Maccabaeus over Nicanor. It thus embraces a period of twenty years, from B.C. 180 (?) to B.C. 161. For the few events noticed during the earlier years it is the chief authority; during the remainder of the time the narrative goes over the same ground as 1 Macc., but with very considerable differences. The first two chapters are taken up by two letters supposed to be addressed by the Palestinian to the Alexandrine Jews, and by a sketch of the author's plan, which proceeds without any perceptible break from the close of the second letter. The main narrative occupies the remainder of the book. This presents several natural divisions, which appear to coincide with the "five books" of Jason on which it was based. The first (c. iii.) contains the history of Heliodorus, as illustrating the fortunes of the Temple before the schism and apostasy of part of the nation (cir. B.C. 180). The second (iv.–vii.) gives varied details of the beginning and course of the great persecution—the murder of Onias, the crimes of Menelaus, the martyrdom of Eleazar, and of the mother with her seven sons (B.C. 175-167). The third (viii.–x. 9) follows the fortunes of Judas to the triumphant restoration of the Temple service (B.C. 166, 165). The fourth (x. 10–xiii.) includes the reign of Antiochus Eupator (B.C. 164-162). The fifth (xiv., xv.) records the treachery of Alcimus, the mission of Nicanor, and the crowning success of Judas (B.C. 162, 161). Each of these divisions is closed by a phrase which seems to mark the end of a definite subject (iii. 40, vii. 42, x. 8, xiii. 26, xv. 37); and they correspond in fact with distinct stages in the national struggle.

2. The relation of the letters with which the book opens to the substance of the book is extremely obscure. The first (i. 1-9) is a solemn invitation to the Egyptian Jews to celebrate "the feast of tabernacles in the month Casleu" (*i. e.* the feast of the Dedication, i. 9), as before they had sympathised with their brethren in Judaea in "the extremity of their trouble" (i. 7). The second (i. 10–ii. 18), according to the received division), which bears a formal salutation from "the council and Judas" to "Aristobulus . . . and the Jews in Egypt," is a strange, rambling collection of legendary stories of the death of "Antiochus," of the preservation of the sacred fire and its recovery by Nehemiah, of the hiding of the vessels of the sanctuary by Jeremiah, ending—if indeed the letter can be said to have any end—with the same exhortation to observe the feast of dedication (ii. 10-18). For it is impossible to point out any break in the construction or style after ver. 19, so that the writer passes insensibly from the epistolary form in ver. 19 to that of the epitomator in ver. 29 (δοκῶ). For this reason some critics, both in ancient and modern times (Wernsdorf, § 35, 123), have considered that the whole book is intended to be included in the letter.[a] It seems more natural to suppose that the author found the letters already in existence when he undertook to abridge the work of Jason, and attached his own introduction to the second letter for the convenience of transition, without considering that this would necessarily make the whole appear to be a letter. The letters themselves only lay no claims to authenticity. It is possible that

[a] The subscription in *Cod. Alex.* is Ἰούδα τοῦ Μακκαβαίου πραξέων ἐπιστολή.

they may rest upon some real correspondence between Jerusalem and Alexandria; but the extravagance of the fables which they contain makes it impossible to accept them in their present form as the work of the Jewish Council. Though it may readily be admitted that the fabulousness of the contents of a letter is no absolute proof of its spuriousness, yet on the other hand the stories may be (as in this case) so entirely unworthy of what we know of the position of the alleged writers, as to betray the work of an impostor or an interpolator. Some have supposed that the original language of one,[1] or of both the letters was Hebrew, but this cannot be made out by any conclusive arguments. On the other hand there is no ground at all for believing that they were made up by the author of the book.

3. The writer himself distinctly indicates the source of his narrative—"the five books of Jason of Cyrene" (ii. 23), of which he designed to furnish a short and agreeable epitome for the benefit of those who would be deterred from studying the larger work. (Jason.] His own labour, which he describes in strong terms (ii. 26, 7; comp. xv. 38, 39), was entirely confined to condensation and selection; all investigation of detail he declares to be the peculiar duty of the original historian. It is of course impossible to determine how far the colouring of the events is due to Jason, but "the Divine manifestations" in behalf of the Jews are enumerated among the subjects of which he treated; and no sufficient reasons have been alleged to show that the writer either followed any other authority in his later chapters, or altered the general character of the history which he epitomized. Of Jason himself nothing more is known than may be gleaned from this mention of him. It has been conjectured (Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* i. 455) that he was the same as the son of Eleazer (1 Macc. viii. 17), who was sent by Judas as envoy to Rome after the defeat of Nicanor; and the circumstance of this mission has been used to explain the limit to which he extended his history, as being that which coincided with the extent of his personal observation. There are certainly many details in the book which show a close and accurate knowledge (iv. 31, 39 ff., viii. 1 ff., ix. 29, x. 12, 13, xiv. 1), and the errors in the order of events may be due wholly, or in part, to the epitomator. The questionable interpretation of facts in 2 Macc. is no objection to the truth of the facts themselves; and when due allowance is made for the overwrought rendering of many scenes, and for the obvious effort of the writer to discover everywhere signs of providential interference, the historic worth of the book appears to be considerably greater than it is commonly esteemed to be. Though Herzfeld's conjecture may be untenable, the original work of Jason probably extended no farther than the epitome, for the description of its contents (2 Macc. ii. 19-22) does not carry us beyond the close of 2 Macc. The "brethren" of Judas, whose exploits be related, were already distinguished during the lifetime of "the Maccabee" (1 Macc. v. 17 ff., 24 ff., vi. 43-6; 2 Macc. viii. 22-29).

4. The district of Cyrene was most closely united with that of Alexandria. In both the predominance of Greek literature and the Greek language was absolute. The work of Jason—like the poems of Callimachus—cannot therefore have been composed in Greek; and the style of the epitome, as Jerome remarked, proves beyond doubt that the Greek text is the original (*Prol. Gal.* "Secundus [Machabaeorum] Graecus est, quod ex ipsa quoque φράσει probari potest"). It is scarcely less certain that 2 Macc. was compiled at Alexandria. The characteristics of the style and language are essentially Alexandrine; and though the Alexandrine style may have prevailed in Cyrenaica, the form of the allusion to Jason shows clearly that the compiler was not his fellow-countryman. But all attempts to determine more exactly who the compiler was are mere groundless guesses, without even the semblance of plausibility.

5. The style of the book is extremely uneven. At times it is elaborately ornate (iii. 15-39, v. 20, vi. 12-16, 23-28, vii. &c.); and again, it is so rude and broken, as to seem more like notes for an epitome than a finished composition (xiii. 19-26); but it nowhere attains to the simple energy and pathos of the first book. The vocabulary corresponds to the style. It abounds in new or unusual words. Many of these are forms which belong the decay of a language, as: ἀλλοφυλισμός, iv. 13, vi. 24; Ἑλληνισμός, vi. 13 (ἐμφανισμός, iii. 9); ἐτασμός, vii. 37; θωρακισμός, v. 3; σπλαγχνισμός, vi. 7, 21; vii. 42; or compounds which betray a false pursuit of emphasis or precision: διεμπίμπλημι, iv. 40; ἐπευλαβεῖσθαι, xiv. 18; καταυθικτεῖν, xiv. 43; προσαναλέγεσθαι, viii. 19; προσυπομιμήσκω, xv. 9; συνεκκεντεῖν, v. 26. Others words are employed in novel senses, as: δευτερολογεῖν, xiii. 22; εἰσκυκλεῖσθαι, ii. 24; εὐαπάντητος, xiv. 9; πεφρενωμένος, xi. 4; ψυχικῶς, iv. 37, xiv. 24. Others bear a sense which is common in late Greek, as: ἀκληρεῖν, xiv. 8; ἀναζυγή, ix. 2, xiii. 26; διάληψις, iii. 32; ἐναπερείδω, ix. 4; φρυάσσομαι, vii. 34; περισκυθίζω, vii. 4. Others appear to be peculiar to this book, as: διάσταλσις, xiii. 25; δυσπέτημα, v. 20; προσπυροῦν, xiv. 11; πολεμοτροφεῖν, x. 14, 15; ὁπλολογεῖν, viii. 27, 31; ἀπευθανατίζειν, vi. 28, δοξικός, viii. 35; ἀνδρολογία, xii. 43. Hebraisms are very rare (viii. 15, ix. 5, xiv. 24). Idiomatic Greek phrases are much more common (iv. 40, xii. 22, xv. 12, &c.); and the writer evidently had a considerable command over the Greek language, though his taste was deformed by a love of rhetorical effect.

6. In the absence of all evidence as to the person of Jason—for the conjecture of Herzfeld (§3) is wholly unsupported by proof—there are no data which fix the time of the composition of his original work, or of the epitome given in 2 Macc. within very narrow limits. The superior limit of the age of the epitome, though not of Jason's work, is determined by the year 124 B.C., which is mentioned in one of the introductory letters (i. 10); but there is no ground for assigning so great an antiquity to the present book. It has, indeed, been concluded from xv. 37, ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν καιρῶν κρατηθείσης τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων—which is written in the person of the epitomator, that it must have been composed before the defeat and death of Judas; but the import of the words appears to be satisfied by the religious supremacy and the uninterrupted celebration of the Temple service, which the Jews maintained till the final ruin of their city; for the destruction of Jerusalem is the only inferior limit, below which the book cannot be placed. The supposed reference to the book in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. xi. 35, "and others were tortured;" comp. vi. 18-vii. 42)

[1] V. Schlikum, *Epistolae quae, 2 Mac.* i. 1-9, *legitur* explicatio. Colon. 1844.

may perhaps be rather a reference to the current tradition than to the written text; and Josephus in his history shows no acquaintance with its contents. On the other hand, it is probable that the author of 4 Macc. used either 2 Macc., or the work of Jason; but this at most could only determine that the book was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, which is already clear from xv. 37. There is no explicit mention of the book before the time of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 14, § 98). Internal evidence is quite insufficient to settle the date, which is thus left undetermined within the limits 124 B.C—70 A.C. If a conjecture be admissible, I should be inclined to place the original work of Jason not later than 100 B.C., and the epitome half a century later. It is quite credible that a work might have been long current at Alexandria before it was known to the Jews of Palestine.

7. In order to estimate the historical worth of the book it is necessary to consider separately the two divisions into which it falls. The narrative in iii.–vii. is in part anterior (iii.–iv. 6) and in part (iv. 7–vii.) supplementary to the brief summary in 1 Macc. i. 10-64: that in viii.–xv. is, as a whole, parallel with 1 Macc. iii.–vii. In the first section the book itself is, in the main, the sole source of information: in the second, its contents can be tested by the trustworthy records of the first book. It will be best to take the second section first, for the character of the book does not vary much; and if this can once be determined from sufficient evidence, the result may be extended to those parts which are independent of other testimony. The chief differences between the first and second books lie in the account of the campaigns of Lysias and Timotheus. Differences of detail will always arise where the means of information are partial and separate; but the differences alleged to exist as to these events are more serious. In 1 Macc. iv. 26-35 we read of an invasion of Judaea by Lysias from the side of Idumaea, in which Judas met him at Bethsura and inflicted upon him a severe defeat. In consequence of this Lysias retired to Antioch to make greater preparations for a new attack, while Judas undertook the restoration of the sanctuary. In 2 Macc. the first mention of Lysias is on the accession of Antiochus Eupator (x. 11). Not long after this he is said to have invaded Judaea and suffered a defeat at Bethsura, in consequence of which he made peace with Judas, giving him favourable terms (xi.). A later invasion is mentioned in both books, which took place in the reign of Antiochus Eupator (1 Macc. vi. 17-50; 2 Macc. xiii. 2 ff.), in which Bethsura fell into the hands of Lysias. It is then necessary either to suppose that there were three distinct invasions, of which the first is mentioned only in 1 Macc., the second only in 2 Macc., and the third in both; or to consider the narrative in 2 Macc. x. 1 ff. as a misplaced version of one of the other invasions (for the history in 1 Macc. iv. 26-61 bears every mark of truth): a supposition which is confirmed by the character of the details, and the difficulty of reconciling the supposed results with the events which immediately followed. It is by no means equally clear that there is any mistake in 2 Macc. as to the history of Timotheus. The details in 1 Macc. v. 11 ff. are quite reconcileable with those in 2 Macc. xii. 2 ff.,

and it seems certain that both books record the same events; but there is no sufficient reason for supposing that 1 Macc. v. 6 ff. is parallel with 2 Macc. x. 24-37. The similarity of the names Jazer and Gazara probably gave rise to the confusion of the two events, which differ in fact in almost all their circumstances; though the identification of the Timotheus mentioned in 2 Macc. x. 24, with the one mentioned in viii. 30, seems to have been designed to distinguish him from some other of the same name. With these exceptions the general outlines of the history in the two books are the same; but the details are almost always independent and different. The numbers given in 2 Macc. often represent incredible results: *e. g.* viii. 20, 30; x. 23, 31; xi. 11; xii. 16, 19, 23, 26, 28; xv. 27. Some of the statements are obviously incorrect, and seem to have arisen from an erroneous interpretation and embellishment of the original source: vii. 3 (the presence of Antiochus at the death of the Jewish martyrs); ix. (the death of Antiochus); x. 11, &c. (the relation of the boy king Antiochus Eupator to Lysias); xv. 31, 35 (the recovery of Acra); xiv. 7 (the forces of Demetrius). But on the other hand many of the peculiar details seem to be such as must have been derived from immediate testimony: iv. 29-50 (the intrigues of Menelaus); vi. 2 (the temple at Gerizim); x. 13; xiv. 1 (the landing of Demetrius at Tripolis); viii. 1-7 (the character of the first exploits of Judas). The relation between the two books may be not inaptly represented by that existing between the books of Kings and Chronicles. In each case the later book was composed with a special design, which regulated the character of the materials employed for its construction. But as the design in 2 Macc. is openly avowed by the compiler, so it seems to have been carried out with considerable license. Yet his errors appear to be those of one who interprets history to support his cause, rather than of one who falsifies its substance. The groundwork of facts is true, but the dress in which the facts are presented is due in part at least to the narrator. It is not at all improbable that the error with regard to the first campaign of Lysias arose from the mode in which it was introduced by Jason as an introduction to the more important mention of Lysias in the reign of Antiochus Eupator. In other places (as very obviously in xiii. 19 ff.) the compiler may have disregarded the historical dependence of events while selecting those which were best suited for the support of his theme. If these remarks are true, it follows that 2 Macc. viii.–xv. is to be regarded not as a connected and complete history, but as a series of special incidents from the life of Judas, illustrating the providential interference of God in behalf of His people, true in substance, but embellished in form; and this view of the book is supported by the character of the earlier chapters, in which the narrative is unchecked by independent evidence. There is not any ground for questioning the main facts in the history of Heliodorus (ch. iii.) or Menelaus (iv.); and while it is very probable that the narratives of the sufferings of the martyrs (vi. vii.) are highly coloured, yet the grounds of the accusation, the replies of the accused, and the forms of torture, in their essential characteristics, seem perfectly authentic.[x]

[x] The following is the parallelism which Patritius (*De cons. utri. lib. Macc.* 175-246) endeavours to establish between the common narratives of i. and ii. Macc. When two or more passages are placed opposite to one, it is to be understood that the *first* only has a parallel in the other narrative:—

1 Macc.		2 Macc.
i. 11-16.	.....	iv. 7-13; 13-22

8. Besides the differences which exist between the two books of Maccabees as to the sequence and details of common events, there is considerable difficulty as to the chronological data which they give. Here follow the Seleucian era ("the era of contracts;" "of the Greek kingdom;" 1 Macc. i. 10, ἔτους . . . βασιλείας Ἑλλήνων), but in some cases in which the two books give the date of the same event, the first book gives a date one year later than the second (1 Macc. vi. 16 ‖ 2 Macc. xi. 21, 33; 1 Macc. vi. 20 ‖ 2 Macc. xiii. 1); yet on the other hand they agree in 1 Macc. vii. 1 ‖ 2 Macc. xiv. 4. This discrepancy seems to be due not to a mere error, but to a difference of reckoning; for all attempts to explain away the discrepancy are untenable. The true era of the Seleucidae began in October (*Dius*) B.C. 312; but there is evidence that considerable variations existed in Syria in the reckoning by it. It is then reasonable to suppose that the discrepancies in the books of Maccabees, which proceeded from independent and widely-separated sources, are to be referred to this confusion; and a very probable mode of explaining (at least in part) the origin of the difference has been supported by most of the best chronologers. Though the Jews may have reckoned two beginnings to the year from the time of the Exodus [CHRONOLOGY, vol. i. p. 315], yet it appears that the biblical dates are always reckoned by the so-called ecclesiastical year, which began with *Nisan* (April), and not by the civil year, which was afterwards in common use (Jos. *Ant.* i. 3, §3), which began with *Tisri* (October: comp. Patritius, *De Cons. Macc.* p. 33 ff.). Now since the writer of 1 Macc. was a Palestinian Jew, and followed the ecclesiastical year in his reckoning of months (1 Macc. iv. 52), it is probable that he may have commenced the Seleucian year not in autumn (*Tisri*), but in spring (*Nisan*).[h] The narrative of 1 Macc. x. in fact demands a longer period than could be obtained (1 Macc. x. 1, 21, fourteen days) on the hypothesis that the year began with *Tisri*. If, however, the year began in *Nisan* (reckoning from spring 312 B.C.),[i] the events which fell in the last half of the true Seleucian year would be dated a year forward, while the true and the Jewish dates would agree in the first half of the year. Nor is there any difficulty in supposing that the two events assigned to different years (Wernsdorf, *De Fide Macc.* §9) happened in one half of the year. On other grounds, indeed, it is not unlikely that the difference in the reckoning of the two books is still greater than is thus accounted for. The Chaldaeans, as is proved by good authority (Ptol. Μεγ. συντ. ap. Clinton *F. H.* 111, 350, 370), dated their Seleucian era one year later than the true time from 311 B.C., and probably from October (*Dius*; comp. 2 Macc. xi. 21, 33). If, as is quite possible, the writer of 2 Macc.—or rather Jason of Cyrene, whom he epitomized—used the Chaldaean dates, there may be a maximum difference between the two books of a year and half, which is sufficient to explain the difficulties of the chronology of the events connected with the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (Ideler, i. 531-534, quoted and supported by Browne, *Ordo Saeclorum*, 489, 490. Comp. Clinton, *Fasti Hell.* iii. 367 ff., who takes a different view; Patritius, *l. c.*; and Wernsdorf, §ix. ff., who states the difficulties with great acuteness).

9. The most interesting feature in 2 Macc. is its

1 Macc.	2 Macc.
i. 17.	... iv. 21*a*; 21*b*-50; v. 1-4.
i. 18-20.	... —
—	... v. 5-10.
i. 21-24*a*.	... v. 11-16; 17-20.
i. 24*b*.	... v. 21; 22-23.
i. 29-32; 33-39.	... v. 24-26.
i. 40*b*; 40*b*-42.	... v. 27.
i. 43; 44-48.	... vi. 1.
i. 49; 50-51.	... vi. 2.
—	... vi. 3-7.
i. 52-54; 55, 56; 57-62.	... vi. 8, 9.
i. 63, 64.	... vi. 10; 12-17.
i. 65-67.	... —
—	... vi. 18-31.
ii. 1-30.	... —
ii. 31; 32-37	... vi. 11*a*.
ii. 38.	... vi. 11*b*.
—	... vii. 1-42.
ii. 39-70.	... —
iii. 1-9; 10-37	... viii. 1-7.
—	... viii. 8; 9-11
iii. 38, 39; 40, 41.	... —
iii. 42.	... viii. 12*a*; 12*b*-21
iii. 43-54.	... —
iii. 55; 56-60.	... viii. 22.
iv. 1-12.	... —
iv. 13-16; 17-22	... viii. 23-26.
iv. 23-25.	... viii. 27; 28-36.
vi. 1*a*; iv. 26, 27.	... —
vi. 15-4.	... ix. 1-3; 4-10.
vi. 28-33.	... —
vi. 34-53*a*; 53*b*-56.	... x. 1-3*a*.
vi. 57-61.	... x. 3*b*-8; 9-13.
vi. 5-8.	... —
vi. 1-6*a*.	... x. 14-18; 19-22.
vi. 8-11; 8-4.	... x. 23.
vi. 8-13.	... ix. 11-17; 18-27.
—	... x. 24-38; xi. 1-4.

1 Macc.	2 Macc
vi. 14, 15.	... —
vi. 16; 17*a*.	... ix. 28.
—	... xi. 5-12; 13-15*a*.
v. 9; 10-13; 14-20.	... xii. 1-5.
vi. 17*b*.	... —
—	... xii. 6-17; ix. 29.
v. 21*a*; 23*a*; 24; 25-28	... —
—	... xi. 15*b*-26; 27-38.
v. 29.	... xii. 17*b*; 18, 19.
v. 30-34; 21*b*-23*a*; 35, 36	... —
v. 55-62.	... —
v. 37-39; 40-43*a*.	... xii. 20, 21.
v. 43*b*-44.	... xii. 22-26.
v. 45-65*a*.	... xii. 27-33; 34-46.
v. 65*b*-68; vi. 18-27	... —
vi. 28-30.	... xiii. 1, 2; 3-17.
vi. 31; 32-48.	... xiii. 18-21.
vi. 49-54; 55-59.	... xiii. 22, 23*a*.
vi. 60-62*a*.	... xiii. 23*b*-24.
vi. 62*b*-63; vii. 1-24.	... xiii. 25, 26.
—	... xiv. 1-2.
vii. 25.	... xiv. 3-5; 6-11.
vii. 26.	... xiv. 12, 13; 14-29.
vii. 27-38.	... xiv. 30-36; 37-46; xv. 1-21.
vii. 39, 40*a*.	... —
vii. 40*b*-50.	... xv. 22-40.

This arrangement, however, is that of an apologist for the books; and the tesselation of passages, no less than the large amount of passages peculiar to each book, indicates how little real parallelism there is between them.

[h] In 2 Macc. xv. 36 the same reckoning of months occurs, but with a distinct reference to the Palestinian decree.

[i] It is, however, possible that the years may have been dated from the following spring (311 B.C.); in which case the Jewish and true years would coincide for the last half of the year, and during the first half the Jewish date would fall short by one year (Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Volkes Isr.* i. 449).

marked religious character, by which it is clearly distinguished from the first book. "The manifestations (ἐπιφάνειαι) made from heaven on behalf of those who were zealous to behave manfully in defence of Judaism" (2 Macc. ii. 21) form the staple of the book. The events which are related historically in the former book are in this regarded theocratically, if the word may be used. The calamities of persecution and the desolation of God's people are definitely referred to a temporary visitation of His anger (v. 17-20, vi. 12-17, vii. 32, 33), which shows itself even in details of the war (xii. 40; comp. Josh. vii.). Before his great victory Judas is represented as addressing "the Lord that worketh wonders" (τερατοποιός) with the prayer that, as once His angel slew the host of the Assyrians, so then He would "send a good angel before His armies for a fear and dread to their enemies" (xv. 22-24; comp. 1 Macc. vii. 41, 42). A great "manifestation" wrought the punishment of Heliodorus (iii. 24-29): a similar vision announced his cure (iii. 33, 4). Heavenly portents for "forty days" (ἐπιφάνεια, v. 4) foreshewed the coming judgment (v. 2, 3). "When the battle waxed strong five comely men upon horses" appear, of whom two cover Maccabaeus from all danger (x. 29, 30). Again, in answer to the supplication of the Jews for "a good angel to deliver them," "there appeared before them on horseback one in white clothing," and "they marched forward" to triumph, "having an helper from heaven" (xi. 6-11). And where no special vision is recorded, the rout of the enemy is still referred to "a manifestation of Him that seeth all things" (xii. 22). Closely connected with this belief in the active energy of the beings of the unseen world, is the importance assigned to dreams (xv. 11, ὄνειρον ἀξιόπιστον ὕπαρ); and the distinct assertion, not only of a personal "resurrection to life" (vii. 14, ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωήν; v. 9, αἰώνιος ἀναβίωσις ζωῆς), but of the influence which the living may yet exercise on the condition of the dead (xii. 43-45). The doctrine of Providence is carried out in a most minute parallelism of great crimes and their punishment. Thus, Andronicus was put to death on the very spot where he had murdered Onias (iv. 38, τοῦ Κυρίου τὴν ἀξίαν αὐτῷ κόλασιν ἀποδόντος): Jason, who had "driven many out of their country," died an exile, without "solemn funeral," as he had "cast out many unburied" (v. 9, 10): the torments suffered by Antiochus are likened to those which he had inflicted (ix. 5, 6): Menelaus, who "had committed many sins about the altar," "received his death in ashes" (xiii. 4-8): the hand and tongue of Nicanor, with which he had blasphemed, were hung up "as an evident and manifest sign unto all of the help of the Lord" (xv. 32-35). On a larger scale the same idea is presented in the contrasted relations of Israel and the heathen to the Divine Power. The former is "God's people," "God's portion" (ἡ μερίς, i. 26; xiv. 15), who are chastised in love: the latter are left unpunished till the full measure of their sins ends in destruction (vi. 12-17). For in this book, as in 1 Macc., there are no traces of the glorious visions of the prophets, who foresaw the time when all nations should be united in one bond under one Lord.

10. The history of the book, as has been already noticed (§9), is extremely obscure. It is first mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*l. c.*); and Origen, (*Philoc.* 26), quotes vi. 12-16, with very considerable variations of text, from "the Maccabaean history" (τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά: comp. 1 Macc. §6). At a later time the history of the martyred brothers was a favourite subject with Christian writers (Cyp. *Ep.* lvi. 6, &c.); and in the time of Jerome (*Prol. Galeat.*) and Augustine (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8, *De Civ. Dei*, xviii. 36) the book was in common and public use in the Western Church, where it maintained its position till it was at last definitely declared to be canonical at the council of Trent. [CANON, vol. i. p. 259.]

11. The Latin version adopted in the Vulgate, as in the case of the first book, is that current before Jerome's time, which Jerome left wholly untouched in the apocryphal books, with the exception of Judith and Tobit. The St. Germain MS. from which Sabatier edited an earlier text of 1 Macc. does not, unfortunately, contain the second book, being imperfect at the end; but the quotations of Lucifer of Cagliari (Sabatier, *ad Capp.* vi. etc.) and a fragment published by Mai (*Spicil. Rom.* i. 1 MACC. §10), indicate the existence and character of such a text. The version is much less close to the Greek than in the former book, and often gives no more than the sense of a clause (i. 13, vi. 2, vii. 5, &c.). The Syriac version is of still less value. The Arabic so-called version of 2 Macc. is really an independent work. [FIFTH BOOK OF MACCABEES.]

12. The chief commentaries on 2 Macc. have been already noticed. [FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES, §11.] The special edition of Hasse (Jena, 1786) seems, from the account of Grimm, to be of no value. There are, however, many valuable historical observations in the essay of Patritius (*De Consensu*, &c. already cited.)

III. THE THIRD BOOK OF THE MACCABEES contains the history of events which preceded the great Maccabaean struggle. After the decisive battle of Raphia (B.C. 217), envoys from Jerusalem, following the example of other cities, hastened to Ptolemy Philopator to congratulate him on his success. After receiving them the king resolved to visit the holy city. He offered sacrifice in the Temple, and was so much struck by its majesty that he urgently sought permission to enter the sanctuary. When this was refused he resolved to gratify his curiosity by force, regardless of the consternation with which his design was received (ch. i.). On this Simon the high-priest, after the people had been with difficulty restrained from violence, kneeling in front of the Temple implored divine help. At the conclusion of the prayer the king fell paralysed into the arms of his attendants, and on his recovery returned at once to Egypt without prosecuting his intention. But angry at his failure he turned his vengeance on the Alexandrine Jews. Hitherto these had enjoyed the highest rights of citizenship, but the king commanded that those only who were voluntarily initiated into the heathen mysteries should be on an equal footing with the Alexandrians, and that the remainder should be enrolled in the lowest class (εἰς λαογραφίαν καὶ οἰκετικὴν διάθεσιν ἀχθῆναι, ii. 29), and branded with an ivy-leaf (ch. ii.). [DIONYSIUS.] Not content with this order, which was evaded or despised, he commanded all the Jews in the country to be arrested and sent to Alexandria (ch. iii.). This was done as well as might be, though the greater part escaped (iv. 18), and the captured multitudes were confined in the Hippodrome outside the city (comp. Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6, 3). The resident Jews, who shewed sympathy for their countrymen, were imprisoned with them; and the

king ordered the names of all to be taken down preparatory to their execution. Here the first marvel happened: the scribes to whom the task was assigned toiled for forty days from morning till evening, till at last reeds and paper failed them, and the king's plan was defeated (ch. iv.). However, regardless of this, the king ordered the keeper of his elephants to drug the animals, five hundred in number, with wine and incense, that they might trample the prisoners to death on the morrow. The Jews had no help but in prayer; and here a second marvel happened. The king was overpowered by a deep sleep, and when he awoke the next day it was already time for the banquet which he had ordered to be prepared, so that the execution was deferred. The Jews still prayed for help; but when the dawn came, the multitudes were assembled to witness their destruction, and the elephants stood ready for their bloody work. Then was there another marvel. The king was visited by deep forgetfulness, and chided the keeper of the elephants for the preparations which he had made, and the Jews were again saved. But at the evening banquet the king recalled his purpose, and with terrible threats prepared for its immediate accomplishment at daybreak (ch. v.). Then Eleazer, an aged priest, prayed for his people, and as he ended the royal train came to the Hippodrome. On this there was seen a heavenly vision by all but the Jews (vi. 18). The elephants trampled down their attendants, and the wrath of the king was turned to pity. So the Jews were immediately set free, and a great feast was prepared for them; and they resolved to observe a festival, in memory of their deliverance, during the time of their sojourn in strange lands (ch. vi.). A royal letter to the governors of the provinces set forth the circumstances of their escape, and assured them of the king's protection. Permission was given to them to take vengeance on their renegade countrymen, and the people returned to their homes in great triumph, "crowned with flowers, and singing praises to the God of their fathers."

2. The form of the narrative, even in this bald outline, sufficiently shows that the object of the book has modified the facts which it records. The writer, in his zeal to bring out the action of Providence, has coloured his history, so that it has lost all semblance of truth. In this respect the book offers an instructive contrast to the book of Esther, with which it is closely connected both in its purpose and in the general character of its incidents. In both a terrible calamity is averted by faithful prayer; royal anger is changed to royal favour; and the punishment designed for the innocent is directed to the guilty. But here the likeness ends. The divine reserve, which is the peculiar characteristic of Esther, is exchanged in 3 Macc. for rhetorical exaggeration; and once again the words of inspiration stand ennobled by the presence of their later counterpart.

3. But while it is impossible to accept the details of the book as historical, some basis of truth must be supposed to lie beneath them. The yearly festival (vi. 36; vii. 19) can hardly have been a mere fancy of the writer; and the pillar and synagogue (προσευχή) at Ptolemais (vii. 20) must have been connected in some way with a signal deliverance. Besides this, Josephus (*c. Ap.* ii. 5) relates a very similar occurrence which took place in the reign of Ptolemy VII. (Physcon). "The king," he says, "exasperated by the opposition which Onias, the Jewish general of the royal army, made to his usurpation, seized all the Jews in Alexandria with their wives and children, and exposed them to intoxicated elephants. But the animals turned upon the king's friends; and forthwith the king saw a terrible visage which forbad him to injure the Jews. On this he yielded to the prayers of his mistress, and repented of his attempt; and the Alexandrine Jews observed the day of their deliverance as a festival." The essential points of the story are the same as those in the second part of 3 Macc., and there can be but little doubt that Josephus has preserved the events which the writer adapted to his narrative. If it be true that Ptolemy Philopator attempted to enter the temple at Jerusalem, and was frustrated in his design—a supposition which is open to no reasonable objection—it is easily conceivable that tradition may have assigned to him the impious design of his successor; or the author of 3 Macc. may have combined the two events for the sake of effect.

4. Assuming rightly that the book is an adaptation of history, Ewald and (at greater length) Grimm have endeavoured to fix exactly the circumstances by which it was called forth. The writings of Philo, occasioned by the oppressions which the Alexandrine Jews suffered in the reign of Caligula, offer several points of connexion with[k] it; and the panic which was occasioned at Jerusalem by the attempt of the emperor to erect his statue in the Temple is well known (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 8, §2). It is then argued that the writer designed to portray Caligula under the name of the sensual tyrant who had in earlier times held Egypt and Syria, while he sought to nerve his countrymen for their struggle with heathen power, by reminding them of earlier deliverances. It is unnecessary to urge the various details in which the parallel between the acts of Caligula and the narrative fail. Such differences may have been part of the writer's disguise; but it may be well questioned whether the position of the Jews in the early time of the empire, or under the later Ptolemies, was not generally such that a narrative like 3 Macc. would find a ready auditory.

5. The language of the book betrays most clearly its Alexandrine origin. Both in vocabulary and construction it is rich, affected, and exaggerated. Some words occur nowhere else (λαογραφία, ii. 28; προσυστέλλεσθαι, ii. 29; ὑποφρικος, vi. 20; χαρτηρία, iv. 20; βυθοτρεφής, vi. 8; ψυχουλκεῖσθαι, v. 25; μισύβριs, vi. 9; ποντόβροχος, vi. 4; μεγαλοκράτωρ, vi. 2; μυροβρεχής, iv. 6; προκατασκιρροῦσθαι, iv. 1; ἀνεπιστρέπτως, i. 20); others are used in strange senses (ἐκνεύειν, *Met.* iii. 22; παραβασιλεύω, vi. 24; ἐμπορπάω, *Met.* vii. 5); others are very rare or characteristic of late Greek writers (ἐπιβάθρα, ii. 31; κατάπτωσις, ii. 14; ἔνθεσμος, ii. 21; ἀπρόπτωτος, iii. 14; ἀλογιστία, v. 42; ἀπαραπόδιστος, vi. 28; φρικασμός, iii. 17; μεγαλομερῶ, vi. 33; σκυλμός, iii. 25; κισσόφυλλον, ii. 29; ἐξαποστολή, iv. 4). The form of the sentences is strained (*e.g.* i. 15, 17, ii. 31, iii. 23, iv. 11, vii. 7, 19, &c.), and every description is loaded with rhetorical ornament (*e.g.* iv. 2, 5; vi. 45). As a natural consequence the meaning is often obscure (*e.g.* i. 9, 14, 19, iv. 5, 14),

[k] These are pointed out at length by Grimm (*Einl.* §3); but the relation of the Alexandrine Jews to a persecuting civil power would, perhaps, always present the same general features.

and the writer is led into exaggerations which are historically incorrect (vii. 2, 20, v. 2 ; comp. Grimm).

6. From the abruptness of the commencement (ὁ δὲ Φιλοπάτωρ) it has been thought (Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 535) that the book is a mere fragment of a larger work. Against this view it may be urged that the tenor of the book is one and distinct, and brought to a perfect issue. It must, however, be noticed that in some MSS. (44, 125, Parsons) the beginning is differently worded: "*Now in these days king Ptolemy*"; and the reference in ii. 25 (τῶν προαποδεδειγμένων) is to some passage not contained in the present narrative. It is possible that the narrative may have formed the sequel to an earlier history, as the *Hellenica* continue, without break or repetition, the history of Thucydides (μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Xen. *Hell.* i. 1); or we may suppose (Grimm, *Einl.* §4) that the introductory chapter has been lost.

7. The evidence of language, which is quite sufficient to fix the place of the composition of the book at Alexandria, is not equally decisive as to the date. It might, indeed, seem to belong to the early period of the empire (B.C. 40-70), when for a Jew all hope lay in the record of past triumphs, which assumed a fabulous grandeur from the contrast with present oppression. But such a date is purely conjectural; and in the absence of any direct proof it is unsafe to trust to an impression which cannot claim any decisive authority, from the very imperfect knowledge which we possess of the religious history of the Jews of the dispersion. If, however, Ewald's theory be correct, the date falls within the limits which have been suggested.

8. The uncertainty of the date of the composition of the book corresponds with the uncertainty of its history. In the Apostolical Canons (*Can.* 85) "three books of the Maccabees" are mentioned (Μακκαβαίων τρία, one MS. reads δ'), of which this is probably the third, as it occupies the third place in the oldest Greek MSS., which contain also the so-called fourth book. It is found in a Syriac translation, and is quoted with marked respect by Theodoret (*ad Dan.* xi. 7) of Antioch (died cir. A.D. 457). "Three books of the Maccabees" (Μακκαβαϊκὰ γ') are placed at the head of the *antilegomena* of the O. T. in the catalogue of Nicephorus; and in the *Synopsis*, falsely ascribed to Athanasius, the third book is apparently described as "Ptolemaïca," from the name of the royal hero,[1] and reckoned doubtfully among the disputed books. On the other hand the book seems to have found no acceptance in the Alexandrine or Western churches, a fact which confirms the late date assigned to it, if we assume its Alexandrine origin. It is not quoted, as far as we know, in any Latin writer, and does not occur in the lists of canonical and apocryphal books in the Gelasian Decretals. No ancient Latin version of it occurs; and as it is not contained in the Vulgate it has been excluded from the canon of the Romish church.

9. In modern times it has been translated into Latin (first in the Complutensian Polyglott); German (De Wette and Augusti, *Bibelübersetzung*, 1st ed.; and in an earlier version "by Jo. Circemberger, Wittenberg, 1554;" Cotton, *Five Books*, &c., p. xx.); and French (Calmet). The first English version was appended to "A briefe and compendious table . . . opening the way to the principal histories of the whole Bible . . . London, 15[illegible]. This version with a few alterations (Cotton, [illegible]) was included in a folio Bible published next [illegible] by J. Day; and the book was again published [illegible] 1563. A better translation was published by [illegible] ton in his *Authentic Documents* (1727); and a new version, with short notes by Dr. Cotton (*The five books of Maccabees in English* . . . Oxford, 1832). The Commentary of Grimm (*Kurzgefasstes Handbuch*) gives ample notices of the opinions of earlier commentators, and supersedes the necessity of using any other.

IV. The Fourth Book of Maccabees (Μακκαβαίων δ'. εἰς Μακκαβαίους λόγος) contains a rhetorical narrative of the martyrdom of Eleazar and of the "Maccabæan family," following in the main the same outline as 2 Macc. The second title of the book, *On the Supreme Sovereignty of Reason* (περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ), explains the main use which is made of the history. The author in the introduction discusses the nature of reason and the character of its supremacy, which he then illustrates by examples taken from Jewish history (§1-3, Hudson). Then turning to his principal proof of the triumphant power of reason, he gives a short summary of the causes which led to the persecution of Antiochus (§ 4), and in the remainder of the book describes at length the death of Eleazar (§ 5-7), of the seven brethren (8-14), and of their mother (15-19), enforcing the lessons which we would teach by the words of the martyrs and the reflections which spring from them. The last section (20) is evidently by another hand.

2. The book was ascribed in early times to Josephus. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 10, πεπόνηται δὲ καὶ ἄλλο οὐκ ἀγεννὲς σπούδασμα τῷ ἀνδρὶ—i. e. τῷ σήπῳ—περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ, ὃ τινες Μακκαβαϊκὸν ἐπέγραψαν), and Jerome, following him (*De Vir. ill.* 13, "Alius quoque liber ejus inscribitur περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ valde elegans habetur, in quo et Maccabæorum sunt digesta martyria," comp. Jerome, *adv. Pal.* ii.), also Photius (ap. Philostorg. *H. E.* 1, τὸ μέντοιγε τέτταρα ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου γέγραφθαι καὶ αὐτὸς συνομολογῶ, so that at that time the judgment was disputed), and Suidas (*s. v.* Ἰώσηπος)—give this opinion without reserve; and it is found under his name in many MSS. of the great Jewish historian. On the other hand, Gregory of Nazianzus quotes the book (*Orat.* xv. 22) as though he was unacquainted with the author, and in the Alexandrine and Sinaitic MSS. it is called simply "the fourth of Maccabees." The internal evidence against the authorship by Josephus is so great as to outweigh the testimony of Eusebius from whom it is probable that the later statements were derived; and there can be no reasonable doubt that the book was assigned to Josephus by a mere conjecture, which the style and contents alike prove to be unfounded. It is possible that a translation was preserved that the author's name was Josephus (Ἰώσηπος), in which case the confusion would be more easy.

3. If we may assume that the authorship attributed to Josephus only by error, no evidence remains to fix the date of the book. It is certain that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and probably after 2 Macc. The [illegible] (*Gesch. d. Kan.* 144 *note*) conjectures with great probability that the true reading is Μακκ. βιβλ. καὶ δ' can frequently be scarcely distinguished in cursive MSS.

[1] This title occurs only in the *Synopsis* of the *Pseudo-Athanasius* (p. 432, ed. Migne). Athanasius omits the Maccabees in his detailed list. The text at present stands Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία δ'. Πτολεμαϊκά. But Credner (*Zur*

...der of the composition leads the reader to suppose that it was not a mere rhetorical exercise, but an earnest effort to animate the Jewish nation to face ...eal perils. In which case it might be referred not unnaturally, to the troubled times which immediately preceded the war with Vespasian (cir. A.D. 67).

4. As a historical document the narrative is of no value. Its interest centres in the fact that it is a unique example of the didactic use which the Jews made of their history. Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 556) rightly compares it with the sermon of later times, in which a scriptural theme becomes the subject of an elaborate and practical comment. The style is very ornate and laboured; but it is correct and vigorous, and truly Greek. The richness and boldness of the vocabulary is surprising. Many words, coined in an antique mould, seem to be peculiar to the book, as *αὐτοδέσποτος, ἐθνόκλαστος, ἐπαμήτωρ, κοσμοπλανθής, κοσμοφορεῖν, κατακαψυχεῖν, οἰστρηλασία, παθοκρατεῖσθαι*, &c.; others belong to later types, as *αὐτεξουσιότης, ἀρχιερατεύειν*; others are used in meanings which are found in late writers, as *πηδαλιουχεῖν, ἁγιστεία, ἀσέβημα*; and the number of prepositional compounds is very large—*ἐναποσφραγίζειν, ἐξευμεγέθης, ἐπικαρπολογεῖσθαι, ἐπιῤῥωγολογεῖσθαι, κρατεπικρατεῖν*.

5. The philosophical tone of the book is essentially stoical; but the stoicism is that of a stern moralist. The dictates of reason are supported by the remembrance of noble traditions, and by the hope of a glorious future. The prospect of the life to come is clear and wide. The faithful are seen to rise to endless bliss; the wicked to descend to endless torment, varying in intensity. But while the writer shows, in this respect, the effects of the full culture of the Alexandrine school, and in part advances beyond his predecessors, he offers no trace of that deep spiritual insight which was quickened by Christianity. The Jew stands alone, isolated by character and by blessing (comp. Gfrörer, *Philo*, &c., ii. 173 ff.; Dähne, *Jud. Alex. Relig. Philos.* ii. 190 ff.).

6. The original Greek is the only ancient text in which the book has been published, but a Syriac version is said to be preserved in MS. at Milan (Ceriani, *Einl.* §7). In recent times the work has hardly received so much attention as it deserves. The first and only complete commentary is that of Grimm (*Kurz. Handbuch*), which errs only by extreme elaborateness. An English translation has been published by Dr. Cotton (*The five books of Maccabees*, Oxf. 1832). The text is given in the best form by Bekker in his edition of Josephus (Lips. 1855-6).

7. Though it is certain that our present book is not that which old writers described, Sixtus Senensis (*Bibl. Sancta*, p. 57, ed. 1575) gives a very interesting account of another fourth book of Maccabees, which he saw in a library at Lyons, which was afterwards burnt. It was in Greek, and contained the history of John Hyrcanus, continuing the narrative directly after the close of the first book. Sixtus quotes the first words: *καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀποκταν θῆναι τὸν Ἰωάννης υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐγενήθη* 'Ιωάνης υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐγενήθη, but this is the only fragment which remains of it. The history, he says, was nearly the same as that in Jos. *Ant.* xiii., though the style was very different from his, abounding in Hebrew idioms. The testimony is so exact and explicit, that we can see no reason for questioning its accuracy, and still less for supposing (with Calmet) that Sixtus saw only the so-called fifth book, which is at present preserved in Arabic.

V. THE FIFTH BOOK OF MACCABEES just mentioned may call for a very brief notice. It is printed in Arabic in the Paris and London Polyglotts; and contains a history of the Jews from the attempt of Heliodorus to the birth of our Lord. The writer made use of the first two books of Maccabees and of Josephus, and has no claim to be considered an independent authority. His own knowledge was very imperfect, and he perverts the statements which he derives from others. He must have lived after the fall of Jerusalem, and probably out of Palestine, though the translation bears very clear traces of Hebrew idioms, so that it has been supposed that the book was originally written in Hebrew, or at least that the Greek was strongly modified by Hebrew influence. The book has been published in English by Dr. Cotton (*Five books*, &c.). [B. F. W.]

MACEDO'NIA (*Μακεδονία*), the first part of Europe which received the Gospel directly from St. Paul, and an important scene of his subsequent missionary labours and the labours of his companions. So closely is this region associated with apostolic journeys, sufferings, and epistles, that it has truly been called by one of our English travellers a kind of Holy Land (Clarke's *Travels*, ch. xi.). For details see NEAPOLIS, PHILIPPI, AMPHIPOLIS, APOLLONIA, THESSALONICA, and BEREA. We confine ourselves here to explaining the geographical and political import of the term "Macedonia" as employed in the N. T., with some allusion to its earlier use in the Apocrypha, and one or two general remarks on St. Paul's journeys through the district, and the churches which he founded there.

In a rough and popular description it is enough to say that Macedonia is the region bounded inland by the range of Haemus or the Balkan northwards, and the chain of Pindus westwards, beyond which the streams flow respectively to the Danube and the Adriatic; that it is separated from Thessaly on the south by the Cambunian hills, running easterly from Pindus to Olympus and the Aegean; and that it is divided on the east from Thrace by a less definite mountain-boundary running southwards from Haemus. Of the space thus enclosed, two of the most remarkable physical features are two great plains, one watered by the Axius, which comes to the sea at the Thermaic gulf, not far from Thessalonica; the other by the Strymon, which, after passing near Philippi, flows out below Amphipolis. Between the mouths of these two rivers a remarkable peninsula projects, dividing itself into three points, on the farthest of which Mount Athos rises nearly into the region of perpetual snow. Across the neck of this peninsula St. Paul travelled more than once with his companions.

This general sketch would sufficiently describe the Macedonia which was ruled over by Philip and Alexander, and which the Romans conquered from Perseus. At first the conquered country was divided by Aemilius Paulus into four districts. Macedonia Prima was on the east of the Strymon, and had Amphipolis for the capital. Macedonia Secunda stretched between the Strymon and the Axius, with Thessalonica for its metropolis. The third and fourth districts lay to the south and the west. This division was only temporary. The whole of Macedonia, along with Thessaly and a large tract along the Adriatic, was made one province and centralised under the jurisdiction of a proconsul, who resided at Thessalonica. We have now reached the definition which corresponds with the usage of the term in the N. T. (Acts xvi. 9, 10, 12,

xviii. 5, xix. 21, 22, 29, xx. 1, 3, xxvii. 2; Rom. xv. 26; 1 Cor. xvi. 5; 2 Cor. i. 16, ii. 13, vii. 5, viii. 1, ix. 2, 4, xi. 9; Phil. iv. 15; 1 Thess i. 7, 8, iv. 10; 1 Tim. i. 3). Three Roman provinces, all very familiar to us in the writings of St. Paul, divided the whole space between the basin of the Danube and Cape Matapan. The border-town of ILLYRICUM was Lissus on the Adriatic. The boundary-line of ACHAIA nearly coincided, except in the western portion, with that of the kingdom of modern Greece, and ran in an irregular line from the Acroceraunian promontory to the bay of Thermopylae and the north of Euboea. By subtracting these two provinces, we define Macedonia.

The history of Macedonia in the period between the Persian wars and the consolidation of the Roman provinces in the Levant is touched in a very interesting manner by passages in the Apocrypha. In Esth. xvi. 10, Haman is described as a Macedonian, and in xvi. 14 he is said to have contrived his plot for the purpose of transferring the kingdom of the Persians to the Macedonians. This sufficiently betrays the late date and spurious character of these apocryphal chapters: but it is curious thus to have our attention turned to the early struggle of Persia and Greece. Macedonia played a great part in this struggle, and there is little doubt that Ahasuerus is Xerxes. The history of the Maccabees opens with vivid allusions to Alexander the son of Philip, the Macedonian king (Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Μακεδών), who came out of the land of Chettiim and smote Darius king of the Persians and Medes (1 Macc. i. 1), and who reigned first among the Grecians (ib. vi. 2). A little later we have the Roman conquest of Perseus "king of the Citims" recorded (ib. viii. 5). Subsequently in these Jewish annals we find the term "Macedonians" used for the soldiers of the Seleucid successors of Alexander (2 Macc. viii. 20). In what is called the Fifth Book of Maccabees this usage of the word is very frequent, and is applied not only to the Seleucid princes at Antioch, but to the Ptolemies at Alexandria (see Cotton's *Five Books of Maccabees*, Oxford, 1832). It is evident that the words "Macedonia" and "Macedonian" were fearfully familiar to the Jewish mind; and this gives a new significance to the vision by which St. Paul was invited at Troas to the country of Philip and Alexander.

Nothing can exceed the interest and impressiveness of the occasion (Acts xvi. 9) when a new and religious meaning was given to the well-known ἀνὴρ Μακεδών of Demosthenes (*Phil.* i. p. 43), and when this part of Europe was designated as the first to be trodden by an Apostle. The account of St. Paul's first journey through Macedonia (Acts xvi. 10–xvii. 15) is marked by copious detail and well-defined incidents. At the close of this journey he returned from Corinth to Syria by sea. On the next occasion of visiting Europe, though he both went and returned through Macedonia (Acts xx. 1-6), the narrative is a very slight sketch, and the route is left uncertain, except as regards Philippi. Many years elapsed before St. Paul visited this province again; but from 1 Tim. i. 3 it is evident that he did accomplish the wish expressed during his first imprisonment (Phil. ii. 24).

The character of the Macedonian Christians is set before us in Scripture in a very favourable light. The candour of the Bereans is highly commended (Acts xvii. 11); the Thessalonians were evidently objects of St. Paul's peculiar affection (1 Thess. ii. 8, 17-20, iii. 10); and the Philippians, besides their general freedom from blame, are noted as remarkable for their liberality and self-denial (Phil. iv. 10, 14-19; see 2 Cor. ix. 2, xi. 9). It is worth noticing, as a fact almost typical of the change which Christianity has produced in the social life of Europe, that the female element is conspicuous in the records of its introduction into Macedonia. The Gospel was first preached there to a small congregation of women (Acts xvi. 13); the first convert was a woman (ib. ver. 14); and, at least at Philippi, women were prominent as active workers in the cause of religion (Phil. iv. 2, 3).

It should be observed that, in St. Paul's time, Macedonia was well intersected by Roman roads, especially by the great Via Egnatia, which connected Philippi and Thessalonica, and also led towards Illyricum (Rom. xv. 19). The antiquities of the country have been well explored and described by many travellers. The two best works are those of Cousinéry (*Voyage dans la Macédoine*, Paris, 1831) and Leake (*Travels in Northern Greece*, London, 1835). [J. S. H.]

Coin of Macedonia.

MACEDO'NIAN (Μακεδών) occurs in A.V. only in Acts xxvii. 2. In the other cases (Acts xvi. 9, xix. 29, 2 Cor. ix. 2, 4) our translators render it "of Macedonia."

MACHBANA'I (מַכְבַּנַּי: Μελχαβαναῖ; Alex. Μαχαβαναῖ: *Machbanaï*), one of the lion-like warriors of Gad who joined the fortunes of David when living in retreat at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 13).

MACHBE'NAH (מַכְבֵּנָא: Μαχαβήνα; Alex. Μαχαμηνά: *Machbena*). Sheva, the father of Machbena, is named in the genealogical list of Judah as the offspring of Maachah, the concubine of Caleb ben-Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 49). Other names similarly mentioned in the passage are known to be those not of persons but of towns. The most natural inference from this is, that Machbena was founded or colonized by the family of Maachah. The position of the town, however, whether near Gibeah like MADMANNAH, or between Jerusalem and Hebron, like GIBEA, we possess no clue. It is not named by Eusebius or Jerome, and does not seem to have been met with by any later traveller.

MA'CHI (מָכִי: Μαχχί; Alex. Μαχί: *Machi*), the father of Geuel the Gadite, who went with Caleb and Joshua to spy out the land of Canaan (Num. xiii. 15).

MACH'IR (מָכִיר: Μαχείρ: *Machir*), eldest son (Josh. xvii. 1) of the patriarch Manasseh by an Aramite or Syrian concubine (1 Chr. vii. 14, and the LXX. of Gen. xlvi. 20). His children are commemorated as having been caressed[a] by Joseph before his death (Gen. l. 23). His wife's name is not preserved, but she was a Benjamite, the "sister

[a] The Targum characteristically says "circumcised"

of Huppim and Shuppim" (1 Chr. vii. 15). The only children whose names are given are his son Gilead,[a] who is repeatedly mentioned (Num. xxvi. 29, xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 1; 1 Chr. vii. 14, &c.), and a daughter, Abiah, who married a chief of Judah named Hezron (1 Chr. ii. 21, 24). The connexion with Benjamin may perhaps have led to the selection by Abner of Mahanaim, which lay on the boundary between Gad and Manasseh, as the residence of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. ii. 8); and that with Judah may have also influenced David to go so far north when driven out of his kingdom. At the time of the conquest the family of Machir had become very powerful, and a large part of the country on the east of Jordan was subdued by them (Num. xxxii. 39; Deut. iii. 15). In fact to their warlike tendencies it is probably entirely due that the tribe was divided, and that only the inferior families crossed the Jordan. So great was their power that the name of Machir occasionally supersedes that of Manasseh, not only for the eastern territory, but even for the western half of the tribe also: see Judg. v. 14, where Machir occurs in the enumeration of the western tribes—"Gilead" apparently standing for the eastern Manasseh in ver. 17; and still more unmistakeably in Josh. xiii. 31, compared with 29.

2. The son of Ammiel, a powerful sheykh of one of the trans-Jordanic tribes, but whether of Manasseh—the tribe of his namesake—or of Gad, must remain uncertain till we know where Lo-debar, to which place he belonged, was situated. His name occurs but twice, but the part which he played was by no means an insignificant one. It was his fortune to render essential service to the cause of Saul and of David successively—in each case when they were in difficulty. Under his roof, when a cripple and friendless, after the death of his uncle and the ruin of his house, the unfortunate Mephibosheth found a home, from which he was summoned by David to the honours and the anxieties of a residence at the court of Jerusalem (2 Sam. ix. 4, 5). When David himself, some years later, was driven from his throne to Mahanaim, Machir was one of the three great chiefs who lavished on the exiled king and his soldiers the wealth of the rich pastoral district of which they were the lords—"wheat, and barley, and flour, and parched corn, and beans, and lentiles, and parched pulse, and honey, and butter, and sheep, and cows'-milk cheese" (2 Sam. xvii. 27-29). Josephus calls him the chief of the country of Gilead (*Ant.* vii. 9, §8). [G.]

MACHIRITES, THE (הַמָּכִירִי: ὁ Μαχιρί; Alex. ὁ Μαχιρεί: *Machiritae*). The descendants of Machir the father of Gilead (Num. xxvi. 29).

MACHMAS (Μαχμάς: *Machmas*), 1 Macc. ix. 73. [MICHMASH.]

MACHNADEBAI (מַכְנַדְבַי: Μαχαδναβού; Alex. Μαχναδααβού: *Mechnedebai*), one of the sons of Bani who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 40). The marginal reading of A. V. is *Mabnadebai*, which is found in some copies. In the corresponding list of 1 Esd. ix. 34 the place of this name is occupied by "of the sons of Ozora," which may be partly traced in the original.

MACHPELAH (always with the article—הַמַּכְפֵּלָה: τὸ διπλοῦν, also τὸ διπλοῦν σπηλαῖον; *duplex*, also *spelunca duplex*), the spot containing the timbered field, in the end of which was the cave which Abraham purchased[a] from the Bene-Heth, and which became the burial place of Sarah, Abraham himself, Isaac, Rebekah, Leah, and Jacob. Abraham resided at Bethel, Hebron and Gerar, but the field which contained his tomb was the only spot which positively belonged to him in the Land of Promise. That the name applied to the general locality, and not to either the field or the cavern,[b] is evident from Gen. xxiii. 17, "the field of Ephron which was in Macpelah . . . the field and the cave which was therein," although for convenience of expression both field and cave are occasionally called by the name. Its position is—with one exception uniformly—specified as "facing (עַל-פְּנֵי) Mamre" (Gen. xxiii. 17, 19, xxv. 9, xlix. 30, l. 13). What the meaning of this ancient name—not met with beyond the book of Genesis—may be, appears quite uncertain. The older interpreters, the LXX., Vulgate, Targums of Onkelos and Pseudo-jonathan, Peschito, Veneto-Greek, &c., explain it as meaning "double"—the double cave or the double field—but the modern lexicographers interpret it, either by comparison with the Ethiopic, as Gesenius (*Thes.* 704 *b*), an allotted or separated place; or again—as Fürst (*Handwb.* 733 *a*)—the undulating spot. The one is probably as near the real meaning as the other.

Beyond the passages already cited, the Bible contains no mention either of the name Macpelah or of the sepulchre of the Patriarchs. Unless this was the sanctuary of Jehovah to which Absalom had vowed or pretended to have vowed a pilgrimage, when absent in the remote Geshur (2 Sam. xv. 7), no allusion to it has been discovered in the records of David's residence at Hebron, nor yet in the struggles of the Maccabees, so many of whose battles were fought in and around it. It is a remarkable instance of the absence among the ancient Hebrews of that veneration for holy places which is so eminently characteristic of modern Orientals. But there are few, if any, of the ancient sites of Palestine of whose genuineness we can feel more assured than Macpelah. The traditional spot has everything in its favour as far as position goes; while the wall which encloses the *Haram*, or sacred precinct in which the sepul-

[a] There are several considerations which may lead us to doubt whether we are warranted by the Biblical narrative in attaching a personal sense to the name of Gilead, such as the very remote period from which that name as attached to the district dates (Gen. xxxi.), and also such passages as Num. xxxii. 39, and Deut. iii. 15. (See Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 477, 478, 503.)

[a] The story of the purchase current amongst the modern Arabs of Hebron, as told by Wilson (*Lands*, &c., i. 203), is a counterpart of the legend of the stratagem by which the Phœnician Dido obtained land enough for her city of Byrsa. "Ibrahim asked only as much ground as could be covered with a cow's hide; but after the agreement was concluded he cut the hide into thongs, and surrounded the whole of the space now forming the Haram. The story is remarkable, not only for its repetition of the older Semitic tale, but for its complete departure from the simple and open character of Abraham, as set forth in the Biblical narrative. A similar story is told of other places, but, like Byrsa, their names contain something suggestive of the hide. The writer has not been able to trace any connexion of this kind in any of the names of Macpelah or Hebron.

[b] The LXX. invariably attach the name to the cave: see xxiii. 19, ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τοῦ ἀγροῦ τῷ διπλῷ. This is followed by Jerome

Mosque at Hebron

chres themselves are reported, and probably with truth, still to lie—and which is the only part at present accessible to Christians—is a monument certainly equal, and probably superior in age to anything remaining in Palestine. It is a quadrangular building of about 200 feet in length by 115 in width, its dark grey walls rising 50 or 60 in height, without window or opening of any description, except two small entrances at the S.E. and S.W. corners. It stands nearly on the crest of the hill which forms the eastern side of the valley on the slopes and bottom of which the town is strewn, and it is remarkable how this venerable structure, quite affecting in its hoary grey colour and the archaic forms of its masonry, thus rising above the meaner buildings which it has so often beheld in ruins, dignifies, and so to speak accentuates, the general monotony of the town of Hebron. The ancient Jewish tradition[c] ascribes its erection to David (*Jichus ha-Aboth* in Hottinger, *Cippi Hebr.* 30), thus making it coeval with the pool in the valley below; but, whatever the worth of this tradition, it may well be of the age of Solomon,[d] for the masonry is even more antique in its character than that of the lower portion of the south and south-western walls of the *Haram* at Jerusalem, and which many critics ascribe to Solomon, while even the severest allows it to be of the date of Herod. The date must always remain a mystery, but there are two considerations which may weigh in favour of fixing it very early. 1. That often as the town of Hebron may have been destroyed, this, being a tomb, would always be spared. 2. It cannot on architectural grounds be later than Herod's time, while on the other hand it is omitted from the catalogue given by Josephus of the places which he rebuilt or adorned. Had Herod erected the enclosure round the tombs of the fathers of the nation, it is hardly conceivable that Josephus would have omitted to mention it, especially when he mentions apparently the very structure now existing. His words on this occasion are "the monuments (*μνημεῖα*) of Abraham and his sons are still to be seen in the town, all of them stone and admirably wrought" (*πάνυ καλῶς μάρου καὶ φιλοτίμως εἰργασμένα*, *B. J.* iv. 9. 7).

Of the contents of this enclosure we have only the most meagre and confused accounts. The [illegible] is one of the most sacred of the Moslem sanctuaries, and since the occupation of Palestine by them has been entirely closed to Christians, and particularly so to Jews, who are allowed, on rare occasions, only to look in through a hole. A great part of the area is occupied by a building which is now a mosque, and was probably originally a church, but of

[c] According to hap-Parchi (Asher's *Benj.* 437), "the stones had formerly belonged to the Temple." Ritter (*Erdkunde, Palästina*, 240) goes so far as to suggest Joseph I

[d] The peculiarities of the masonry are these:—(1) Some of the stones are very large: Dr. Wilson mentions one 38 ft. long, and 3 ft. 4 in. deep. The largest in the Haram wall at Jerusalem is 24½ ft. But yet (2) the surface—in splendid preservation—is very finely worked, more so than the finest of the stones at the south and south-west portion of the enclosure at Jerusalem; the sunken part round the edges (absurdly called the "bevel") very shallow, with no resemblance at all to more modern "rustic work." (3) The cross joints are not always vertical, but some are at an angle. (4) The wall is divided by pilasters about 2 ft. 6 in. wide, and 5 ft. apart, running the entire height of the ancient wall. It is very much to be wished that [illegible] large photographs were taken of these walls from a [illegible] point. The writer is not aware that any such yet exist

fate or style nothing is known. The sepulchres of Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Leah, are shown on the floor of the mosque, covered in the usual Mohammedan style with rich carpets; but the real sepulchres are, as they were in the 12th and 16th centuries, in a cave below the floor (Benj. of Tudela: *Jichus ha-Aboth*: Monro). In this they resemble the tomb of Aaron on Mount Hor. [See vol. i. p. 824, 825.] The cave, according to the earliest and the latest testimony, opens to the south. This was the report of Monro's servant in 1833; and Arculf particularly mentions the fact that the bodies lay with their heads to the north, as they would do if deposited from the south. A belief seems to prevail in the town that the cave communicates with some one of the modern sepulchres at a considerable distance, outside of Hebron (Loewe, in *Zeitung des Judenth.* June 1, 1839).

The accounts of the sacred enclosure at Hebron will be found collected by Ritter (*Erdkunde, Palästina*, 209, &c., but especially 236-250); Wilson (*Lands*, &c., i. 363-367); Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 75-79). The chief authorities are Arculf (A.D. 700); Benjamin of Tudela (A.D. cir. 1170); the Jewish tract *Jichus ha-Aboth* (in Hottinger, *Cippi Hebraici*; and also in Wilson, i. 365); Ali Bey (*Travels*, A.D. 1807, ii. 232, 233); Giovanni Finati (*Life* by Bankes, ii. 236); Monro (*Summer Ramble* in 1833, i. 243); Loewe, in *Zeitung des Judenth.* 1839, p. 272, 288. In a note by Asher to his edition of Benjamin of Tudela (ii. 92), mention is made of an Arabic MS. in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, containing an account of the condition of the mosque under Saladin. This MS. has not yet been published. The travels of Ibrahim el-Khijari in 1669, 70—a small portion of which from the MS. in the Ducal Library at Gotha, has been published by Tuch, with Translation, &c. (Leipzig, Vogel, 1850), are said to contain a minute description of the Mosque (Tuch, p. 2).

A few words about the exterior, a sketch of the masonry, and a view of the town, showing the entrance standing prominently in the foreground, will be found in Bartlett's *Walks*, &c., 216-219. A photograph of the exterior, from the East (?) is given as No. 63 of *Palestine as it is*, by Rev. G. W. Bridges. A ground-plan exhibiting considerable detail, made by two Moslem architects who lately superintended some repairs in the *Haram*, and given by them to Dr. Barclay of Jerusalem, is engraved in Osborn's *Pal. Past and Present*, p. 364. [G.]

MACRON (Μάκρων: *Macer*), the surname of Ptolemeus, or Ptolemee, the son of Dorymenes (1 Macc. iii. 38) and governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy Philometor (2 Macc. x. 12).

MADAI (מָדַי; Μαδαί: *Madai*), which occurs in Gen. x. 2, among the list of the sons of Japhet, has been commonly regarded as a personal appellation; and most commentators call Madai the third son of Japhet, and the progenitor of the Medes. But it is extremely doubtful whether, in the mind of the writer of Gen. x., the term *Madai* was regarded as representing a person. That the genealogies in the chapter are to some extent ethnic is universally allowed, and may be seen even in our Authorized Version (ver. 16-18). And as Gomer, Magog, Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, which are conjoined in Gen. x. 2 with Madai, are elsewhere in Scripture always ethnic and not personal appellatives (Ez. xxvii. 13, xxxviii. 6, xxxix. 6; Dan. viii. 21; Joel iii. 6; Ps. cxx. 5; Is. lxvi. 19, &c.), so it is probable that they stand for nations rather than persons here. In that case no one would regard Madai as a person; and we must remember that it is the exact word used elsewhere throughout Scripture for the well-known nation of the Medes. Probably therefore all that the writer intends to assert in Gen. x. 2 is, that the Medes, as well as the Gomerites, Greeks, Tibareni, Moschi, &c., descended from Japhet. Modern science has found that, both in physical type and in language, the Medes belong to that family of the human race which embraces the Cymry and the Græco-Romans. (See Prichard's *Phys Hist. of Mankind*, iv. 6–50; Ch. x. §2–4; and comp. the article on the MEDES.) [G. R.]

MADI'ABUN (Ἡμαδαβούν; Alex. Ἰησοῦ Ἡμαδαβούν). The sons of Madiabun, according to 1 Esd. v. 58, were among the Levites who superintended the restoration of the Temple under Zorobabel. The name does not occur in the parallel narrative of Ezr. iii. 9, and is also omitted in the Vulgate; nor is it easy to conjecture the origin of the interpolation. Our translators followed the reading of the Aldine edition.

MA'DIAN (Μαδιάμ: *Madian*, but Cod. Amiat. of N. T. *Madiam*), Jud. ii. 26; Acts vii. 29. [MIDIAN.]

MADMAN'NAH (מַדְמַנָּה: Μαχαρείμ; Alex Βεδεβηνα:[a] *Medemena*), one of the towns in the south district of Judah (Josh. xv. 31). It is named with Hormah, Ziklag, and other remote places, and therefore cannot be identical with the MADMENAH of Isaiah. To Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, "Medemana") it appears to have been well-known. It was called in their time Menois, and was not far from Gaza. The first stage southward from Gaza is now *el-Minyây* (Rob. i. 602), which, in default of a better, is suggested by Kiepert (in his *Map*, 1856) as the modern representative of Menois, and therefore of Madmannah.

In the genealogical lists of 1 Chron., Madmannah is derived from Caleb-ben-Hezron through his concubine Maachah, whose son Shaaph is recorded as the founder of the town (ii. 49).

For the termination compare the neighbouring place Sansannah. [G.]

MAD'MEN (מַדְמֵן:[b] παῦσις: *silens*), a place in Moab, threatened with destruction in the denunciations of Jeremiah (xlviii. 2), but not elsewhere named, and of which nothing is yet known. [G.]

MADMEN'AH (מַדְמֵנָה:[c] Μαδεβηνᾶ: *Medemena*), one of the Benjamite villages north of Jerusalem, the inhabitants of which were frightened away by the approach of Sennacherib along the northern road (Is. x. 31). Like others of the places mentioned in this list, Madmenah is not elsewhere named; for to MADMANNAH and MADMEN it can have no relation. Gesenius (*Jesaia*, 414) points out that the verb in the sentence is

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[a] Note the change of *m* into *b*, unusual in the Alex. MS., which usually follows the Hebrew more closely than the ordinary LXX. text: compare also MADMENAH.

[b] The LXX. have translated the name as if from the same root with the verb which accompanies it—תִּדֹּמִי. παῦσιν παύσεται: in which they are followed by the Vulgate—but the roots, though similar, are really distinct. (See Gesenius, *Thes.* 344*a*, 345*a*.)

[c] For the change of *m* into *b* comp. MADMANNAH.

active—"Madmenah flies," not, as in A. V., "is removed" (so also Michaelis, *Bibel für Ungelehrten*).

Madmenah is not impossibly alluded to by Isaiah (xxv. 10) in his denunciation of Moab, where the word rendered in A. V. "dunghill" is identical with that name. The original text (or *Cethîb*), by a variation in the preposition (במו for במו), reads the "waters of Madmenah." If this is so, the reference may be either to the Madmenah of Benjamin—one of the towns in a district abounding with corn and threshing-floors—or more appropriately still to MADMEN, the Moabite town. Gesenius (*Jesaia*, 786) appears to have overlooked this, which might have induced him to regard with more favour a suggestion which seems to have been first made by Joseph Kimchi. [G.]

MADNESS. The words rendered by "mad," "madman," "madness," &c., in the A. V., vary considerably in the Hebrew of the O. T. In Deut. xxviii. 28, 34, 1 Sam. xxi. 13, 14, 15, &c. (*μανία*, &c., in the LXX.), they are derivatives of the root שָׁגַע, "to be stirred or excited;" in Jer. xxv. 16, l. 38, li. 7, Eccl. i. 17, &c. (*περιφορά*, LXX.), from the root הָלַל, "to flash out," applied (like the Greek *φλέγειν*) either to light or sound; in Is. xliv. 25, from סָכַל, "to make void or foolish" (*μωραίνειν*, LXX.); in Zech. xii. 4, from תָּמַהּ, "to wander" (*ἔκστασις*, LXX.). In the N. T. they are generally used to render *μαίνεσθαι* or *μανία* (as in John x. 20; Acts xxvi. 24; 1 Cor. xiv. 23); but in 2 Pet. ii. 16 the word is *παραφρονία*, and in Luke vi. 11 *ἄνοια*. These passages show that in Scripture "madness" is recognised as a derangement, proceeding either from weakness and misdirection of intellect, or from ungovernable violence of passion; and in both cases it is spoken of, sometimes as arising from the will and action of man himself, sometimes as inflicted judicially by the hand of God. In one passage alone (John x. 20) is madness expressly connected with demoniacal possession, by the Jews in their cavil against our Lord [see DEMONIACS]; in none is it referred to any physical causes. It will easily be seen how entirely this usage of the word is accordant to the general spirit and object of Scripture, in passing by physical causes, and dwelling on the moral and spiritual influences, by which men's hearts may be affected, either from within or from without.

It is well known that among Oriental, as among most semi-civilised nations, madmen were looked upon with a kind of reverence, as possessed of a quasi-sacred character. This arises partly no doubt from the feeling, that one, on whom God's hand is laid heavily, should be safe from all other harm; but partly also from the belief that the loss of reason and self-control opened the mind to supernatural influence, and gave it therefore a supernatural sacredness. This belief was strengthened by the enthusiastic expression of idolatrous worship (see 1 K. xviii. 26, 28), and (occasionally) of real inspiration (see 1 Sam. xix. 21-24; comp. the application of "mad fellow" in 2 K. ix. 11, and see Jer. xxix. 26; Acts ii. 13). An illustration of it may be seen in the record of David's pretended madness at the court of Achish (1 Sam. xxi. 13-15), which shows it to be not inconsistent with a kind of contemptuous forbearance, such as is often manifested now, especially by the Turks, towards real or supposed madmen. [A. B.]

MA'DON (מָדוֹן: *Μαβδῶν*; Alex. *Μαδδὼν Μαρών*: *Madon*), one of the principal cities of Canaan before the conquest. Its king joined Jabin and his confederates in their attempt against Joshua at the waters of Merom, and like the rest was killed (Josh. xi. 1, xii. 19). No later mention of it is found, and beyond the natural inference drawn from its occurrence with Hazor, Shimron, &c., that it was in the north of the country, we have no clue to its position. Schwarz (90) proposes to discover Madon at *Kefr Menda*, a village with extensive ancient remains, at the western end of the Plain of *Buttauf*, 4 or 5 miles N. of Sepphoris. His grounds for the identification are of the slightest: (*a*) the frequent transposition of letters in Arabic, and (*b*) a statement of the early Jewish traveller Isaac Parchi (Asher's *Benj. of Tudela*, 430), that the Arabs identify Kefar Mendi with "Midian," or, as Schwarz would read it, Madon. The reader must judge for himself what worth there is in these suggestions.

In the LXX. version of 2 Sam. xxi. 20 the Hebrew words אִישׁ מָדוֹן, "a man of stature," are rendered *ἀνὴρ Μαδών*, "a man of Madon." This may refer to the town Madon, or may be merely an instance of the habit which these translators had of rendering literally in Greek letters Hebrew words which they did not understand. Other instances will be found in 2 K. vi. 8, ix. 11, xii. 9, xv. 10, &c. &c. [G.]

MAE'LUS (*Μαῆλος*: *Michelus*), for MIAMIN (1 Esd. ix. 26; comp. Ezr. x. 25).

MAG'BISH (מַגְבִּישׁ: *Μαγεβίς*: *Megbis*), a proper name in Ezr. ii. 30, but whether of a man or of a place is doubted by some; it is probably the latter, as all the names from Ezr. ii. 20 to 34, except Elam and Harim, are names of places. The meaning of the name too, which appears to be "freezing" or "congealing," seems better suited to a place than a man. One hundred and fifty-six of its inhabitants, called the children of Maghish, are included in the genealogical roll of Ezr. ii., but have fallen out from the parallel passage in Neh. vii. MAGPIASH, however, is named (Neh. x. 20) as one of those who sealed to the covenant, where Anathoth and Nebo (Nebai) also appear in the midst of proper names of men. Why in these three cases the names of the places are given instead of those of the family, or house, or individual, as in the case of all the other signatures, it is impossible to say for certain, though many reasons might be guessed. From the position of Maghish in the list in Ezr. ii., next to Bethel, Ai, and Nebo, and before Lod, Hadid, Ono, and Jericho, it would seem to be in the tribe of Benjamin. [A. C. H.]

MAG'DALA (*Μαγαδᾶν*[a] in MSS. B, D, and Sinait.—A being defective in this place; but Rec. Text *Μαγδαλά*: Syr. *Magedun*: Vulg. *Magedan*).

The name Magdala does not really exist in the Bible. It is found in the received Greek text and the A. V. of Matt. xv. 39 only; but the oldest MSS. and versions exhibit the name as Magadan

[a] It is not necessary to do more than mention the hypothesis of Brocardus, who identifies Magedan and Dalmanutha with the well known circular pool called Phiala (or, as he calls it, Syala), east of Banias, which he says the Saracens call Me-Dan, "a water of Dan." (See Brocardus, *Descr.* cap. iii.)

into the limits[b] of Magadan Christ came by boat, over the lake of Gennesareth, after His miracle of feeding the four thousand on the mountain of the eastern side (Matt. xv. 39); and from thence, after a short encounter with the Pharisees and Sadducees, He returned in the same boat to the opposite shore. In the present text of the parallel narrative of St. Mark (viii. 10) we find the "parts of Dalmanutha," though in the time of Eusebius and Jerome the two were in agreement, both reading Magadan, as Mark still does in Codex D. They place it "round Gerosa" (*Onomasticon*, sub voce), as if the MAGED or MAKED of Maccabees; but this is at variance with the requirements of the narrative, which indicates a place close to the water, and on its western side. The same, as far as distance is concerned, may be said of Megiddo—in its Greek form, Mageddo, or, as Josephus spells it, Magedo—which, as a well-known locality of Lower Galilee, might not unnaturally suggest itself.

Dalmanutha was probably at or near *Ain el-Barideh*, about a mile below *el-Mejdel*, on the western edge of the lake of Gennesareth. *El-Mejdel* is doubtless the representative of an ancient Migdol or Magdala, possibly that from which St. Mary came. Her native place was possibly not far distant from the Magadan of our Lord's history, and we can only suppose that, owing to the familiar recurrence of the word Magdalene, the less known name was absorbed in the better, and Magdala usurped the name, and possibly also the position of Magadan. At any rate it has prevented any search being made for the name, which may very possibly still be discovered in the country, though so strangely superseded in the records.[c]

The Magdala which conferred her name on "Mary the Magdal-ene" (M. ἡ Μαγδαληνή), one of the numerous Migdols, *i. e.* towers, which stood in Palestine—such as the MIGDAL-EL, or tower of God, in Naphtali, the MIGDAL-GAD and Migdal-EDAR of Judah—was probably the place of that name which is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud as near Tiberias (Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* 353; Schwarz, 189), and this again is as probably the modern *el-Mejdel*, "a miserable little Muslim village," rather more than an hour, or about three miles,[d] above *Tubariyeh*, lying on the water's edge at the south-east corner of the plain of Gennesareth (Josh. ii. 396, 397). Professor Stanley's description seems to embrace every point worth notice. "Of all the numerous towns and villages in what must have been the most thickly peopled district of Palestine one only remains. A collection of a few hovels stands at the south-east corner of the plain of Gennesareth, its name hardly altered from the ancient Magdala or Migdol, so called probably from a watch-tower, of which ruins appear to remain, that guarded the entrance to the plain. Through its connexion with her whom the long opinion of the Church identified with the penitent sinner, the name of that ancient tower has now been incorporated into all the languages of Europe. A large solitary thorn-tree stands beside it. The situation, otherwise unmarked, is dignified by the high limestone rock which overhangs it on the south-west, perforated with caves; recalling, by a curious though doubtless unintentional coincidence, the scene of Coreggio's celebrated picture." These caves are said by Schwarz (189)—though on no clear authority—to bear the name of Telimar, *i. e.* Talmanutha. "A clear stream rushes past the rock into the sea, issuing in a tangled thicket of thorn and willow from a deep ravine at the back of the plain" (*S. & P.* 382, 383). Jerome, although he plays upon the name Magdalene—"recte vocatam Magdalenen, id est Turritam, ob ejus singularem fidei ac ardoris constantiam"—does not appear to connect it with the place in question. By the Jews the word מנדלא is used to denote a person who platted or twisted hair, a practice then much in use amongst women of loose character. A certain "Miriam Magdala" is mentioned by the Talmudists, who is probably intended for St. Mary. (See Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* "Maria;" and Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 389, 1459.) Magdalum is mentioned as between Tiberias and Capernaum, as early as by Willibald, A.D. 722; since that time it is occasionally named by travellers, amongst others Quaresmius, *Elucidatio*, 866; Sir R. Guylforde, *Pylgrymage*; Breydenbach, p. 29; Bonar, *Land of Promise*, 433, 434, and 549. Buchanan (*Clerical Furlough*, 375) describes well the striking view of the northern part of the lake which is obtained from *el-Mejdel*.—A ruined site called *Om Moghdala* is pointed out at about 2 hours S. of Jerusalem, apparently N.W. of Bethlehem (Tobler, *3tte Wand.* 81).

[H. B. H.]

MAG'DIEL (מַגְדִּיאֵל: Μαγεδιήλ, in Chron. Μεδιήλ; Alex. Μεσοδιήλ: *Magdiel*). One of the "dukes" of Edom, descended from Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 43; 1 Chr. i. 54). The name does not yet appear to have been met with, as borne by either tribe or place.

MA'GED (Μακέδ, in both MSS.: *Mageth*), the form in which the name MAKED appears in the A. V. on its second occurrence (1 Macc. v. 36).

MAGI (A.V. "wise men:" Μάγοι: *magi*). It does not fall within the scope of this article to enter fully into the history of the Magi as an order, and of the relation in which they stood to the religion of Zoroaster. Only so far as they come within the horizon of a student of the Bible, and present points of contact with its history and language, have they any claim for notice in this place. As might be expected, where two forms of faith and national life run on, for a long period, side by side, each maintaining its distinctness, those points are separated from each other by wide intervals, and it is hard to treat of them with any apparent continuity. What has to be said will be best arranged under the four following heads:—

I. The position occupied by the Magi in the history of the O. T.

II. The transition-stages in the history of the word and of the order between the close of the O. T. and the time of the N. T., so far as they affect the latter.

III. The Magi as they appear in the N. T.

IV. The later traditions which have gathered round the Magi of Matt. ii.

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[b] τὰ ἔρια. Thus the present *el-Mejdel*—whether identified with Magadan or Magdala or not—is surrounded by the *Arâ el-Mejdel* (Wilson, *Lands*, ii. 136).

[c] The original form of the name may have been Migron; at least so we may infer from the LXX. version of Isaiah, which is Magedo or Magdon.

[d] The statement of the Talmud is, that a person passing by Magdala could hear the voice of the crier in Tiberias. At three miles' distance this would not be impossible in Palestine, where sound travels to a distance far greater than in this country. (See Rob. iii. 17; Stanley *S. & P.*; Thomson, *Land and Book*.)

I. In the Hebrew text of the O. T. the word occurs but twice, and then only incidentally. In Jer. xxxix. 3 and 13 we meet, among the Chaldaean officers sent by Nebuchadnezzar to Jerusalem, one with the name or title of Rab-Mag (רַב־מָג). This word is interpreted, after the analogy of Rab-shakeh and Rab-saris, as equivalent to chief of the Magi (Ewald, *Propheten*, and Hitzig, *in loc.*, taking it as the title of Nergal-Sharezer), and we thus find both the name and the order occupying a conspicuous place under the government of the Chaldaeans. Many questions of some difficulty are suggested by this fact.

Historically the Magi are conspicuous chiefly as a Persian religious caste. Herodotus connects them with another people by reckoning them among the six tribes of the Medes (i. 101). They appear in his history of Astyages as interpreters of dreams (i. 120), the name having apparently lost its ethnological and acquired a caste significance. But in Jeremiah they appear at a still earlier period among the retinue of the Chaldaean king. The very word Rab-Mag (if the received etymology of Magi be correct) presents a hybrid formation. The first syllable is unquestionably Semitic, the last is all but unquestionably Aryan.[a] The problem thus presented admits of two solutions:—(1) If we believe the Chaldaeans to have been a Hamitic people, closely connected with the Babylonians [CHALDAEANS], we must then suppose that the colossal schemes of greatness which showed themselves in Nebuchadnezzar's conquests led him to gather round him the wise men and religious teachers of the nations which he subdued, and that thus the sacred tribe of the Medes rose under his rule to favour and power. His treatment of those who bore a like character among the Jews (Dan. i. 4) makes this hypothesis a natural one; and the alliance which existed between the Medes and the Chaldaeans at the time of the overthrow of the old Assyrian empire would account for the intermixture of religious systems belonging to two different races. (2) If, on the other hand, with Renan (*Histoire des Langues Semitiques*, pp. 66, 67), following Lassen and Ritter, we look on the Chaldaeans as themselves belonging to the Aryan family, and possessing strong affinities with the Medes, there is even less difficulty in explaining the presence among the one people of the religious teachers of the other. It is likely enough, in either case, that the simpler Median religion which the Magi brought with them, corresponding more or less closely to the faith of the Zendavesta, lost some measure of its original purity through this contact with the darker superstitions of the old Babylonian population. From this time onward it is noticeable that the names both of the Magi and Chaldaeans are identified with the astrology, divination, interpretation of dreams, which had impressed themselves on the prophets of Israel as the most characteristic features of the old Babel-religion (Is. xliv. 25, xlvii. 13). The Magi took their places among "the astrologers and star-gazers and monthly prognosticators."

It is with such men that we have to think of Daniel and his fellow-exiles as associated. They are described as "ten times wiser than all the magicians (LXX. *μάγους*) and astrologers" (Dan. i. 20). Daniel himself so far sympathises with the order into which he is thus, as it were, enrolled, as to intercede for them when Nebuchadnezzar gives the order for their death (Dan. ii. 24), and accepts an office which, as making him "master of the magicians,[b] astrologers, Chaldaeans, soothsayers" (Dan. v. 11), was probably identical with that of the Rab-Mag who first came before us. May we conjecture that he found in the belief which the Magi had brought with them some elements of the truth that had been revealed to his fathers, and that the way was thus prepared for the strong sympathy which showed itself in a hundred ways when the purest Aryan and the purest Semitic faiths were brought face to face with each other (Dan. vi. 3, 16, 26; Ezr. i. 1-4; Is. xliv. 28), agreeing as they did in their hatred of idolatry and in their acknowledgment of the "God of Heaven"?

The name of the Magi does not meet us in the Biblical account of the Medo-Persian kings. If, however, we identify the Artaxerxes who stops the building of the Temple (Ezr. iv. 17-22) with the Pseudo-Smerdis of Herodotus [ARTAXERXES] and the Gomates of the Behistun inscription, we may see here also another point of contact. The Magian attempt to reassert Median supremacy, and with it probably a corrupted Chaldaized form of Magianism, in place of the purer faith in Ormuzd of which Cyrus had been the propagator,[c] would naturally be accompanied by antagonism to the people whom the Persians had protected and supported. The immediate renewal of the suspended work on the triumph of Darius (Ezr. iv. 24, v. 1, 2, vi. 7, 8) falls in, it need hardly be added, with this hypothesis. The story of the actual massacre of the Magi throughout the dominions of Darius, and of the commemorative Magophonia (Herod. iii. 79), with whatever exaggerations it may be mixed up, indicates in like manner the triumph of the Zoroastrian system. If we accept the traditional date of Zoroaster as a contemporary of Darius, we may see in the changes which he effected a revival of the older system.[d] It is at any rate striking that

[a] In the Pehlvi dialect of the Zend, Mogh = priest (Hyde, *Relig. Vet. Pers.* c. 31); and this is connected by philologists with the Sanskrit, *mahat* (great), *μέγας*, and *magnus* (Gesenius, *s.v.* מָג; Anquetil du Perron's *Zendavesta*, ii. 555). The coincidence of a Sanskrit *máya*, in the sense of "illusion, magic," is remarkable; but it is probable that this, as well as the analogous Greek word, is the derived, rather than the original meaning (comp. Eichhoff, *Vergleichung der Sprache*, ed. Kaltschmidt, p. 231). Hyde (*l. c.*) notices another etymology, given by Arabian authors, which makes the word = cropt-eared (*pareis auribus*), but rejects it. Prideaux, on the other hand (*Connexion*, under B.C. 522), accepts it, and seriously connects it with the story of the Pseudo-Smerdis who had lost his ears in Herod. iii. 69. Spanheim (*Dub. Evang.* xviii.) speaks favourably, though not decisively, of a Hebrew etymology

[b] רַב חַרְטֻמִּין; *ἄρχοντα ἐπαοιδῶν μάγων*, LXX.

[c] Comp. Sir Henry Rawlinson's translation of the Behistun inscription: "The rites which Gomates the Magian had introduced I prohibited. I restored to the state the chants, and the worship, and to those families which Gomates the Magian had deprived of them" (*Journal of Asiatic Soc.*, vol. x., and Blakesley's *Herodotus*, Excurs. on iii. 74).

[d] The opinion that Zoroaster (otherwise Zeduschi or Zarathrust) and his work belonged to the 6th century rests chiefly on the mention in his life and in the Zendavesta of a king Gustasp, who has been identified with Hystaspes, the father of Darius (Hyde, c. 24; Du Perron, *Zendavesta*, i. 29). On the other hand, the name of Zoroaster does not appear in any of the monumental or historical notices of Darius; and Bactria, rather than Persia, appears as the scene of his labours. The Magi at any rate, appear as a distinct order, and with a definite

word Magi does not appear in the Zendavesta, the priests being there described as Atharva (Guardians of the Fire), and that there are multiplied prohibitions in it of all forms of the magic which, in the West, and possibly in the East also, took its name from them, and with which, it would appear, they had already become tainted. All such arts, auguries, necromancy, and the like, are looked on as evil, and emanating from Ahriman, and are pursued by the hero-king Feridoun with the most persistent hostility (Du Perron, *Zendavesta*, vol. i. part ii. p. 268, 424).

The name, however, kept its ground, and with it probably the order to which it was attached. Under Xerxes, the Magi occupy a position which indicates that they had recovered from their temporary depression. They are consulted by him as soothsayers (Herod. vii. 19), and are as influential as they had been in the court of Astyages. They prescribe the strange and terrible sacrifices at the Strymon and the Nine Ways (Herod. vii. 114). They were said to have urged the destruction of the temples of Greece (Cic. *De Legg.* ii. 10). Traces of their influence may perhaps be seen in the regard paid by Mardonius to the oracles of the Greek god that offered the nearest analogue to their own Mithras (Herod. viii. 134), and in the like reverence which had previously been shown by the *Median* Datis towards the island of Delos (Herod. vi. 97). They come before the Greeks as the representatives of the religion of the Persians. No sacrifices may be offered unless one of their order is present chanting the prescribed prayers, as in the ritual of the Zendavesta (Herod. i. 132). No great change is traceable in their position during the decline of the Persian monarchy. The position of Judaea as a Persian province must have kept up some measure of contact between the two religious systems. The histories of Esther and Nehemiah point to the influence which might be exercised by members of the subject-race. It might well be that the religious minds of the two nations would learn to respect each other, and that some measure of the prophetic hopes of Israel might mingle with the belief of the Magi. As an order they perpetuated themselves under the Parthian kings. The name rose to fresh honour under the Sassanidae. The classification which was ascribed to Zoroaster was recognised as the basis of a hierarchical system, after other and lower elements had mingled with the earlier Dualism, and might be traced even in the religion and worship of the Parsees. According to this arrangement the Magi were divided—by a classification which has been compared to that of bishops, priests, and deacons—into disciples (Harbeds), teachers (Mobeds[c]), and the more perfect teachers of a higher wisdom (Destur Mobeds). This too will connect itself with a tradition further on (Hyde, c. 28; Du Perron, *Zendavesta*, ii. 555).

II. In the meantime the word was acquiring a new and wider signification. It presented itself to the Greeks as connected with a foreign system of divination, and the religion of a foe whom they had conquered, and it soon became a bye-word for the worst form of imposture. The rapid growth of this feeling is traceable perhaps in the meanings attached to the word by the two great tragedians. In Aeschylus (*Persae*, 291) it retains its old significance as denoting simply a tribe. In Sophocles (*Oed. Tyr.* 387) it appears among the epithets of reproach which the king heaps upon Teiresias. The fact, however, that the religion with which the word was associated still maintained its ground as the faith of a great nation, kept it from falling into utter disrepute, and it is interesting to notice how at one time the good, and at another the bad, side of the word is uppermost. Thus the μαγεία of Zoroaster is spoken of with respect by Plato as a θεῶν θεραπεία, forming the groundwork of an education which he praises as far better than that of the Athenians (*Alcib.* i. p. 122 *a*). Xenophon, in like manner, idealises the character and functions of the order (*Cyrop.* iv. 5, §16; 6, §6). Both meanings appear in the later lexicographers. The word Magos is equivalent to ἀπατέων καὶ φαρμακευτὴς, but it is also used for the θεοσεβὴς καὶ θεόλογος καὶ ἱερεύς (Hesych.). The Magi as an order are οἱ παρὰ Περσαῖς φιλόσοφοι καὶ φιλόθεοι (Suid.). The word thus passed into the hands of the LXX., and from them into those of the writers of the N. T., oscillating between the two meanings, capable of being used in either. The relations which had existed between the Jews and Persians would perhaps tend to give a prominence to the more favourable associations in their use of it. In Daniel (i. 20, ii. 2, 10, 27, v. 11) it is used, as has been noticed, for the priestly diviners with whom the prophet was associated. Philo, in like manner (*Quod omnis probus liber*, p. 792), mentions the Magi with warm praise, as men who gave themselves to the study of nature and the contemplation of the Divine perfections, worthy of being the counsellors of kings. It was perhaps natural that this aspect of the word should commend itself to the theosophic Jew of Alexandria. There were, however, other influences at work tending to drag it down. The swarms of impostors that were to be met with in every part of the Roman empire, known as "Chaldaei," "Mathematici," and the like, bore this name also. Their arts were "artes magicae." Though philosophers and men of letters might recognise the better meaning of which the word was capable (Cic. *De Divin.* i. 23, 41), yet in the language of public documents and of historians, they were treated as a class at once hateful and contemptible (Tacit. *Ann.* i. 32, ii. 27, xii. 22, xii. 59), and as such were the victims of repeated edicts of banishment.

III. We need not wonder accordingly to find that this is the predominant meaning of the word as it appears in the N. T. The noun and the verb derived from it (μαγεία and μαγεύω) are used by St. Luke in describing the impostor, who is therefore known distinctively as Simon Magus (Acts viii. 9). Another of the same class (Bar-jesus) is described

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...ilis, before this time; and his work in relation to them, if contemporary with Darius, must have been that of the restorer rather than the founder of a system. The hypothesis of two Zoroasters is hardly more than an attempt to disentangle the conflicting traditions that cluster round the name, so as to give some degree of historical credibility to each group. Most of these traditions lie outside the range of our present inquiry, but one or two come within the horizon of Biblical legend, if not of Biblical history. Possible to account for the truth they recognized in his ...ystem, except on the hypothesis that it had been derived from the faith of Israel. Christian and Mahometan writers have seen in him the disciple of one of the prophets of the O. T. The leper Gehazi, Baruch the friend and disciple of Jeremiah, some unnamed disciple of Ezra,—these (wild as it may sound) have, each in his turn, been identified with the Bactrian sage. His name will meet us again in connexion with the Magi of the N. T. (Hyde, *l. c.*; Prideaux, *Conn.*, B.C. 521-486).

[c] The word "Mobed," a contraction of the fuller form Magovad, is apparently identical with that which appears in Greek as Μάγος

(Acts xiii. 8) as having, in his cognomen Elymas, a title which was equivalent to Magus. [ELYMAS.]

In one memorable instance, however, the word retains (probably, at least) its better meaning. In the Gospel of St. Matthew, written (according to the general belief of early Christian writers) for the Hebrew Christians of Palestine, we find it, not as embodying the contempt which the frauds of impostors had brought upon it through the whole Roman empire, but in the sense which it had had, of old, as associated with a religion which they respected, and an order of which one of their own prophets had been the head. In spite of Patristic authorities on the other side, asserting the Μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν of Matt. ii. 1 to have been sorcerers whose mysterious knowledge came from below, not from above, and who were thus translated out of darkness into light (Just. Martyr, Chrysostom, Theophylact, in Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* xix.; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Matt. ii.) we are justified, not less by the *consensus* of later interpreters (including even Maldonatus) than by the general tenor of St. Matthew's narrative, in seeing in them men such as those that were in the minds of the LXX. translators of Daniel, and those described by Philo—at once astronomers and astrologers, but not mingling any conscious fraud with their efforts after a higher knowledge. The vagueness of the description leaves their country undefined, and implies that probably the Evangelist himself had no certain information. The same phrase is used as in passages where the express object is to include a wide range of country (comp. ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν, Matt. viii. 11, xxiv. 27; Luke xiii. 29). Probably the region chiefly present to the mind of the Palestine Jew would be the tract of country stretching eastward from the Jordan to the Euphrates, the land of "the children of the East" in the early period of the history of the O. T. (Gen. xxix. 1; Judg. vi. 3, vii. 12, viii. 10). It should be remembered, however, that the language of the O. T., and therefore probably that of St. Matthew, included under this name countries that lay considerably to the north as well as to the east of Palestine. Balaam came from "the mountains of the east," *i. e.* from Pethor on the Euphrates (Num. xxiii. 7, xxii. 5). Abraham (or Cyrus?) is the righteous man raised up "from the east" (Is. xli. 2). The Persian conqueror is called "from the east, from a far country" (Is. xlvi. 11).

We cannot wonder that there should have been very varying interpretations given of words that allowed so wide a field for conjecture. Some of these are, for various reasons, worth noticing. (1) The feeling of some early writers that the coming of the wise men was the fulfilment of the prophecy which spoke of the gifts of the men of Sheba and Seba (Ps. lxxii. 10, 15; comp. Is. lx. 6) led them to fix on Arabia as the country of the Magi (Just. Martyr, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Cyprian, in Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* l. c.),[f] and they have been followed by Baronius, Maldonatus, Grotius, and Lightfoot. (2) Others have conjectured Mesopotamia as the great seat of Chaldaean astrology (Origen, *Hom. in Matt.* vi. and vii.), or Egypt as the country in which Magic was most prevalent (Meyer, *ad loc.*). (3) The historical associations of the word led others again, with greater probability, to fix on Persia, and to see in these Magi members of the priestly order, to which the name of right belonged (Chrysostom, Theophylact, Calvin, Olshausen), while Hyde (*Rel. Pers.* l. c.) suggests Parthia, as being at that time the conspicuous eastern monarchy in which the Magi were recognised and honoured.

It is perhaps a legitimate inference from the narrative of Matt. ii. that in these Magi we may recognise, as the Church has done from a very early period, the first Gentile worshippers of the Christ. The name, by itself, indeed, applied as it is in Acts xiii. 8, to a Jewish false prophet, would hardly prove this; but the distinctive epithet "from the east" was probably intended to mark them out as different in character and race from the Western Magi, Jews, and others, who swarmed over the Roman empire. So, when they come to Jerusalem it is to ask not after "our king" or "the king of Israel," but, as the men of another race might do, after "the king of the Jews." The language of the O. T. prophets and the traditional interpretation of it are apparently new things to them.

The narrative of Matt. ii. supplies us with an outline which we may legitimately endeavour to fill up, as far as our knowledge enables us, with inference and illustration.

Some time after the birth of Jesus[g] there appeared among the strangers who visited Jerusalem these men from the far East. They were not idolaters. Their form of worship was looked upon by the Jews with greater tolerance and sympathy than that of any other Gentiles (comp. Wisd. xiii. 6, 7). Whatever may have been their country, their name indicates that they would be watchers of the stars, seeking to read in them the destinies of nations. They say that they have seen a star in which they recognise such a prognostic. They are sure that one is born King of the Jews, and they come to pay their homage. It may have been simply that the quarter of the heavens in which the star appeared indicated the direction of Judaea. It may have been that some form of the prophecy of Balaam that a "star should rise out of Jacob" (Num. xxiv. 17) had reached them, either through the Jews of the Dispersion, or through traditions running parallel with the O. T., and that this led them to recognise its fulfilment (Origen, *c. Cels.* i.; Hom. *in Num.* xiii.; but the hypothesis is neither necessary nor satisfactory; comp. Ellicott, *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 77). It may have been, lastly, that the traditional predictions ascribed to their own prophet Zoroaster, leading them to expect a succession of three deliverers, two working as prophets to reform the world and raise up a kingdom (Tavernier, *Travels*, iv. 8), the third (Zoroaster)

[f] This is adopted by most Romish interpreters, and is all but authoritatively recognized in the services of the Latin Church. Through the whole Octave of the Epiphany the ever-recurring antiphon is, "Reges Tharsis et insulae munera offerent. Alleluia, Alleluia. Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent. Alleluia, Alleluia."—*Brev. Rom. in Epiph.*

[g] The discordant views of commentators and harmonists indicate the absence of any trustworthy data. The time of their arrival at Bethlehem has been fixed in such case on grounds so utterly insufficient, that it would be idle to examine them. (1) As in the Church Calendar, on the twelfth day after the nativity (Baronius, *Ann.* i. 6). (2) At some time towards the close of the forty days before the Purification (Spanheim and Stolberg). (3) Four months later (Greswell), on the hypothesis that they saw the star at the nativity, and then started on a journey which would take that time. Or (4) as an inference from Matt. ii. 16, at some time in the second year after the birth of Christ (comp. Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* l. c.). On the attempt to find a chronological datum in the star itself, see STAR IN THE EAST; also JESUS CHRIST, vol. i. p. 1673 *b*.

the greatest of the three, coming to be the head of the kingdom, to conquer Ahriman and to raise the dead (Du Perron, *Zendave*, i. 2. p. 46; Hyde, c. 31; Ellis, *Hulsean Lect.* l. c.), and in strange fantastic ways connecting these redeemers with the seed of Abraham (Tavernier, *l. c.*; and D'Herbelot, *Bibliot. Orient.* s. v. Zerdascht), had roused their minds to an attitude of expectancy, and that their contact with a people cherishing like hopes on stronger grounds, may have prepared them to see in a king of the Jews, the Oshanderbegha (*Homo Mundi*, Hyde, *l. c.*), or the Zosiosh whom they expected. In any case they shared the "vetus et constans opinio" which had spread itself over the whole East, that the Jews, as a people, crushed and broken as they were, were yet destined once again to give a ruler to the nations. It is not unlikely that they appeared, occupying the position of Destur-Mobeds in the later Zoroastrian hierarchy, as the representatives of many others who shared the same feeling. They came, at any rate, to pay their homage to the king whose birth was thus indicated, and with the gold and frankincense and myrrh, which were the customary gifts of subject nations (comp. Gen. xliii. 11; Ps. lxxii. 15; 1 K. x. 2, 10; 2 Chr. ix. 24; Cant. iii. 6, iv. 14). The arrival of such a company, bound on so strange an errand, in the last years of the tyrannous and distrustful Herod, could hardly fail to attract notice and excite a people, among whom Messianic expectations had already begun to show themselves (Luke ii. 25, 38). "Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him." The Sanhedrim was convened, and the question where the Messiah was to be born was formally placed before them. It was in accordance with the subtle, fox-like character of the king that he should pretend to share the expectations of the people in order that he might find in what direction they pointed, and then take whatever steps were necessary to crush them [comp. HEROD]. The answer given, based upon the traditional interpretation of Mic. v. 2, that Bethlehem was to be the birthplace of the Christ, determined the king's plans. He had found out the locality. It remained to determine the time: with what was probably a real belief in astrology, he inquired of them diligently, when they had first seen the star. If he assumed that that was contemporaneous with the birth, he could not be far wrong. The Magi accordingly are sent on to Bethlehem, as if they were but the forerunners of the king's own homage. As they journeyed they again saw the star, which for a time, it would seem, they had lost sight of, and it guided them on their way. [Comp. STAR IN THE EAST for this and all other questions connected with its appearance.] The pressure of the crowds, which a fortnight, or four months, or well-nigh two years before, had driven Mary and Joseph to the rude stable of the caravanserai of Bethlehem, had apparently abated, and the Magi entering "the house" (Matt. ii. 11) fell down and paid their homage and offered their gifts. Once more they receive guidance through the channel which their work and their studies had made familiar to them. From first to last, in Media, in Babylon, in Persia, the Magi had been famous as the interpreters of dreams. That which they received now need not have involved a disclosure of the plans of Herod to them. It was enough that it directed them to "return to their own country another way." With this their history, so far as the N. T. carries us, comes to an end.

It need hardly be said that this part of the Gospel narrative has had to bear the brunt of the attacks of a hostile criticism. The omission of all mention of the Magi in a gospel which enters so fully into all the circumstances of the infancy of Christ as that of St. Luke, and the difficulty of harmonising this incident with those which he narrates, have been urged as at least throwing suspicion on what St. Matthew alone has recorded. The advocate of a "mythical theory" sees in this almost the strongest confirmation of it (Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, i. p. 272). "There must be prodigies gathering round the cradle of the infant Christ. Other heroes and kings had had their stars, and so must he. He must receive in his childhood the homage of the representatives of other races and creeds. The facts recorded lie outside the range of history, and are not mentioned by any contemporary historian." The answers to these objections may be briefly stated. (1) Assuming the central fact of the early chapters of St. Matthew, no objection lies against any of its accessories on the ground of their being wonderful and improbable. It would be in harmony with our expectations that there should be signs and wonders indicating its presence. The objection therefore postulates the absolute incredibility of that fact, and begs the point at issue (comp. Trench, *Star of the Wise Men*, p. 124). (2) The question whether this, or any other given narrative connected with the nativity of Christ, bears upon it the stamp of a *mythus*, is therefore one to be determined by its own merits, on its own evidence; and then the case stands thus:—A mythical story is characterised for the most part by a large admixture of what is wild, poetical, fantastic. A comparison of Matt. ii. with the Jewish or Mahometan legends of a later time, or even with the Christian mythology which afterwards gathered round this very chapter, will show how wide is the distance that separates its simple narrative, without ornament, without exaggeration, from the overflowing luxuriance of those figments (comp. IV. below). (3) The absence of any direct confirmatory evidence in other writers of the time may be accounted for, partly at least, by the want of any full chronicle of the events of the later years of Herod. The momentary excitement of the arrival of such travellers as the Magi, or of the slaughter of some score of children in a small Jewish town, would easily be effaced by the more agitating events that followed [comp. HEROD]. The silence of Josephus is not more conclusive against this fact than it is (assuming the spuriousness of *Ant.* xviii. 4, §3) against the fact of the Crucifixion and the growth of the sect of the Nazarenes within the walls of Jerusalem.[b] (4) The more perplexing absence of all mention of the Magi

[b] It is perhaps not right to pass over the supposed testimony of heathen authors. These are found (1) in the saying of Augustus, recorded by Macrobius ("It is better to be Herod's swine than his son"), as connected with the slaughter of a child under two years of age. (2) In the remarkable passage of Chalcidius (*Comment. in Timaeus*, vs. 268), alluding to the star which had heralded the birth, not of a conqueror or destroyer but of a divine and righteous king. The facts of the Gospel history may have been mixed up with (1), but the expression of Augustus does not point to anything beyond Herod's domestic tragedies. The genuineness of (2) is questionable; and both are too remote in time to be of any worth as evidence (comp W. H. Mill, *Pantheistic Principles*, p. 373)

in St. Luke's Gospel may yet receive some probable explanation. So far as we cannot explain it, our ignorance of all, or nearly all, the circumstances of the composition of the Gospels is a sufficient answer. It is, however, at least possible that St. Luke, knowing that the facts related by St. Matthew were already current among the churches,[i] sought rather to add what was not yet recorded. Something too may have been due to the leading thoughts of the two Gospels. St. Matthew, dwelling chiefly on the kingly office of Christ as the Son of David, seizes naturally on the first recognition of that character by the Magi of the East (comp. on the fitness of this Mill, *Pantheistic Principles*, p. 375). St. Luke, portraying the Son of Man in His sympathy with common men, in His compassion on the poor and humble, dwells as naturally on the manifestation to the shepherds on the hills of Bethlehem. It may be added further, that everything tends to show that the latter Evangelist derived the materials for this part of his history much more directly from the *mother* of the Lord, or her kindred, than did the former; and, if so, it is not difficult to understand how she might come to dwell on that which connected itself at once with the eternal blessedness of peace, good-will, salvation, rather than on the homage and offerings of strangers, which seemed to be the presage of an earthly kingdom, and had proved to be the prelude to a life of poverty, and to the death upon the cross.

IV. In this instance, as in others, what is told by the Gospel-writers in plain simple words, has become the nucleus for a whole cycle of legends. A Christian mythology has overshadowed that which itself had nothing in common with it. The love of the strange and marvellous, the eager desire to fill up in detail a narrative which had been left in outline, and to make every detail the representative of an idea—these, which tend everywhere to the growth of the mythical element within the region of history, fixed themselves, naturally enough, precisely on those portions of the life of Christ where the written records were the least complete. The stages of this development present themselves in regular succession.

(1) The Magi are no longer thought of as simply "wise men," members of a sacred order. The prophecies of Ps. lxxii.; Is. xlix. 7, 23, lx. 16, must be fulfilled in them, and they become princes ("reguli," Tertull. *c. Jud.* 9; *c. Marc.* 5). This tends more and more to be the dominant thought. When the arrival of the Magi, rather than the birth or the baptism of Christ, as the first of His mighty works, comes to be looked on as the great Epiphany of His divine power, the older title of the feast receives as a synonym, almost as a substitute, that of the Feast of the Three Kings. (2) The number of the Wise Men, which St. Matthew leaves altogether undefined, was arbitrarily fixed. They were three (Leo Magn. *Serm. ad Epiph.*), because then they became a symbol of the mysterious Trinity (Hilary of Arles), or because then the number corresponded to the threefold gifts, or to the three parts of the earth, or the three great divisions of the human race descended from the sons of Noah (Fest. *De Collect.*). (3) Symbolic meanings were found for each of the three gifts. The gold they offered as to a king. With the myrrh they prefigured the bitterness of the Passion, the embalmment for the Burial. With the frankincense they adored the divinity of the Son of God (Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. Μάγοι;[k] *Brev. Rom. in Epiph.* passim). (4) Later on, in a tradition which, though appearing in a Western writer, is traceable probably to reports brought back by pilgrims from Italy or the East, the names are added, and Gaspar, Melchior, and Balthazar, take their place among the objects of Christian reverence, and are honoured as the patron saints of travellers. The passage from Bede (*de Collect.*) is, in many ways, interesting, and as it is not commonly quoted by commentators, though often referred to, it may be worth while to give it: "Primus dicitur fuisse Melchior, qui senex et canâ barbâ prolixâ et capillis, aurum obtulit regi domino. Secundus, nomine Gaspar, juvenis imberbis, rubicundus, thure, quasi Deo oblatione dignâ, Deum honoravit. Tertius fuscus, integre barbatus, Balthassar nomine, per myrrham filium hominis moriturum professus." We recognise at once in this description the received types of the early pictorial art of Western Europe. It is open to believe that both the description and the art-types may be traced to early quasi-dramatic representations of the facts of the Nativity. In any such representation names of some kind would become a matter of necessity, and were probably invented at random. Familiar as the names given by Bede now are to us, there was a time when they had no more authority than Bithisarca, Melchior, and Gathaspar (Moroni, Dizion. *s. v.* "Magi"); Magalath, Pangalath, Saracen; Appellius, Amerius, and Damascus, and a score of others (Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* ii. p. 285).[l]

In the Eastern Church, where, it would seem, there was less desire to find symbolic meanings than to magnify the circumstances of the history, the traditions assume a different character. The Magi arrive at Jerusalem with a retinue of 1000 men, having left behind them, on the further bank of the Euphrates, an army of 7000 (Jacob. Edess. and Bar-hebraeus, in Hyde, *l. c.*). They have been led to undertake the journey, not by the star only, or by expectations which they shared with Israelites, but by a prophecy of the founder of their own faith. Zoroaster had predicted[n] that in the

[i] It will be noticed that this is altogether a distinct hypothesis from that which assumes that he had the Gospel of St. Matthew in its present form before him.

[k] This was the prevalent interpretation; but others read the symbols differently, and with coarser feeling. The gold helped the poverty of the Holy Family. The incense remedied the noisome air of the stable. The myrrh was used, it was said, to give strength and firmness to the bodies of new-born infants. (Suicer, *l. c.*).

[l] The treatise *De Collectaneis* is in fact a miscellaneous collection of memoranda in the form of question and answer. The desire to find names for those who have none given them is very noticeable in other instances as well as in that of the Magi: *e. g.*, he gives those of the penitent and impenitent thief. The passage quoted in the text is followed by a description of their dress, taken obviously either from some early painting, or from the decorations of a miracle-play (comp. the account of such a performance in Trench, *Star of the Wise Men*, p. 79). The account of the offerings, it will be noticed, does not agree with the traditional hexameter of the Latin Church—"Gaspar fert myrrham, thus Melchior, Balthasar aurum."

[m] Hyde quotes from Bar Bahlul the names of the thirteen who appear in the Eastern traditions. The three which the legends of the West have made famous are not among them.

[n] "Vos autem, O filii mei, ante omnes gentes ejus percepturi estis" (Abulpharagius, *Dynast. Lib.* 8, Hyde, c. 31).

latter days there should be a Mighty One and a Redeemer, and that his descendants should see the star which should be the herald of his coming. According to another legend (*Opus imperf. in Matt.* ii. *apud Chrysost.* t. vi. ed. Montfaucon) they came from the remotest East, near the borders of the ocean. They had been taught to expect the star by a writing that bore the name of Seth. That expectation was handed down from father to son. Twelve of the holiest of them were appointed to be ever on the watch. Their post of observation was a rock known as the Mount of Victory. Night by night they washed in pure water, and prayed, and looked out on the heavens. At last the star appeared, and in it the form of a young child bearing a cross. A voice came from it and bade them proceed to Judaea. They started on their two years' journey, and during all that time the meat and the drink with which they started never failed them. The gifts they bring are those which Abraham gave to their progenitors the sons of Keturah (this, of course, on the hypothesis that they were Arabians), which the queen of Sheba had in her turn presented to Solomon, and which had found their way back again to the children of the East (Epiphan. *in Comp. Doctr.* in Moroni, *Dizion.* l. c.). They return from Bethlehem to their own country, and give themselves up to a life of contemplation and prayer. When the twelve apostles leave Jerusalem to carry on their work as preachers, St. Thomas finds them in Parthia. They offer themselves for baptism, and become evangelists of the new faith (*Opus imperf. in Matt.* ii. *l. c.*). The pilgrim-feeling of the 4th century includes them also within its range. Among other relics supplied to meet the demands of the market which the devotion of Helena had created, the bodies of the Magi are discovered somewhere in the East, are brought to Constantinople, and placed in the great church which, as the Mosque of St. Sophia, still bears in its name the witness of its original dedication to the Divine Wisdom. The favour with which the people of Milan had received the emperor's prefect Eustorgius called for some special mark of favour, and on his consecration as bishop of that city, he obtained for it the privilege of being the resting-place of the precious relics. There the fame of the three kings increased. The prominence given to all the feasts connected with the season of the Nativity—the transfer to that season of the mirth and joy of the old Saturnalia—the setting apart of a distinct day for the commemoration of the Epiphany in the 4th century[1]—all this added to the veneration with which they were regarded. When Milan fell into the hands of Frederick Barbarossa (A.D. 1162) the influence of the archbishop of Cologne prevailed on the emperor to transfer them to that city. The Milanese, at a later period, consoled themselves by forming a special confraternity for perpetuating their veneration for the Magi by the annual performance of a "Mystery" (Moroni, *l. c.*); but the glory of possessing the relics of the first Gentile worshippers of Christ remained with Cologne.[2] In the splendid cathedral which is the glory of Teutonic art the shrine of the Three Kings has, for six centuries, been shown as the greatest of its many treasures. The tabernacle in which the bones of some whose real name and history are lost for ever lie enshrined in honour, bears witness, in its gold and gems, to the faith with which the story of the wanderings of the Three Kings has been received. The reverence has sometimes taken stranger and more grotesque forms. As the patron-saints of travellers they have given a name to the inns of earlier or later date. The names of Melchior, Gaspar, and Balthasar were used as a charm against attacks of epilepsy (Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* xxi.).

(Comp., in addition to authorities already cited, Trench, *Star of the Wise Men*; J. F. Müller, in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.* s. v. "Magi;" Triebel, *De Magis advenient.*, and Miegius, *De Stella, &c.*, in *Crit. Sacri*; *Thes. Nov.* ii. 111, 118; Stolberg, *Dissert. de Magis*; and Rhoden, *De primis Salv. venerat.*, in *Crit. Sacri*; *Thes. Theol. Phil.* ii. 69. [E. H. P.]

MAGIC, MAGICIANS. The magical arts spoken of in the Bible are those practised by the Egyptians, the Canaanites, and their neighbours, the Hebrews, the Chaldaeans, and probably the Greeks. We therefore begin this article with an endeavour to state the position of magic in relation to religion and philosophy with the several races of mankind.

The degree of the civilisation of a nation is not the measure of the importance of magic in its convictions. The natural features of a country are not the primary causes of what is termed superstition in its inhabitants. With nations as with men—and the analogy of Plato in the 'Republic' is not always false—the feelings on which magic fixes its hold are essential to the mental constitution. Contrary as are these assertions to the common opinions of our time, inductive reasoning forbids our doubting them.

With the lowest race magic is the chief part of religion. The Nigritians, or blacks of this race, show this in their extreme use of amulets and their worship of objects which have no other value in their eyes but as having a supposed magical character through the influence of supernatural agents. With the Turanians, or corresponding whites of the same great family,—we use the word white for a group of nations mainly yellow, in contradistinction to black,—incantations and witchcraft occupy the same place, shamanism characterizing their tribes in both hemispheres. In the days of Herodotus the distinction in this matter between the Nigritians and the Caucasian population of north Africa was what it now is. In his remarkable account of the journey of the Nasamonian young men —the Nasamones, be it remembered, were "a Libyan race" and dwellers on the northern coast, as the historian here says,—we are told that the adventurers passed through the inhabited maritime region, and the tract occupied by wild beasts, and the desert, and at last came upon a plain with trees, where they were seized by men of small stature who carried them across marshes to a town of such men black in complexion. A great river, running from west to east and containing crocodiles, flowed by that town, and all that nation were sorcerers (*ἐς τοὺς οὗτοι ἀπίκοντο ἀνθρώπους, γόητας εἶνα. πάντας*, ii. 32, 33). It little matters whether the conjecture that the great river was the Niger be true, which the idea adopted by Herodotus that it was the upper Nile seems to favour:[a] it is quite

[1] The institution of the Feast of the Three Kings is ascribed to Pope Julius, A.D. 336 (Moroni, *Dizion.* l. c.).

[2] For the later mediaeval developments of the tradition, comp. Joan. von Hildesheim in *Quarterly Rev.* vol. ii. p. 432.

[a] It is perhaps worthy of note that Æschylus calls the upper Nile *ποταμὸς Αἰθίοψ*, as though the great Æthiopian river (*Prom. Vinct.* 809; comp. Solin. 32, 30)

evident that the Nasamones came upon a nation of Nigritians beyond the Great Desert and were struck with their fetishism. So, in our own days, the traveller is astonished at the height to which this superstition is carried among the Nigritians, who have no religious practices that are not of the nature of sorcery, nor any priests who are not magicians, and magicians alone. The strength of this belief in magic in these two great divisions of the lowest race is shown in the case of each by its having maintained its hold in an instance in which its tenacity must have been severely tried. The ancient Egyptians show their partly-Nigritian origin not alone in their physical characteristics and language but in their religion. They retained the strange low nature-worship of the Nigritians, forcibly combining it with more intellectual kinds of belief, as they represented their gods with the heads of animals and the bodies of men, and even connecting it with truths which point to a primeval revelation. The Ritual, which was the great treasury of Egyptian belief and explained the means of gaining future happiness, is full of charms to be said, and contains directions for making and for using amulets. As the Nigritian goes on a journey hung about with amulets, so amulets were placed on the Egyptian's embalmed body, and his soul went on its mysterious way fortified with incantations learnt while on earth. In China, although Buddhism has established itself, and the system of Confucius has gained the power its positivism would ensure it with a highly-educated people of low type, another belief still maintains itself which there is strong reason to hold to be older than the other two, although it is usually supposed to have been of the same age as Confucianism; in this religion magic is of the highest importance, the distinguishing characteristic by which it is known.

With the Shemites magic takes a lower place. Nowhere is it even part of religion; yet it is looked upon as a powerful engine, and generally unlawful or lawful according to the aid invoked. Among many of the Shemite peoples there linger the remnants of a primitive fetishism. Sacred trees and stones are reverenced from an old superstition, of which they do not always know the meaning, derived from the nations whose place they have taken. Thus fetishism remains, although in a kind of fossil state. The importance of astrology with the Shemites has tended to raise the character of their magic, which deals rather with the discovery of supposed existing influences than with the production of new influences. The only direct association of magic with religion is where the priests, as the educated class, have taken the functions of magicians; but this is far different from the case of the Nigritians, where the magicians are the only priests. The Shemites, however, when depending on human reason alone, seem never to have doubted the efficacy of magical arts, yet recourse to their aid was not usually with them the first idea of a man in doubt. Though the case of Saul cannot be taken as applying to the whole race, yet, even with the heathen Shemites, prayers must have been held to be of more value than incantations.

The Iranians assign to magic a still less important position. It can scarcely be traced in the relics of old nature-worship, which they with greater skill than the Egyptians interwove with their more intellectual beliefs, as the Greeks gave the objects of reverence in Arcadia and Crete a place in poetical myths, and the Scandinavians animated the remains of primitive superstition. The character the ancient belief is utterly gone with the ... of new reasons for the reverence of its sacred ... Magic always maintained some hold on ... minds; but the stronger intellects despised ... like the Roman commander who threw the ... chickens overboard, and the Greek who ... adverse omen at the beginning of a great ... When any, oppressed by the sight of the ... mities of mankind, sought to resolve the ... rious problem, they fixed, like Æschylus, ... the childish notion of a chance-government ... many conflicting agencies, but upon the ... idea of a dominating fate. Men of highly ... temperaments have always inclined to a ... magic, and there has therefore been a ... Iranian philosophers in all ages who have ... attention to its practice; but, expelled from ... gion, it has held but a low and precarious ... philosophy.

The Hebrews had no magic of their own. ... was so strictly forbidden by the Law that it ... never afterwards have had any recognised ... save in times of general heresy or apostasy, and ... same was doubtless the case in the patriarchal ... The magical practices which obtained among ... Hebrews were therefore borrowed from the ... around. The hold they gained was such as ... should have expected with a Shemite race, ... allowance for the discredit thrown upon them ... the prohibitions of the Law. From the first ... trance into the Land of Promise until the ... tion of Jerusalem we have constant glimpses ... magic practised in secret, or resorted to, not ... by the common but also by the great. The Talmud ... abounds in notices of contemporary magic among ... the Jews, showing that it survived idolatry notwithstanding their original connexion, and was supposed ... to produce real effects. The Kur-án in like manner ... treats charms and incantations as capable of ... ducing evil consequences when used against ... man.[b] It is a distinctive characteristic of the ... Bible that from first to last it warrants no ... trust or dread. In the Psalms, the most personal ... of all the books of Scripture, there is no ... to be protected against magical influences. The ... believer prays to be delivered from every kind of ... evil that could hurt the body or the soul, but ... says nothing of the machinations of sorcerers. ... Here and everywhere magic is passed by, ... mentioned, mentioned only to be condemned (see ... Ps. cvi. 28). Let those who affirm that they ... in the Psalms merely human piety, and in ... and Ecclesiastes merely human philosophy, explain ... the absence in them, and throughout the Scriptures, of the expression of superstitious fears ... that are inherent in the Shemite mind. Let them ... explain the luxuriant growth in the after-literature ... the Hebrews and Arabs, and notably in the Talmud ... and the Kur-án, of these feelings with no trace in ... those older writings from which that after-literature was derived. If the Bible, the Talmud, and ... the Kur-án, be but several expressions of the ... Shemite mind, differing only through the ... time, how can this contrast be accounted for? ... very opposite of what obtains elsewhere; for ... stitions are generally strongest in the earlier ...

[b] The 113th chapter of the Kur-án was written ... Mohammad believed that the magical practices of ... persons had affected him with a kind of rheumatism ...

culture of a race, and gradually fade, excepting a con-
tion of barbarism restore their vigour. Those
who see in the Bible a Divine work can understand
how a God-taught preacher could throw aside the
miserable fears of his race, and boldly tell man to
trust in his Maker alone. Here, as in all matters,
the history of the Bible confirms its doctrine. In
the doctrinal Scriptures magic is passed by with
contempt, in the historical Scriptures the reason-
ableness of this contempt is shown. Whenever the
practices of magic attempt to combat the servants
of God, they conspicuously fail. Pharaoh's magic-
ians bow to the Divine power shown in the won-
ders wrought by Moses and Aaron. Balaam, the
great enchanter, comes from afar to curse Israel and
is forced to bless them.

In examining the mentions of magic in the Bible,
we must keep in view the curious inquiry whether
there be any reality in the art. We would at the
outset protest against the idea, once very prevalent,
that the conviction that the seen and unseen worlds
were often more manifestly in contact in the Bib-
lical ages than now necessitates a belief in the
reality of the magic spoken of in the Scriptures.
We do indeed see a connexion of a supernatural
agency with magic in such a case as that of the
damsel possessed with a spirit of divination men-
tioned in the Acts; yet there the agency appears to
have been involuntary in the damsel, and shrewdly
made profitable by her employers. This does not
establish the possibility of man being able at his
will to use supernatural powers to gain his own
ends, which is what magic has always pretended to
accomplish. Thus much we premise, lest we should
be thought to hold latitudinarian opinions because
we treat the reality of magic as an open question.

Without losing sight of the distinctions we have
drawn between the magic of different races, we shall
consider the notices of the subject in the Bible in
the order in which they occur. It is impossible in
every case to assign the magical practice spoken of
to a particular nation, or when this can be done to
determine whether it be native or borrowed, and the
general absence of details renders any other system
of classification liable to error.

The theft and carrying away of Laban's tera-
phim (תְּרָפִים) by Rachel, seems to indicate the
practice of magic in Padan-aram at this early time.
It appears that Laban attached great value to these
objects, from what he said as to the theft and his
determined search for them (Gen. xxxi. 19, 30, 32-35). It may be supposed from the manner in which they were hidden that these teraphim were not very small. The most important point is that Laban calls them his "gods" (ibid. 30, 32), although he was not without belief in the true God (24, 49-53); for this makes it almost certain that we have here not an indication of the worship of strange gods, but the first notice of a superstition that afterwards obtained among those Israelites who added corrupt practices to the true religion.[c] The derivation of the name teraphim is extremely obscure. Gesenius takes it from an "unused" root, תָּרַף, which he supposes, from the Arabic, probably signified "to live pleasantly" (*Thes.* s. v.). It may, however, be reasonably conjectured that such a root would have had, if not in Hebrew, in the language whence the Hebrews took it or its derivative, the proper meaning "to dance," corresponding to this, which would then be its tropical meaning.[d] We should prefer, if no other derivation be found, to suppose that the name teraphim might mean "dancers" or "causers of dancing," with reference either to primitive nature-worship[e] or its magical rites of the character of shamanism, rather than that it signifies, as Gesenius suggests, "givers of pleasant life." There seems, however, to be a cognate word, unconnected with the "unused" root just mentioned, in ancient Egyptian, whence we may obtain a conjectural derivation. We do not of course trace the worship of teraphim to the sojourn in Egypt. They were probably those objects of the pre-Abrahamite idolatry, put away by order of Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 2-4), yet retained even in Joshua's time (Josh. xxiv. 14); and, if so, notwithstanding his exhortation, abandoned only for a space (Judg. xvii., xviii.); and they were also known to the Babylonians, being used by them for divination (Ez. xxi. 21). But there is great reason for supposing a close connexion between the oldest language and religion of Chaldaea, and the ancient Egyptian language and religion. The Egyptian word TER signifies "a shape, type, transformation,"[f] and has for its determinative a mummy: it is used in the Ritual, where the various transformations of the deceased in Hades are described (*Todtenbuch*, ed. Lepsius, ch. 76 *seq*). The small mummy-shaped figure, SHEBTEE, usually made of baked clay covered with a blue vitreous varnish, representing the Egyptian as deceased, is of a nature connecting it with magic, since it was made with the idea that it secured benefits in Hades;

[a] Laban's expression in Gen. xxx. 27, "I have augured" (נִחַשְׁתִּי), may refer to divination; but the context makes it more reasonable not to take it in a literal sense.

[b] The Arabic root ترف certainly means "he abounded in the comforts of life," and the like, but the correspondent ancient Egyptian word TERF or TREF, "to dance," suggests that this is a tropical signification, especially as in the Indo-European languages, if our "to trip" preserve the proper sense and the Sanskrit *trip* and the Greek τρέπω the tropical sense of the root, we have the same word with the two meanings. We believe also that, in point of age, precedence should be given to the ancient Egyptian word before the Semitic, and that in the former language an objective sense is always the proper sense, and a subjective the tropical, when a word is used in both significations. We think that this principle is equally true of the Semitic group, although it may be contested with reference to the Indo-European languages.

[c] In the fragments ascribed to Sanchoniatho, which, whatever their age and author, cannot be doubted to be genuine, the Baetulia are characterised in a manner that illustrates this supposition. The Baetulia, it must be remembered, were sacred stones, the reverence of which in Syria in the historical times was a relic of the early low nature-worship with which fetishism or shamanism is now everywhere associated. The words used, ἐπενόησε θεὸς Οὐρανὸς Βαιτύλια, λίθους ἐμψύχους μηχανησάμενος (Cory, *Anc. Frag.* p. 12), cannot be held to mean more than that Uranus contrived living stones, but the idea of contriving and the term "living" imply motion in these stones.

[d] Egyptologists have generally read this word TER. Mr. Birch, however, reads it CHEPER (SHEPER according to the writer's system of transcription). The balance is decided by the discovery of the Coptic equivalent ϯⲟϫ "transmutare," in which the absence of the final ⲣ is explained by a peculiar but regular modification which the writer was the first to point out (Hieroglyphics, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 8th ed. p. 421).

and it is connected with the word TER, for it represents a mummy, the determinative of that word, and was considered to be of use in the state in which the deceased passed through transformations, TERU. The difficulty which forbids our doing more than conjecture a relation between TER and teraphim is the want in the former of the third radical of the latter; and in our present state of ignorance respecting the ancient Egyptian and the primitive language of Chaldaea in their *verbal* relations to the Semitic family it is impossible to say whether it is likely to be explained. The possible connexion with the Egyptian religious magic is, however, not to be slighted, especially as it is not improbable that the household idolatry of the Hebrews was ancestral worship, and the SHEBTEE was the image of a deceased man or woman, as a mummy, and therefore as an Osiris, bearing the insignia of that divinity, and so in a manner as a deified dead person, although we do not know that it was used in the ancestral worship of the Egyptians. It is important to notice that no singular is found of the word teraphim, and that the plural form is once used where only one statue seems to be meant (1 Sam. xix. 13, 16): in this case it may be a "plural of excellence." If the latter inference be true, this word must have become thoroughly Semiticized. There is no description of these images; but from the account of Michal's stratagem to deceive Saul's messengers, it is evident, if only one image be there meant, as is very probable, that they were at least sometimes of the size of a man, and perhaps in the head and shoulders, if not lower, of human shape, or of a similar form (*Id.* 13-16).

The worship or use of teraphim after the occupation of the Promised Land cannot be doubted to have been one of the corrupt practices of those Hebrews who leant to idolatry, but did not abandon their belief in the God of Israel. Although the Scriptures draw no marked distinction between those who forsook their religion and those who added to it such corruptions, it is evident that the latter always professed to be orthodox. Teraphim therefore cannot be regarded as among the Hebrews necessarily connected with strange gods, whatever may have been the case with other nations. The account of Micah's images in the Book of Judges, compared with a passage in Hosea, shows our conclusion to be correct. In the earliest days of the occupation of the Promised Land, in the time of anarchy that followed Joshua's rule, Micah, "a man of mount Ephraim," made certain images and other objects of heretical worship, which were stolen from him by those Danites who took Laish and called it Dan, there setting up idolatry, where it continued the whole time that the ark was at Shiloh, the priests retaining their post "until the day of the captivity of the land" (Judg. xvii., xviii., esp. 30, 31). Probably this worship was somewhat changed, although not in its essential character, when Jeroboam set up the golden calf at Dan. Micah's idolatrous objects were a graven image, a molten image, an ephod, and teraphim (xvii. 3, 4, 5, xviii. 17, 18, 20). In Hosea there is a retrospect of this period where the prophet takes a harlot, and commands her to be faithful to him "many days." It is added: "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image [or "pillar," מַצֵּבָה], without an ephod, and teraphim: afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; and shall fear Jehovah and His goodness in the latter days" (Hos. esp. 4, 5). The apostate people are long to be without their spurious king and false worship, and in the end are to return to their loyalty to the house of David and their faith in the true God. That these should be connected with Jeroboam "who made Israel to sin," and with the kingdom which he founded, is most natural; and it is therefore worthy of note that the images, ephod, and teraphim made by Micah and stolen and set up by the Danites at Dan should so nearly correspond with the objects spoken of by the prophet. It has been imagined that the use of teraphim and the similar abominations of the heretical Israelites are not so strongly condemned in the Scriptures as the worship of strange gods. The mistake arises from the mention of pious kings who did not suppress the high places, which proved only their timidity, and not any lesser sinfulness in the spurious religion than in false systems borrowed from the peoples of Canaan and neighbouring countries. The cruel rites of the heathen are also especially reprobated, but the heresy of the Israelite is too emphatically denounced, by Samuel in a passage to be soon examined, and in the repeated condemnation of Jeroboam the son of Nebat "who made Israel to sin," for it to be possible that we should take a view of it consistent only with modern sophistry.

We pass to the magical use of teraphim. By the Israelites they were consulted for oracular answers. This was apparently done by the Danites who stole Micah's Levite to inquire as to the success of their spying expedition (Judg. xviii. 5, 6). In later times this is distinctly stated of the Israelites when Zechariah says, "For the teraphim have spoken vanity, and the diviners have seen a lie, and have told false dreams" (x. 2). It cannot be supposed that, as this first positive mention of the use of teraphim for divination by the Israelites is after the return from Babylon, and as that use obtained with the Babylonians in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, therefore the Israelites borrowed it from their conquerors; for these objects are mentioned in earlier places in such a manner that their connexion with divination must be intended, if we bear in mind that this connexion is undoubted in a subsequent period. Samuel's reproof of Saul for his disobedience in the matter of Amalek, associates "divination" with "vanity," or "idols" (אָוֶן), and "teraphim," however we render the difficult passage where these words occur (1 Sam. xv. 22, 23). (The word rendered "vanity," אָוֶן, is especially used with reference to idols, and even in some places stands alone for an idol or idols.) When Saul, having put to death the workers in black arts, finding himself rejected of God in his extremity, sought the witch of Endor and asked to see Samuel, the prophet's appearance denounced his doom as the punishment of this very disobedience as to Amalek. The reproof would seem, therefore, to have been a prophecy that the [illegible]

[8] Kalisch, in his Commentary on Genesis (pp. 533, 534), considers the use of teraphim as a comparatively harmless form of idolatry, and explains the passage in Hosea quoted above as meaning that the Israelites should be deprived not alone of true religion, but even of the [illegible] source of their mild household superstitions. He thus entirely misses the sense of the passage, and makes the Bible contradictory.

ambient king would at the last alienate himself from God, and take refuge in the very abominations he despised. This apparent reference tends to confirm the inference we have indicated. As to a later time, when Josiah's reform is related, he is said to have put away "the wizards, and the teraphim, and the idols" (2 K. xxiii. 24); where the mention of the teraphim immediately after the wizards, and as distinct from the idols, seems to favour the reference that they are spoken of as objects used in divination.

The only account of the act of divining by teraphim is in a remarkable passage of Ezekiel relating to Nebuchadnezzar's advance against Jerusalem. "Also, thou son of man, appoint thee two ways, that the sword of the king of Babylon may come: both twain [two swords] shall come forth out of one land: and choose thou a place, choose [it] at the head of the way to the city. Appoint a way, that the sword may come to Rabbath of the Ammonites, and to Judah in Jerusalem the defenced. For the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to use divination: he shuffled arrows, he consulted with teraphim, he looked in the liver. At his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem" (xxi. 19-22). The mention together of consulting teraphim and looking into the liver, may not indicate that the victim was offered to teraphim and its liver then looked into, but may mean two separate acts of divining. That the former is the right explanation seems, however, probable from a comparison with the LXX. rendering of the account of Michal's stratagem.[k] Perhaps Michal had been divining, and on the coming of the messengers seized the image and liver and hastily put them in the bed.—The accounts which the Rabbins give of divining by teraphim are worthless.

Before speaking of the notices of the Egyptian magicians in Genesis and Exodus, there is one passage that may be examined out of the regular order. Joseph, when his brethren left after their second visit to buy corn, ordered his steward to hide his silver cup in Benjamin's sack, and afterwards sent him after them, ordering him to claim it, thus: "[Is] not this [it] in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth?"[l] (Gen. xliv. 5). The meaning of the latter clause has been contested, Gesenius translating "he could surely foresee it" (ap. Barrett, *Synopsis, in loc.*), but the other rendering seems far more probable, especially as we read that Joseph afterwards said to his brethren, "Wot ye not that such a man as I can certainly divine?" (xliv. 15),—the same word being used. If so the reference would probably be to the use of the cup in divining, and we should have to infer that here Joseph was acting on his own judgment [JOSEPH], divination being not alone doubtless a forbidden act, but one of which he when called before Pharaoh had distinctly disclaimed the practice. Two uses of cups or the like for magical purposes have obtained in the East from ancient times. In one use either the cup itself bears engraved inscriptions, supposed to have a magical influence,[m] or it is plain and such inscriptions are written on its inner surface in ink. In both cases water poured into the cup is drunk by those wishing to derive benefit, as, for instance the cure of diseases, from the inscriptions, which, if written, are dissolved.[n] This use, in both its forms, obtains among the Arabs in the present day, and cups bearing Chaldaean inscriptions in ink have been discovered by Mr. Layard, and probably show that this practice existed among the Jews in Babylonia in about the 7th century of the Christian era.[o] In the other use the cup or bowl was of very secondary importance. It was merely the receptacle for water, in which, after the performance of magical rites, a boy looked to see what the magician desired. This is precisely the same as the practice of the modern Egyptian magicians, where the difference that ink is employed and is poured into the palm of the boy's hand is merely accidental. A gnostic papyrus in Greek, written in Egypt in the earlier centuries of the Christian era, now preserved in the British Museum, describes the practice of the boy with a bowl, and alleges results strikingly similar to the alleged results of the well-known modern Egyptian magician, whose divination would seem, therefore, to be a relic of the famous magic of ancient Egypt.[p] As this latter use only is of the nature of divination, it is probable that to it Joseph referred. The practice may have been prevalent in his time, and hieroglyphic inscriptions upon the bowl may have given colour to the idea that it had magical properties, and perhaps even that it had thus led to the discovery of its place of concealment, a discovery which must have struck Joseph's brethren with the utmost astonishment.

The magicians of Egypt are spoken of as a class in the histories of Joseph and Moses. When Pharaoh's officers were troubled by their dreams, being in prison they were at a loss for an interpreter. Before Joseph explained the dreams he disclaimed the power of interpreting save by the Divine aid, saying, "[Do] not interpretations [belong] to God? tell me [them], I pray you" (Gen. xl. 8). In like manner when Pharaoh had his two dreams we find that he had recourse to those who professed to interpret dreams. We read: "He sent and called for all the scribes of Egypt, and all the wise men thereof: and Pharaoh told them his dream; but [there was] none that could interpret them unto Pharaoh" (xli. 8; comp. ver. 24). Joseph, being sent for on the report of the chief of the cupbearers

[k] The Masoretic text reads, "And Michal took the teraphim, and laid [it] upon the bed, and the mattress of כְּבִיר of she-goats [or goats' hair] she put at its head, and she covered [it] with a cloth" [or garment] (1 Sam. xix. 13). The LXX. has "the liver of goats," having apparently found כְּבֵד instead of כְּבִיר (Καὶ ἔλαβεν ἡ Μελχὰ τὰ ἐνοτάφια, καὶ ἔθετο ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην, καὶ τὸ ἧπαρ τῶν αἰγῶν ἔθετο πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκάλυψεν ἱματίῳ).

[l] נחשׁ ינחשׁ בּוֹ.

[m] The modern Persians apply the word Jám, signifying a cup, mirror, or even גיום, to magical vessels of this kind, and relate marvels of two which they say belonged to their ancient king Jemsheed and to Alexander the Great. The former of these, called Jám-i-Jem or Jám-i-Jemsheed, is famous in Persian poetry. D'Herbelot quotes a Turkish poet who thus alludes to this belief in magical cups:—"When I shall have been illuminated by the light of heaven my soul will become the mirror of the world, in which I shall discover the most hidden secrets" (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, s. v. GIAM).

[n] *Modern Egyptians*, 5th edit. chap. xi.

[o] *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 509, &c. There is an excellent paper on these bowls by Dr. Levy of Breslau, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, ix. p. 465, &c.

[p] See the *Modern Egyptians*, 5th edit. chap. xii. for an account of the performances of this magician, and Mr Lane's opinion as to the causes of their occasional apparent success.

was told by Pharaoh that he had heard that he could interpret a dream. Joseph said, "[It is] not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace" (ver. 16). Thus, from the expectations of the Egyptians and Joseph's disavowals, we see that the interpretation of dreams was a branch of the knowledge to which the ancient Egyptian magicians pretended. The failure of the Egyptians in the case of Pharaoh's dreams must probably be regarded as the result of their inability to give a satisfactory explanation, for it is unlikely that they refused to attempt to interpret. The two words used to designate the interpreters sent for by Pharaoh are חַרְטֻמִּים, "scribes" (?) and חֲכָמִים, "wise men."[p]

We again hear of the magicians of Egypt in the narrative of the events before the Exodus. They were summoned by Pharaoh to oppose Moses. The account of what they effected requires to be carefully examined, from its bearing on the question whether magic be an imposture. We read: "And the Lord spake unto Moses and unto Aaron, saying, When Pharaoh shall speak unto you, saying, Show a miracle for you: then thou shalt say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and cast [it] before Pharaoh, [and] it shall become a serpent."[q] It is then related that Aaron did thus, and afterwards: "Then Pharaoh also called the wise men[r] and the enchanters:[s] now they, the scribes[t] of Egypt, did so by their secret arts:[u] for they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents, but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods" (Ex. vii. 8-12). The rods were probably long staves like those represented on the Egyptian monuments, not much less than the height of a man. If the word used mean here a serpent, the Egyptian magicians may have feigned a change: if it signify a crocodile they could scarcely have done so. The names by which the magicians are designated are to be noted. That which we render "scribes" seems here to have a general signification, including wise men and enchanters. The last term is more definite in its meaning, denoting users of incantations.[x] On the occasion of the first plague, the turning the rivers and waters of Egypt into blood, the opposition of the magicians again occurs. "And the scribes of Egypt did so oy their secret arts" (vii. 22). When the second plague, that of frogs, was sent, the magicians again made the same opposition (viii. 7). Once more they appear in the history. The plague of lice came, and we read that when Aaron had worked the wonder the magicians opposed him: "And the scribes did so by their secret arts to bring forth the lice, but they could not: so there were lice upon man and upon beast. And the scribes said unto Pharaoh, This [is] the finger of God: but Pharaoh's heart was hardened, and he hearkened not unto them, as the Lord had said" (viii. 18, 19, Heb. 14, 15). After this we hear no more of the magicians. All we can gather from the narrative is that the appearances produced by them were sufficient to deceive Pharaoh on three occasions. It is nowhere declared that they actually produced wonders, since the expression "the scribes did so by their secret arts" is used on the occasion of their complete failure. Nor is their statement that in the wonders wrought by Aaron they saw the finger of God any proof that they recognised a power superior to the native objects of worship they invoked, for we find that the Egyptians frequently spoke of a supreme being as God. It seems rather as though they had said, "Our juggles are of no avail against the work of a divinity." There is one later mention of these transactions, which adds to our information, but does not decide the main question. St. Paul mentions Jannes and Jambres as having "withstood Moses," and says that their folly in doing so became manifest (2 Tim. iii. 8, 9). The Egyptian character of these names, the first of which is, in our opinion, found in hieroglyphics, does not favour the opinion, which seems inconsistent with the character of an inspired record, that the Apostle cited a prevalent tradition of the Jews. [JANNES AND JAMBRES.]

We turn to the Egyptian illustrations of this part of the subject. Magic, as we have before remarked, was inherent in the ancient Egyptian religion. The Ritual is a system of incantations and directions for making amulets, with the object of securing the future happiness of the disembodied soul. However obscure the belief of the Egyptians as to the actual character of the state of the soul after death may be to us, it cannot be doubted that

[p] The former word is difficult of explanation. It is to be noticed that it is also used for a class of the Babylonian *magi* (Dan. i. 20, ii. 2); so that it can scarcely be supposed to be an Egyptian word Hebraicized. Egyptian equivalents have however been sought for; and Jablonsky suggests ερχωεε, *thaumaturgus*, and Ignatius Rossi cαpecτωεε, "guardian of secret things" (ap. Ges. *Thes.* s. v.), both of which are far too unlike the Hebrew to have any probability. To derive it from the Persian خردمند, "endued with wisdom," when occurring in Daniel, is puerile, as Gesenius admits. He suggests a Hebrew origin, and takes it either from חֶרֶט, "a pen or stylus," and ם— formative, or supposes it to be a quadriliteral, formed from the triliteral חָרַט, the "unused" root of חַרְטֹם, and חָרַם, "he or it was sacred." The former seems far more probable at first sight; and the latter would not have had any weight were it not for its likeness to the Greek ἱερογραμματεύς, used of Egyptian religious scribes; a resemblance which, moreover, loses much of its value when we find that in hieroglyphics there is no exactly corresponding expression. Notwithstanding these Hebrew derivations, Gesenius inclines to the idea that a similar Egyptian word was imitated: instancing Abrech, Moses, and behemoth (בְּהֵמוֹת, מֹשֶׁה, אַבְרֵךְ); but no one of these can be proved to be Egyptian in origin, and there is no strong ground for seeking any but a Hebrew etymology for the second and third (*Thes.* l. c.). The most similar word is Hashmannim, חַשְׁמַנִּים (Ps. lxviii. 31, Heb. 32), which we suppose to be Egyptian, meaning Hermopolites, with perhaps, in the one place where it occurs, a reference to the wisdom of the citizens of Hermopolis Magna, the city of Thoth, the Egyptian Hermes. [HASHMANNIM.] We prefer to keep to the Hebrew derivation simply from חָרַט, and to read "scribes," the class of magicians being probably understood. The other word חֲכָמִים, does not seem to mean any special class, but merely the wise men of Egypt generally.

[q] תַּנִּין. [r] חֲכָמִים. [s] מְכַשְּׁפִים.
[t] חַרְטֻמִּים. [u] לְהָטֵיהֶם.

[x] The word לְהָטִים, elsewhere לָטִים (ver. 22, viii. 3, 14), signifies "secret" or "hidden arts," from לָהַט (לָאַט), "he or it covered over, hid, or wrapped up."

the knowledge and use of the magical amulets and incantations treated of in the Ritual was held to be necessary for future happiness, although it was not believed that they alone could ensure it, since to have done good works, or, more strictly, not to have committed certain sins, was an essential condition of the acquittal of the soul in the great trial in Hades. The thoroughly magical character of the Ritual is most strikingly evident in the minute directions given for making amulets (*Todtenbuch*, ch. 100, 129, 134), and the secrecy enjoined in one case to those thus occupied (133). The later chapters of the Ritual (163-165), held to have been added after the compilation or composition of the rest, which theory, as M. Chabas has well remarked, does not prove their much more modern date (*Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 162), contain mystical names not bearing an Egyptian etymology. These names have been thought to be Ethiopian; they either have no signification, and are mere magical gibberish, or else they are, mainly at least, of foreign origin. Besides the Ritual the ancient Egyptians had books of a purely magical character, such as that which M. Chabas has just edited in his work referred to above. The main source of their belief in the efficacy of magic appears to have been the idea that the souls of the dead, whether justified or condemned, had the power of revisiting the earth and taking various forms. This belief is abundantly used in the moral tale of 'The Two Brothers,' of which the text has been recently published by the Trustees of the British Museum (*Select Papyri*, Part II.), and we learn from this ancient papyrus the age and source of much of the machinery of mediæval fictions, both eastern and western. A likeness that strikes us at once in the case of a fiction is not less true of the Ritual; and the perils encountered by the soul in Hades are the first rude imperfect outlines of the adventures of the heroes of Arab and German romance. The regions of terror traversed, the mystic portals that open alone to magical words, and the monsters whom magic alone can deprive of their power to injure, are here already in the book that in part was found in the reign of king Menchéres four thousand years ago. Bearing in mind the Nigritian nature of Egyptian magic, we may look for the source of these ideas in primitive Africa. There we find the realities of which the ideal form is not greatly distorted, though greatly intensified. The forests that clothe the southern slopes of snowy Atlas, full of fierce beasts; the vast desert, untenanted save by harmful reptiles, swept by sand-storms, and ever burning under an unchanging sun; the marshes of the south, teeming with brutes of vast size and strength, are the several zones of the Egyptian Hades. The creatures of the desert and the plains and slopes, the crocodile, the pachydermata, the lion, perchance the gorilla, are the genii that hold this land of fear. In what dread must the first scanty population have held dangers and enemies still feared by their swarming posterity. No wonder then that the imaginative Egyptians were struck with a superstitious fear that certain conditions of external nature always produce with races of a low type, where a higher belief would only be touched by the analogies of life and death, of time and eternity. No wonder that, so struck, the primitive race imagined the evils of the unseen world to be the recurrence of those against which they struggled while on earth. That there is some ground for our theory, besides the generalisation which led us to it, is shown by a usual Egyptian name of Hades, "the West;" and that the wild regions west of Egypt might directly give birth to such fancies as form the common ground of the machinery, not the general belief, of the Ritual, as well as of the machinery of mediæval fiction, is shown by the fables that the rude Arabs of our own day tell of the wonders they have seen.

Like all nations who have practised magic generally, the Egyptians separated it into a lawful kind and an unlawful. M. Chabas has proved this from a papyrus which he finds to contain an account of the prosecution, in the reign of Rameses III., (B.C. cir. 1220) of an official for unlawfully acquiring and using magical books, the king's property. The culprit was convicted and punished with death (p. 169 seq.)

A belief in unlucky and lucky days, in actions to be avoided or done on certain days, and in the fortune attending birth on certain days, was extremely strong, as we learn from a remarkable ancient calendar (*Select Papyri*, Part I.) and the evidence of writers of antiquity. A religious prejudice, or the occurrence of some great calamity, probably lay at the root of this observance of days. Of the former the birthday of Typhon, the fifth of the Epagomenae, is an instance. Astrology was also held in high honour, as the calendars of certain of the tombs of the kings, stating the positions of the stars and their influence on different parts of the body, show us; but it seems doubtful whether this branch of magical arts is older than the xviiith dynasty, although certain stars were held in reverence in the time of the ivth dynasty. The belief in omens probably did not take an important place in Egyptian magic, if we may judge from the absence of direct mention of them. The superstition as to "the evil eye" appears to have been known, but there is nothing else that we can class with phenomena of the nature of animal magnetism. Two classes of learned men had the charge of the magical books: one of these, the name of which has not been read phonetically, would seem to correspond to the "scribes," as we render the word, spoken of in the history of Joseph; whereas the other has the general sense of "wise men," like the other class there mentioned.[7]

There are no representations on the monuments that can be held to relate directly to the practice of this art, but the secret passages in the thickness of the wall, lately opened in the great temple of Dendarah, seem to have been intended for some purpose of imposture.

The Law contains very distinct prohibitions of all magical arts. Besides several passages condemning them, in one place there is a specification which is so full that it seems evident that its object is to include every kind of magical art. The reference is to the practices of Canaan, not to those of Egypt, which indeed do not seem to have been brought away by the Israelites, who, it may be remarked, apparently did not adopt Egyptian idolatry, but only that of foreigners settled in Egypt. [REMPHAN.]

The Israelites are commanded in the place referred to not to learn the abominations of the peoples of the Promised Land. Then follows this prohibition: "There shall not be found with thee one who

7 For the facts respecting Egyptian magic here stated we are greatly indebted to M. Chabas' remarkable work. We do not, however, agree with some of his deductions; and the theory we have put forth of the origin of Egyptian magic is purely our own

offereth his son or his daughter by fire, a practiser of divinations (קֹסֵם קְסָמִים), a worker of hidden arts (מְעוֹנֵן), an augurer (מְנַחֵשׁ), an enchanter (מְכַשֵּׁף), or a fabricator of charms (חֹבֵר חָבֶר), or an inquirer by a familiar spirit (שֹׁאֵל אוֹב), or a wizard (יִדְּעֹנִי), or a consulter of the dead (דֹּרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים)." It is added that these are abominations, and that on account of their practice the nations of Canaan were to be driven out (Deut. xviii. 9-14, esp. 10, 11). It is remarkable that the offering of children should be mentioned in connexion with magical arts. The passage in Micah, which has been supposed to preserve a question of Balak and an answer of Balaam, when the soothsayer was sent for to curse Israel, should be here noticed, for the questioner asks, after speaking of sacrifices of usual kinds, "Shall I give my first-born [for] my transgression, the fruit of my body [for] the sin of my soul?" (vi. 5-8). Perhaps, however, child-sacrifice is specified on account of its atrocity, which would connect it with secret arts, which we know were frequently in later times the causes of cruelty. The terms which follow appear to refer properly to eight different kinds of magic, but some of them are elsewhere used in a general sense. 1. קֹסֵם קְסָמִים is literally "a diviner of divinations." The verb קָסַם is used of false prophets, but also in a general sense for divining, as in the narrative of Saul's consultation of the witch of Endor, where the king says "divine unto me (קָסְמִי־נָא לִי) בָּאוֹב), I pray thee, by the familiar spirit" (1 Sam. xxviii. 8). 2. מְעוֹנֵן conveys the idea of "one who acts covertly," and so "a worker of hidden arts." The meaning of the root עָנַן is covering, and the supposed connexion with fascination by the eyes, like the notion of "the evil eye," as though the original root were "the eye" (עַיִן), seems untenable.[a] 3. מְנַחֵשׁ, which we render "an augurer," is from נָחַשׁ, which is literally "he or it hissed or whispered," and in Piel is applied to the practice of enchantments, but also to divining generally, as in the case of Joseph's cup, and where, evidently referring to it, he tells his brethren that he could divine, although in both places it has been read more vaguely with the sense to foresee or make trial (Gen. xliv. 5, 15). We therefore render it by a term which seems appropriate but not too definite. The supposed connexion of נָחָשׁ with נָחָשׁ, "a serpent," as though meaning serpent-divination, must be rejected, the latter word rather coming from the former, with the signification "a hisser."[a] 4. מְכַשֵּׁף signifies "an enchanter:" the original meaning of the verb was probably "he prayed," and the strict sense of this word "one who uses incantations." 5. חֹבֵר חָבֶר seems to mean "a fabricator of material charms or amulets," if חָבַר, when used of practising sorcery, means to bind magical knots, and not to bind a person by spells. 6. שֹׁאֵל אוֹב is "an inquirer by a familiar spirit." The second term signifies a bottle,[b] a familiar spirit consulted by a soothsayer, and a soothsayer having a familiar spirit. The LXX usually render the plural אֹבוֹת by ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, which has been rashly translated ventriloquists, for it may not signify what we understand by the latter, but refer to the mode in which soothsayers of this kind gave out their responses: to this subject we shall recur later. The consulting of familiar spirits may mean no more than invoking them; but in the Acts we read of a damsel possessed with a spirit of divination (xvi. 16-18) in very distinct terms. This kind of sorcery—divination by a familiar spirit—was practised by the witch of Endor. 7. יִדְּעֹנִי, which we render "a wizard," is properly "a wise man," but is always applied to wizards and false prophets. Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.) supposes that in Lev. xx. 27 it is used of a familiar spirit, but surely the reading "a wizard" is there more probable. 8. The last term, דֹּרֵשׁ אֶל־הַמֵּתִים, is very explicit, meaning "a consulter of the dead:" necromancer is an exact translation if the original signification of the latter is retained, instead of the more general one it now usually bears. In the Law it was commanded that a man or woman who had a familiar spirit, or a wizard, should be stoned (Lev. xx. 27). An "enchantress" (מְכַשֵּׁפָה) was not to live (Ex. xxii. 18; Heb. 17). Using augury and hidden arts was also forbidden (Lev. xix. 26).

The history of Balaam shows the belief of many ancient nations in the powers of soothsayers. When the Israelites had begun to conquer the Land of Promise, Balak the king of Moab and the elders of Midian, resorting to Pharaoh's expedient, sent messengers with "the rewards of divination (?קְסָמִים) in their hands" (Num. xxii. 7) for Balaam the diviner (הַקּוֹסֵם, Josh. xiii. 22), whose fame was known to them though he dwelt in Aram. Balak's message shows what he believed Balaam's powers to be: "Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt: behold, they cover the face of the earth, and they abide over against me: come now therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people; for they [are] too mighty for me: peradventure I shall prevail, [that] we may smite them, and [that] I may drive them out of the land: for I wot that he whom thou blessest [is] blessed: and he whom thou curses is cursed" (Num. xxii. 5, 6). We are told, however, that Balaam, warned of God, first said that he could not speak of himself, and then by inspiration blessed those whom he had been sent for to curse. He appears to have received inspiration in a vision or a trance. In one place it is said, "And Balaam saw that it was good in the eyes of the LORD to bless Israel, and he went not, now as before, to the meeting of enchantments (נְחָשִׁים), but he set his face toward the wilderness" (xxiv. 1). From this it would seem that it was his wont to use enchantments, and that when on other occasions he went away after his

[a] The ancient Egyptians seem to have held the superstition of the evil eye, for an eye is the determinative of a word which appears to signify some kind of magic (Chabas, *Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 170 and note 4).

[a] The name Nahshon (נַחְשׁוֹן), of a prince of Judah in the second year after the Exodus (Num. i. 7; Ex. vi. 23; Ruth iv. 20, &c.), means "enchanter:" it was probably used as a proper name in a vague sense.

[b] This meaning suggests the probability that the Arab idea of the evil Jinn having been enclosed in bottles by Solomon was derived from some Jewish tradition.

sacrifices had been offered, he hoped that he could prevail to obtain the wish of those who had sent for him, but was constantly defeated. The building of the mystic altars of the mystic number of seven, and the offering of seven oxen and seven rams, seem to show that Balaam had some such idea; and the marked manner in which he declared "there is no enchantment (נַחַשׁ) against Jacob, and no divination (קֶסֶם) against Israel" (xxiii. 23), that he had come in the hope that they would have availed, the diviner here being made to declare his own powerlessness while he blessed those whom he was sent for to curse. The case is a very difficult one, since it shows a man who was used as an instrument of declaring God's will trusting in practices that could only have incurred His displeasure. The simplest explanation seems to be that Balaam was never a true prophet but on this occasion, when the enemies of Israel were to be signally confounded. This history affords a notable instance of the failure of magicians in attempting to resist the Divine will.

The account of Saul's consulting the witch of Endor is the foremost place in Scripture of those which refer to magic. The supernatural terror with which it is full cannot however be proved to be due to this art, for it has always been held by sober critics that the appearing of Samuel was permitted for the purpose of declaring the doom of Saul, and not that it was caused by the incantations of a sorceress. As, however, the narrative is allowed to be very difficult, we may look for a moment at the evidence of its authenticity. The details are strictly in accordance with the age: there is a simplicity in the manners described that is foreign to a later time. The circumstances are agreeable with the rest of the history, and especially with all we know of Saul's character. Here, as ever, he is seen resolved to gain his ends without caring what wrong he does: he wishes to consult a prophet, and asks a witch to call up his shade. Most of all the vigour of the narrative, showing us the scene in a few words, proves its antiquity and genuineness. We can see no reason whatever for supposing that it is an interpolation.

"Now Samuel was dead, and all Israel had lamented him, and buried him in Ramah, even in his own city. And Saul had put away those that had familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land. And the Philistines gathered themselves together, and came and pitched in Shunem; and Saul gathered all Israel together, and they pitched in Gilboa." That the Philistines should have advanced so far, spreading in the plain of Esdraelon, the garden of the Holy Land, shows the straits to which Saul had come. Here in times of faith Sisera was defeated by Barak, and the Midianites were smitten by Gideon, some of the army of the former perishing at Endor itself (Ps. lxxxiii. 9, 10). "And when Saul saw the host of the Philistines, he was afraid, and his heart greatly trembled. And when Saul enquired of the LORD, the LORD answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets. Then said Saul unto his servants, Seek me a woman that hath a familiar spirit, that I may go to her, and enquire of her. And his servants said to him, Behold, [there is] a woman that hath a familiar spirit at En-dor. And Saul disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and he went, and two men with him, and they came to the woman by night." En-dor lay in the territory of Issachar, about 7 or 8 miles to the northward of Mount Gilboa. Its name, the "fountain of Dor," may connect it with the Phoenician city Dor, which was on the coast to the westward.[c] If so, it may have retained its stranger-population, and been therefore chosen by the witch as a place where she might with less danger than elsewhere practise her arts. It has been noticed that the mountain on whose slope the modern village stands is hollowed into rock-hewn caverns, in one of which the witch may probably have dwelt. [EN-DOR.] Saul's disguise, and his journeying by night, seem to have been taken that he might not alarm the woman, rather than because he may have passed through a part of the Philistine force. The Philistines held the plain, having their camp at Shunem, whither they had pushed on from Aphek: the Israelites were at first encamped by a fountain at Jezreel, but when their enemies had advanced to Jezreel they appear to have retired to the slopes of Gilboa, whence there was a way of retreat either into the mountains to the south, or across Jordan. The latter seems to have been the line of flight, as, though Saul was slain on Mount Gilboa, his body was fastened to the wall of Beth-shan. Thus Saul could have scarcely reached En-dor without passing at least very near the army of the Philistines. "And he said, divine unto me, I pray thee, by the familiar spirit, and bring me [him] up, whom I shall name unto thee." It is noticeable that here witchcraft, the inquiring by a familiar spirit, and necromancy, are all connected as though but a single art, which favours the idea that the prohibition in Deuteronomy specifies every name by which magical arts were known, rather than so many different kinds of arts, in order that no one should attempt to evade the condemnation of such practices by any subterfuge. It is evident that Saul thought he might be able to call up Samuel by the aid of the witch; but this does not prove what was his own general conviction, or the prevalent conviction of the Israelites on the subject. He was in a great extremity: his kingdom in danger: himself forsaken of God: he was weary with a night-journey, perhaps of risk, perhaps of great length to avoid the enemy, and faint with a day's fasting: he was conscious of wrong as, probably for the first time, he commanded unholy rites and heard in the gloom unholy incantations. In such a strait no man's judgment is steady, and Saul may have asked to see Samuel in a moment of sudden desperation when he had only meant to demand an oracular answer. It may even be thought that, yearning for the counsel of Samuel, and longing to learn if the net that he felt closing about him were one from which he should never escape, Saul had that keener sense that some say comes in the last hours of life, and so, conscious that the prophet's shade was near, or was about to come, at once sought to see and speak with it, though this had not been before purposed. Strange things we know occur at the moment when man feels he is about to die,[d] and if there be any time

[c] Dor is said to have taken its name from Dorus, a son of Neptune, whose name reminds one of Taras, the founder of Tarentum.

[d] We may instance the well-known circumstance that men who have been near death by drowning have asserted that in the last moments of consciousness all the events of their lives have passed before their minds. A friend of the writer assured him that he experienced this sensation, whenever he had a very bad fall in hunting, while he was actually falling. This is alluded to in the epitaph—

when the unseen world is felt while yet unentered, it is when the soul comes first within the chill of its long-projected shadow. "And the woman said unto him, Behold, thou knowest what Saul hath done, how he hath cut off those that have familiar spirits, and the wizards, out of the land: wherefore then layest thou a snare for my life, to cause me to die? And Saul sware to her by the LORD, saying, [As] the LORD liveth, there shall no punishment happen to thee for this thing." Nothing more shows Saul's desperate resolution than his thus swearing when engaged in a most unholy act, a terrible profanity that makes the horror of the scene complete. Everything being prepared, the final act takes place. "Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel. And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice: and the woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me? for thou [art] Saul. And the king said unto her, Be not afraid: for what sawest thou? And the woman said unto Saul, I saw gods ascending out of the earth. And he said unto her, What [is] his form? And she said, An old man cometh up; and he [is] covered with a mantle. And Saul perceived that it [was] Samuel, and he stooped with [his] face to the ground, and bowed himself. And Samuel said to Saul, Why hast thou disquieted [or "disturbed"] me, to bring me up? And Saul answered, I am sore distressed; for the Philistines make war against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more, neither by prophets, nor by dreams: therefore I have called thee, that thou mayest make known unto me what I shall do. Then said Samuel, Wherefore then dost thou ask of me, seeing the LORD is departed from thee, and is become thine enemy? And the LORD hath done to him, as he spake by me: for the LORD hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand, and given it to thy neighbour, [even] to David: because thou obeyedst not the voice of the LORD, nor executedst his fierce wrath upon Amalek. therefore hath the LORD done this thing unto thee this day. Moreover, the LORD will also deliver Israel with thee into the hand of the Philistines: and to-morrow [shalt] thou and thy sons [be] with me: the LORD also shall deliver the host of Israel into the hand of the Philistines. Then Saul fell straightway all along on the earth, and was sore afraid, because of the words of Samuel: and there was no strength in him; for he had eaten no bread all the day, nor all the night" (1 Sam. xxviii. 3-20). The woman clearly was terrified by an unexpected apparition when she saw Samuel. She must therefore either have been a mere juggler, or one who had no power of working magical wonders at will. The sight of Samuel at once showed her who had come to consult her. The prophet's shade seems to have been preceded by some majestic shapes which the witch called gods. Saul, as it seems interrupting her, asked his form, and she described the prophet as he was in his last days on earth, an old man, covered either with a mantle, such as the prophets used to wear, or wrapped in his winding-sheet. Then Saul knew it was Samuel, and bowed to the ground, from respect or fear. It seems that the woman saw the appearances, and that Saul only knew of them through her, perhaps not daring to look, else why should he have asked what form Samuel had? The prophet's complaint we cannot understand, in our ignorance as to the separate state: thus much we know, that state is always described as one of perfect rest or [illegible]. That the woman should have been able to call him up cannot be hence inferred; her astonishment shows the contrary; and it would be explanation enough to suppose that he was sent to give Saul the last warning, or that the earnestness of the king's wish had been permitted to disquiet him in his resting-place. Although the word "disquieted" need not be pushed to an extreme sense, and seems to mean the interruption of a state of rest, our translators wisely, we think, preferring this rendering to "disturbed," it cannot be denied that, if we hold that Samuel appeared, this is a great difficulty. If, however, we suppose that the prophet's coming was ordered, it is not unsurmountable. The declaration of Saul's doom agrees with what Samuel had said before, and was fulfilled the next day when the king and his sons fell on Mount Gilboa. It may, however, be asked—Was the apparition Samuel himself, or a supernatural messenger in his stead? Some may even object to our holding it to have been aught but a phantom of a sick brain; but if so, what can we make of the woman's conviction that it was Samuel, and the king's horror at the words he heard, or, as these would say, that he thought he heard? It was not only the hearing his doom, but the hearing it in a voice from the other world that stretched the faithless strong man on the ground. He must have felt the presence of the dead, and heard the sound of a sepulchral voice. How else could the doom have come true, and not the king alone, but his sons, have gone to the place of disembodied souls on the morrow? for to be with the dead concerned the soul not the body: it is no difficulty that the king's corpse was unburied till the generous men of Jabesh-gilead, mindful of his old kindness, rescued it from the wall of Bethshan. If then the apparition was real, should we suppose it Samuel's? A reasonable criticism would say it seems to have been so; for the supposition that a messenger came in his stead must be rejected, as it would make the speech a mixture of truth and untruth; and if asked what sufficient cause there was for such a sending forth of the prophet from his rest, would reply that we know not the reason for such warnings as abound in the Bible, and that perhaps even at the eleventh hour the door of repentance was not closed against the king, and his impiety might have been pardoned had he repented. Instead, he went forth in despair, and when his sons had fallen and his army was put to the rout, sore wounded fell on his own sword.

From the beginning to the end of this strange history we have no warrant for attributing supernatural power to magicians. Viewed reasonably, it refers to the question of apparitions of the dead, to which other places in the Bible leave no doubt. The connexion with magic seems purely accidental. The witch is no more than a bystander after the first: she sees Samuel, and that is all. The apparition may have been a terrible fulfilment of Saul's desire, but this does not prove that the means he used were of any power. We have examined

"Between the saddle and the ground,
I mercy sought, and mercy found."

If this phenomenon be not involuntary, but the result of an effort of will, then there is no reason why it should be confined to the last moments of consciousness. A man sure of his doom might be in this peculiar and unexplained mental state long before. Perhaps, however, the mind before death experiences a change of condition, just as conversely, every physical function does not cease at once with what we term dissolution.

the narrative very carefully, from its detail and its remarkable character: the result leaves the main question unanswered.

In the later days of the two kingdoms magical practices of many kinds prevailed among the Hebrews, as we especially learn from the condemnation of them by the prophets. Every form of idolatry which the people had adopted in succession doubtless brought with it its magic, which seems always to have remained with a strange tenacity that probably made it outlive the false worship with which it was connected. Thus the use of teraphim, dating from the patriarchal age, was not abandoned when the worship of the Canaanite, Phoenician, and Syrian idols had been successively adopted. In the historical books of Scripture there is little notice of magic, except-ing that wherever the false prophets are mentioned we have no doubt an indication of the prevalence of magical practices. We are especially told of Josiah that he put away the workers with familiar spirits, the wizards, and the teraphim, as well as the idols and the other abominations of Judah and Jerusalem, in performance of the commands of the book of the Law which had been found (2 K. xxiii. 24). But in the prophets we find several notices of the magic of the Hebrews in their times, and some of the magic of foreign nations. Isaiah says that the people had become "workers of hidden arts (עֹנְנִים) like the Philistines," and apparently alludes in the same place to the practice of magic by the Bene-Kedem (ii. 6). The nation had not only abandoned true religion, but had become generally addicted to magic in the manner of the Philistines, whose Egyptian origin [CAPHTOR] is consistent with such a condition. The origin of the Bene-Kedem is doubtful, but it seems certain that as late as the time of the Egyptian wars in Syria, under the xixth dynasty, B.C. cir. 1300, a race, partly at least Mon-golian, inhabited the valley of the Orontes,[e] among whom therefore we should again expect a national practice of magic, and its prevalence with their neighbours. Balaam, too, dwelt with the Bene-Kedem, though he may not have been of their race. In another place the prophet reproves the people for seeking "unto them that have familiar spirits, and unto the wizards that chirp, and that mutter" (viii. 19). The practices of one class of magicians are still more distinctly described, where it is thus said of Jerusalem: "And I will camp against thee round about, and will lay siege against thee with a mount, and I will raise forts against thee. And thou shalt be brought down, [and] shalt speak out of the ground, and thy speech shall be low out of the dust, and thy voice shall be, as of one that hath a familiar spirit, out of the ground, and thy speech shall whisper out of the dust" (xxix. 3, 4). Isaiah al-ludes to the magic of the Egyptians when he says that in their calamity "they shall seek to the idols, and to the charmers [אִטִּים ?],[f] and to them that have familiar spirits, and to the wizards" (xix. 3). And in the same manner he thus taunts Babylon: "Stand now with thy charms, and with the multi-tude of thine enchantments, wherein thou hast labored from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels. Let now the viewers of the heavens [or astrologers] the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up, and save thee from [these things] that shall come upon thee" (xlvii. 12, 13). The magic of Babylon is here characterized by the prominence given to astrology, no magicians being mentioned except-ing practisers of this art; unlike the case of the Egyptians, with whom astrology seems always to have held a lower place than with the Chaldaean nation. In both instances the folly of those who seek the aid of magic is shown.

Micah, declaring the judgments coming for the crimes of his time, speaks of the prevalence of divination among prophets who most probably were such pretended prophets as the opponents of Jeremiah, not avowed prophets of idols, as Ahab's seem to have been. Concerning these prophets it is said, "Night [shall be] unto you, that ye shall not have a vision; and it shall be dark unto you, that ye shall not divine; and the sun shall go down over the prophets, and the day shall be dark over them. Then shall the seers be ashamed, and the diviners confounded: yea, they shall all cover their lip; for [there is] no answer of God" (iii. 6, 7). Later it is said as to Jerusalem, "The heads thereof judge for reward, and the priests thereof teach for hire, and the prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the LORD, and say, [Is] not the LORD among us? none evil can come upon us" (ver. 11). These prophets seem to have practised unlawful arts, and yet to have expected revelations.

Jeremiah was constantly opposed by false pro-phets, who pretended to speak in the name of the Lord, saying that they had dreamt, when they told false visions, and who practised various magical arts (xiv. 14, xxiii. 25, *ad fin.*, xxvii. 9, 10—where the several designations applied to those who counselled the people not to serve the king of Babylon may be used in contempt of the false prophets—xxix. 8, 9).

Ezekiel, as we should have expected, affords some remarkable details of the magic of his time, in the clear and forcible descriptions of his visions. From him we learn that fetishism was among the idolatries which the Hebrews, in the latest days of the kingdom of Judah, had adopted from their neighbours, like the Romans in the age of general corruption that caused the decline of their empire. In a vision, in which the prophet saw the abominations of Jerusalem, he entered the chambers of imagery in the Temple itself: "I went in and saw; and behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the idols of the house of Israel, pourtrayed upon the wall round about." Here seventy elders were offering incense in the dark (viii. 7-12). This idolatry was probably borrowed from Egypt, for the description perfectly answers to that of the dark sanctuaries of Egyptian temples, with the sacred animals pour-trayed upon their walls, and does not accord with the character of the Assyrian sculptures, where creeping things are not represented as objects of worship. With this low form of idolatry an equally low kind of magic obtained, practised by pro-phetesses who for small rewards made amulets by which the people were deceived (xiii. 17 *ad fin.*). The passage must be allowed to be very difficult, but it can scarcely be doubted that amulets are re-ferred to which were made and sold by these women, and perhaps also worn by them. We may probably read: "Woe to the [women] that sew pillows upon all joints of the hands [elbows or

[e] Let those who doubt this examine the representation in Rosellini's *Monumenti Storici*, i. pl. lxxxviii. seq. of the great battle between Rameses II. and the Hittites and their confederates, near KETESH, on the Orontes.

[f] This word may mean whisperers, if it be the plural of חֵטֶא, "a murmur."

armholes?], and make kerchiefs upon the head of every stature to hunt souls!" (xiii. 18). If so, we have a practice analogous to that of the modern Egyptians, who hang amulets of the kind called hegab upon the right side, and of the Nubians, who hang them on the upper part of the arm. We cannot, in any case, see how the passage can be explained as simply referring to the luxurious dress of the women of that time, since the prophet distinctly alludes to pretended visions and to divinations (ver. 23), using almost the same expressions that he applies in another place to the practices of the false prophets (xxii. 28). The notice of Nebuchadnezzar's divination by arrows, where it is said "he shuffled arrows" (xxi. 21), must refer to a practice the same or similar to the kind of divination by arrows called El-Meysar, in use among the pagan Arabs, and forbidden in the Kur-án. [See HOSPITALITY.]

The references to magic in the book of Daniel relate wholly to that of Babylon, and not so much to the art as to those who used it. Daniel, when taken captive, was instructed in the learning of the Chaldaeans and placed among the wise men of Babylon (ii. 18), by whom we are to understand the Magi (חַכְמֵי בָבֶל), for the term is used as including magicians (חַרְטֻמִּים), sorcerers (אַשָּׁפִים), enchanters (מְכַשְּׁפִים), astrologers (גָּזְרִין), and Chaldaeans, the last being apparently the most important class (ii. 2, 4, 5, 10, 12, 14, 18, 24, 27; comp. i. 20). As in other cases the true prophet was put to the test with the magicians, and he succeeded where they utterly failed. The case resembles Pharaoh's, excepting that Nebuchadnezzar asked a harder thing of the wise men. Having forgotten his dream, he not only required of them an interpretation, but that they should make known the dream itself. They were perfectly ready to tell the interpretation if only they heard the dream. The king at once saw that they were impostors, and that if they truly had supernatural powers they could as well tell him his dream as its meaning. Therefore he decreed the death of all the wise men of Babylon; but Daniel, praying that he and his fellows might escape this destruction, had a vision in which the matter was revealed to him. He was accordingly brought before the king. Like Joseph, he disavowed any knowledge of his own. "The secret which the king hath demanded, the wise men, the sorcerers, the magicians, the astrologers, cannot show unto the king; but there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets" (vers. 27, 28). "But as for me, this secret is not revealed to me for [any] wisdom that I have more than any living" (30). He then related the dream and its interpretation, and was set over the province as well as over all the wise men of Babylon. Again the king dreamt; and though he told them the dream the wise men could not interpret it, and Daniel again showed the meaning (iv. 4, *seqq.*). In the relation of this event we read that the king called him "chief of the scribes," the second part of the title being the same as that applied to the Egyptian magicians (iv. 9; Chald. 6). A third time, when Belshazzar saw the writing on the wall, were the wise men sent for, and on their failing Daniel was brought before the king and the interpretation given (v.). These events are perfectly consistent with what always occurred in all other cases recorded in Scripture when the practisers of magic were placed in opposition to true prophets. It may be asked by some how Daniel could take the post of chief of the wise men when he had himself proved their imposture. If, however, as we cannot doubt, the class were one of the learned generally, among whom some practised magical arts, the case is very different from what it would have been had these wise men been magicians only. Besides, it seems almost certain that Daniel was providentially thus placed that, like another Joseph, he might further the welfare and ultimate return of his people. [MAGI.]

After the Captivity it is probable that the Jews gradually abandoned the practice of magic. Zechariah speaks indeed of the deceit of teraphim and diviners (x. 2), and foretells a time when the very names of idols should be forgotten and false prophets have virtually ceased (xiii. 1-4), yet in neither case does it seem certain that he is alluding to the magic of his own day.

In the Apocrypha we find indications that in the later centuries preceding the Christian era magic was no longer practised by the educated Jews. In the Wisdom of Solomon the writer, speaking of the Egyptian magicians, treats their art as an imposture (xvii. 7). The book of Tobit is an exceptional case. If we hold that it was written in Persia or a neighbouring country, and, with Ewald, date its composition not long after the fall of the Persian empire, it is obvious that it relates to a different state of society to that of the Jews of Egypt and Palestine. If, however, it was written in Palestine about the time of the Maccabees, as others suppose, we must still recollect that it refers rather to the superstitions of the common people than to those of the learned. In either case its pretensions make it unsafe to follow as indicating the opinions of the time at which it was written. It professes to relate to a period of which its writer could have known little, and borrows its idea of supernatural agency from Scripture, adding as much as was judged safe of current superstition.

In the N. T. we read very little of magic. The coming of Magi to worship Christ is indeed related (Matt. ii. 1-12), but we have no warrant for supposing that they were magicians from their name, which the A. V. not unreasonably renders "wise men" [MAGI]. Our Lord is not said to have been opposed by magicians, and the Apostles and other early teachers of the Gospel seem to have rarely encountered them. Philip the deacon, when he preached at Samaria, found there Simon a famous magician, commonly known as Simon Magus, who had had great power over the people; but he is not said to have been able to work wonders, nor, had it been so, is it likely that he would have soon been admitted into the Church (viii. 9-24). When St. Barnabas and St. Paul were at Paphos, as they preached to the proconsul Sergius Paulus, Elymas, a Jewish sorcerer and false prophet (τινα ἄνδρα μάγον ψευδοπροφήτην) withstood them, and was struck blind for a time at the word of St. Paul (xiii. 6-12). At Ephesus, certain Jewish exorcists signally failing, both Jews and Greeks were afraid, and abandoned their practice of magical arts. "And many that believed came, and confessed, and showed their deeds. Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them before all: and they counted the price of them, and found [it] fifty thousand [pieces] of silver" (xix. 18, 19). Here both Jews and Greeks seem to have been greatly addicted to magic, even after they had

nominally joined the Church. In all these cases it appears that though the practisers were generally or always Jews, the field of their success was with Gentiles, showing that among the Jews in general, or the educated class, the art had fallen into disrepute. Here, as before, there is no evidence of any real effect produced by the magicians. We have already noticed the remarkable case of the "damsel having a spirit of divination" (ἔχουσαν πνεῦμα πύθωνα) "which brought her masters much gain by fortelling" (μαντευομένη), from whom St. Paul cast out the spirit of divination (xvi. 16-18). This is a matter belonging to another subject than that of magic.

Our examination of the various notices of magic in the Bible gives us this general result:—They do not, as far as we can understand, once state positively that any but illusive results were produced by magical rites. They therefore afford no evidence that man can gain supernatural powers to use at his will. This consequence goes some way towards showing that we may conclude that there is no such thing as real magic; for although it is dangerous to reason on negative evidence, yet in a case of this kind it is especially strong. Had any but illusions been worked by magicians, surely the Scriptures would not have passed over a fact of so much importance, and one which would have rendered the prohibition of these arts far more necessary. The general belief of mankind in magic, or things akin to it, is of no worth, since the holding such current superstition in some of its branches, if we push it to its legitimate consequences, would lead to the rejection of faith in God's government of the world, and the adoption of a creed far below that of Plato.

From the conclusion at which we have arrived, that there is no evidence in the Bible of real results having been worked by supernatural agency used by magicians, we may draw this important inference, that the absence of any proof of the same in profane literature, ancient or modern, in no way militates against the credibility of the miracles recorded in Scripture. [R. S. P.]

MA'GIDDO (Μαγεδδώ; but Mai, μετὰ Ἀδδώ; and Alex.[a] Μεταεδδαους: *Mageddo*), the Greek form of the name MEGIDDO. It occurs only in 1 Esd. i. 29. [MEGIDDON.] [G.]

MA'GOG (מָגוֹג: Μαγώγ). The name Magog is applied in Scripture both to a person and to a land or people. In Gen. x. 2 Magog appears as the second son of Japheth in connexion with Gomer (the Cimmerians) and Madai (the Medes): in Ez. xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 1, 6, it appears as a country or people of which Gog was the prince,[b] in conjunction with Meshech[c] (the Moschici), Tubal (the Tibareni), and Rosh (the Roxolani). In the latter of these senses there is evidently implied an etymological connexion between Gog and Ma = gog, the *Ma* being regarded by Ezekiel as a prefix significant of a country. In this case Gog contains the original element of the name, which may possibly have its origin in some Persian root.[d] The notices of Magog would lead us to fix a northern locality: not only did all the tribes mentioned in connexion with it belong to that quarter, but it is expressly stated by Ezekiel that he was to come up from "the sides of the north" (xxxix. 2), from a country adjacent to that of Togarmah or Armenia (xxxviii. 6), and not far from "the isles" or maritime regions of Europe (xxxix. 6). The people of Magog further appear as having a force of cavalry (xxxviii. 15), and as armed with the bow (xxxix. 3). From the above *data*, combined with the consideration of the time at which Ezekiel lived, the conclusion has been drawn that Magog represents the important race of the Scythians. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §1) and Jerome (*Quaest.* in Gen. x. 2) among early writers adopted this view and they have been followed in the main by modern writers. In identifying Magog with the Scythians, however, we must not be understood as using the latter term in a strictly ethnographical sense, but as a general expression for the tribes living north of the Caucasus.[e] We regard Magog as essentially a *geographical* term, just as it was applied by the Syrians of the middle ages to Asiatic Tartary, and by the Arabians to the district between the Caspian and Euxine seas (Winer, *Rwb.* s. v.). The inhabitants of this district in the time of Ezekiel were undoubtedly the people generally known by the classical name of Scythians. In the latter part of the 7th century B.C. they had become well known as a formidable power through the whole of western Asia. Forced from their original quarters north of the Caucasian range by the inroad of the Massagetae, they descended into Asia Minor, where they took Sardis (B.C. 629), and maintained a long war with the Lydian monarchs: thence they spread into Media (B.C. 624), where they defeated Cyaxares. They then directed their course to Egypt, and were bribed off by Psammetichus; on their return[f] they attacked the temple of Venus Urania at Ascalon. They were finally ejected B.C. 596, after having made their name a terror to the whole eastern world (Herod. i. 103 ff.). The Scythians are

[a] This is one of a great number of cases in which the readings of Mai's edition of the Vatican Codex depart from the ordinary "Vatican Text," as usually edited, and agree more or less closely with the Alexandrine (Codex A).

[b] Von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 211) represents Gog as the people, and not the prince. There can be no doubt that in Rev. xx. 8 the name does apply to a people, but this is not the case in Ezekiel.

[c] In the A. V. Gog is represented as "the *chief prince*" of Meshech and Tubal: but it is pretty well agreed that the Hebrew words נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ cannot bear the meaning thus affixed to them. The true rendering is "prince of Rosh," as given in the LXX. (ἄρχοντα Ῥώς). The other sense was adopted by the Vulgate in consequence of the name Rosh not occurring elsewhere in Scripture. [ROSH.]

[d] Various etymologies of the name have been suggested, none of which can be absolutely accepted. Knobel (Völker, p. 63) proposes the Sanscrit *mah* or *maha*, "great," and a Persian word signifying "mountain," in which case the reference would be to the Caucasian range. The terms *ghogh* and *moghef* are still applied to some of the heights of that range. This etymology is supported by Von Bohlen (*Introd. to Gen.* ii. 211). On the other hand, Hitzig (*Comm. in Ez.*) connects the first syllable with the Coptic *ma*, "place," or the Sanscrit *maha*, "land," and the second with a Persian root, *koka*, "the moon," as though the term had reference to moon-worshippers.

[e] In the Koran Gog and Magog are localized north of the Caucasus. There appears to have been from the earliest times a legend that the enemies of religion and civilization lived in that quarter (*Haxthausen's Tribes of the Caucasus*, p. 55).

[f] The name of Scythopolis, by which Beth-shean was known in our Saviour's time, was regarded as a trace of the Scythian occupation (Plin. v. 16): this, however, is doubtful. [SCYTHOPOLIS.]

described by classical writers as skilful in the use of the bow (Herod. i. 73, iv. 132; Xen. *Anab.* iii. 4, §15), and even as the inventors of the bow and arrow (Plin. vii. 57); they were specially famous as mounted bowmen (*Ἱπποτοξόται*; Herod. iv. 46; Thucyd. ii. 96); they also enjoyed an ill-

Scythian horseman (from Kertch).

fame for their cruel and rapacious habits (Herod. i. 106). With the memory of these events yet fresh on the minds of his countrymen, Ezekiel selects the Scythians as the symbol of earthly violence, arrayed against the people of God, but meeting with a signal and utter overthrow. He depicts their avarice and violence (xxxviii. 7-13), and the fearful vengeance executed upon them (xxxviii. 14-23)—a massacre so tremendous that seven months would hardly suffice for the burial of the corpses in the valley which should thenceforth be named Hamon-gog (xxxix. 11-16). The imagery of Ezekiel has been transferred in the Apocalypse to describe the final struggle between Christ and Antichrist (Rev. xx. 8). As a question of ethnology, the origin of the Scythians presents great difficulties: many eminent writers, with Niebuhr and Neumann at their head, regard them as a Mongolian, and therefore a non-Japhetic race. It is unnecessary for us to enter into the general question, which is complicated by the undefined and varying applications of the name Scythia and Scythians among ancient writers. As far as the Biblical notices are concerned, it is sufficient to state that the Scythians of Ezekiel's age—the Scythians of Herodotus—were in all probability a Japhetic race. They are distinguished on the one hand from the Argippaei, a clearly Mongolian race (Herod. iv. 23), and they are connected on the other hand with the Agathyrsi, a clearly Indo-European race (iv. 10). The mere silence of so observant a writer as Herodotus, as to any striking features in the physical conformation of the Scythians, must further be regarded as a strong argument in favour of their Japhetic origin. [W. L. B.]

MA'GOR-MIS'SABIB (מָגוֹר מִסָּבִיב: Μέτοικος: *Pavor undique*), literally, "terror on every side:" the name given by Jeremiah to Pashur the priest, when he smote him and put him in the stocks for prophesying against the idolatry of Jerusalem (Jer. xx. 3). The significance of the appellation is explained in the denunciation with which it was accompanied (ver. 4): "Thus saith Jehovah, Behold I will make thee a *terror* to thyself and to all thy friends." The LXX. must have connected the word with the original meaning of the root "to wander," for they keep up the play upon the name in ver. 4. It is remarkable that the same phrase occurs in several other passages of Jeremiah (vi. 25, xx. 10, xlvi. 5, xlix. 29; Lam. ii. 22), and is only found besides in Ps. xxxi. 13.

MA'GPIASH (מַגְפִּיעָשׁ: Μεγαφής; Alex. Μαγαφής; Cod. Fr. Aug. Βαγαφής: *Magpiash*), one of the heads of the people who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 20). The name is probably not that of an individual, but of a family. It is supposed by Calmet and Junius to be the same as MAGBISH in Ezr. ii. 30.

MAH'ALAH (מַחְלָה: Μαελά; Alex. Μααλά: *Mohola*), one of the three children of Hammolecheth the sister of Gilead (1 Chr. vii. 18). The name is probably that of a woman, as it is the same with that of Mahlah, the daughter of Zelophehad, also a descendant of Gilead the Manassite.

MAHA'LALEEL (מַהֲלַלְאֵל: Μαλελεήλ: *Malaleel*). 1. The fourth in descent from Adam according to the Sethite genealogy, and son of Cainan (Gen. v. 12, 13, 15-17; 1 Chr. i. 2). In the LXX. the names of Mahalaleel and Mehujael, the fourth from Adam in the genealogy of the descendants of Cain, are identical. Ewald recognises in Mahalaleel the sun-god, or Apollo of the antediluvian mythology, and in his son Jared the god of water, the Indian Varuna (*Gesch.* i. 337), but his assertions are perfectly arbitrary.

2. (Cod. Fr. Aug. Μαλελήμ). A descendant of Perez, or Pharez, the son of Judah, and ancestor of Athaiah, whose family resided in Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 4).

MAH'ALATH (מַחֲלַת; Μαελέθ: *Mahelath*), the daughter of Ishmael, and one of the wives of Esau (Gen. xxviii. 9). In the Edomite genealogy (Gen. xxxvi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 17) she is called BASHEMATH, sister of Nebajoth, and mother of Reuel; but the Hebraeo-Samaritan text has Mahalath throughout. On the other hand Bashemath, the wife of Esau, is described as the daughter of Elon the Hittite (Gen. xxvi. 34). [BASHEMATH.]

MAH'ALATH (מַחֲלַת: ἡ Μολαάθ; Alex. Μολαθ: *Maalath*), one of the eighteen wives of king Rehoboam, apparently his first (2 Chr. xi. 18 only). She was her husband's cousin, being the daughter of king David's son Jerimoth, who was probably the child of a concubine, and not one of his regular family. Josephus, without naming Mahalath, speaks of her as "a kinswoman" (*συγγενῆ τινα, Ant.* viii. 10, §1). No children are attributed to the marriage, but she again named. The ancient Hebrew text (Ochlah) in this passage has "son" instead of "daughter." The latter, however, is the correction of the Keri, and is adopted by the LXX., Vulgate, and Targum, as well as by the A. V.

MAH'ALATH (מַחֲלַת: Μαελέθ: *Machalath*). The title of Ps. liii., in which this rare word occurs, was rendered in the Geneva version, "To him that excelleth on Mahalath;" which was explained in the margin to be "an instrument or kind of music." This expresses in short the opinions of most commentators. Connecting the word with חָלִיל *mâchôl* (Ex. xv. 20; Ps. cl. 4), rendered "dance" in the A. V., but supposed by many from its connexion with instruments of music to be one (DANCE, vol. i. p. 389), Jerome renders the phrase "on Mahalath," by "per *chorum*," and in this he

supported by the translations of Theodotion (διὰ τῆς χορείας), Symmachus (διὰ χοροῦ), and Aquila (ἐπὶ χορείᾳ), quoted by Theodoret (*Comm. in Ps.* lii.). Augustine (*Enarr. in Ps.* lii.) gives the title of the Psalm, "In finem pro *Amalech* intellectus ipsi David;" explaining "pro Amalech," as he says from the Hebrew, "for one in labour or sorrow" (pro parturiente sive dolente), by whom he understands Christ, as the subject of the Psalm. But in another passage (*Enarr. in Ps.* lxxxvii.) he gives the word in the form *melech*, and interprets it by the Latin *chorus:* having in the first instance made some confusion with עָמָל, *'âmâl*, "sorrow," which forms part of the proper name "Amalek." The title of Ps. liii. in the Chaldee and Syriac versions contains no trace of the word, which is also omitted in the almost identical Ps. xiv. From this fact alone it might be inferred that it was not intended to point enigmatically to the contents of the psalm, as Hengstenberg and others are inclined to believe. Aben Ezra understands by it the name of a melody to which the Psalm was sung, and R. Solomon Jarchi explains it as "the name of a musical instrument," adding however immediately, with a play upon the word, "another discourse on the sickness (*machaláh*) of Israel when the Temple was laid waste." Calvin and J. H. Michaelis, among others, regarded it as an instrument of music or the commencement of a melody. Junius derived it from the root חָלַל, *chalal*, "to bore, perforate," and understood by it a wind instrument of some kind, like *Nehiloth* in Ps. vi.; but his etymology is certainly wrong. Its connexion with *máchôl* is equally uncertain. Joel Bril, in the second preface to his notes on the Psalms in Mendelssohn's Bible, mentions three opinions as current with regard to the meaning of Mahalath; some regarding it as a feminine form of *máchôl*, others as one of the *wind* instruments (the flute, according to De Wette's translation of Ps. liii.), and others again as a *stringed* instrument. Between these conflicting conjectures, he says, it is impossible to decide. That it was a stringed instrument, played either with the fingers or a quill, is maintained by Simonis (*Lex. Hebr.*), who derives it from an unused Arabic root حلث, to sweep. But the most probable of all conjectures, and one which Gesenius approves, is that of Ludolf, who quotes the Ethiopic *máchlet*, by which the κιθάρα of the LXX. is rendered in Gen. iv. 21 (Simonis, *Arcanum Formarum*, p. 475). Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.) explains Mahalath as the name of a musical corps dwelling at Abel-*Meholah*, just as by Gittith he understands the band of Levite minstrels at *Gath* Rimmon.

On the other hand, the opinion that Mahalath contains an enigmatical indication of the subject of the Psalm, which we have seen hinted at in the quotations from Jarchi given above, is adopted by Hengstenberg to the exclusion of every other. He translates "on Mahalath" by "on sickness," referring to the spiritual malady of the sons of men (Comm. *über die Psalm.*). Lengerke (*die Psalmen*) adopts the same view, which had been previously advanced by Arias Montanus.

A third theory is that of Delitzsch (*Comm. üb. d. Psalter*), who considers Mahalath as indicating the choir the manner in which the Psalm was to be sung, and compares the modern terms *mesto, andante mesto*. Ewald leaves it untranslated and unexpounded, regarding it as probably an abbreviation of a longer sentence (*Dichter d. Alt. Bundes*, i. 174). The latest speculation upon the subject is that of Mr. Thrupp, who, after dismissing as mere conjecture the interpretation of Mahalath as a musical instrument, or as *sickness*, propounds, as more probable than either, that it is "a proper name borrowed from Gen. xxviii. 9, and used by David as an enigmatical designation of Abigail, in the same manner as in Psalms vii., xxxiv., the names Cush and Abimelech are employed to denote Shimei and Achish. The real Mahalath, Esau's wife, was the sister of Nebajoth, from whom were descended an Arabian tribe famous for their wealth in sheep; the name might be therefore not unfitly applied to one who, though now wedded to David, had till recently been the wife of the rich sheep-owner of the village of Carmel" (*Introd. to the Psalms*, i. 314). It can scarcely be said that Mr. Thrupp has replaced conjecture by certainty. [W. A. W.]

MAH'ALATH LEAN'NOTH (מַחֲלַת לְעַנּוֹת: Μαελὲθ τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι: *Maheleth ad respondendum*). The Geneva version of Ps. lxxxviii., in the title of which these words occur, has "upon Malath Leannoth," and in the margin, "that is, to humble. It was the beginning of a song, by the tune whereof this Psalm was sung." It is a remarkable proof of the obscurity which envelops the former of the two words that the same commentator explains it differently in each of the passages in which it occurs. In De Wette's translation it is a "flute" in Ps. liii., a "guitar" in Ps. lxxxviii.; and while Jarchi in the former passage explains it as a musical instrument, he describes the latter as referring to "one sick of love and affliction who was afflicted with the punishments of the captivity." Symmachus, again, as quoted by Theodoret (*Comm. in Ps.* 87), has διχόρου, unless this be a mistake of the copyist for διὰ χοροῦ, as in Ps. liii. Augustine and Theodoret both understand *Leannoth* of responsive singing. Theophylact says "they danced while responding to the music of the organ." Jerome in his version of the Hebrew, has "per chorum ad praecinendum." The Hebrew עָנוֹת, in the Piel Conj., certainly signifies "to sing," as in Ex. xxxii. 18; Is. xxvii. 2; and in this sense it is taken by Ewald in the title of Ps. lxxxviii. In like manner Junius and Tremellius render "upon Mahalath Leannoth" "to be sung to the wind instruments." There is nothing, however, in the construction of the Psalm to show that it was adapted for responsive singing; and if *leannoth* be simply "to sing," it would seem, as Olshausen observes, almost unnecessary. It has reference, more probably, to the character of the psalm, and might be rendered "to humble, or afflict," in which sense the root occurs in verse 7. In support of this may be compared, "to bring to remembrance," in the titles of Pss. xxxviii. and lxx.; and "to thank," 1 Chr. xvi. 7. Mr. Thrupp remarks that this Psalm (lxxxviii.) "should be regarded as a solemn exercise of humiliation; it is more deeply melancholy than any other in the Psalter" (*Intr. to the Psalms*, ii. 99). Hengstenberg, in accordance with the view he takes of Mahalath, regards Ps. lxxxviii. as the prayer of one recovered from severe bodily sickness, rendering *leannoth* "concerning affliction," and the whole "on the sickness of distress." Lengerke has a similar explanation, which is the same with that of Piscator, but is too forced. [W. A. W.]

MAHALI (מַחְלִי: Μοολί; Alex. Μοολεί: *Moholi*); MAHLI, the son of Merari. His name occurs in the A. V. but once in this form (Ex. vi. 19).

MAHANA'IM (מַחֲנַיִם = two camps or hosts: Παρεμβολαί; Καμελν; Μαναέμ; Μαναελμ; Joseph. Θεοῦ στρατόπεδον: *Manaim*), a town on the east of the Jordan, intimately connected with the early and middle history of the nation of Israel. It purports to have received its name at the most important crisis of the life of Jacob. He had parted from Laban in peace after their hazardous encounter on Mount Gilead (Gen. xxxi.), and the next step in the journey to Canaan brings him to Mahanaim: "Jacob went on his way; and he lifted up his eyes and saw the camp of God[a] encamped; and the angels (or messengers) of God met him. And when he saw them he said, This is God's host (*mahaneh*), and he called the name of that place Mahanaim." It is but rarely, and in none but the earliest of these ancient records, that we meet with the occasion of a name being conferred; and generally, as has been already remarked, such narratives are full of difficulties, arising from the peculiar turns and involutions of words, which form a very prominent feature in this primeval literature, at once so simple and so artificial. [BEER LAHAI ROI, EN-HAKKORE, &c.] The form in which the history of Mahanaim is cast is no exception to this rule. It is in some respects perhaps more characteristic and more pregnant with hidden meaning than any other. Thus the "host" of angels—"God's host"—which is said to have been the occasion of the name, is only mentioned in a cursory manner, and in the singular number—"the [one] host;" while the "two hosts" into which Jacob divided his caravan when anticipating an attack from Esau, the host of Leah and the host of Rachel, agreeing in their number with the name Mahanaim ("two hosts"), are dwelt upon with constant repetition and emphasis. So also the same word is employed for the "messengers" of God and the "messengers" to Esau; and so, further on in the history, the "face" of God and the "face" of Esau are named by the same word (xxxiii. 30, xxxiii. 10). It is as if there were a correspondence throughout between the human and the divine, the inner and outer parts of the event,—the host of God and the hosts of Jacob; the messengers of God and the messengers of Jacob; the face of God and the face of Esau.[b] The very name of the torrent on whose banks the event took place seems to be derived from the "wrestling"[c] of the patriarch with the angel. The whole narrative hovers between the real and the ideal, earth and heaven.

How or when the town of Mahanaim arose on the spot thus signalized we are not told. We next meet with it in the records of the conquest. The line separating Gad from Manasseh would appear to have run through or close to it, since it is named in the specification of the frontier of each tribe (Josh. xiii. 26 and 29). It was also on the southern boundary of the district of Bashan (ver. 30). But it was certainly within the territory of Gad (Josh. xxi. 38, 39), and therefore on the south side of the torrent Jabbok, as indeed we should infer from the history of Genesis, in which it lies between Gilead—probably the modern *Jebel Jilad*—and the [illegible]. The town with its "suburbs" was allotted [illegible] service of the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 1 Chron. vi. 80). From some cause—the [illegible] tity of its original foundation, or the strength [illegible] its position[d]—Mahanaim had become in the [illegible] of the monarchy a place of mark. When, after the death of Saul, Abner undertook the establishment of the kingdom of Ishbosheth, unable to occupy any of the towns of Benjamin or Ephraim, which were then in the hands of the Philistines, he fixed on Mahanaim as his head-quarters. There the new king was crowned over all Israel, east as well as west of the Jordan (2 Sam. ii. 9). From thence Abner made his disastrous expedition to Gibeon (ver. 12), and there apparently the unfortunate Ishbosheth was murdered (iv. 5), the murderers making off to Hebron by the way of the valley of the Jordan.

The same causes which led Abner to fix Ishbosheth's residence at Mahanaim probably induced David to take refuge there when driven out of the western part of his kingdom by Absalom. He proceeds thither without hesitation or inquiry, and if when Jerusalem was lost it was the one alternative (2 Sam. xvii. 24; 1 K. ii. 8). It was then a walled town, capacious enough to contain the "hundreds" and the "thousands" of David's followers (xviii. 1, 4; and compare "ten thousand," ver. 3); with gates, and the usual provision for the watching of a fortified town (see the remark of Josephus quoted in the note). But its associations with royal persons were not fortunate. One king had already been murdered within its walls, and it was here that David received the news of the death of Absalom, and made the walls of the "chamber over the gate" resound with his cries.

Mahanaim was the seat of one of Solomon's commissariat officers (1 K. iv. 14); and it is alluded to in the Song which bears his name (vi. 13), in terms which, though very obscure, seem at any rate to show that at the date of the composition of the poem it was still in repute for sanctity, possibly famous for some ceremonial commemorating the original vision of the patriarch: "What will ye see in the Shulamite? We see as it were the dance (*mecholah*, a word usually applied to dances of a religious nature; see vol. i. p. 389) of the two hosts of Mahanaim."

On the monument of Sheshonk (Shishak) at Karnak, in the 22nd cartouch—one of those which are believed to contain the names of Israelite cities conquered by that king—a name appears which is read as *M^a-ha-n-m^a*, that is, Mahanaim. The adjoining cartouches contain names which are read as Beth-shean, Shunem, Megiddo, Beth-horon, Gibeon, and other Israelite names (Brugsch, *Geographie der nachbarländer Aegyptens*, &c., p. 61). If this interpretation may be relied on it shows that the invasion of Shishak was more extensive than we should gather from the records of the Bible (2 Chron. xii.), which are occupied mainly with occurrences at the metropolis. Possibly the army entered by the plains of Philistia and Sharon, ravaged Ephraim and some towns like Mahanaim just beyond Jordan, and then returned, either by the same route or by

[a] This paragraph is added in the LXX.

[b] For this observation the writer is indebted to a sermon by Prof. Stanley (Marlborough, 1853).

[c] Jabbok, יַבֹּק; "wrestled" יֵאָבֵק

[d] To the latter Josephus testifies: Παρεμβολαί—ὃ καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἑρμηνεύεται τὸ Μαναείμ renders the Hebrew Mahanaim—καλλίστη καὶ ἐξοχωτάτη πόλις (*Ant.* vii. 9, §8).

the Jordan valley, to Jerusalem, attacking it last. This would account for Rehoboam's non-resistance, and also for the fact, of which special mention is made, that many of the chief men of the country had taken refuge in the city. It should, however, be remarked that the names occur in most probably an ancient order, and that none has been found remaining Jerusalem.

As to the identification of Mahanaim with any modern site or remains little can be said. To Eusebius and Jerome it appears to have been unknown. A place called *Mahneh* does certainly exist among the villages of the east of Jordan, though its exact position is not so certain. The earliest mention of it appears to be that of the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, according to whom "Machnajim is *Machneh*, and stands about half a day's journey in a due east direction from Beth-san" (Zunz, in Asher's *Itin. of Tudela*, 408). *Mahneh* is named in the list of Dr. Eli Smith among the places of *Jebel Ajlun* (Rob. *B. R.* 1st ed., iii. App. 166). It is marked on Kiepert's map (1856) as exactly east of Bethshan, but about 30 miles distant therefrom—i. e. not half but a long whole day's journey. It is also mentioned, and its identity with Mahanaim upheld, by Porter (*Handbook*, 322). But the distance of *Mahneh* from the Jordan and from both the *Wady Zerka* and the *Yarmûk*—each of which has claims to represent the torrent Jabbok—seems to forbid this conclusion. At any rate the point may be recommended to the investigation of future travellers east of the Jordan. [G.]

MAHANEH-DAN (מַחֲנֵה־דָן: παρεμβολὴ Δάν: *Castra Dan*: the "Camp-of-Dan:" Luth. *im Lager Dans*), a name which commemorated the first encampment of the band of six hundred Danite warriors before setting out on their expedition to Laish. The position of the spot is specified with great precision, as "behind Kirjath-jearim" (Judg. xviii. 12), and as "between Zorah and Eshtaol" (ib. 25; here the name is translated in the A. V.). Kirjath-jearim is identified with tolerable certainty in *Kuriet-el-Enab*, and Zorah in *Sur'a*, about 7 miles S.W. of it. But no site has yet been suggested for Eshtaol which would be compatible with the above conditions, requiring as they do that Kirjath-jearim should lie between it and Zorah. Chesil, a "remarkable conical hill about an hour from *Kuriet-el-Enab*, towards Jerusalem," south of the road, we have a site which is not dissimilar in name to Eshtaol, while its position sufficiently answers the requirements. Mr. Williams (*Holy City*, i. 12 *note*) was shewn a site on the north side of the *Wady Ismail*, N.N.E. from *Deir el-Azar*—which bore the name of *Beit Mahanem*, and which he suggests may be identical with Mahaneh-Dan. The position is certainly very suitable; but the name does not occur in the lists or maps of other travellers—not even of Tobler (*Dritte Wanderung*, 1859); and the question must be left with that started above, of the identity of *Kustul* and Eshtaol, for the investigation of future explorers and Arabic scholars.

The statement in xviii. 12 of the origin of the name is so precise, and has so historical an air, that it supplies a strong reason for believing that the events there recorded took place earlier than those in xiii. 25, though in the present arrangement of the book of Judges they come after them. [G.]

MAHARAI (מַחְרַי: Νοτρέ; Alex. Μαερααί, 2 Sam. xxiii. 28; Μαραΐ; Alex. Μεόμμ, 1 Chr xi. 30; Μεηρά; Alex. Μοοραΐ, 1 Chr. xxvii. 13. *Maharaï*, *Marai*, 1 Chr. xxvii. 13), an inhabitant of Netophah in the tribe of Judah, and one of David's captains. He was of the family of Zerah and commanded the tenth monthly division of the army.

MA'HATH (מַחַת: Μαάθ: *Mahath*). **1.** The son of Amasai, a Kohathite of the house of Korah, and ancestor of Heman the singer (1 Chr. vi. 35). In ver. 25 he is called AHIMOTH (Hervey, *Geneal.* p. 215).

2. (Alex. Μαέθ, 2 Chr. xxix. 12; Vat. MS. Ναέθ, 2 Chr. xxxi. 13). Also a Kohathite, who, in the reign of Hezekiah, was appointed, as one of the representatives of his house, to assist in the purification of the Levites, by which they prepared themselves to cleanse the Temple from the traces of idolatrous worship. He was apparently the same who, with other Levites, had the charge of the tithes and dedicated offerings, under the superintendence of Cononiah and Shimei.

MAH'AVITE, THE (הַמַּחֲוִים, *i. e.* "the Machavites": ὁ Μίει; Alex. ὁ Μαωειν: *Maumites*), the designation of Eliel, one of the warriors of king David's guard, whose name is preserved in the catalogue of 1 Chron. only (xi. 46). It will be observed that the word is plural in the Hebrew text, but the whole of the list is evidently in so confused a state, that it is impossible to draw any inference from that circumstance. The Targum has דְּמִן מַחֲוָוא, "from Machavua." Kennicott (*Dissert.* 231) conjectures that originally the Hebrew may have stood מהחוים, "from the Hivites." Others have proposed to insert an N and read "the Mahanaimite" (Fürst, *Hdwb.* 721*a*; Bertheau, *Chronik*, 136). [G.]

MAHAZ'IOTH (מַחֲזִיאוֹת: Μεαζώθ; Alex. Μααζιώθ: *Mahazioth*), one of the 14 sons of Heman the Kohathite, who formed part of the Temple choir, under the leadership of their father with Asaph and Jeduthun. He was chief of the 23rd course of twelve musicians (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 30), whose office it was to blow the horns.

MAHER-SHALAL-HASH-BAZ (מַהֵר שָׁלָל חָשׁ בַּז: Ταχέως σκύλευσον ὀξέως προνόμευσον: *Accelera spolia detrahere festina*), son of Isaiah, and younger brother of Shear-jashub, of whom nothing more is known than that his name was given by Divine direction, to indicate that Damascus and Samaria were soon to be plundered by the king of Assyria (Is. viii. 1-4; comp. vol. i. p. 880). In reference to the grammatical construction of the several parts of the name, whether the verbal parts are imperatives, indicatives, infinitives, or verbal adjectives, leading versions, as well as the opinions of critics differ, though all agree as to its general import (comp. Drechsler *in loc.*). [E. H—e.]

MAH'LAH (מַחְלָה: Μαλά, Num. xxvi. 33; Μααλά, Num. xxvii. 1; Josh. xvii. 3; Μαλωά, Num. xxxvi. 11; Μαελά; Alex. Μοολά, 1 Chr. vii. 18: *Maala* in all cases, except *Mohola*, 1 Chr. vii. 18), the eldest of the five daughters of Zelophehad, the grandson of Manasseh, in whose favour the law of succession to an inheritance was altered (Num xxvii. 1 ff). She married her cousin, and received as her share a portion of the territory of Manasseh E. of the Jordan.

MAH'LI (מַחְלִי: Μοολί: *Moholi*). 1. The son of Merari, the son of Levi, and ancestor of the family of the MAHLITES (Num. iii. 20; 1 Chr. vi. 19, 29, xxiv. 26). In the last quoted verse there is apparently a gap in the text, Libni and Shimei belonging to the family of Gershom (comp. ver. 20, 42), and Eleazar and Kish being afterwards described as the sons of Mahli (1 Chr. xxiii. 21, xxiv. 28). One of his descendants, Sherebiah, was appointed one of the ministers of the Temple in the days of Ezra (Ezr. viii. 18). He is called MAHALI in the A. V. of Ex. vi. 19, MOLI in 1 Esd. viii. 47, and MACHLI in the margin.

2. The son of Mushi, and grandson of Merari (1 Chr. vi. 47, xxiii. 23, xxiv. 30).

MAH'LITES, THE (הַמַּחְלִי: ὁ Μοολί: *Moholitae, Moholi*), the descendants of Mahli the son of Merari (Num. iii. 33, xxvi. 58).

MAH'LON (מַחְלוֹן: Μαάλων: *Maalon*), the first husband of Ruth. He and his brother Chilion were sons of Elimelech and Naomi, and are described, exactly in the same terms with a subsequent member of their house—Jesse—as "Ephrathites of Bethlehem-judah" (Ruth i. 2, 5; iv. 9, 10; comp. 1 Sam. xvii. 12).

It is uncertain which was the elder of the two. In the narrative (i. 2, 5) Mahlon is mentioned first; but in his formal address to the elders in the gate (iv. 9), Boaz says "Chilion and Mahlon." Like his brother, Mahlon died in the land of Moab without offspring, which in the Targum on Ruth (i. 5) is explained to have been a judgment for their transgression of the law in marrying a Moabitess. In the Targum on 1 Chr. iv. 22, Mahlon is dentified with Joash, possibly on account of the double meaning of the Hebrew word which follows, and which signifies both "had dominion" and "married." (See that passage.) [G.]

MA'HOL (מָחוֹל: Μάλ; Alex. Μαούλ: *Mahol*). The father of Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, the four men most famous for wisdom next to Solomon himself (1 K. iv. 31), who in 1 Chr. ii. 6 are the sons and immediate descendants of Zerah. Mahol is evidently a proper name, but some consider it an appellative, and translate "the sons of Mahol" by "the sons of song," or "sons of the choir," in reference to their skill in music. In this case it would be more correct to render it "sons of the dance;" *mâchôl* corresponding to the Greek χόρος in its original sense of "a dance in a ring," though it has not followed the meanings which have been attached to its derivatives "chorus" and "choir." Jarchi says that "they were skilled in composing hymns which were recited in the dances of song." Another explanation still is that Ethan and his brethren the minstrels were called "the sons of Mahol," because *mâchôl* is the name of an instrument of music in Ps. cl. 4. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2, §5) calls him Ἡμάων. [W. A. W.]

MAIA'NEAS (Μαιάνναs: om. in Vulg.) = MAASEIAH, 7 (1 Esd. ix. 48); probably a corruption of MAASIAS.

MAK'AZ (מָקֵץ: Μαχεμᾶs; Alex. Μαχμαs: *Macces*), a place, apparently a town, named once only (1 K. iv. 9), in the specification of the jurisdiction of Solomon's commissariat officer, Ben-[illegible]. The places which accompany it—Shaalbim, Beth-shemesh, and Elon-beth-hanan—seem to have been on the western slopes of the mountains of Judah and Benjamin, *i. e.* the district occupied by the tribe of Dan. But Makaz has not been discovered. Michmash—the reading of the LXX. (but of no other version)—is hardly possible, both for distance and direction, though the position and subsequent importance of Michmash, and the great fertility of its neighbourhood, render it not an unlikely seat for a commissariat officer. [G.]

MA'KED (Μακέδ; Alex. Μακεβ: Syr. [illegible] Vulg. *Mageth*), one of the "strong and great" cities of Gilead—Josephus says Galilee, but this must be an error—into which the Jews were driven by the Ammonites under Timotheus, and from which they were delivered by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 26, 36; in the latter passage the name is given in the A. V. MAGED.) By Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8, 6) it is not mentioned. Some of the other cities named in this narrative have been identified, but no name corresponding to Maked has yet been discovered; and the conjecture of Schwarz (p. 231) that it is a corruption of MINNITH (מִנִּית מִנִּת), though ingenious, can hardly be accepted without further proof. [G.]

MAK'HELOTH (מַקְהֵלֹת: Μακηλώθ: *Maceloth*), a place only mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 25, as that of a desert encampment of the Israelites. The name is plural in form, and may signify "places of meeting." [H. C.]

MAK'KEDAH (מַקֵּדָה: Μακηδά, once Μακηδάν; Alex. Μακηδα: Syr. *Mokor*, and Nolde *Maceda*), a place memorable in the annals of the conquest of Canaan as the scene of the execution by Joshua of the five confederate kings: an act by which the victory of Beth-horon was sealed and consummated, and the subjection of the whole southern portion of the country ensured. Makkedah is first mentioned (Josh. x. 10) with Azekah, in the narrative of the battle of Beth-horon, as the point to which the rout extended; but it is difficult to determine whether this refers to one of the operations in the earlier portion of the fight, or is not rather an anticipation of its close—of the circumstances related in detail in verses 11 and 16, &c. But with regard to the event which has conferred immortality on Makkedah—the "crowning mercy"—(if we may be allowed to borrow an expression from a not dissimilar transaction in our own history)—there is no approximately no obscurity or uncertainty. It unquestionably occurred in the afternoon of that tremendous day, which "was like no day before or after it." The order of the events of the twenty-four hours which elapsed after the departure from the ark and tabernacle at the camp seems to have been as follows. The march from the depths of the Jordan valley at Gilgal, through the rocky clefts of the ravines which lead up to the central hills, was made during the night. By or before dawn they had reached Gibeon—then—at the favourite hour for such surprises—came the sudden onset and the first carnage; then the chase and the appeal of Joshua to the risen sun just darting his level rays over the ridge of the hill of Gibeon in the rear; then the furious storm and hail and completing the rout. In the meantime

[a] *E. g.* Gideon's, Saul's, and David's attacks. [See ENCAMPMENTS, i. 551 *a*.]

[b] The Moslem tradition is that the attack took place on a Friday, and that the day was prolonged by half, to prevent the Sabbath being encroached upon. (See Jalaladdin, *Temple of Jerusalem*. 287.)

detective of the five chiefs in their hiding-place has been communicated to Joshua, and, as soon as the matter in hand will allow, he rushes on with the whole of his force to Makkedah (ver. 21). The first thing to be done is to form a regular camp (מחנה). The next to dispose of the five chiefs, and that by no hurried massacre, but in so deliberate and judicial a manner as at once to infuse terror into the Canaanites and confidence into his own followers, to show to both that "thus shall Jehovah do to all the enemies" of Israel. The cave in the recesses of which the wretched kings were hidden was a well-known one.[c] It was close to the town,[d] we may safely conclude that the whole proceeding was in full view of the walls. At last the ceremonial is over, the strange and significant parable has been acted, and the bodies of Adoni-zedek and his companions are swinging[e] from the trees—possibly the trees of some grove sacred to the abominable rites of the Canaanite Ashtaroth—in the afternoon sun. Then Joshua turns to the town itself. To force the walls, to put the king and all the inhabitants to the sword (ver. 28) is to that indomitable energy, still fresh after the gigantic labours and excitements of the last twenty-four hours—the work of an hour or two. And now the evening has arrived, the sun is at last sinking—the first sun that has set since the departure from Gilgal,—and the tragedy is terminated by cutting down the five bodies from the trees, and casting them to the cave, which is then so blocked up with stones as henceforth never again to become refuge for friend or foe of Israel.

The taking of Makkedah was the first in that series of sieges and destructions by which the Great Captain possessed himself of the main points of defence throughout this portion of the country. Its situation has hitherto eluded discovery. The catalogue of the cities of Judah in Joshua (xv. 41) places it in the *Shefelah* or maritime plain, but unfortunately it forms one of a group of towns of which few or none are identified. The report of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*, "Maceda") is that it lay 8 miles to the east of Eleutheropolis, *Beit-Jibrin*, a position irreconcileable with every requirement of the narrative. Porter (*Handbook*, 224, 251) suggests a ruin on the northern slope of the *Wady es Sumt*, bearing the somewhat similar name of *el-Kheidish*; but it is difficult to understand how this can have been the position of Makkedah, which we should imagine would be found, if it ever is found, considerably nearer Ramleh or Jimzu. Van de Velde (*Memoir*, 332) would place it at *Sumeil*, a village standing on a low hill 6 or 7 miles N.W. of *Beit-Jibrin*; but the only claim of this site appears to be the reported existence in the neighbourhood of a large cavern, while its position—at least 8 miles further from Beth-horon than even *el-Kheidish*—would make the view of the narrative there above impossible. [G.]

MAKTESH (הַמַּכְתֵּשׁ,[a] with the def. article: ἡ κατακεκαυμένη: *Pila*), a place, evidently in Jeru-

[a] It is throughout distinguished by the definite article, הַמְּעָרָה, "the cave."

[b] The preposition used is the same as that employed to describe the position of the five kings in the cave—בְּמַכְתֵּשׁ, "in Makkedah"—בְּמְעָרָה, "in the cave."

[c] The word תָּלָה, rendered "hang" in ver. 26, has the force of suspending. See Ps. cxxxvii. 2, 2 Sam. xviii. 10, and other passages where it must have this meaning. It is an entirely distinct term from יָקַע, which, though also translated by "hang" in the A. V., really means to crucify. See MEPHIBOSHETH.

[d] One of the few cases in which our translators have represented the Hebrew letter *Caph* by K, which they commonly reserve for *Koph*. [See also MEKONAH.]

[e] The literal Aquila renders the words by εἰς τὸν ὄλμον; Theodotion, ἐν τῷ βάθει. The Hebrew term is the same as that employed in Judg. xv. 19 for the hollow basin or combe in Lehi from which the spring burst forth for the relief of Samson.

salem, the inhabitants of which are denounced by Zephaniah (i. 11). Ewald conjectures (*Propheten*, 364) that it was the "Phoenician quarter" of the city, in which the traders of that nation—the Canaanites (A. V. "merchants"), who in this passage are associated with Mactesh—resided, after the custom in Oriental towns. As to which part of the city this quarter occupied we have little or no indication. The meaning of "Mactesh" is probably a deep hollow, literally a "mortar."[b] This the Targum identifies with the torrent Kedron, the deep basin or ravine of which sinks down below the eastern wall and south-eastern corner of the city. The Targum, probably with an eye to the traditional uncleanness of this valley, and to the idol-worship perpetrated at its lower end, says, "Howl ye inhabitants of the torrent Kedron, for all the people are broken whose works were like the works of the people of Canaan." But may it not, with equal probability, have been the deep valley which separated the Temple from the upper city, and which at the time of Titus' siege was, as it still is, crowded with the "bazaars" of the merchants? (See vol. i. 1012 *b*.) [G.]

MAL'ACHI (מַלְאָכִי: Μαλαχίας in the title only: *Malachias*), the last, and therefore called "the seal" of the prophets, as his prophecies constitute the closing book of the canon. His name is probably contracted from Malachijah, "messenger of Jehovah," as Abi (2 K. xviii. 2) from Abijah (2 Chr. xxix. 1). Of his personal history nothing is known. A tradition preserved in Pseudo-Epiphanius (*De Vitis Proph.*) relates that Malachi was of the tribe of Zebulun, and born after the captivity at Sopha (Σοφᾶ) in the territory of that tribe. According to the same apocryphal story he died young, and was buried with his fathers in his own country. Jerome, in the preface to his *Commentary on Malachi*, mentions a belief which was current among the Jews, that Malachi was identical with Ezra the priest, because the circumstances recorded in the narrative of the latter are also mentioned by the prophet. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel, on the words "by the hand of Malachi" (i. 1), gives the gloss "whose name is called Ezra the scribe." With equal probability Malachi has been identified with Mordecai, Nehemiah, and Zerubbabel. The LXX. render "by Malachi" (Mal. i. 1), "by the hand of his angel;" and this translation appears to have given rise to the idea that Malachi, as well as Haggai and John the Baptist, was an angel in human shape (comp. Mal. iii. 1; 2 Esd. i. 40; Jerome, *Comm. in Hag.* i. 13). Cyril alludes to this belief only to express his disapprobation, and characterizes those who held it as romancers (οἱ μάτην ἐῤῥαψῳδήκασιν κ. τ. λ.). Another Hebrew tradition associated Malachi with Haggai and Zechariah as the companions of Daniel when he saw the vision recorded in Dan. x. 7 (Smith's *Select Discourses*, p. 214; ed. 1660), and as among the first members of the Great Synagogue, which consisted of 120 elders.

The time at which his prophecies were delivered is not difficult to ascertain. Cyril makes him contemporary with Haggai and Zechariah, or a little later. Syncellus (p. 240 B) places these three prophets under Joshua the son of Josedec. That Malachi was contemporary with Nehemiah is rendered probable by a comparison of ii. 8 with Neh. xiii. 15; ii. 10-16 with Neh. xiii. 23, &c.; and iii. 7-12 with Neh. xiii. 10, &c. That he prophesied after the times of Haggai and Zechariah is inferred from his omitting to mention the restoration of the Temple, and from no allusion being made to him by Ezra. The captivity was already a thing of the long past, and is not referred to. The existence of the Temple-service is presupposed in i. 10, iii. 1, 10. The Jewish nation had still a political chief (i. 8), distinguished by the same title as that borne by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 26), to which Gesenius assigns a Persian origin. Hence Vitringa concludes that Malachi delivered his prophecies after the second return of Nehemiah from Persia (Neh. xiii. 6), and subsequently to the 32nd year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (cir. B.C. 420), which is the date adopted by Kennicott and Hales, and approved by Davidson (*Introd.* p. 985). It may be mentioned that in the Seder Olam Rabba (p. 55, ed. Meyer) the date of Malachi's prophecy is assigned, with that of Haggai and Zechariah, to the second year of Darius; and his death in the Seder Olam Zuta (p. 105) is placed, with that of the same two prophets, in the 52nd year of the Medes and Persians. The principal reasons adduced by Vitringa, and which appear conclusively to fix the time of Malachi's prophecy as contemporary with Nehemiah, are the following:—The offences denounced by Malachi as prevailing among the people, and especially the corruption of the priests by marrying foreign wives, correspond with the actual abuses with which Nehemiah had to contend in his efforts to bring about a reformation (comp. Mal. ii. 8 with Neh. xiii. 29). The alliance of the high-priest's family with Tobiah the Ammonite (Neh. xiii. 4, 28) and Sanballat the Horonite had introduced neglect of the customary Temple-service, and the offerings and tithes due to the Levites and priests, in consequence of which the Temple was forsaken (Neh. xiii. 4-13), and the Sabbath openly profaned (id. 15-21). The short interval of Nehemiah's absence from Jerusalem had been sufficient for the growth of these corruptions, and on his return he found it necessary to put them down with a strong hand, and to do over again the work that Ezra had done a few years before. From the striking parallelism between the state of things indicated in Malachi's prophecies and that actually existing on Nehemiah's return from the court of Artaxerxes, it is on all accounts highly probable that the efforts of the secular governor were on this occasion seconded by the preaching of "Jehovah's messenger," and that Malachi occupied the same position with regard to the reformation under Nehemiah, which Isaiah held in the time of Hezekiah, and Jeremiah in that of Josiah. The last chapter of canonical Jewish history is the key to the last chapter of its prophecy.

The book of Malachi is contained in four chapters in our version, as in the LXX., Vulgate, and Peshito-Syriac. In the Hebrew the 3rd and 4th form but one chapter. The whole prophecy naturally divides itself into three sections, in the first of which Jehovah is represented as the loving father and ruler of His people (i. 2–ii. 9); in the second, as the supreme God and father of all (ii. 10–[illegible]) and in the third, as their righteous and final [illegible] (ii. 17–end). These may be again subdivided [illegible] smaller sections, each of which follows a [illegible] order: first, a short sentence; then the [illegible] questions which might be raised by the [illegible] and, finally, their full and triumphant refutation. The formal and almost scholastic manner of the prophecy seemed to Ewald to indicate that it was rather delivered in writing than spoken publicly. But though this may be true of the prophecy in its present shape, which probably presents the substance of oral discourses, there is no reason for supposing that it was not also pronounced orally in public, like the warnings and denunciations of the older prophets, however it may differ from them in vigour of conception and high poetic diction. The style of the prophet's language is suitable to the manner of his prophecy. Smooth and easy to a remarkable degree, it is the style of the [illegible] rather than of the poet. We miss the fiery prophetic eloquence of Isaiah, and have in its stead the calm and almost artificial discourse of the practised orator, carefully modelled upon those of the ancient prophets: thus blending in one the characteristics of the old prophetical and the more modern [illegible] logistic structures.

I. The first section of the prophet's message consists of two parts; the first (i. 1-8) addressed to the people generally, in which Jehovah, by His messenger, asserts His love for them, and proves it in answer to their reply, "Wherein hast thou loved us?" by referring to the punishment of Edom as an example. The second part (i. 6–ii. 9) is addressed especially to the priests, who had despised the name of Jehovah, and had been the chief movers of the defection from His worship and covenant. They are rebuked for the worthlessness of their sacrifices and offerings, and their profanation of the Temple thereby (i. 7-14). The denunciation of this offence is followed by the threat of punishment for future neglect (ii. 1-3), and the character of the true priest is drawn as the companion picture to their own (ii. 5-9).

II. In the second section (ii. 10-16) the prophet reproves the people for their intermarriages with the idolatrous heathen, and the divorces by which they separated themselves from their legitimate wives, who wept at the altar of Jehovah; in violation of the great law of marriage which God, the father of all, established at the beginning.

III. The judgment, which the people lightly regard, is announced with all solemnity, [illegible] by the advent of the Messiah. The Lord, preceded by His messenger, shall come to His Temple suddenly to purify the land from its iniquity, and to execute swift judgment upon those who violate their duty to God and their neighbour. The first part (ii. 17–iii. 5) of the section terminates with the threatened punishment; in the second (iii. 6-12) the faithfulness of God to his promises is vindicated, and the people exhorted to repentance, with attendant blessings; in the third (iii. [illegible]) they are reproved for their want of confidence in God, and for confusing good and evil. The [illegible] severance between the righteous and the wicked is then set forth, and the great day of judgment depicted, to be announced by the coming of Elijah or John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ (iv. xi. 14, xvii. 10-13).

The prophecy of Malachi is alluded to in the N. T., and its canonical authority thereby [illegible]

Malchus (comp. Mark i. 2, ix. 11. 12; Luke i. 17; Matt. ix. 13). [W. A. W.]

MAL'ACHY (*Malachias*), the prophet Malachi (1 Esd. i. 40).

MAL'CHAM (מַלְכָּם: Μελχάς; Alex. Μελχαμ *Malcham*). 1. One of the heads of the fathers of Benjamin, and son of Shaharaim by his wife Hodesh (1 Chr. viii. 9), whom the Targum of R. Joseph identifies with Baara.

2. (ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν: *Melchom.*) The idol Molech, as some suppose (Zeph. i. 5). The word literally signifies "their king," as the margin of our version gives it, and is referred by Gesenius to an idol generally, as invested with regal honours by its worshippers. He quotes Is. viii. 21, and Am. v. 26, in support of this view, though he refers Jer. xlix. 1, 3, to Molech (as the LXX., the present reading being evidently corrupt), and regards Malcham as equivalent to Milcom (1 K. xi. 5, &c.). Hitzig (*Kurzg. Hdb.* Jeremia), while he considers the idol Milcom as unquestionably intended in Jer. xlix. 1, renders *Malcham* literally "their king" in ver. 3. The same ambiguity occurs in 2 Sam. xii. 30, where David, after his conquest of the Ammonites, is said to have taken the crown of "their king," or "Malcham" (see LXX. and Vulg. on 1 Chr. xx. 2). A legend is told in Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebr.* (1 Chr. xx. 2) how that, as it was unlawful for a Hebrew to touch anything of gold or silver belonging to an idol, Ittai the Gittite, who was a Philistine, snatched the crown from the head of Milcom, and gave it to David, who thus avoided the pollution. [ITTAI; HOLDICH.]

Again, in 2 Sam. xii. 31, the *Cethîb* has בַּמַּלְבֵּן where the *Keri* is בַּמַּלְבֵּן (A. V. "through the brick-kiln"). Kimchi's note on the passage is as follows: "i. e. in the place of Molech, in the fire which the children of Ammon made their children pass through to Molech; for Milcom was the abomination of the children of Ammon, that is Molech, and Milcom and Malcon are one." [W. A. W.]

MALCHI'AH (מַלְכִּיָּה: Μελχία: *Melchias*). 1. A descendant of Gershom, the son of Levi, and ancestor of Asaph the minstrel (1 Chr. vi. 40).

2. (*Melchia.*) One of the sons of Parosh, who had married a foreign wife, and put her away at the command of Ezra (Ezr. x. 25). MELCHIAS in 1 Esd. ix. 26.

3. (*Melchias.*) Enumerated among the sons of Harim, who lived in the time of Ezra, and had intermarried with the people of the land (Ezr. x. 31). In 1 Esd. x. 32 he appears as MELCHIAS, and in Neh. iii. 11 as MALCHIJAH 4.

4. Son of Rechab, and ruler of the circuit or district of Bethhaccerem. He took part in the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah, and repaired the dung-gate (Neh. iii. 14).

5. "The goldsmith's son," who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 31). The word rendered "the goldsmith" is taken as a proper name by the LXX. (Σαρεφί), and in the Peshito-Syriac Malchiah is called "the son of Zephaniah." The A. V. has followed the Vulgate and Jarchi.

6. (Μελχίας; Alex. Μελχείας: *Melchia.*) One of the priests who stood at the left hand of Ezra when he read the law to the people in the street before the water-gate (Neh. viii. 4). In 1 Esd. x. 44 he is called MELCHIAS.

7. A priest, the father of Pashur = MALCHIJAH 1 (Neh. xi. 12; Jer. xxxviii. 1), and MELCHIAH (Jer. xxi. 1).

8. (מַלְכִּיָּהוּ.) The son of Ham-melech (or "the king's son," as it is translated in 1 K. xxii. 26; 2 Chr. xxviii. 7), into whose dungeon or cistern Jeremiah was cast (Jer. xxxviii. 6). The title "king's son" is applied to Jerahmeel (Jer. xxxvi. 26), who was among those commissioned by the king to take prisoners Jeremiah and Baruch; to Joash, who appears to have held an office inferior to that of the governor of the city, and to whose custody Micaiah was committed by Ahab (1 K. xxii. 26); and to Maaseiah who was slain by Zichri the Ephraimite in the invasion of Judah by Pekah, in the reign of Ahaz (2 Chr. xxviii. 7). It would seem from these passages that the title "king's son" was official, like that of "king's mother," and applied to one of the royal family, who exercised functions somewhat similar to those of Potiphar in the court of Pharaoh. [W. A. W.]

MAL'CHIEL (מַלְכִּיאֵל: Μελχιήλ, Gen. xlvi. 17; Μελχιήλ in Num. and Chr.; as Alex. in all cases: *Melchiel*), the son of Beriah, the son of Asher, and ancestor of the family of the MALCHIELITES (Num. xxvi. 45). In 1 Chr. vii. 31 he is called the father, that is founder, of Birzavith or Berazith, as is the reading of the Targum of R. Joseph. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 7, §4) reckons him with Heber among the six sons of Asher, thus making up the number of Jacob's children and grandchildren to seventy, without reckoning great-grandchildren.

MAL'CHIELITES, THE (הַמַּלְכִּיאֵלִי: Μελχιηλί: *Melchielitae*), the descendants of Malchiel, the grandson of Asher (Num. xxvi. 45).

MALCHI'JAH (מַלְכִּיָּה: Μελχία; Alex. Μελχίας: *Melchias*). 1. A priest, the father of Pashur (1 Chr. ix. 12); the same as MALCHIAH 7, and MELCHIAH.

2. (*Melchia.*) A priest, chief of the fifth of the twenty-four courses appointed by David (1 Chr. xxiv. 9).

3. (Ἀσαβία: *Jammebias.*) An Israelite layman of the sons of Parosh, who at Ezra's command put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 25). In 1 Esd. ix. 26 he is called ASIBIAS, which agrees with the reading of the LXX.

4. (Μελχίας; Alex. Μελχείας: *Melchias.*) Son, that is, descendant of Harim, who with Hashub repaired the tower of the furnaces when the wall of Jerusalem was rebuilt by Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 11). He is probably the same as MALCHIAH 3.

5. (Μελχία; Alex. Μελχεία.) One of the priests who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 3). It seems probable that the names in the list referred to are rather those of families than of individuals (comp. 1 Chr. xxiv. 7-18, and Neh. xii. 1-7), and in this case Malchijah in Neh. x. 3 would be the same with the head of the fifth course of priests = MALCHIJAH 2.

6. (om. in Vat. MS.; Alex. Μελχείας: *Melchia.*) One of the priests who assisted in the solemn dedication of the wall of Jerusalem under Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 42).

MALCHIRAM (מַלְכִּירָם: Μελχιράμ: *Melchiram*), one of the sons of Jeconiah, or Jehoiachin, the last but one of the kings of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 18).

MAL'CHI-SHUA (מַלְכִּי־שׁוּעַ: Μελχεσουέ: *Melchisue*), one of the sons of king Saul. His position in the family cannot be exactly determined. In the two genealogies of Saul's house preserved in Chronicles he is given as the second son next below Jonathan (1 Chr. viii. 33, ix. 39). But in the account of Saul's offspring in 1 Samuel he is named third—Ishui being between him and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiv. 49), and on the remaining occasion the same order is preserved, but Abinadab is substituted for Ishui (1 Sam. xxxi. 2). In both these latter passages the name is erroneously given in the A. V. as Melchi-shua. Nothing is known of Malchi-shua beyond the fact that he fell, with his two brothers, and before his father in the early part of the battle of Gilboa. [G.]

MAL'CHUS (Μάλχος = מַלּוּךְ, *Malluch*, in 1 Chr. vi. 44, Neh. x. 4, &c.; LXX. Μαλώχ or Μαλούχ; and Joseph. Μάλχος, *Ant.* xiii. 5, §1, xiv. 14, §1) is the name of the servant of the high-priest, whose right ear Peter cut off at the time of the Saviour's apprehension in the garden. See the narrative in Matt. xxvi. 51; Mark xiv. 47; Luke xxii. 49-51; John xviii. 10. He was the personal servant (δοῦλος) of the high-priest, and not one of the bailiffs or apparitors (ὑπηρέτης) of the Sanhedrim. The high-priest intended is Caïaphas no doubt (though Annas is called ἀρχιερεύς in the same connexion); for John, who was personally known to the former (John xviii. 15), is the only one of the evangelists who gives the name of Malchus. This servant was probably stepping forward at the moment with others to handcuff or pinion Jesus, when the zealous Peter struck at him with his sword. The blow was meant undoubtedly to be more effective, but reached only the ear. It may be as Stier remarks (*Reden Jesu*, vi. 268), that the man seeing the danger, threw his head or body to the left, so as to expose the right ear more than the other. The allegation that the writers are inconsistent with each other, because Matthew, Mark, and John say either ὠτίον, or ὠτάριον (as if that meant the lappet or tip of the ear), while Luke says οὖς, is groundless. The Greek of the New Testament age, like the modern Romaic, made no distinction often between the primitive and diminutive. In fact, Luke himself exchanges the one term for the other in this very narrative. The Saviour, as His pursuers were about to seize Him, asked to be left free for a moment longer (ἐᾶτε ἕως τούτου), and that moment He used in restoring the wounded man to soundness. The ἁψάμενος τοῦ ὠτίου may indicate (which is not forbidden by ἀφεῖλεν, ἀπέκοψεν) that the ear still adhered slightly to its place. It is noticeable that Luke the physician is the only one of the writers who mentions the act of healing. It is a touching remembrance that this was our Lord's last miracle for the relief of human suffering. The hands which had been stretched forth so often to heal and bless mankind, were then bound, and His beneficial ministry in that form of its exercise was finished for ever. [H. B. H.]

From מֻלָּח (Arab. ملح), "salt."

MAL'ELEEL (Μαλελεήλ: *Malaleel*), the same as MAHALALEEL, the son of Cainan (Luke iii. 37; Gen. v. 12, marg.).

MAL'LOS, THEY OF (Μαλλῶται: *Mallotae*), who, with the people of Tarsus, revolted from Antiochus Epiphanes because he had bestowed them on one of his concubines (2 Macc. iv. 30). The absence of the king from Antioch to put down the insurrection, gave the infamous Menelaus the high-priest, an opportunity of purloining some of the sacred vessels from the Temple of Jerusalem (ver. 32, 39), an act which finally led to the murder of the good Onias (ver. 34, 35). Mallos was an important city of Cilicia, lying at the mouth of the Pyramus (*Seihun*), on the shore of the Mediterranean, N.E. of Cyprus, and about 20 miles from Tarsus (*Tersûs*). (See *Dict. of Geography.*) [G.]

MALLO'THI (מַלּוֹתִי: Μαλλιθί; Alex. Μαλλωθί, and Μελληθί: *Mellothi*), a Kohathite, one of the fourteen sons of Heman the singer, and chief of the nineteenth course of twelve Levites into which the Temple choir was divided (1 Chr. xxv. 4, 26).

MALLOWS (מַלּוּחַ[a]: *malluach*: [b] ἄλιμα: *herba et arborum cortices*). By the Hebrew word we are no doubt to understand some species of *Orache*, and in all probability the *Atriplex halimus* of botanists. It occurs only in Job xxx. 4, where the patriarch laments that he is exposed to the derision of the lowest of the people, "whose fathers he would have disdained to have set with the dogs of his flock," and who from poverty were obliged to seek their sustenance in desert places amongst wild herbs—"who pluck off the *sea orache* near the bushes, and eat the bitter roots of the Spanish Broom."

Jew's Mallow (*Corchorus olitorius*).

Some writers, as R. Levi (Job xxx.) and Luther with the Swedish and the old Danish versions, have understood "nettles" to be denoted by *Malluach*; this troublesome weed having been from time immemorial an article of occasional diet amongst

[a] Old editions of the text read ἅλιμα, instead of ἄλιμα, as from ἁ priv. and λιμός, "hunger." So Chrysostom, ἅλιμα. βοτάνη τίς ἐστιν, ταχὺ πληροῦσα τὴν ἐσθίουσαν.

[b] עַלִּי־שִׂיחַ some translate "on the branch." See Lee's *Comment.* on Job. l. c.

...ever, as it is amongst ourselves at this day (*Plin. N. H.* xxi. 15; Athen. iv. c. 15). Others have conjectured that some species of "mallow" (*malva*) is intended, as Deodatius, and the A. V. Sprengel (*Hist. Rei herb.* 14) identifies the "Jew's mallow" (*Corchorus olitorius*) with the *Malluach*, and Lady Calcott (*Script. Herb.* p. 255) is of a similar opinion. "In Purchase's *Pilgrims*," observes this writer, "there is a letter from Master William Biddulph, who was travelling from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1600, in which he says, 'we saw many poor people gathering mallows and three-leaved grass, and asked them what they did with it, and they answered that it was all their food and they did eate it.'" (see also Harmer's *Observations*, iii. 166). There is no doubt that this same mallow is still eaten in Arabia and Palestine, the leaves and pods being used as a pot-herb. Dr. Shaw (*Travels*, i. 258, 8vo. 1808) mentions *Mellow-Keahs*, which he says is the same with the *Corchorus*, as being cultivated in the gardens of Barbary, and draws attention to the resemblance of this word with the *Malluach* of Job, but he thinks "some other plant of a more saltish taste" is rather intended. The *Atriplex halimus* has undoubtedly the best claim to represent the *Malluach*, as Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 215), and before him Drusius (*Quaest. Hebr.* i. qu. 17) have proved. Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 97), Hiller (*Hierophyt.* i. 457), Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Job* xx. 4, and *Botany of the Bible*, p. 115), and Dr. Kitto (*Pictor. Bible on Job*) adopt this opinion. The Greek word used by the LXX. is applied by Dioscorides (i. c. 129) to the *Atriplex halimus*, as Sprengel

Atriplex halimus.

(*Comment. in l. c.*) has shown. Dioscorides says of this plant, that "it is a shrub which is used for hedges, and resembles the Rhamnus, being white and without thorns; its leaves are like those of the olive, but broader and smoother, they are cooked as vegetables: the plant grows near the sea, and in hedges." See also the quotation from the Arabian botanist, Aben-Beitar (in Bochart, *l. c.* above), who says that the plant which Dioscorides calls "*halimus*" is the same with that which the Syrians call *Maluch*, Galen (vi. 22), Serapion in Bochart, and Prosper Alpinus (*De Plant. Aegypt.* cxxviii. 45).

The Hebrew name, like the Greek, has reference either to the locality where the plant grows—"nomen graecum a loco natali ἁλίμῳ, παραθαλασσίῳ," says Sprengel—or to its saline taste. The *Atriplex halimus* is a shrub from four to five feet high with many thick branches; the leaves are rather scur to the taste; the flowers are purple and very small; it grows on the sea-coast in Greece, Arabia, Syria, &c., and belongs to the natural Order *Chenopodiaceae*. *Atriplex hortensis*, or garden Orach, is often cooked and eaten as spinach, to which it is by some persons preferred. [W. H.]

MALL'UCH (מַלּוּךְ: Μαλώχ: *Maloch*). 1. A Levite of the family of Merari, and ancestor of Ethan the singer (1 Chr. vi. 44).

2. (Μαλούχ: *Melluch.*) One of the sons of Bani, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 29). He was probably of the tribe of Judah and line of Pharez (see 1 Chr. ix. 4). In the parallel list of 1 Esdr. ix. 30, he is called MAMUCHUS.

3. (Βαλούχ; Alex. Μαλούχ: *Maloch.*) One of the descendants of Harim in the time of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 32).

4. (Μαλούχ: *Melluch.*) A priest or family of priests who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 4).

5. One of the "heads" of the people who signed the covenant on the same occasion (Neh. x. 27).

6. One of the families of priests who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 2); probably the same as No. 4. It was represented in the time of Joiakim by Jonathan (ver. 14). The same as MELICU.

MAMAI'AS (Σαμαία: *Samea*), apparently the same with SHEMAIAH in Ezr. viii. 16. In the Geneva version of 1 Esdr. viii. 44, it is written *Samaian*.

MAM'MON (מָמוֹן: Μαμωνᾶς: Matt. vi. 24, and Luke xvi. 9), a word which often occurs in the Chaldee Targums of Onkelos, and later writers, and in the Syriac Version, and which signifies "riches." This meaning of the word is given by Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iv. 33, and by Augustine and Jerome commenting on St. Matthew: Augustine adds that it was in use as a Punic, and Jerome adds that it was a Syriac word. There is no reason to suppose that any idol received divine honours in the east under this name. It is used in St. Matthew as a personification of riches. The derivation of the word is discussed by A. Pfeiffer *Opera*, p. 474. [W. T. B.]

MAMNITANAI'MUS (Μαμνιτάναιμος: *Mathaneus*), a name which appears in the lists of 1 Esdr. ix. 34, and occupies the place of "Mattaniah, Mattenai," in Ezr. x. 37, of which it is a corruption, as is still more evident from the form "Mamnimatanaius," in which it appears in the Geneva version.

MAMRE (מַמְרֵא: Μαμβρή, Joseph. Μαμβρῆς: *Mamre*), an ancient Amorite,[a] who with

[a] The LXX., except in xiv. 24, give the name with the feminine article. They do the same in other cases; *e. g.* Baal.

who with his brothers Eshcol and Aner was in alliance with Abram (Gen. xiv. 13, 24), and under the shade of whose oak-grove the patriarch dwelt in the interval between his residence at Bethel and at Beersheba (xiii. 18, xviii. 1). The personality of this ancient chieftain, unmistakeably though slightly brought out[b] in the narrative just cited—a narrative regarded by Ewald and others as one of the most ancient, if not the most ancient, documents in the Bible—is lost in the subsequent chapters. Mamre is there a mere local appellation—"Mamre which faces Machpelah" (xxiii. 17, 19, xxv. 9, xlix. 30, l. 13). It does not appear beyond the book of Genesis. ESHCOL survived to the date of the conquest—survives possibly still—but Mamre and Aner have vanished, at least their names have not yet been met with. If the field and cave of MACHPELAH were on the hill which forms the north-eastern side of the valley of Hebron—and we need not doubt that they were—then Mamre, as "facing" them, must have been on the opposite slope, where the residence of the governor now stands.

In the Vulgate of Jud. ii. 14 (A. V. ii. 24), "torrens Mambre" is found for the *Abronas* of the original text. [G.]

MAMU'CHUS (Μαμοῦχος: *Maluchus*), the same as MALLUCH 2 (1 Esdr. ix. 30). The LXX. was probably Μαλλοῦχος at first, which would easily be corrupted into the present reading.

MAN. Four Hebrew terms are rendered "man" in the A. V. 1. *Âdâm*, אָדָם. (A) The name of the man created in the image of God. It appears to be derived from *âdam*,[a] "he or it was red or ruddy," like Edom.[b] The epithet rendered by us "red" has a very wide signification in the Semitic languages, and must not be limited to the English sense. Thus the Arabs speak, in both the literary and the vulgar language, of a "red" camel, using the term *ahmar*,[c] their common word for "red," just as they speak of a "green" ass, meaning in the one case a shade of brown, and in the other a kind of dingy gray. When they apply the term "red" to man, they always mean by it "fair." The name Adam has been supposed by some to be derived from *adâmâh*,[d] "earth," or "ground," because Adam was formed of "dust of the ground"[e] (Gen. ii. 7); but the earth or ground derived this appellation from its brownness, which the Hebrews would call "redness." In Egypt, where the alluvial earth of the Nile-valley is of a blackish-brown colour, the name of the country, KEM, signifies "black" in the ancient Egyptian and in Coptic. [EGYPT.] Others connected the name of Adam with *demuth*,[f] "likeness," from *dâmâh*,[g] "he or it was or became like," on account of the use of this word in both narratives of his creation: "And God said, Let us make Adam in our image, after our likeness" (Gen. i. 26). "In the day of God's creating Adam in the likeness[i] of God made He him" (v. 1). It should be observed that the usual opinion that by "image" and "likeness" moral qualities are denoted, is perfectly in accordance with Semitic phraseology: the contrary idea, arising from misapprehension of anthropomorphism, is utterly repugnant to it. This derivation seems improbable, although perhaps more agreeable than that of *âdam* with the derivations of antediluvian names known to us. (B) The name of Adam and his wife (v. 1, 2: comp. i. 27, in which case there is nothing to shew that more than one pair is intended). (C) A collective noun, indeclinable, having neither construct state, plural, nor feminine form, used to designate any or all of the descendants of Adam.

2. *Ish*, אִישׁ, apparently softened from a form used in the singular by the Hebrews, *ênesh*,[k] "man," "woman," "men." It corresponds to the Arabic *ins*,[m] "man," *insân*,[n] softened form *ensân*, "man," "a woman," and "man" collectively, *ins*; and perhaps to the ancient Egyptian *anx*, "noble."[p] The variant *Enosh* (mentioned in the note) occurs as the proper name of a son of Seth and grandson of Adam (Gen. iv. 26; 1 Chr i. 1). In the A. V. it is written Enos. It might be supposed that this was a case like that of Adam's name, but this cannot be admitted, since the variant *Enosh* and the fem. form *Ishshâh* are used before the birth of Enosh, as in the cases of the naming of Eve (Gen. ii. 23) and Cain (iv. 1). If it be objected that we must not lay too much stress upon verbal criticism, we reply that if so no stress can be laid upon the name of Enosh, which might even be a translation, and that such forms as Methusael and Methuselah, which have the characteristics of a primitive state of Hebrew, oblige us to lay the greatest stress upon verbal criticism.[q]

3. *Geber*, גֶּבֶר, "a man," from *gâbar*,[r] "to be strong," generally with reference to his strength, corresponding to *vir* and *ἀνήρ*.

4. *Mêthim*, מְתִים,[s] "men," always masculine. The singular is to be traced in the antediluvian

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[a] אָדַם

[b] אֲדֹם.

[c] احمر.

[d] אֲדָמָה.

[e] עָפָר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה.

[f] דְּמוּת.

[g] דָּמָה.

[h] כִּדְמוּתֵנוּ.

[i] בִּדְמוּת.

[k] אֱנֹשׁ; fem. אִשָּׁה, pl. אֲנָשִׁים, variant *enôsh*, אֱנוֹשׁ, which some take to be the primitive form.

[m] انس.

[n] انسان.

[p] ايسان.

[b] In the Jewish traditions he appears as encouraging Abraham to undergo the pain of circumcision, from which his brothers would have dissuaded him—by a reference to the deliverance he had already experienced from far greater trials—the furnace of Nimrod and the sword of Chedorlaomer. (Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 36.)

[i] In the Vulgate of Jud. ii. 14 (A. V. ii. 24), "torrens Mambre" is found for the *Abronas* of the original text. [G.]

[q] It has been derived from אָנַשׁ, "he was sick," as to mean weak, mortal; to which Gesenius objects that this verb comes from the theme נָשׁ (*Lex.* s. v. אָנַשׁ). The opposite signification, strength and robustness, has been suggested with a reference to the theme אִישׁ (Fürst, *Concord.* s. v. אִישׁ). It seems more reasonable to suppose, with Gesenius, that this is a primitive word (*Lex.* s. v. אִישׁ). Perhaps the idea of being may be at the foundation.

[r] The naming of Cain (קַיִן) may suggest how Eve came to bear a name signifying "man." "I have obtained a man (קָנִיתִי אִישׁ) from the LORD" (Gen. iv. 1).

[s] Defective מֵתִם, from an unused singular, מֵת or מֹת.

proper names Methussael and Methuselah.[1] Perhaps it may be derived from the root *mûth*, "he died," in which case its use would be very appropriate in Is xli. 14, "Fear not, thou worm Jacob, ye men of Israel."[x] If this conjecture be correct, this word would correspond to *βροτός*, "mortal," and might be read "mortal."

MANAEN (Μαναήν: *Manahen*) is mentioned in Acts xiii. 1 as one of the teachers and prophets in the church at Antioch at the time of the appointment of Saul and Barnabas as missionaries to the heathen. He is not known out of this passage. The name signifies *consoler* (מְנַחֵם, 2 K. xv. 17, &c.); and both that and his relation to Herod render it quite certain that he was a Jew. The Herod with whom he is said to have been brought up (*σύντροφος*) could not have been Herod Agrippa II. (Acts xiv. 13), for as he was only seventeen years old at the time of the death of his father, Herod Agrippa I. in A.D. 44 (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9, §1), a comrade of that age would have been too young to be so prominent as a teacher at Antioch as Manaen was at the date of Paul's first missionary journey (Acts xiii. 1). The Herod in question must have been Herod Antipas, under whose jurisdiction the Saviour as a Galilean lived, and who beheaded John the Baptist. Since this Antipas was older than Archelaus, who succeeded Herod the Great soon after the birth of Christ, Manaen (his *σύντροφος*) must have been somewhat advanced in years in A.D. 44, when he appears before us in Luke's history—older certainly than forty-five or fifty, as stated in Lange's *Bibelwerk* (v. 182). The point of chief interest attaching to him concerns the sense of *σύντροφος*, which the historian regarded as sufficiently remarkable to connect with his name. We have a learned discussion of this question in Walch's *Dissertationes in Acta Apostolorum* (*de Menachemo*, ii. 199-252). For the value of this treatise see Tholuck's *Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 167.

The two following are the principal views that have been advanced, and have still their advocates. One is that *σύντροφος* means comrade, associate, or, more strictly, one brought up, educated with another. This is the more frequent sense of the word, and Calvin, Grotius, Schott, Baumgarten, and others, adopt it here. It was very common in ancient times for persons of rank to associate other children with their own, for the purpose of sharing their amusements (hence *συμπαίκτορες* in Xenoph. *Cyropæd.* i. 3, §14) and their studies, and thus exciting them to greater activity and emulation. Josephus, Plutarch, Polybius, and others speak of this custom. Walch shows it to have existed among the Medes, Persians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. Herod might have adopted it from the latter, whom he was so inclined to imitate (see Wetstein's *Annotationes*, ii. 80, and Wetstein, *ad Acts* xiii. 1).

The other view is that *σύντροφος* denotes *foster-brother*, brought up at the same breast (*ὁμογάλακτος*, *collactaneus*), and as so taken Manaen's foster-mother, or the woman who reared him, would have been also Herod's nurse. So Kuinoel, Olshausen, De Wette, Alford, and others. Walch's conclusion (not correctly represented by some recent writers) combines in a measure these two explanations. He thinks that Manaen was educated in Herod's family along with Antipas and some of his other children, and at the same time that he stood in the stricter relation to Antipas which *σύντροφος* denotes as *collactaneus*. He lays particular stress on the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 1, §3) that the brothers Antipas and Archelaus were educated in a private way at Rome (Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπας ἐπὶ Ῥώμης παρά τινι ἰδιώτῃ τροφὰς εἶχον), though he does not deem it necessary to deny that before their departure thither Manaen may have enjoyed the same course of discipline and instruction (*σύντροφος* in that sense) as the two brothers, who are not likely to have been separated in their earlier, any more than in their later education. Yet as Manaen is called the *σύντροφος* of Herod only, Walch suggests that there may have been the additional tie in their case which resulted from their having had a common nurse.

It is a singular circumstance, to say the least, that Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 10, §5) mentions a certain Manaem (Μανάημος), who was in high repute among the Essenes for wisdom and sanctity, and who foretold to Herod the Great, in early life, that he was destined to attain royal honours. After the fulfilment of the prediction the king treated the prophet with special favour, and honoured the entire sect on his account (*πάντας ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοὺς Ἐσσηνοὺς τιμῶν διετέλει*). There was a class of the Essenes who had families (others had not); and it has been conjectured with some plausibility that, as one of the results of Herod's friendship for the lucky soothsayer, he may have adopted one of his sons (who took the father's name), so far as to receive him into his family, and make him the companion of his children (see Walch, p. 234, &c.). Lightfoot surmises (*Horae Hebr.* ii. 726) that the Manaen of Josephus may be the one mentioned in the Acts; but the disparity between his age and that of Herod the Great, to say nothing of other difficulties, puts that supposition out of the question.

The precise interest which led Luke to recal the Herodian connexion is not certain. Meyer's suggestion, that it may have been the contrast between the early relationship and Manaen's later *Christian* position (though he makes it of the first only), applies to one sense of *σύντροφος* as well as the other. A far-fetched motive need not be sought. Even such a casual relation to the great Jewish family of the age (whether it was that of a foster-brother or a companion of princes) was peculiar and interesting, and would be mentioned without any special object merely as a part of the individual's history. Walch's citations show that *σύντροφος*, as used of such intimacies (*συντροφίαι*), was a title greatly esteemed among the ancients; that it was often borne through life as a sort of proper name; and was recounted among the honours of the epitaph after death. It is found repeatedly on ancient monuments.

It may be added that Manaen, as a resident in Palestine (he may have been one of Herod's courtiers till his banishment to Gaul), could hardly fail to have had some personal knowledge of the

[1] מְתוּשֶׁלַח and מְתוּשָׁאֵל, where the word is not, for how a case-ending ֵ, to be compared to the Arabic case-ending of the nominative, *un*, *u*, *ś*, ב. The conjecture of Gesenius (*Lex.* s. v.), that the middle radical of מוּת is softened from *r* is not borne out by the Egyptian form, which is MET, "a dead one."

[x] מְתֵי מְעָט; ὀλιγοστὸς Ἰσραήλ. For the word "worm" compare Job xxv. 6; Ps. xxii. 6.

Saviour's ministry. He must have spent his youth at Jerusalem or in that neighbourhood; and among his recollections of that period, connected as he was with Herod's family, may have been the tragic scene of the massacre at Bethlehem. [H. B. H.]

MANA'HATH (מְנַחַת: Μαχαναθεί: *Manaath*), a place named in 1 Chr. viii. 6 only, in connexion with the genealogies of the tribe of Benjamin. The passage is very obscure, and is not made less so by the translation of the A. V.; but the meaning probably is that the family of Ehud, the heads of the town of Geba, migrated thence, under the guidance of Naaman, Ahiah, and Gera, and settled at Manachath. Of the situation of Manachath we know little or nothing. It is tempting to believe it identical with the Menuchah mentioned, according to many interpreters, in Judg. xx. 43[a] (in the A. V. translated "with ease"). This has in its favour the close proximity in which the place, if a place, evidently stood to Gibeah, which was one of the chief towns of Benjamin, even if not identical with Geba. Manachath is usually identified with a place of similar name in Judah, but, considering how hostile the relations of Judah and Benjamin were at the earlier period of the history, this identification is difficult to receive. The Chaldee Targum adds, "in the land of the house of Esau," *i. e.* in Edom. The Syriac and Arabic versions connect the name with that immediately following, and read "to the plain or pasture of Naaman." But these explanations are no less obscure than that which they seek to explain. [MANAHETHITES.] [G.]

MANA'HATH (מְנַחַת: Μαναχάθ; Alex. Μαναχάθ: *Manahat*: in Gen. xxxvi. 23, Μαχαράθ; Alex. Μαναχάθ: *Manahath*, 1 Chr. i. 40), one of the sons of Shobal, and descendant of Seir the Horite.

MANA'HETHITES, THE (הַמְּנֻחוֹת, *i. e.* the Menuchoth, and הַמְּנַחֲתִי, the Manachti: in 54, τῆς Μαλαθεί; Alex. της Μαναθ: Vulg. translating, *dimidium requietionum*). "Half the Manahethites" are named in the genealogies of Judah as descended from Shobal, the father of Kirjath-jearim (1 Chr. ii. 52), and half from Salma, the founder of Bethlehem (ver. 54). It seems to be generally accepted that the same place is referred to in each passage, though why the vowels should be so different—as it will be seen above they are—is not apparent. Nor has the writer succeeded in discovering why the translators of the A. V. rendered the two differing Hebrew words by the same English one.[b]

Of the situation or nature of the place or places we have as yet no knowledge. The town Manahath naturally suggests itself, but it seems impossible to identify a Benjamite town with a place occurring in the genealogies of Judah, and apparently in close connexion with Bethlehem and the house of Joab, the great opponent and murderer of Abner the Benjamite. It is more probably identical with Manocho (Μανοχώ = מנחוה), one of the eleven cities which in the LXX. text are inserted between verses 59 and 60 of Josh. Bethlehem being another of the eleven. The writer of the Targum, playing on the word as it were *Minchah*, "an offering," renders the passage in 1 Chr. ii. 52, "the disciples and priests who looked to the division of the offerings." His interpretation of ver. 54 is too long to quote here. See the editions of Wilkins and Beck, with the learned notes of the latter.

MANAS'SEAS (Μανασσίας; Alex. Μανασσήας: *Manasses*) = MANASSEH 3, of the sons of Pahath Moab (1 Esd. ix. 31; comp. Ezr. x. 30).

MANAS'SEH (מְנַשֶּׁה, *i. e.* M'nasheh: Μανασσῆ: *Manasses*), the eldest son of Joseph by his wife Asenath the Egyptian (Gen. xli. 51, xlvi. 20). The birth of the child was the first thing which had occurred since Joseph's banishment from Canaan to alleviate his sorrows and fill the void left by his father and the brother he so longed to behold, and it was natural that he should commemorate the acquisition in the name MANASSEH, "Forgetting"—"For God hath-made-me-forget (*nasshani*) all my toil and all my father's house." Both he and Ephraim were born before the commencement of the famine.

Whether the elder of the two sons was inferior in form or promise to the younger, or whether there was any external reason to justify the preference of Jacob, we are not told. It is only certain that when the youths were brought before their aged grandfather to receive his blessing and his name, and be adopted as foreigners[c] into his family, Manasseh was degraded in spite of the efforts of Joseph, into the second place. [EPHRAIM, vol. i. 566*b*.] It is the first indication of the inferior rank in the nation which the tribe descended from him afterwards held, in relation to that of his more fortunate brother. But though like his grand-uncle Esau, Manasseh had lost the birthright in favour of his younger brother, he received, as Esau had, a blessing only inferior to the birthright itself. Like his brother he was to increase with the fertility of the fish[d] which swarmed in the great Egyptian stream, to "become a people and also to be great"—the "thousands of Manasseh," if less than those of Ephraim, indeed more, were to become a proverb[e] in the nation, his name, no less

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[a] The Vat. LXX. has ἀπὸ Νοῦα.

[b] They sometimes follow Junius and Tremellius; but in this passage those translators have exactly reversed the A. V., and in both cases use the form Menuchot.

[c] This seems to follow from the expressions of xlviii. 5 and 9: "Thy two sons who were born unto thee in the land of Egypt"—"My sons whom God hath given me in this place," and from the solemn invocation over them of Jacob's "name," and the "names" of Abraham and Isaac (ver. 16), combined with the fact of Joseph having married an Egyptian, a person of different race from his own. The Jewish commentators overcome the difficulty of Joseph's marrying an entire foreigner, by a tradition that Asenath was the daughter of Dinah and Shechem. See Targum Pseudojon. on Gen. xli. 45.

[d] "And like fish become a multitude" Such is the literal rendering of the words וְיִדְגּוּ לָרֹב (Gen. xlviii. 16), which in the text of the A. V. are "grow into a multitude." The sense is preserved in the margin. The expression is no doubt derived from that which is to this day one of the most characteristic things in Egypt. Certainly, next to the vast stream itself, nothing could strike a native of Southern Palestine more, on his first visit to the banks of the Nile, than the abundance of its fish.

[e] The word "thousand," (אֶלֶף). In the sense of "family," seems to be more frequently applied to Manasseh than to any of the other tribes. See Deut. xxxiii. 17, compare Judg. vi. 15, where "family" should be "thousand"—"my thousand is the poor one in Manasseh": 1 Chr. xii. 20.

[illegible] of Ephraim, was to be the symbol and the expression of the richest blessings for his kindred.[f]

At the time of this interview Manasseh seems to have been about 22 years of age. Whether he married in Egypt we are not told. At any rate the names of no wives or lawful children are extant in the lists. As if to carry out most literally the terms of the blessing of Jacob, the mother of MACHIR, his eldest, indeed apparently his only son—who was really the foundation of the "thousands of Manasseh"—was no regular wife, but a Syrian or Aramite concubine (1 Chr. vii. 14), possibly a prisoner in some predatory expedition into Palestine, like that in which the sons of Ephraim lost their lives (1 Chr. vii. 21). It is recorded that the children of Machir were embraced by Joseph before his death, but of the personal history of the patriarch Manasseh himself no trait whatever is given in the Bible, either in the Pentateuch or in the curious records preserved in 1 Chronicles. The ancient Jewish traditions are, however, less reticent. According to them Manasseh was the steward of Joseph's house, and the interpreter who intervened between Joseph and his brethren at their interview; and the extraordinary strength which he displayed in the struggle with and binding of Simeon, first caused Judah to suspect that the apparent Egyptians were really his own flesh and blood (see Targums Jerusalem and Pseudojon. on Gen. xlii. 23, xliii. 15; also the quotations in Weil's *Bibl. legends*, 88 *note*).

The position of the tribe of Manasseh during the march to Canaan was with Ephraim and Benjamin on the west side of the sacred Tent. The standard of the three sons of Rachel was the figure of a boy with the inscription, "The cloud of Jehovah rested on them until they went forth out of the camp" (Targ. Pseudojon. on Num. ii. 18). The Chief of the tribe at the time of the census at Sinai was Gamliel ben-Pedahzur, and its numbers were then 32,200 (Num. i. 10, 35, ii. 20, 21, vii. 54-59). The numbers of Ephraim were at the same date 40,500. Forty years later, on the banks of Jordan, these proportions were reversed. Manasseh had then increased to 52,700, while Ephraim had diminished to 32,500 (Num. xxvi. 34, 37). On this occasion it is remarkable that Manasseh resumes his position in the catalogue as the eldest son of Joseph. Possibly this is due to the prowess which the tribe had shown in the conquest of Gilead, for Manasseh was certainly at this time the most distinguished of all the tribes. Of the three who had elected to remain on that side of the Jordan, Reuben and Gad had chosen their lot because the country was suitable to their pastoral possessions and tendencies. But Machir, Jair, and Nobah, the sons of Manasseh, were not shepherds. They were pure warriors, who had taken the most prominent part in the conquest of those provinces which up to that time had been pastoral, and whose deeds are constantly referred to (Num. xxxii. 39; Deut. iii. 13, 14, 15) with credit and renown. "Jair the son of Manasseh took all the tract of Argob . . . sixty great cities" (Deut. iii. 14; 4). "Nobah took Kenath and the daughter-towns thereof, and called it after his own name" (Num. xxxii. 42). "Because Machir was a man of war, therefore he had Gilead and Bashan" (Josh. xvii. 1). The district which these ancient warriors conquered was among the most difficult, if not the most difficult, in the whole country. It embraced the hills of Gilead with their inaccessible heights and impassable ravines, and the almost impregnable tract of Argob, which derives its modern name of *Lejah* from the secure "asylum" it affords to those who take refuge within its natural fortifications. Had they not remained in these wild and inaccessible districts, but had gone forward and taken their lot with the rest, who shall say what changes might not have occurred in the history of the nation, through the presence of such energetic and warlike spirits? The few personages of eminence whom we can with certainty identify as Manassites, such as Gideon and Jephthah—for Elijah and others may with equal probability have belonged to the neighbouring tribe of Gad—were among the most remarkable characters that Israel produced. Gideon was in fact "the greatest of the judges, and his children all but established hereditary monarchy in their own line" (Stanley, *S. & P.* 230). But with the one exception of Gideon the warlike tendencies of Manasseh seem to have been confined to the east of the Jordan. There they throve exceedingly, pushing their way northward over the rich plains of *Jaulân* and *Jedûr*—the Gaulanitis and Ituraea of the Roman period—to the foot of Mount Hermon (1 Chr. v. 23). At the time of the coronation of David at Hebron, while the western Manasseh sent 18,000, and Ephraim itself 20,800, the eastern Manasseh, with Gad and Reuben, mustered to the number of 120,000, thoroughly armed—a remarkable demonstration of strength, still more remarkable when we remember the fact that Saul's house, with the great Abner at its head, was then residing at Mahanaim on the border of Manasseh and Gad. But, though thus outwardly prosperous, a similar fate awaited them in the end to that which befel Gad and Reuben; they gradually assimilated themselves to the old inhabitants of the country—they "transgressed against the God of their fathers, and went a-whoring after the gods of the people of the land whom God destroyed before them" (ib. 25). They relinquished too the settled mode of life and the defined limits which befitted the members of a federal nation, and gradually became Bedouins of the wilderness, spreading themselves over the vast deserts which lay between the allotted possessions of their tribe and the Euphrates, and which had from time immemorial been the hunting-grounds and pastures of the wild Hagarites, of Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab (1 Chr. v. 19, 22). On them first descended the punishment which was ordained to be the inevitable consequence of such misdoing. They, first of all Israel, were carried away by Pul and Tiglath-Pileser, and settled in the Assyrian territories (ib. 26). The connexion, however, between east and west had been kept up to a certain degree. In Bethshean, the most easterly city of the cis-Jordanic Manasseh, the two portions all but joined. David had judges or officers there for all matters sacred and secular (1 Chr. xxvi. 32); and Solomon's commissariat officer, Ben-Geber, ruled over the towns of Jair and the whole district of Argob (1 K. iv. 13), and transmitted their productions, doubtless not without their people, to the court of Jerusalem.

The genealogies of the tribe are preserved in

[f] The Targum Pseudojon. on xlviii. 20 seems to intimate that the words of that verse were used as part of the formula at the rite of circumcision. They do not, however, appear to say of the accounts of that ceremony, as given by Buxtorf and others, that the writer has been able to discover.

[g] The Targum characteristically says *circumcised*.

Num. xxvi. 28-34; Josh. xvii. 1, &c.; and 1 Chr. vii. 14-19. But it seems impossible to unravel these so as to ascertain for instance which of the families remained east of Jordan, and which advanced to the west. From the fact that Abi-ezer (the family of Gideon), Hepher (possibly Ophrah, the native place of the same hero), and Shechem (the well-known city of the Bene-Joseph) all occur among the names of the sons of Gilead the son of Machir, it seems probable that Gilead, whose name is so intimately connected with the eastern, was also the immediate progenitor of the western half of the tribe.[h]

Nor is it less difficult to fix the exact position of the territory allotted to the western half. In Josh. xvii. 14-18, a passage usually regarded by critics as an exceedingly ancient document, we find the two tribes of Joseph complaining that only one portion had been allotted to them, viz. Mount Ephraim (ver. 15), and that they could not extend into the plains of Jordan or Esdraelon, because those districts were still in the possession of the Canaanites, and scoured by their chariots. In reply Joshua advises them to go up into the forest (ver. 15, A. V. "wood")—into the mountain which is a forest (ver. 18). This mountain clothed with forest can surely be nothing but CARMEL, the "mountain" closely adjoining the portion of Ephraim, whose richness of wood was so proverbial. And it is in accordance with this view that the majority of the towns of Manasseh—which as the weaker portion of the tribe would naturally be pushed to seek its fortunes outside the limits originally bestowed—were actually on the slopes either of Carmel itself or of the contiguous ranges. Thus TAANACH and MEGIDDO were on the northern spurs of Carmel; IBLEAM appears to have been on the eastern continuation of the range, somewhere near the present *Jenîn*. EN-DOR was on the slopes of the so-called "Little Hermon." The two remaining towns mentioned as belonging to Manasseh formed the extreme eastern and western limits of the tribe; the one, BETHSHEAN[i] (Josh. xvii. 11), was in the hollow of the *Ghôr*, or Jordan-Valley; the other, DOR (ibid.), was on the coast of the Mediterranean, sheltered behind the range of Carmel, and immediately opposite the bluff or shoulder which forms its highest point. The whole of these cities are specially mentioned as standing in the allotments of other tribes, though inhabited by Manasseh; and this, with the absence of any attempt to define a limit to the [illegible] sions of the tribe on the north, looks as if no [illegible] line had existed on that side, but as if the [illegible] faded off gradually into those of the two [illegible] tribes from whom it had borrowed its fairest [illegible] On the south side the boundary between Manas[illegible] Ephraim is more definitely described, and may be [illegible] nerally traced with tolerable certainty. It [illegible] the east in the territory of Issachar (xvii. 10) [illegible] called ASHER,[k] (ver. 7) now *Yasîr*, 12 miles [illegible] of *Nablus*. Thence it ran to Michmethah, [illegible] as facing Shechem (*Nablûs*), though now [illegible] then went to the right, *i. e.* apparently [illegible] ward, to the spring of Tappuah, also [illegible] there it fell in with the watercourses of the [illegible] Kanah—probably the *Nahr Falaik*—along which [illegible] ran to the Mediterranean.

From the indications of the history it [illegible] appear that Manasseh took very little part in [illegible] affairs. They either left all that to Ephraim, [illegible] were so far removed from the centre of the [illegible] as to have little interest in what was taking [illegible] That they attended David's coronation at [illegible] has already been mentioned. When his rule [illegible] established over all Israel, each half had its [illegible] ruler—the western, Joel ben-Pedaiah, the [illegible] Iddo ben-Zechariah (1 Chr. xxvii. 20, 21). From [illegible] time the eastern Manasseh fades entirely from [illegible] view, and the western is hardly kept before us [illegible] an occasional mention. Such scattered notices [illegible] we do find have almost all reference to the [illegible] taken by members of the tribe in the reforms [illegible] good kings of Judah—the Jehovah-revival [illegible] Asa (2 Chr. xv. 9)—the Passover of Hezekiah [illegible] 1, 10, 11, 18), and the subsequent enthusiasm [illegible] against idolatry (xxxi. 1)—the iconoclasms of Josiah [illegible] (xxxiv. 6), and his restoration of the building [illegible] the Temple (ver. 9). It is gratifying to reflect that these notices, faint and scattered as they are, are all coloured with good, and exhibit none of the repulsive traits of that most repulsive heathenism into which other tribes of Israel fell. It may have been at some such time of revival, whether brought about by the invitation of Judah, or, as the title in the LXX. would imply, by the dread of invasion, that Ps. lxxx. was composed. But on the other hand, the mention of Benjamin as in alliance with Ephraim and Manasseh, points to an earlier date than the disruption of the two kingdoms. Whatever its date may prove to be, there can be little doubt that it

[h] If this is correct, it may probably furnish the clue to the real meaning of the difficult allusion to Gilead in Judg. vii. 3. [See vol. i. 695*a*.]

[i] "Betsan in Manasseh" (Hap-Parchi, in Asher's *B. of T.* 401).

[k] The name of ASHER, as attached to a town, independent of the tribe, was overlooked by the writer at the proper time. (אָשֵׁר: Δηλαναθ: Alex. Ασηρ: *Aser*). It is mentioned in Josh. xvii. 7 only as the starting-point—evidently at its eastern end—of the boundary line separating Ephraim and Manasseh. It cannot have been at any great distance from Shechem, because the next point in the boundary is "the Michmethath facing Shechem." By Eusebius and Jerome, in the *Onomasticon* (*sub voce* "Aser"), it is mentioned, evidently from actual knowledge, as still retaining its name, and lying on the high road from Neapolis (*Nablus*), that is Shechem, to Scythopolis (*Beisan*), the ancient Bethshean, fifteen Roman miles from the former. In the *Itinerarium Hieros.* (587) it occurs, between "civitas Sciopoli" (*i. e.* Scythopolis) and "civ. Neapolis" as "Aser, ubi fuit villa Job." Where it lay then, it lies still. Exactly in this position M. Van de Velde (*Syr. and Pal.* ii. 336) has discovered a village called *Yasir*, lying in the centre of a plain or basin, surrounded on the north and west by mountains, but on the east sloping away into a *Wady* called the Salt Valley, which forms a near and direct descent to the Jordan Valley. The road from *Nablus* to *Beisan* passes by the village. Porter (*Hdbk.* 348) gives the name as *Yasir*.

It does not seem to have been important enough to allow us to suppose that its inhabitants are the ASHERITES, or Asherites of 2 Sam. ii. 9.

Van de Velde suggests that this may have been the spot on which the Midianites encamped when surprised by Gideon; but that was surely further to the south, nearer the spring of Charod and the plain of Esdraelon.

[m] The right (הַיְמִין) is generally taken to signify the South; and so Keil understands it in this place. But it seems more consonant with common sense, and also with the probable course of the boundary—which could hardly have gone south of Shechem—to take it as the right of the person tracing the line from East to West, *i. e.* North.

author of the Psalm was a member of the house of Joseph.

A positive connexion between Manasseh and Benjamin is implied in the genealogies of 1 Chr. vii., where Machir is said to have married into the family of Huppim and Shuppim, chief houses in the latter tribe (ver. 15). No record of any such relation appears to have been yet discovered in the historical books, nor is it directly alluded to except in the genealogy just quoted. But we know that a connexion existed between the tribe of Benjamin and the town of Jabesh-Gilead, inasmuch as from that town were procured wives for four hundred out of the six hundred Benjamites who survived the slaughter of Gibeah (Judg. xxi. 12); and if Jabesh-Gilead was a town of Manasseh—as is very probable, though the fact is certainly nowhere stated—it does appear very possible that this was the relationship referred to in the genealogies. According to the statement of the narrative two-thirds of the tribe of Benjamin must have been directly descended from Manasseh. Possibly we have here an explanation of the apparent connexion between King Saul and the people of Jabesh. No appeal could have been more forcible to an Oriental chieftain than that of his blood-relations when threatened with extermination (1 Sam. xi. 4, 5), while no duty was more natural than that which they in their turn performed to his remains (1 Sam. xxxi. 11). [G.]

MANASSEH (מְנַשֶּׁה: Μανασσῆς: *Manasses*), the thirteenth king of Judah. The reign of this monarch is longer than that of any other of the house of David. There is none of which we know so little. In part, it may be, this was the direct result of the character and policy of the man. In part, doubtless, it is to be traced to the abhorrence with which the following generation looked back upon it as the period of lowest degradation to which their country had ever fallen. Chroniclers and prophets pass it over, gathering from its horrors and disasters the great broad lessons in which they see the foot-prints of a righteous retribution, the tokens of a Divine compassion, and then they avert their eyes and will see and say no more. This is in itself significant. It gives a meaning and a value to every fact which has escaped the sentence of oblivion. The very reticence of the historians of the O. T. shows how free they were from the rhetorical exaggerations and inaccuracies of a later age. The struggle of opposing worships must have been as fierce under Manasseh, as it was under Antiochus, or Decius, or Diocletian, or Mary. Men must have suffered and died in that struggle, of whom the world was not worthy, and yet no contrast can be greater than that between the short notices in Kings and Chronicles, and the martyrologies which belong to those other periods of persecution.

The birth of Manasseh is fixed twelve years before the death of Hezekiah, B. C. 710 (2 K. xxi. 1). We must, therefore, infer either that there had been no heir to the throne up to that comparatively late period in his reign, or that any that had been born had died, or that, as sometimes happened in the succession of Jewish and other Eastern kings, the elder son was passed over for the younger. There are reasons which make the former the more probable alternative. The exceeding bitterness of Hezekiah's sorrow at the threatened approach of death (2 K. xx. 2, 3; 2 Chr. xxxii. 24; Is. xxxviii. 1-3) is more natural if we think of him as sinking under the thought that he was dying childless, leaving no heir to his work and to his kingdom. When, a little later, Isaiah warns him of the captivity and shame which will fall on his children, he speaks of those children as yet future (2 K. xx. 18). This circumstance will explain one or two facts in the contemporary history. Hezekiah, it would seem, recovering from his sickness, anxious to avoid the danger that had threatened him of leaving his kingdom without an heir, marries, at or about this time, Hephzibah (2 K. xxi. 1), the daughter of one of the citizens or princes of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 3, §1). The prophets, we may well imagine, would welcome the prospect of a successor named by a king who had been so true and faithful. Isaiah (in a passage clearly belonging to a later date than the early portions of the book, and apparently suggested by some conspicuous marriage) with his characteristic fondness for tracing auguries in names, finds in that of the new queen a prophecy of the ultimate restoration of Israel and the glories of Jerusalem (Is. lxii. 4, 5; comp. Blunt, *Scriptural Coincid.* Part iii. 5). The city also should be a Hephzibah, a delightsome one. As the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so would Jehovah rejoice over His people.* The child that is born from this union is called Manasseh. This name too is strangely significant. It appears nowhere else in the history of the kingdom of Judah. The only associations connected with it were, that it belonged to the tribe which was all but the most powerful of the hostile kingdom of Israel. How are we to account for so singular and unlikely a choice? The answer is, that the name embodied what had been for years the cherished object of Hezekiah's policy and hope. To take advantage of the overthrow of the rival kingdom by Shalmaneser, and the anarchy in which its provinces had been left, to gather round him the remnant of the population, to bring them back to the worship and faith of their fathers, this had been the second step in his great national reformation (2 Chr. xxx. 6). It was at least partially successful. "Divers of Asher, *Manasseh*, and Zebulun, humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem." They were there at the great passover. The work of destroying idols went on in Ephraim and *Manasseh* as well as in Judah (2 Chr. xxxi. 1). What could be a more acceptable pledge of his desire to receive the fugitives as on the same footing with his own subjects than that he should give to the heir to his throne the name in which one of their tribes exulted? What could better show the desire to let all past discords and offences be forgotten than the name which was itself an amnesty? (Gesenius.)

The last twelve years of Hezekiah's reign were not, however, it will be remembered, those which were likely to influence for good the character of his successor. His policy had succeeded. He had thrown off the yoke of the king of Assyria, which Ahaz had accepted, had defied his armies, had been delivered from extremest danger, and had made himself the head of an independent kingdom, receiving tribute from neighbouring princes instead of paying it to the great king, the king of Assyria. But he goes a step further. Not content with independence, he enters on a policy of aggression. He contracts an alliance with the rebellious viceroy of Babylon against their common enemy (2 K. xx. 12; Is.

* The bearing of this passage on the controversy as to the authorship and date of the later chapters of Isaiah is at least, worth considering.

xxxix.). He displays the treasures of his kingdom to the ambassadors, in the belief that that will show them how powerful an ally he can prove himself. Isaiah protested against this step, but the ambition of being a great potentate continued, and it was to the results of this ambition that the boy Manasseh succeeded at the age of twelve. His accession appears to have been the signal for an entire change, if not in the foreign policy, at any rate in the religious administration of the kingdom. At so early an age he can scarcely have been the spontaneous author of so great an alteration, and we may infer accordingly that it was the work of the idolatrous, or Ahaz party, which had been repressed during the reign of Hezekiah, but had all along, like the Romish clergy under Edward VI. in England, looked on the reform with a sullen acquiescence, and thwarted it when they dared. The change which the king's measures brought about was after all, superficial. The idolatry which was publicly discountenanced, was practised privately (Is. i. 29, ii. 20, lxv. 3). The priests and the prophets, in spite of their outward orthodoxy, were too often little better than licentious drunkards (Is. xxviii. 7). The nobles of Judah kept the new moons and sabbaths much in the same way as those of France kept their Lents, when Louis XIV. had made devotion a court ceremonial (Is. i. 13, 14). There are signs that even among the king's highest officers of state there was one, Shebna the scribe (Is. xxxvii. 2), the treasurer (Is. xxii. 15) "over the house," whose policy was simply that of a selfish ambition, himself possibly a foreigner (comp. Blunt's *Script. Coinc.* iii. 4), and whom Isaiah saw through and distrusted. It was, moreover, the traditional policy of "the princes of Judah" (comp. one remarkable instance in the reign of Joash, 2 Chr. xxiv. 17), to favour foreign alliances and the toleration of foreign worship, as it was that of the true priests and prophets to protest against it. It would seem, accordingly, as if they urged upon the young king that scheme of a close alliance with Babylon which Isaiah had condemned, and as the natural consequence of this, the adoption, as far as possible, of its worship, and that of other nations whom it was desirable to conciliate. The morbid desire for widening the range of their knowledge and penetrating into the mysteries of other systems of belief, may possibly have contributed now, as it had done in the days of Solomon, to increase the evil (Jer. ii. 10-25; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 666). The result was a debasement which had not been equalled even in the reign of Ahaz, uniting in one centre the abominations which elsewhere existed separately. Not content with sanctioning their presence in the Holy City, as Solomon and Rehoboam had done, he defiled with it the Sanctuary itself (2 Chr. xxxiii. 4). The worship thus introduced was, as has been said, predominantly Babylonian in its character. "He observed times, and used enchantments, and used witchcraft, and dealt with a familiar spirit, and with wizards" (*ibid.* ver. 6). The worship of "the host of heaven," which each man celebrated for himself on the roof of his own house, took the place of that of the Lord God of Sabaoth (2 K. xxiii. 12; Is. lxv. 3, 11; Zeph. i. 5; Jer. viii. 2, xix. 13, xxxii. 29). With this, however, there was associated the old Molech worship of the Ammonites. The fires were rekindled in the valley of Ben-Hinnom. Tophet was (for the first time, apparently), built into a stately fabric (2 K. xvi. 3; Is. xxx. 33, as compared with Jer. vii. 31. xix. 5; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 667). Even the king's sons, instead of being presented to Jehovah, received a horrible baptism dedicating them to Molech (2 Chr. xxxiii. 6), while others were actually slaughtered (Ez. xvi. 20, 37, 39). The Baal and Ashtaroth ritual, which had been imported under Solomon, from the Phœnicians, was revived with fresh splendour, and the worship of the "Queen of heaven," fixed its roots deep into the habits of the people (Jer. vii. 18). Worse and more horrible than all, the Asherah, the image of Astarte, or the obscene symbol of a phallic worship (comp. ASHERAH, and in addition to the authorities there cited, Mayer, *De Reform. Jos.* &c., in the *Thes. Theo. philol.* Amstel. 17—) was seen in the house of which Jehovah had said that He would there put His Name for ever (2 K. xxi. 7). All this was accompanied by the extreme moral degradation. The worship of those old Semitic religions, has been well described as a kind of "sensuous intoxication," simply sensuous, and therefore associated inevitably with a fiendish cruelty, leading to the utter annihilation of the spiritual life of man (Hegel, *Philos. of History*, i. 3). So it was in Jerusalem in the days of Manasseh. Rival priests (the Chemarim of Zeph. i. 4) were consecrated to this hideous worship. Women dedicating themselves to a *cultus* like that of the Babylonian Mylitta, wove hangings for the Asherah, as they did there (Mayer, cap. ii. §4). The Kadeshim, in close neighbourhood with them, gave themselves up to yet darker abominations (2 K. xxiii. 7). The very words of Isaiah (i. 10) had a terrible truth in them. Those to whom he spoke were literally "rulers of Sodom and princes of Gomorrah." Every faith was tolerated but the old faith of Israel. This was abandoned and proscribed. The altar of Jehovah was displaced (2 Chr. xxxiii. 16). The very ark of the covenant was removed from the sanctuary (2 Chr. xxxv. 3). The sacred books of the people were so systematically destroyed, that fifty years later, men listened to the Book of the Law of Jehovah as a newly discovered treasure (2 K. xxii. 8). It may well be, according to a Jewish tradition, that this fanaticism of idolatry led Manasseh to order the name Jehovah to be erased from all documents and inscriptions (Patrick, *ad loc.*). All this involved also a systematic violation of the weekly Sabbath rest and the consequent loss of one witness against a merely animal life (Is. lvi. 2, lviii. 13). The tide of corruption carried away some even of those who as priests and prophets, should have been steadfast in resisting it (Zeph. iii. 4; Jer. ii. 26, v. 31, vi. 13).

It is easy to imagine the bitter grief and burning indignation of those who continued faithful. The fiercest zeal of Huguenots in France, of Covenanters in Scotland, against the badges and symbols of the Latin Church, is perhaps but a faint shadow of that which grew to a white heat in the hearts of the worshippers of Jehovah. They spoke out in words of corresponding strength. Evil was coming on Jerusalem which should make the ears of men to tingle (2 K. xxi. 12). The line of Samaria and the plummet of the house of Ahab should be on the doom of the Holy City. Like a vessel that had once been full of precious ointment (comp. the LXX. ἀλαβάστρον), but had afterwards become foul, Jerusalem should be emptied and wiped out and exposed to the winds of Heaven till it was cleansed. Foremost, we may well believe, among those who thus bore their witness was the old prophet, now bent with the weight of fourscore

...ness, who had in his earlier days protested with ... equal courage against the crimes of the king's grandfather. On him too, according to the old Jewish tradition, came the first shock of the persecution. [ISAIAH.] Habakkuk may have shared his martyrdom (Keil on 2 K. xxi.; but comp HABAKKUK). But the persecution did not stop there. It attacked the whole order of the true prophets, and those who followed them. Every day witnessed an execution (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 3, §1). The slaughter was like that under Alva or Charles IX. (2 K. xxi. 16). The martyrs who were faithful unto death had to endure not torture only, but the scorn and taunts of a godless generation (Is. lvii. 1-4). Long afterwards the remembrance of that reign of terror lingered in the minds of men as a guilt for which nothing could atone (2 K. xxiv. 4). The persecution, like most other persecutions carried on with entire singleness of purpose, was for a time successful (Jer. ii. 30). The prophets appear no more in the long history of Manasseh's reign. The heart and the intellect of the nation were crushed out, and there would seem to have been no chroniclers left to record this portion of its history.

Retribution came soon in the natural sequence of events. There are indications that the neighbouring nations—Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites—who had been tributary under Hezekiah, revolted at some period in the reign of Manasseh, and asserted their independence (Zeph. ii. 4-19; Jer. xlvi. xlviii. xlix.). The Babylonian alliance bore the fruits which had been predicted. Hezekiah had been too hasty in attaching himself to the cause of the rebel-prince against Assyria. The rebellion of Merodach-Baladan was crushed, and then the wrath of the Assyrian king fell on those who had supported him. [ESARHADDON.] Judaea was again overrun by the Assyrian armies, and this time the invasion was more successful than that of Sennacherib. The city apparently was taken. The king himself was made prisoner and carried off to Babylon. There his eyes were opened, and he repented, and his prayer was heard, and the Lord delivered him (2 Chr. xxxiii. 12, 13; comp. Maurice, *Prophets and Kings*, p. 362).

Two questions meet us at this point. (1) Have we satisfactory grounds for believing that this statement is historically true? (2) If we accept it, to what period in the reign of Manasseh is it to be assigned? It has been urged in regard to (1) that the silence of the writer of the books of Kings is conclusive against the trustworthiness of the narrative of 2 Chronicles. In the former there is no mention made of captivity or repentance or return. The latter, it has been said, yields to the temptation of pointing a moral, of making history appear more in harmony with his own notions of the Divine government than it actually is. His anxiety to deal leniently with the successors of David leads him to invent at once a reformation and the captivity which is represented as its cause (Winer, *RWB.* s. v. Manasseh; Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Alterth.* i. 2, p. 131; Hitzig, *Begr. d. Kritik*, p. 130, quoted by Keil). It will be necessary in dealing with this objection to meet the sceptical critic on his own ground. To say that his reasoning contradicts our belief in the inspiration of the historical books of Scripture, and is destructive of all reverence for them, would involve a *petitio principii*, and however strongly it may influence our feelings, we are bound to find another answer. It is believed that that answer is not far to seek. (1) The silence of a writer who sums up the history of a reign of 55 years in 19 verses as to one alleged event in it is surely a weak ground for refusing to accept that event on the authority of another historian. (2) The omission is in part explained by the character of the narrative of 2 K. xxi. The writer deliberately turns away from the history of the days of shame, and not less from the personal biography of the king. He looks on the reign only as it contributed to the corruption and final overthrow of the kingdom, and no after-repentance was able to undo the mischief that had been done at first. (3) Still keeping on the level of human probabilities, the character of the writer of 2 Chronicles, obviously a Levite, and looking at the facts of the history from the Levite point of view, would lead him to attach greater importance to a partial reinstatement of the old ritual and to the cessation of persecution, and so to give them in proportion a greater prominence. (4) There is one peculiarity in the history which is, in some measure, of the nature of an undesigned coincidence, and so confirms it. The captains of the host of Assyria take Manasseh to Babylon. Would not a later writer, inventing the story, have made the Assyrian, and not the Babylonian capital, the scene of the captivity; or if the latter were chosen for the sake of harmony with the prophecy of Is. xxxix., have made the king of Babylon rather than of Assyria the captor?[b] As it is, the narrative fits in, with the utmost accuracy, to the facts of Oriental history. The first attempt of Babylon to assert its independence of Nineveh failed. It was crushed by Esarhaddon (the first or second of that name; comp. ESARHADDON, and Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* iii. 675), and for a time the Assyrian king held his court at Babylon, so as to effect more completely the reduction of the rebellious province. There is (5) the fact of agreement with the intervention of the Assyrian king in 2 K. xvii. 24, just at the same time. The king is not named there, but Ezra iv. 2, 10, gives Asnapper, and this is probably only another form of Asardanapar, and this = Esarhaddon (comp. Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 676: Tob. i. 21 gives Sarchedonus). The importation of tribes from Eastern Asia thus becomes part of the same policy as the attack on Judah. On the whole, then, the objection may well be dismissed as frivolous and vexatious. Like many other difficulties urged by the same school, it has in it something at once captious and puerile. Those who lay undue stress on them act in the spirit of a clever boy asking puzzling questions, or a sharp advocate getting up a case against the evidence on the other side, rather than in that of critics who have learnt how to construct a history and to value its materials rightly (comp. Keil, *Comm. on* 2 K. xxi.). Ewald, a critic of a nobler stamp, whose fault is rather that of fantastic reconstruction than needless scepticism (*Gesch. Isr.* iii. 678), admits the groundwork of truth. Would the prophecy of Isaiah, it may be asked, have been recorded and preserved if it had not been fulfilled? Might not Manasseh's release have been, as Ewald suggests, the direct consequence of the death of Esarhaddon?

The circumstance just noticed enables us to return an approximate answer to the other question. The duration of Esarhaddon's Babylonian reign is calculated as from B.C. 680-667; and Manasseh's cap-

[b] It may be noticed that this was actually done in later apocryphal traditions (see below).

tivity must therefore have fallen within those limits. A Jewish tradition (Seder Olam Rabba, c. 24) fixes the 22nd year of his reign as the exact date; and this, according as we adopt the earlier or the later date of his accession, would give B.C. 676 or 673.

The period that followed is dwelt upon by the writer of 2 Chr. as one of a great change for the better. The discipline of exile made the king feel that the gods whom he had chosen were powerless to deliver, and he turned in his heart to Jehovah, the God of his fathers. The compassion or death of Esarhaddon led to his release, and he returned after some uncertain interval of time to Jerusalem. It is not improbable that his absence from that city had given a breathing time to the oppressed adherents of the ancient creed, and possibly had brought into prominence, as the provisional ruler and defender of the city, one of the chief members of the party. If the prophecy of Is. xxii. 15 received, as it probably did, its fulfilment in Shebna's sharing the captivity of his master, there is nothing extravagant in the belief that we may refer to the same period the noble words which speak of Eliakim the son of Hilkiah as taking the place which Shebna should leave vacant, and rising up to be "a father unto the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to the house of Judah," having "the key of the house of David on his shoulder."

The return of Manasseh was at any rate followed by a new policy. The old faith of Israel was no longer persecuted. Foreign idolatries were no longer thrust, in all their foulness, into the Sanctuary itself. The altar of the Lord was again restored, and peace-offerings and thank-offerings sacrificed to Jehovah (2 Chr. xxxiii. 15, 16). But beyond this the reformation did not go. The ark was not restored to its place. The book of the Law of Jehovah remained in its concealment. Satisfied with the feeling that they were no longer worshipping the gods of other nations by name, they went on with a mode of worship essentially idolatrous. "The people did sacrifice still in the high places, but to Jehovah their God only" (ibid. ver. 17).

The other facts known of Manasseh's reign connect themselves with the state of the world round him. The Assyrian monarchy was tottering to its fall, and the king of Judah seems to have thought that it was still possible for him to rule as the head of a strong and independent kingdom. If he had to content himself with a smaller territory, he might yet guard its capital against attack, by a new wall defending what had been before its weak side, "to the entering in of the fish-gate," and completing the tower of Ophel,[c] which had been begun, with a like purpose, by Jotham (2 Chr. xxvii. 3). Nor were the preparations for defence limited to Jerusalem. "He put captains of war in all the fenced cities of Judah." There was, it must be remembered, a special reason for this attitude, over and above that afforded by the condition of Assyria. Egypt had emerged from the chaos of the Dodecarchy and the Ethiopian interregnum and was become strong and aggressive under Psammitichus. Pushing his arms northwards, he attacked the Philistines; and the twenty-nine years' siege of Azotus must have fallen wholly or in part within the reign of Manasseh. So far his progress would not be unacceptable. It would be pleasant to see the hereditary enemies of Israel, who had lately grown insolent and defiant, meet with their match. About this time, accordingly, we find the threat of an Egyptian alliance again beginning to be in favour. The prophets, and those who were guided by them, dreaded this more than anything, and entered their protest against it. Not the less, however, from this time forth, did it continue to be the favourite idea which took possession of the minds of the lay-party of the princes of Judah. The very name of Manasseh's son, Amon, bearer of (admitting a possible Hebrew explanation, but identical in form and sound with that of the great sun-god of Egypt (so Ewald, *Gesch.* iii. 665), is probably an indication of the gladness with which the alliance of Psammitichus was welcomed. As one of its consequences, it involved probably the supply of troops from Judah to serve in the armies of the Egyptian king. Without adopting Ewald's hypothesis that this is referred to in Deut. xxviii. 68, it is very likely enough in itself, and Jer. ii. 14-16 seem to allude to some such state of things. In return for this Manasseh, we may believe, received the help of the chariots and horses for which Egypt was always famous (Is. xxxi. 1). (Comp. Aristeas, *Epist. ad Philocr.* in Havercamp's *Josephus*, ii. p. 104).[d] If this was the close of Manasseh's reign, we can well understand how to the writer of the books of Kings it would seem hardly better than the beginning, leaving the root-evil uncured, preparing the way for worse evils than itself. We can understand how it was that on his death he was buried as Ahaz had been, not with the burial of a king, in the sepulchres of the house of David, but in the garden of Uzza (2 K. xxi. 26), and that, long afterwards, in spite of his repentance, the Jews held his name in abhorrence as one of the three kings (the other two are Jeroboam and Ahab) who had no part in eternal life (Sanhedrin, ch. xi. 1, quoted by Patrick on 2 Chr. xxxiii. 1).

And the evil was irreparable. The habits of sensuous and debased worship had eaten into the life of the people; and though they might be repressed for a time by force, as in the reformation of Josiah, they burst out again, when the pressure was removed, with fresh violence, and rendered even the zeal of the best of the Jewish kings fruitful chiefly in hypocrisy and unreality.

The intellectual life of the people suffered in

[c] A comparison of the description of these fortifications with Zeph. i. 10 gives a special interest and force to the prophet's words. Manasseh had strengthened the city where it was most open to attack. Zephaniah points to the defences, and says that they shall avail nothing. It is useless to trust in them: "There shall be the noise of a cry *from the fish-gate*."

[d] The passage referred to occurs in the opening paragraphs of the letter of the Pseudo-Aristeas. He is speaking of the large number of Jews (100,000) who had been brought into Egypt by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. "They, however," he says, "were not the only Jews there. Others, though not so many, had come in with the Persian. Before that troops had been sent, by virtue of a treaty of alliance, to help Psammitichus against the Ethiopians." The direct authority of this writer is, of course, not very great; but the absence of any motive for the invention of such a fact makes it probable that he was following some historical records. Ewald, it should be mentioned, claims the credit of having been the first to discover the bearing of this fact on the history of Manasseh's reign. Another indication that Ethiopia was looked on, about this time, as among the enemies of Judah may be found in Zeph. ii. 12, while in Zeph. iii. 10 we have a clear statement of the fact that a great multitude of the people had found their way to that remote country. The story told by Herodotus of the revolt of the Asmoli (ii. 30) indicates the necessity which led Psammitichus to gather mercenary troops from all quarters for defence of that frontier of his kingdom.

of Pahath-Moab, who in the days of Ezra had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 30). In 1 Esd. ix. 31 he is called MANASSEAS.

3. One of the laymen, of the family of Hashum, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 33). He is called MANASSES in 1 Esd. ix. 33.

4. (*Moyses.*) In the Hebrew text of Judg. xviii. 30, the name of the priest of the graven image of the Danites is given as "Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh"; the last word being written מְנַשֶּׁה, and a Masoretic note calling attention to the "*nun* suspended." "The fate of this superposititious letter," says Kennicott (*Diss.* ii. 53), "has been very various, sometimes placed over the word, sometimes suspended half-way, and sometimes uniformly inserted." Jarchi's note upon the passage is as follows:—"On account of the honour of Moses he wrote *Nun* to change the name; and it is written suspended to signify that it was not Manasseh but Moses." The LXX., Peshito-Syriac, and Chaldee all read "Manasseh," but the Vulgate retains the original and undoubtedly the true reading, *Moyses*. Three of De Rossi's MSS. had originally מֹשֶׁה, "Moses;" and this was also the reading "of three Greek MSS. in the Library of St. Germain at Paris, of one in the Library of the Carmelites of the same place, of a Greek MS., No. 331, in the Vatican, and of a MS. of the Octateuch in University College Library, Oxford" (Burrington, *Genealogies*, i. 86). A passage in Theodoret is either an attempt to reconcile the two readings, or indicates that in some copies at least of the Greek they must have coexisted. He quotes the clause in question in this form, Ἰωνάθαν . . . υἱὸς Μανασσῆ υἱοῦ Γηρσὰμ υἱοῦ Μωσῆ; and this apparently gave rise to the assertion of Hiller (*Arcanum Keri et Kethib*, p. 187, quoted by Rosenmüller on Judg. xviii. 30), that the "Nun suspended" denotes that the previous word is transposed. He accordingly proposes to read יהונתן בן מנשה בן גרשם: but although his judgment on the point is accepted as final by Rosenmüller it has not the smallest authority. Kennicott attributes the presence of the *Nun* to the corruption of MSS. by Jewish transcribers. With regard to the chronological difficulty of accounting for the presence of a grandson of Moses at an apparently late period, there is every reason to believe that the last five chapters of Judges refer to earlier events than those after which they are placed. In xx. 28 Phinehas the son of Eleazar, and therefore the grandson of Aaron, is said to have stood before the ark, and there is therefore no difficulty in supposing that a grandson of Moses might be alive at the same time, which was not long after the death of Joshua. Josephus places the episode of the Benjamites before that of the Gadites, and introduces them both before the invasion of Chushan-rishathaim and the deliverance of Israel by Othniel, narrated in Judg. iii. (*Ant.* v. 2, §8–v. 3, §1: see also Kennicott's *Dissertations*, ii. 51-57; *Dissert. Gener.* p. 10). It may be as well to mention a tradition recorded by R. David Kimchi, that in the genealogy of Jonathan, Manasseh is written for Moses because he did the deed of Manasseh, the idolatrous king of Judah. A note from the margin of a Hebrew MS. quoted by Kennicott (*Diss. Gen.* p. 10) is as follows:—"He is called by the

of the schools of the prophets, were the ... and teachers of the people. The reign of ... witnessed the close of the work of Isaiah ... at its beginning, and the youth ... at its conclusion, but ... writings illumine that dreary half ... The most fearful symptom ... when a prophet's voice was again heard during ... the atheism which, then ... adoption of ... (Zeph. i. 12). It is surely ... to assign ... two such noble ... Book of Job. Nor ... the only evil. ... of the worshippers of ... people to the horrors of ... when they in their turn ... the opportunity ... known before. ... reforms had ... the true worship and ... of the false. In that of ... extends to the priests of the ... sacrifices on their own altars ...).

... added by later tradition to the ... reign. The prayer ... among the apocryphal books ... absence of any Hebrew original, ... identical with that referred to in ..., and is probably rather the result of ... work out the hint there supplied ... production of an older document. There ..., however, for believing that there existed ... or other, a fuller history, more or less ..., of Manasseh and his conversion, from ... prayer may possibly have been an *excerpt* ... for devotional purposes (it appears for ... time in the Apostolical Constitutions) when ... was rejected as worthless. Scattered here ... we find the *disjecta membra* of such a ... Among the offences of Manasseh, the most ... is, that he places in the sanctuary an ... τετρακράσωτον of Zeus (Suidas, *s. v.* Μα...; Georg. Syncellus, *Chronograph.* i. 404). ... on which he condemns Isaiah to death ... blasphemy, the words, "I saw the Lord" ... vi. 1) being treated as a presumptuous boast ... with Ex. xxxiii. 20 (Nic. de Lyra, from ... treatise: *Jebamoth*, quoted by Amama, ... *Sacri* on 2 K. xxi.). Isaiah is miracu... rescued. A cedar opens to receive him. Then ... the order that the cedar should be sawn ... (*Ibid.*). That which made this sin the ... was, that the king's mother, Hephzibah, ... the daughter of Isaiah. When Manasseh was ... captive by Merodach and taken to Babylon ...), he was thrown into prison and fed daily ... a scanty allowance of bran-bread and water ... with vinegar. Then came his condemnation. ... was enclosed in a brazen image (the description ... a punishment like that of the bull of Pe... ...) but he repented and prayed, and the image ... asunder, and he escaped (Suidas and Georg. ...). Then he returned to Jerusalem and ... righteously and justly. [E. H. P.]

2. (Μανασσῆ; *Manasse.*) One of the descendants

* There is a possible exception to this in the existence of a proper Head (the Vulg. rendering, where the LXX. has τῶν ὁρώντων, and the A. V. "the seers" (2 Chr xxxiii. 19); but nothing else is known of him.

name of Manasseh the son of Hezekiah, for he also made the graven image in the Temple." It must be confessed that the point of this is not very apparent. [W. A. W.]

MANAS'SES (Μανασσῆς: *Manasses*). 1. MANASSEH 4, of the sons of Hashum (1 Esd. ix. 33; comp. Ezr. x. 33).

2. MANASSEH, king of Judah (Matt. i. 10), to whom the apocryphal prayer is attributed.

3. MANASSEH, the son of Joseph (Rev. vii. 6).

4. A wealthy inhabitant of Bethulia, and husband of Judith, according to the legend. He was smitten with a sunstroke while superintending the labourers in his fields, leaving Judith a widow with great possessions (Jud. viii. 2, 7, x. 3, xvi. 22, 23, 24), and was buried between Dothan and Baal-hamon.

MANAS'SES, THE PRAYER OF (προσευχὴ Μανασσῆ). 1. The repentance and restoration of Manasseh (2 Chr. xxxiii. 12 ff.) furnished the subject of many legendary stories (Fabric. *Cod. Apocr. V. T.* 1101 f.). "His prayer unto his God" was still preserved "in the book of the kings of Israel" when the Chronicles were compiled (2 Chr. xxxiii. 18), and, after this record was lost, the subject was likely to attract the notice of later writers.* "The Prayer of Manasseh," which is found in some MSS. of the LXX., is the work of one who has endeavoured to express, not without true feeling, the thoughts of the repentant king. It opens with a description of the majesty of God (1-5), which passes into a description of His mercy in granting repentance to sinners (6-8, ἐμοὶ τῷ ἁμαρτώλῳ). Then follows a personal confession and supplication to God as "the God of them that repent," "hymned by all the powers of heaven," to whom belongs "glory for ever" (9-15, σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας). "And the Lord heard the voice of Manasses and pitied him," the legend continues, "and there came around him a flame of fire, and all the irons about him (τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν σιδηρᾶ) were melted, and the Lord delivered him out of his affliction" (*Const. Apost.* ii. 22; comp. Jul. Afric. ap. Routh, *Rel. Sac.* ii. 288).

2. The Greek text is undoubtedly original, and not a mere translation from the Hebrew; and even within the small space of fifteen verses some peculiarities are found (ἄστεκτος, κλίνειν γόνυ καρδίας, παροργίζειν τὸν θυμόν, τίθεσθαι μετάνοιάν τινι). The writer was well acquainted with the LXX. (τὰ κατώτατα τῆς γῆς, τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρηστοτητός σου, πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν); but beyond this there is nothing to determine the date at which he lived. The allusion to the patriarchs (ver. 8, δίκαιοι; ver. 1, τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν τὸ δίκαιον) appears to fix the authorship on a Jew; but the clear teaching on repentance points to a time certainly not long before the Christian era. There is no indication of the place at which the Prayer was written.

3. The earliest reference to the Prayer is contained in a fragment of Julius Africanus (cir. 221 A.D.), but it may be doubted whether the words in their original form clearly referred to the present composition (Jul. Afric. *fr.* 40). It is, however, given at length in the Apostolical Constitutions (ii. 22), in which it is followed by a narrative of the same apocryphal facts (§1) as are quoted by Africanus. The Prayer is found in the Alexandrine MS. in the collection of hymns and metrical pieces which is appended to the Psalter—a position which it generally occupies; but in the three Latin MSS. used by Sabatier it is placed at the end of the Psalter (Sabat. *Bibl. Lat.* iii. 1038).

4. The Prayer was never distinctly recognised as a canonical writing, though it was included in many MSS. of the LXX. and of the Latin version, and has been deservedly retained among the apocrypha in A. V. and by Luther. The Latin translation which occurs in Vulgate MSS. is not by the hand of Jerome, and has some remarkable phrases (*omnipotentabilis, importabilis* (ἀνυπόστατος), *omnium coelorum*); but there is no sufficient internal evidence to show whether it is earlier or later than the time. It does not, however, seem to have been used by any Latin writer of the first four centuries, and was not known to Victor Tunonensis in the 6th (Ambrosius, iv. 989, ed. Migne).

5. The Commentary of Fritzsche (*Exeg.* 1851) contains all that is necessary for the interpretation of the Prayer, which is, indeed, in little need of explanation. The Alexandrine text seems to have been interpolated in some places, while it omits a whole clause; but at present the materials for settling a satisfactory text have not been collected. [B. F. W.]

MANASSITES, THE (הַמְנַשִּׁי, i.e. "the Manassite": ὁ Μανασσῆ: *Manasse*), that is, the members of the tribe of Manasseh. The word occurs but thrice in the A. V. viz. Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xii. 4; and 2 K. x. 33. In the first and last of these the original is as given above, but in the other it is "Manasseh"—"Fugitives of Ephraim and Gilead; in the midst of Ephraim, in the midst of Manasseh." It may be well to take this opportunity of remarking, that the point of the verse following that just quoted is lost in the A. V. from the word which in ver. 4 is rightly rendered "fugitive" being there given as "those which escaped." Ver. 5 would more accurately be, "And Gilead seized the fords of the Jordan-of-Ephraim, and it was so that when fugitives of Ephraim said 'I will go over,' the men of Gilead said to him 'Art thou an Ephraimite?'"—the point being the taunt of the Ephraimites was turned against themselves.

MAN'DRAKES (דּוּדָאִים, *dudâim*: μανδραγορῶν, οἱ μανδραγόραι: *mandragorae*). "It were a wearisome and superfluous task," says Oedmann (*Vermisch. Samml.* i. v. 95), "to recount and pass judgment on the multitude of authors who have written about *dudaim*:" but the reader who cares to know the literature of the subject will find a long list of authorities in Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 1, sq.) and in Rudbeck (*De Dudâim Bibl.*, Upsal, 1733). See also Winer, (*Bibl. Realw.* "Alraun"). The *dudâim* (the word occurs only in the plural number) are mentioned in Gen. xxx. 14, 15, 16, and in Cant. vii. 13. From the former passage we learn that they were found in the fields of Mesopotamia, where Jacob and his wives were at one time living, and that the fruit (μῆλα μανδραγορῶν, LXX.) was gathered in the

* Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 679) is inclined to think that the Greek may have been based on the Hebrew. There is at least no trace of such an origin of the Greek text.

* Various etymologies have been proposed for this word, the most probable is that it comes from the root דָּדַד "to love," whence דּוֹד, "love."

...wheat-harvest," *i. e.* in May. There is evidently also an allusion to the supposed properties of this plant to promote conception, hence Rachel's desire of obtaining the fruit, for as yet she had not borne children. In Cant. vii. 13 it is said, "the mandrakes give a smell, and at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits"—from this passage we learn that the plant in question was strong-scented, and that it grew in Palestine. Various attempts have been made to identify the *dudâîm*. Rudbeck the younger—the same who maintained that the quails which fed the Israelites in the wilderness were "flying fish," and who, as Oedmann has truly remarked, seems to have a special gift for demonstrating anything he pleases—supposed the *dudâîm* were "bramble-berries" (*Rubus caesius*, Linn.), a theory which deserves no serious consideration. Celsius, who supposes that a kind of Rhamnus is meant, is far from satisfactory in his conclusions; he identifies the *dudâîm* with what he calls *Lotus Cyrenaica*, the *Sidra* of Arabic authors. This appears to be the lotus of the ancients, *Zizyphus lotus*. See Shaw's *Travels*, i. 263, and Sprengel, *Hist. rei herb.* i. 251; Freytag, *Ar. Lex.* s. v. سدر.[a]

Celsius's argument is based entirely upon the authority of a certain Rabbi (see Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* p. 1202), who asserts the *dudâîm* to be the fruit of the mayaseh (the lotus?);[b] but the authority of a single Rabbi is of little weight against the almost unanimous testimony of the ancient versions. With still less reason have Castell (*Lex. Hept.* p. 2052) and Ludolf (*Hist. Aeth.* i. c. 9), and a few others, advanced a claim for the *Musa paradisiaca*, the banana, to denote the *dudâîm*. Faber, following Ant. Deusing (*Dissert. de Dudaim*), thought the *dudâîm* were small sweet-scented melons (*Cucumis dudaim*), which grow in Syria, Egypt, and Persia, known by the Persians as *distembujeh*, a word which means "fragrance in the hand;" and Sprengel (*Hist.* i. 17) appears to have entertained a similar belief. This theory is certainly more plausible than many others that have been adduced, but it is unsupported except by the Persian version in Genesis. Various other conjectures have from time to time been made, as that the *dudâîm* are "figs," or "citrons," or "baskets of figs"—all mere theories.

The most satisfactory attempt at identification is certainly that which supposes the mandrake (*Atropa mandragora*) to be the plant denoted by the Hebrew word. The LXX., the Vulg., the Syriac, and the Arabic versions, the Targums, the most learned of the Rabbis, and many later commentators, are in favour of the translation of the A. V. The arguments which Celsius has adduced against the mandrake being the *dudâîm* have been most ably answered by Michaelis (see *Supp. ad Lex. Heb.* p. 451). It is well known that the mandrake is far from odoriferous, the whole plant being, in European estimation at all events, very fetid; on this account Celsius objected to its being the *dudâîm*, which he supposed were said in the Canticles to be fragrant. Michaelis has shown that nothing of the kind is asserted in Scripture: the *dudâîm* "give forth an odour," which, however, may be one of no fragrant nature; the invitation to the "beloved to go forth into the field" is full of force if we suppose the *dudâîm* ("love plants") to denote the mandrake.[c] Again, the odour or flavour of plants is after all a matter of opinion, for Schulz (*Leitung. des Höchsten*, v. 197), who found mandrakes on Mount Tabor, says of them, "they have a delightful smell, and the taste is equally agreeable, though *not to everybody*." Mariti (*Trav.* iii. 146) found on the 7th of May, near the hamlet of St. John in "Mount Juda," mandrake plants, the fruit of which he says "is of the size and colour of a small apple, ruddy and of a *most agreeable odour*." Oedmann, after quoting a number of authorities to show that the mandrakes were prized by the Arabs for their odour, makes the following just remark:—"It is known that Orientals set an especial value on strongly smelling things that to more delicate European senses are unpleasing . . . The intoxicating qualities of the mandrake, far from lessening its value, would rather add to it, for every one knows with what relish the Orientals use all kinds of preparations to produce intoxication."

The Mandrake (*Atropa mandragora*).

The Arabic version of Saadias has *luffach*[d] = mandragora; in Onkelos *yabruchin*, and in Syriac *yabruch*[e] express the Hebrew *dudâîm*: now we learn from Mariti (*Trav.* iii. 146, ed. Lond. 1792) that a word

[a] This plant, according to Abulfadli, corresponds with the Arabic سدر, which, however, Sprengel identifies with *Zizyphus Paliurus*.

[b] "Qui quidem quod hircinus est quodammodo, vireaque mandragorae in Aphrodisiacis laudantur, amoribus aurae perflare videtur et ad eos stimulare."

[c] لفاح. [d] יברוחין. [e] بحوسا.

similar to this last was applied by the Arabs to the mandrake—he says "the Arabs call it *jabrohak*."[f] Celsius asserts that the mandrake has not the property which has been attributed to it: it is, however, a matter of common belief in the East that this plant has the power to aid in the procreation of offspring. Schultz, Maundrell, Mariti, all allude to it; compare also Dioscorides, iv. 76, Sprengel's Annotations; and Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ix. 9, §1. Venus was called *Mandragoritis* by the ancient Greeks (Hesych. *s. v.*), and the fruit of the plant was termed "apples of love."

That the fruit was fit to be gathered at the time of wheat-harvest is clear from the testimony of several travellers. Schultze found mandrake-apples on the 15th of May. Hasselquist saw them at Nazareth early in May. He says: "I had not the pleasure to see the plant in blossom, the fruit now [May 5, O. S.] hanging ripe on the stem which lay withered on the ground"—he conjectures that they are Rachel's *dudâim*. Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 577) found mandrakes ripe on the lower ranges of Lebanon and Hermon towards the end of April.

From a certain rude resemblance of old roots of the mandrake to the human form, whence Pythagoras is said to have called the mandrake ἀνθρωπόμορφον, and Columella (10, 19) *semihomo*, some strange superstitious notions have arisen concerning it. Josephus (*B. J.* vii. 6, §3) evidently alludes to one of these superstitions, though he calls the plant *baaras*. In a Vienna MS. of Dioscorides is a curious drawing which represents Euresis, the goddess of discovery, handing to Dioscorides a root of the mandrake; the dog employed for the purpose is depicted in the agonies of death (Daubeny's *Roman Husbandry*, p. 275).[g]

The mandrake is found abundantly in the Grecian islands, and in some parts of the south of Europe. The root is spindle-shaped and often divided into two or three forks. The leaves, which are long, sharp-pointed, and hairy, rise immediately from the ground; they are of a dark-green colour. The flowers are dingy white, stained with veins of purple. The fruit is of a pale orange colour, and about the size of a nutmeg; but it would appear that the plant varies considerably in appearance according to the localities where it grows. The mandrake (*Atropa mandragora*) is closely allied to the well-known deadly nightshade (*A. belladonna*), and belongs to the order *Solanaceae*. [W. H.]

MANEH. [Weights and Measures.]

MANGER. This word occurs only in connexion with the birth of Christ, in Luke ii. 7, 12, 16. The original term is φάτνη, which is found but once besides in the N. T., viz. Luke xiii. 15, where it is rendered by "stall." The word in classical Greek undoubtedly means a manger, crib, or feeding trough (see Liddell and Scott, *Lex. s. v.*); but according to Schleusner its real signification in the N. T. is the open court-yard, attached to the inn or khan, and enclosed by a rough fence of stones, wattle, or other slight material, into which the cattle would be shut at night, and where the poorer travellers would unpack their animals and take up their lodging when they were either by want of room or want of means excluded from the house. This conclusion is supported by the rendering of the Vulg.—*praesepe*—and of the Peshito-Syriac, ܡܐܘܐ, both which terms mean "enclosures,"—and also by the customs of Palestine.[h] Stables and mangers in the sense in which we understand them, are of comparatively late introduction into the East (see the quotations from Chardin and others in Harmer's *Observations*, ii. 205, 6), and although they have furnished materials to painters and poets, did not enter into the circumstances attending the birth of Christ—and are therefore less inaccurate than the "cradle" and the "stable" which are named in some descriptions of that event.

This applies, however, only to the painters of later schools. The early Christian artists seem almost invariably to represent the Nativity as in an open and detached court-yard. A crib or manger is occasionally shown, but not prominently, and more as if symbolic of the locality than as actually existing.

The above interpretation of φάτνη is of course at variance with the traditional belief that the Nativity took place in a cave. Professor Stanley has however shown (*S. & P.* 440, 441; see also 72) how destitute of foundation this tradition is. And it should not be overlooked that the two apocryphal Gospels which appear to be its main foundation, the Protevangelion and the Gospel of Infancy, do not represent the cave as belonging to the inn—in fact, do not mention the inn in connexion with the Nativity at all, while the former does not introduce the manger and the inn till a later period, that of the massacre of the innocents (Protev. chap. xvi.).

MA'NI (Μανί: *Banni*). The same as Bani (1 Esd. ix. 30; comp. Ezr. x. 29).

MAN'LIUS, T. In the account of the conclusion of the campaign of Lysias (B.C. 163) with the Jews given in 2 Macc. xi., four letters are introduced, of which the last purports to be from "T. Memmius and Q. Manlius, ambassadors (πρεσβευταί) of the Romans" (ver. 34-38) confirming the concessions made by Lysias. There can be but little doubt that the letter is a fabrication. That such names occur among the many legates is specially noticed by Polybius; and there is no room for the mission of another embassy between the two recorded shortly before and after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (Polyb. xxxi. 9, 6; 12, 9; Grimm *ad loc.*). If, as seems likely, the true reading is T. Manius (not Manlius), the writer was probably thinking of the former embassy when C. Sulpicius and Manius Sergius were sent to Syria. The absence of the letter is no less fatal to the idea of its authenticity than the names in which it is written. The use of the aera of the Seleucidae to fix the year, the omission of the name of the place at which it is dated, and the exact coincidence of the date of the letter with that of the young Antiochus, are all suspicious circumstances. Moreover, the first indication

f The Arabs call the fruit *tuphach el sheitan*, "the devil's apple," from its power to excite voluptuousness.

g Comp. also Shaksp. *Henry IV.*, Pt. II. Act i. Sc. 2; *Rom. and Jul.*, Act iv. Sc. 3; D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* s. v. "Abrousanam."

h Those who desire to see all that can be said on the meaning of φάτνη in the N. T. and in the LXX., as bearing on the N. T., will find it in the 16th chapter and 2nd book of P. Horrei, *Miscell. criticorum liber primus Leovardiae*, 1732

b See for example Milton's *Hymn on the Nativity*, line 242.

between the Jews and Romans is marked distinctly as taking place two years later (1 Macc viii 1 ff.), when Judas heard of their power and fidelity. The remaining letters are of no more worth, though it is possible that some facts may have suggested special details (*e. g.* 2 Macc. xi. 29 ff.). (Wernsdorf, *De Fide Macc.* § 66; Grimm, *ad loc.*; and on the other side Patritius, *De Cons. Macc.* pp. 142, 280.) [B. F. W.]

MANNA (מָן, *mân*: Μάννα: *Manhu, Man, Manna*). The most important passages of the O. T. on this topic are the following:—Ex. xvi. 14-36; Num. xi. 7-9; Deut. viii. 3, 16; Josh. v. 12; Ps. lxxviii. 24, 25; Wisd. xvi. 20, 21. From these passages we learn that the manna came every morning except the Sabbath, in the form of a small round seed resembling the hoar frost; that it must be gathered early, before the sun became so hot as to melt it; that it must be gathered every day except the Sabbath; that the attempt to lay aside for a succeeding day, except on the day immediately preceding the Sabbath, failed by the substance becoming wormy and offensive; that it was prepared for food by grinding and baking; that its taste was like fresh oil, and like wafers made with honey, equally agreeable to all palates; that the whole nation subsisted upon it for forty years; that it suddenly ceased when they first got the new corn of the land of Canaan; and that it was always regarded as a miraculous gift directly from God, and not as a product of nature.

The natural products of the Arabian deserts and other Oriental regions, which bear the name of manna, have not the qualities or uses ascribed to the manna of Scripture. They are all condiments or medicines rather than food, stimulating or purgative rather than nutritious; they are produced only three or four months in the year, from May to August, and not all the year round; they come only in small quantities, never affording anything like 1,000,000 of pounds a-week, which must have been requisite for the subsistence of the whole Israelitish camp, since each man had an omer (or three English quarts) a-day, and that for forty years; they can be kept for a long time, and do not become useless in a day or two; they are just as liable to deteriorate on the Sabbath as on any other day; nor does a double quantity fall on the day preceding the Sabbath; nor would natural products cease at once and for ever, as the manna is represented as ceasing in the book of Joshua. The manna of Scripture we therefore regard as wholly miraculous, and not in any respect a product of nature.

The etymology and meaning of the word *manna* are best given by the old authorities, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and Josephus. The Septuagint translation of Ex. xvi. 15 is this: Ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ εἶπαν ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ, τί ἐστι τοῦτο· οὐ γὰρ ᾔδεισαν τί ἦν. "*But the children of Israel, seeing it, said one to another, What is this? for they knew not what it was.*" The Vulgate, with a very careful reference to the Hebrew, thus: "Quod videntes filii Israel, dixerunt ad invicem *manhu*, quod significat: Quid est hoc? ignorabant enim quid esset;" i. e. '*Which when the children of Israel saw, they said one to another*, MAN HU, which signifies, *What is this? for they knew not what it was.*" In Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 1, §6) we have the following: Καλοῦσι δὲ Ἑβραῖοι τὸ βρῶμα τοῦτο μάνα, τὸ γὰρ μὰν ἐπερώτησις κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων διάλεκτον, τί τοῦτ' ἐστιν, ἀνακρίνουσι. "*Now the Hebrews call this food* MANNA, *for the particle* MAN, *in our language, is the asking of a question*, WHAT IS THIS?"

According to all these authorities, with which the Syriac also agrees, the Hebrew word *man*, by which this substance is always designated in the Hebrew Scriptures, is the neuter interrogative pronoun (what?); and the name is derived from the inquiry מָן הוּא (*man hu*, what is this?), which the Hebrews made when they first saw it upon the ground. The other etymologies, which would derive the word from either of the Hebrew verbs מָנָה or מָנַן, are more recent and less worthy of confidence, and do not agree with the sacred text; a literal translation of which (Ex. xvi. 15) is this: "*And the children of Israel saw and said, a man to his neighbour, what is this* (man hu); *for they knew not what it was.*"

The Arabian physician Avicenna gives the following description of the manna which in his time was used as a medicine:—"Manna is a dew which falls on stones or bushes, becomes thick like honey, and can be hardened so as to be like grains of corn."

Tamarix Gallica.

The substance now called manna in the Arabian desert through which the Israelites passed, is collected in the month of June from the *tarfa* or tamarisk shrub (*Tamarix gallica*). According to Burckhardt it drops from the thorns on the sticks and leaves with which the ground is covered, and must be gathered early in the day, or it will be

melted by the sun. The Arabs cleanse and boil it, strain it through a cloth, and put it in leathern bottles; and in this way it can be kept uninjured for several years. They use it like honey or butter with their unleavened bread, but never make it into cakes or eat it by itself. It abounds only in very wet years, and in dry seasons it sometimes disappears entirely. Various shrubs, all through the oriental world, from India to Syria, yield a substance of this kind. The tamarisk gum is by some supposed to be produced by the puncture of a small insect, which Ehrenberg has examined and described under the name of *Coccus manniparus*. See *Symbolae Physicae*, p. i.; *Transact. of Literary Society of Bombay*, i. 251. This surely could not have been the food of the Israelites during their forty years' sojourn in the wilderness, though the name might have been derived from some real or fancied resemblance to it.

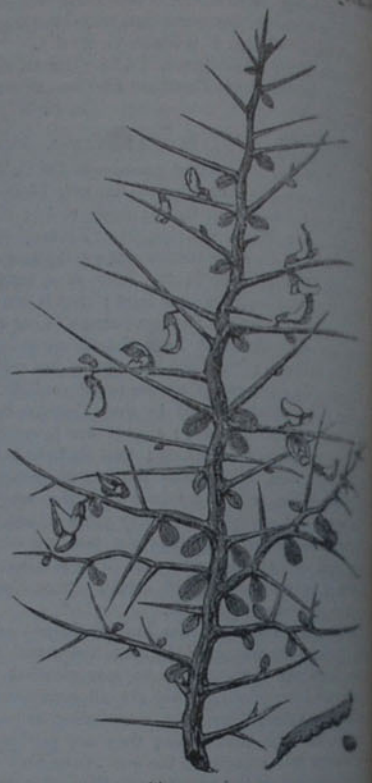
Rauwolf (*Trav.* i. 94) and some more recent travellers have observed that the dried grains of the oriental manna were like the coriander-seed. Gmelin (*Trav. through Russia to Persia*, pt. iii. p. 28) remarks this of the manna of Persia, which he says is white as snow. The peasants of Ispahan gather the leaves of a certain thorny shrub (the sweet thorn) and strike them with a stick, and the grains of manna are received in a sieve. Niebuhr observed that at Mardin in Mesopotamia, the manna lies like meal on the leaves of a tree called in the East *ballôt* and *afs* or *as*, which he regards as a species of oak.[a] The harvest is in July and August, and much more plentiful in wet than dry seasons. It is sometimes collected before sunrise by shaking it from the leaves on to a cloth, and thus collected it remains very white and pure. That which is not shaken off in the morning melts upon the leaves, and accumulates till it becomes very thick. The leaves are then gathered and put in boiling water, and the manna floats like oil upon the surface. This the natives call *manna essemma*, i. e. *heavenly manna*. In the valley of the Jordan Burckhardt found manna like gum on the leaves and branches of the tree *gharrob*,[b] which is as large as the olive-tree, having a leaf like the poplar, though somewhat broader. It appears like dew upon the leaves, is of a brown or grey colour, and drops on the ground. When first gathered it is sweet, but in a day or two becomes acid. The Arabs use it like honey or butter, and eat it in their oatmeal gruel. They also use it in cleaning their leather bottles and making them air-tight. The season for gathering this is May or June. Two other shrubs which have been supposed to yield the manna of Scripture, are the *Alhagi maurorum*, or Persian *manna*, and the *Alhagi desertorum*,—thorny plants common in Syria.

The manna of European commerce comes mostly from Calabria and Sicily. It is gathered during the months of June and July from some species of ash (*Ornus Europaea* and *Ornus rotundifolia*), from which it drops in consequence of a puncture by an insect resembling the locust, but distinguished from it by having a sting under its body. The substance is fluid at night, and resembles the dew, but in the morning it begins to harden.

[a] أصنف, which Freytag, however, identifies with some species of *Capparis*.

[b] Sprengel (*Hist. Rei herb.* i. 270) identifies the *gharb* or *gharab* with the *Salix babylonica*

Compare Rosenmüller's *Alterthumskunde*, iv. 316-29; Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. p. 53, [illegible] the Oriental travellers above referred to. [C. J.]



Athagi maurorum.

MANO'AH (מָנוֹחַ: Μανωέ; Joseph. Μάνωχης: *Manue*), the father of Samson; a Danite native of the town of Zorah (Judg. xiii. 2). The narrative of the Bible (xiii. 1-23), of the circumstances which preceded the birth of Samson, supplies us with very few and faint traits of Manoah's character or habits. He seems to have had some anticipation which separated him during part of the [illegible] from his wife, though that was not field work, because it was in the field that his wife was found by the angel during his absence. He was hospitable as his forefather Abram had been before him. He was a worshipper of Jehovah, and reverenced to a great degree of fear. These faint lineaments are brought into somewhat greater distinctness by Josephus (*Ant.* v. 8, §2, 3), on what authority we have no means of judging, though his account is doubtless founded on some ancient Jewish tradition or romance. "There was a certain Manoches who was a man of controversy the best and chiefest person of that country. This man had a wife of exceeding beauty, surpassing the other women of the place. Now when they had no children, and were much distressed thereat, he besought God that He would grant unto them a lawful heir, and for that purpose resorted often with his wife to the suburb (τὸ προάστειον) of the city. And in that place was

[a] Possibly to consult the Levites, whose special property the suburbs of the city were. But Zorah is nowhere stated to have been a Levites' city.

great plain. Now the man loved his wife to distraction, and on that account was exceedingly jealous of her. And it came to pass that his wife being alone, an angel appeared to her . . . and when he had said these things he departed, for he had come by the command of God. When her husband came she informed him of all things concerning the angel, wondering greatly at the beauty and size of the stranger, insomuch that he was filled with jealousy and with suspicion thereat. Then the woman desiring to relieve her husband of his excessive grief, besought God that He would send again the angel, so that the man might behold him as well as she. And it came to pass that when they were in the suburbs again, by the favour of God the angel appeared the second time to the woman, while her husband was absent. And she having prayed him to tarry awhile till she should fetch her husband, went and brought Manoches." The rest of the story agrees with the Bible.

We hear of Manoah once again in connexion with the marriage of Samson to the Philistine of Timnath. His father and his mother remonstrated with him thereon, but to no purpose (xiv. 2, 3). They then accompanied him to Timnath, both on the preliminary visit (vers. 5, 6), and to the marriage itself (v. 10). Manoah appears not to have survived his son: not he, but Samson's brothers, went down to Gaza for the body of the hero, and bringing it up to the family tomb between Zorah and Eshtaol, reunited the father to the son (xvi. 31), whose birth had been the subject of so many prayers and so much anxiety. Milton, however, does not take this view. In *Samson Agonistes* Manoah bears a prominent part throughout, and lives to bury his son. [G.]

MANSLAYER.[a] The principle on which the "manslayer" was to be allowed to escape, viz. that the person slain was regarded as "delivered into his hand" by the Almighty, was obviously open to much wilful perversion (1 Sam. xxiv. 4, 18; xxvi. 8; Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* iii. 21, vol. ii. 320), though the cases mentioned appear to be a sufficient example of the intention of the lawgiver. *a.* Death by a blow in a sudden quarrel (Num. xxxv. 22). *b.* Death by a stone or missile thrown at random (*ib.* 22, 23). *c.* By the blade of an axe flying from the handle (Deut. xix. 5). *d.* Whether the case of a person killed by falling from a roof unprovided with a parapet involved the guilt of manslaughter on the owner, is not clear; but the law seems intended to prevent the imputation of malice in any such case, by preventing as far as possible the occurrence of the fact itself (Deut. xxii. 8). (Michaelis, *On the Laws of Moses*, arts. 223, 280, ed. Smith.) In all these and the like cases the manslayer was allowed to retire to a city of refuge. [CITIES OF REFUGE.]

Besides these the following may be mentioned as cases of homicide. *a.* An animal, not known to be vicious, causing death to a human being, was to be put to death, and regarded as unclean. But if it was known to be vicious, the owner also was liable to fine, and even death (Ex. xxi. 28, 31). *b.* A thief surprised at night in the act might lawfully be put to death, but if the sun had risen the act of killing him was to be regarded as murder (Ex. xxii. 2, 3). Other cases are added by the Mishna, which, however are included in the definitions given above. (*Sanh.* ix. 1, 2, 3; *Maccoth*, ii. 2; Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* "Homicida." [MURDER.] [H. W. P.]

MANTLE. The word employed in the A. V. to translate no less than four Hebrew terms, entirely distinct and independent both in derivation and meaning.

1. שְׂמִיכָה, *s'micah*. This word occurs but once, viz. Judg. iv. 18, where it denotes the thing with which Jael covered Sisera. It has the definite article prefixed, and it may therefore be inferred that it was some part of the regular furniture of the tent. The clue to a more exact signification is given by the Arabic version of the Polyglott, which renders it by *alcatifah*, القطيفة, a word which is explained by Dozy,[a] on the authority of Ibn Batuta and other Oriental authors, to mean certain articles of a thick fabric, in shape like a plaid or shawl, which are commonly used for beds by the Arabs: "When they sleep they spread them on the ground." "For the under part of the bed they are doubled several times, and one longer than the rest is used for a coverlid." On such a bed on the floor of Heber's tent no doubt the weary Sisera threw himself, and such a coverlid must the *semicah* have been which Jael laid over him. The A. V. perhaps derived their word "mantle" from the *pallium* of the Vulgate, and the *mantel* of Luther.

2. מְעִיל, *meil*. (Rendered "mantle" in 1 Sam. xv. 27, xxviii. 14; Ezr. ix. 3, 5; Job i. 20, ii. 12; and Ps. cix. 29.) This word is in other passages of the A. V. rendered "coat," "cloak," and "robe." This inconsistency is undesirable; but in one case only—that of Samuel—is it of importance. It is interesting to know that the garment which his mother made and brought to the infant prophet at her annual visit to the Holy Tent at Shiloh was a miniature of the official priestly tunic or robe; the same that the great Prophet wore in mature years (1 Sam. xv. 27), and by which he was on one occasion actually identified. When the witch of Endor, in answer to Saul's inquiry, told him that "an old man was come up, covered with a *meil*," this of itself was enough to inform the king in whose presence he stood—"Saul perceived that it was Samuel" (xxviii. 14).

3 מַעֲטָפָה *maataphah* (the Hebrew word is found in Is. iii. 22 only). Apparently some article of a [b]lady's dress; probably an exterior tunic, longer and ampler than the internal one, and provided with sleeves. See Gesenius, *Jesaia*, i. 214; Schroeder, *de Vestitu Hebraearum*, ch. xv. § 1-5.

But the most remarkable of the four is:

4. אַדֶּרֶת, *addereth* (rendered "mantle" in 1 K. xix. 13, 19; 2 K. ii. 8, 13, 14; elsewhere "garment" and "robe"); since by it, and it only, is denoted the cape or wrapper which, with the exception of a strip of skin or leather round his loins,

[a] רָצַח, part. of רָצַח, "pierce" or "crush," Ges. p. 1196; δολοφόνος; *homicida*: used also in the sense of murderer. The phrase בִּשְׁגָגָה, ἀκουσίως, *per ignorantiam*, Ges. p. 1362, must therefore be included, to denote the distinction which the Law drew so plainly between malicious and involuntary homicide. (Ex. xxi. 13, 14; Lev. iv. 22; Num. xxxv. 22, 23; Deut. xix. 4, 5.

[a] *Dictionnaire des Vêtements Arabes*, p. 232. We gladly seize this opportunity to express our obligations to this admirable work.

[b] But see the curious speculations of Dr. Maitland in *Essay on False Worship*, p. 176, &c.

formed, as we have every reason to believe, the sole garment of the prophet Elijah.

Such clothing, or absence of clothing, is commonly assumed by those who aspire to extraordinary sanctity in the East at the present day—"Savage figures, with 'a cloak woven of camels' hair thrown over the shoulders, and tied in front on the breast, naked except at the waist, round which is a girdle of skin, the hair flowing loose about[c] the head.'" But a description still more exactly in accordance with the habit of the great Israelite [d] dervish, and supporting in a remarkable manner the view of the LXX., who render *addereth* by μηλωτήν, *i. e.* "sheep-skin," is found in the account of a French traveller[e] in the 16th century:—"L'enseigne que les dervis portent pour montrer qu'ils sont religieux, est une peau de brebis sur leurs épaules: et ne portent autre vêtement sur eux sinon une seule peau de mouton ou de brebis, et quelque chose devant leur parties honteuses."

Inaccurately as the word "mantle" represents such a garment as the above, it has yet become so identified with Elijah that it is impossible now to alter it. It is desirable therefore to substitute "mantle" for "garment" in Zech. xiii. 4; a passage from which it would appear that since the time of Elijah his garb had become the recognized sign of a prophet of Jehovah. [G.]

MA'OCH (מָעוֹךְ: Ἀμμάχ; Alex. Μωάβ: *Maoch*), the father of Achish, king of Gath, with whom David took refuge (1 Sam. xxvii. 2). In the Syriac version he is called Maachah; and in 1 K. ii. 39 we find Maachah described as the father of Achish, who was king of Gath at the beginning of Solomon's reign. It is not impossible that the same Achish may be intended in both cases (Keil, *Comm.* on 1 K. ii. 39), and Maoch and Maachah would then be identical; or Achish may have been a title, like Abimelech and Pharaoh, which would still leave Maoch and Maachah the same; "son" in either case denoting descendant.

MA'ON (מָעוֹן: Μαών, Μαᾶν; Alex. Μαων: *Maon*), one of the cities of the tribe of Judah, in the district of the mountains; a member of the same group which contains also the names of Carmel and Ziph (Josh. xv. 55). Its interest for us lies in its connexion with David. It was in the *midbar* or waste pasture-ground of Maon (A. V. "wilderness") that he and his men were lurking when the treachery of the Ziphites brought Saul upon them, and they had the narrow escape of the cliff of ham-Machlekoth (1 Sam. xxiii. 24, 25). It seems from these passages to have formed part of a larger district called "the Arabah" (A. V. ver. 24, "plain"), which can hardly have been the depressed locality round the Dead Sea usually known by that name. To the north of it was another tract or spot called "the Jeshîmon," possibly the dreary burnt-up hills lying on the immediate west of the Dead Sea. Close by was the hill or the cliff of Hacilah, and the *midbar* itself probably extended over and about the mountain (ver. 26), round which Saul was pursuing his fugitives when the sudden alarm of the Philistine incursion drew him off. Over the pastures of Maon and Carmel ranged the three thousand sheep and the thousand goats of Nabal (xxv. 2). Close adjoining was the *midbar* of [illegible] which the LXX. make identical with Maon. Josephus's version of the passage is curious—"a certain man of the Ziphites from the city Eremus" (*Ant.* vi. 13, §6).

The name of Maon still exists all but unchanged in the mouths of the Arab herdsmen and peasants in the south of Palestine. *Main*, is a lofty conical hill, south of, and about 7 miles distant from, Hebron. To the north there is an extensive prospect—on the one hand over the region bordering the Dead Sea, on the other as far as Hebron. Close in front is the lower eminence of Karmel, the ancient Carmel, no less intimately associated with David's fortunes than Maon itself (Stanley, 493, 494).

It is very much to be desired that some traveller would take the trouble to see how the actuality of *Main* agrees with the minute indications of the narrative cited above. See also HACHILAH.

In the genealogical records of the tribe of Judah in 1 Chronicles, Maon appears as a descendant of Hebron, through Rekem and Shammai, and in return the "father" or colonizer of Beth-zur (ii. 45). Hebron is of course the well-known metropolis of the southern country, and Beth-zur has been identified in *Beit-sûr*, 4 miles north of Hebron, and therefore about 11 from *Main*.

It should not however be overlooked that the original the name of Maon is identical with that of the Mehunim, and it is quite possible that before the conquest it may have been one of their towns, just as in the more central districts of Palestine there were places which preserved the memory of the Avites, the Zemarites, the Ammonites, and other tribes who originally founded them. [JERUSALEM, vol. i. 188*b*.]

MA'ONITES, THE (מְעוּנִים, *i. e.* Maon, without the article: Μαδιάμ in both MSS.: Chamon), a people mentioned in one of the addresses of Jehovah to the repentant Israelites, as having at some former time molested them: "the Zidonian also and Amalek, and Maon did oppress you, and ye cried to me, and I delivered you out of their hand" (Judg. x. 12). The name agrees with that of a people residing in the desert far south of Palestine elsewhere in the A. V. called MEHUNIM; but of no invasion of Israel by this people is related before the date of the passage in question, various explanations and conjectures have been offered. The reading of the LXX.—"Midian"—is remarkable as being found in both the great MSS., and having in that account a strong claim to be considered as the reading of the ancient Hebrew text. Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 322 *note*) appears to incline to this, which is also in its favour, that, if it be not genuine, Midian—whose ravages were then surely too recent to be forgotten—is omitted altogether from the enumeration. Still it is remarkable that no variation has hitherto been found in the Hebrew MSS. of the text. Michaelis (*Bibel für Ungelehrte*; and *Supplem.* 1437), on the other hand, accepts the current reading and explains the difficulty by assuming that Maon is included among the Bene-Kedem, or "children of the East," named in vi. 3: leaving, however, the equal difficulty of the omission of Israel's great foe Midian, unnoticed. The reason which would

[c] Light, *Travels in Egypt*, &c., quoted by Stanley, *S. & P.* 311.

[d] See the instructive and suggestive remarks of Dr. Wolff, on the points of correspondence between the ancient Prophets and the modern Dervishes (*Travels*, &c., i. 483; also 329, 531); and Stanley's *East. Church*, [illegible]

[e] Belon, *Observations* (Paris, 1588), quoted by [illegible] *Dictionnaire*, &c., p. 54.

as to accept Midian would lead us to reject the read-ing of the Syriac Peshito—"Ammon,"—the Bene-kamem having been already named. "Canaan" was probably a conjecture of Jerome's. [MEHU-MAM.]

A trace of the residence of the Maonites in the south of Palestine is perhaps extant in MAON, now Main, the city of Judah so well known in con-nexion with David. [G.]

MARA (מָרָא, or, according to the correction of the Kri, מָרָה), the name which NAOMI adopted in the exclamation forced from her by the recogni-tion of her fellow-citizens at Bethlehem (Ruth i. 20), "Call me not Naomi (pleasant), but call me Mara (bitter), for Shaddai hath dealt-very-bitterly (ha-rar) with me." The LXX. have preserved the play .... πικράν, ὅτι ἐπικράνθη .... ὁ ἱκανός; though hardly as well as Jerome, "*Vocate me Mara* (hoc est amaram) *quia amaritudine me replevit Omnipotens.*" Marah is often assumed to have been the origin of the name MARY, but inaccurately, for Mary—in the N. T. Mariam—is merely a cor-ruption of MIRIAM (see that article). [G.]

MARAH (מָרָה: Μέρρᾶ, Πικρία, Πικρίαι: *Mara*), a place which lay in the wilderness of Shur or Etham, three days' journey distant (Ex. xv. 22-24, Num. xxxiii. 8) from the place at which the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, and where was a spring of bitter water, sweetened subsequently by the casting in of a tree which "the Lord showed" to Moses. It has been suggested (Burckhardt, *Syria*, 474) that Moses made use of the berries of the plant *Ghurkud*,[a] and which still it is implied would be found similarly to operate. Robinson, however (i. 67), could not find that this or any tree was now known by the Arabs to possess such pro-perties; nor would those berries, he says, have been found so early in the season as the time when the Israelites reached the region. It may be added that, had any such resource ever existed, its eminent usefulness to the supply of human wants would hardly have let it perish from the traditions of the desert. Further, the expression "the Lord shewed" seems surely to imply the miraculous character of the transaction. As regards the identity of Marah with any modern site, all travellers appear to look out for water which is bitter at this day, whereas if miraculous, the effect would surely have been permanent, as it clearly is intended to be in 2 K. ii. 21. On this supposition, however, *How-arah*, distant 16½ hours (Rob. *B. R.*, i. 67) from *Ayoun Mousa*, has been by Robinson, as also by Burckhardt (April 27, 1816), Schubert (274), and Wellsted, identified with it, apparently because it is the bitterest water in the neighbourhood. Winer says (*s. v.*) that a still bitterer well lies east of Marah, the claims of which Tischendorf, it appears, has supported. Lepsius prefers *Wady Ghŭrundel*. Prof. Stanley thinks that the claim may be left be-tween this and *Howarah*, but adds in a note a men-tion of a spring south of *Howarah*, "so bitter that neither men nor camels could drink it," of which De Graul (vol. ii. p. 234) was told." The *Ayoun Mousa*, "wells of Moses," which local tradition assigns to Marah, are manifestly too close to the head of the gulf, and probable spot of crossing it, to suit the distance of "three days' journey." The soil of this region is described as being alternately gravelly, stony, and sandy; under the range of the *Gebel Wardan* chalk and flints are plentiful, and on the direct line of route between *Ayoun Mousa* and *Howarah* no water is found (Robinson, i. 67). [H. H.]

MAR'ALAH (מַרְעָלָה: Μαγελδά; Alex. Μαριλά: *Marala*), one of the landmarks on the boundary of the tribe of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 11), which, with most of the places accompanying it, is unfortunately hitherto unknown. Keil (*Josua*, ad loc.) infers, though on the slightest grounds, that it was somewhere on the ridge of Carmel. [G.]

MARAN'ATHA (Μαραναθά), an expression used by St. Paul at the conclusion of his first Epistle to the Corinthians (xvi. 22). It is a Grecised form of the Aramaic words מָרָן אֲתָא, "our Lord cometh." In the A. V. it is combined with the preceding "anathema;" but this is unnecessary; at all events it can only be regarded as adding emphasis to the previous adjuration. It rather appears to be added "as a weighty watchword" to impress upon the disciples the important truth that the Lord was at hand, and that they should be ready to meet Him (Alford, *Gr. Test.* in loc.). If, on the other hand, the phrase be taken to mean, as it may, "Our Lord *has* come," then the connection is, "the curse will remain, for the Lord has come who will take vengeance on those who reject Him." Thus the name "Maronite" is explained by a tradition that the Jews, in expectation of a Messiah, were constantly saying *Maran*, i.e. Lord; to which the Christians answered *Maran atha*, the Lord is come, why do you still expect Him? (Stanley, *Corinthians*, ad loc.). [W. L. B.]

MARBLE.[a] Like the Greek μάρμαρος, No. 1 (see foot-note), the generic term for marble may pro-bably be taken to mean almost any shining stone. The so-called marble of Solomon's architectural works, which Josephus calls λίθος λευκός, may thus have been limestone—(*a*) from near Jerusalem (*b*) from Lebanon (Jura limestone), identical with the material of the Sun Temple at Baalbec; or (*c*) white marble from Arabia or elsewhere (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 3, §2; Diod. Sic. ii. 52; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 12; Jamieson, *Mineralogy*, 41; Räumer, *Pal.* 28; Volney, *Trav.* ii. 241; Kitto, *Phys. Geogr. of Pal.* 73, 88; Robinson, ii. 493, iii. 508; Stanley, *S. & P.* 307, 424; Wellsted, *Trav.* i. 426, ii. 143). That this stone was not marble seems probable from the remark of Josephus, that whereas Solomon con-structed his buildings of "white stone," he caused the roads which led to Jerusalem to be made of "black stone," probably the black basalt of the *Haurân*; and also from his account of the porticoes of Herod's temple, which he says were μονόλιθοι λευκοτήτης μαρμάρου (Joseph. *Ant. l. c.*, and *B. J.* v. 5, §1, 6; Kitto, pp. 74, 75, 80,

[a] Robinson says (i. 26), "*peganum retusum*," Forsk., *Flora Aeg. Arab.* p. lxvi. More correctly, "*Nitraria tri-partita*" of Desfontaines, *Flora Atlant.* i. 372.

[a] 1. שֵׁשׁ, or שַׁיִשׁ; Πάριος, Πάριος λίθος; *marmor Parium*; from שָׁנַשׁ, to shine (Ges. 1384). 2. סַחֲרֶת, from סָחַר, to travel round, either a stone used in tessellated pavements, or one with circular spots (Ges. 947). 3. דֻּר; πύννινος λίθος; probably a stone with pearly appearance, like alabaster (Ges. 355). 4. בַּהַט; σμαραγδίτης λίθος; *lapis smaragdinus* (Ges. 182). The three last words used only in Esth. i. 6. 5. μάρμαρος; *marmor* (Rev. xviii. 12).

89). But whether the "costly stone" employed in Solomon's buildings was marble or not, it seems clear from the expressions both of Scripture and Josephus, that some at least of the "great stones," whose weight can scarcely have been less than 40 tons, must have come from Lebanon (1 K. v. 14-18, vii. 10; Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, §9).

There can be no doubt that Herod, both in the Temple and elsewhere, employed Parian or other marble. Remains of marble columns still exist in abundance at Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 9, §4, 6, and 11, §3, 5; Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 330; Sandys, 190; Robinson, i. 301, 305).

The marble pillars and tesserae of various colours of the palace at Susa came doubtless from Persia itself, where marble of various colours is found, especially in the province of Hamadan, Susiana. (Esth. i. 6; Marco Polo, *Travels*, 78, ed. Bohn; Chardin, *Voy.* iii. 280, 308, 358, and viii. 253; P. della Valle, *Viaggi*, ii. 250; Winer, s. v. "Marmor.") [H. W. P.]

MARCHESHVAN. [Months.]

MAR'CUS (Μάρκος: *Marcus*). The Evangelist Mark, who was cousin to Barnabas (Col. iv. 10), and the companion and fellow-labourer of the apostles Paul (Philem. 24) and Peter (1 Pet. v. 13). [Mark.]

MARDOCHE'US (Μαρδοχαῖος: *Mardochaeus*). 1. Mordecai, the uncle of Esther, in the apocryphal additions (Esth. x. 1, xi. 2, 12, xii. 1-6, xvi. 13; 2 Macc. xv. 36). The 14th of the month Adar, on which the feast of Purim was celebrated, is called in the last passage "Mardocheus' day" (ἡ Μαρδοχαϊκὴ ἡμέρα; *Mardochaei dies*).

2. (*Mardocheus*) = Mordecai, who returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua (1 Esdr. v. 8; comp. Ezr. ii. 2).

MARE'SHAH (מָרֵאשָׁה, in Josh. only; elsewhere in the shorter form of מָרֵשָׁה: Βαθησάρ, τὴν Μαρεισάν; Alex. Μαρησα: *Maresa*), one of the cities of Judah in the district of the Shefelah or low country; named in the same group with Keilah and Nezib (Josh. xv. 44). If we may so interpret the notices of the 1 Chronicles (see below), Hebron itself was colonized from Mareshah. It was one of the cities fortified and garrisoned by Rehoboam after the rupture with the northern kingdom (2 Chr. xi. 8). The natural inference is, that it commanded some pass or position of approach, an inference which is supported by the fact that it is named as the point to which the enormous horde of Zerah the Cushite reached in his invasion of Judaea, before he was met and repulsed by Asa (2 Chr. xiv. 9). A ravine (ver. 10; *Ge*: A. V. "valley") bearing the name of Zephathah was near. In the rout which followed the encounter, the flying Cushites were pursued to the Bedouin station of Gerar (ver. 14, 15).

Mareshah is mentioned once or twice in the history of the Maccabaean struggles. Judas probably passed through it on his way from Hebron to avenge the defeat of Joseph and Azarias (1 Macc. v. 66. The reading of the LXX. and A. V. is Samaria; but Josephus, *Ant.* xii. 8, §6, has *Marisa*, and its position is exactly suitable, which that of Samaria is not. The same exchange, but reversed, will be found in 2 Macc. xii. 35.)

A few days later it afforded a refuge to Gorgias when severely wounded in the attack of Timotheus (2 Macc. xii. 35; here, as just remarked, the Syriac version would substitute Samaria—a change quite unallowable). Its subsequent fortunes were sad enough, but hardly worse than might be expected for a place which lay as it were at the junction of two cross-roads, north and south, east and west, each the constant thoroughfare of armies. It was burnt by Judas in his Idumaean war, in passing from Hebron to Azotus (*Ant.* xii. 8, §6). About the year 110 B.C. it was taken from the Idumaeans by John Hyrcanus. Some forty years after, about B.C. 63, its restoration was decreed by the clement Pompey (*Ant.* xiv. 4, §4), though it appears not to have been really reinstated till later (xiv. 5, §3). But it was only rebuilt to become again a victim (B.C. 39), this time to the Parthians, who plundered and destroyed it in their rage at not finding in Jerusalem the treasure they anticipated (*Ant.* xiv. 13, §9; *B. J.* i. 13, §9). It was in ruins in the 4th century, when Eusebius and Jerome describe it as in the second mile from Eleutheropolis. S.S.W. of *Beit-jibrin*—in all probability Eleutheropolis—and a little over a Roman mile therefrom, is a site called *Marash*, which is very possibly the representative of the ancient Mareshah. It is described by the indefatigable Tobler (*Dritte Wand.* 129, 142) as lying on a great swelling hill leading down from the mountains to the great western plain, from which it is but half an hour distant. The ruins are not extensive, as Dr. Robinson, to whom their discovery is due, has ingeniously conjectured (on grounds for which the reader is referred to *B. R.* ii. 67, 68) that the materials were employed in building the neighbouring Eleutheropolis.

On two other occasions Mareshah comes forward in the O. T. It was the native place of Eliezer ben-Dodavah, a prophet who predicted the destruction of the ships which king Jehoshaphat had built in conjunction with Ahaziah of Israel (2 Chr. xx. 37). It is included by the prophet Micah among the towns of the low country which his attempts to rouse to a sense of the dangers their misconduct is bringing upon them (Mic. i. 14). Like the rest, the apostrophe to Mareshah is a play on the name: "I will bring yet an heir (*yoresh*) to you, oh city of inheritance" (*Mareshah*). The following verse (16) shows that the inhabitants had adopted the heathen and forbidden custom of cutting off the back hair as a sign of mourning.

2. (Μαρεισᾶ) Father of Hebron, and apparently a son or descendant of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel (1 Chr. ii. 42), who derived his descent from Judah through Pharez. "The sons of Caleb were . . . Mesha, the father of Ziph, and the sons of Maresha father of Hebron." It is difficult not to suppose that Mesha may have been a transcriber's variation for Maresha, especially as the text of the LXX.—both MSS.—actually stands so. It is however only a probable conjecture. The names in these lists are many of them no doubt those not of persons but of towns, and whether Mesha and Mareshah be identical or not, a close relationship is equally denoted between the towns of Hebron and Mareshah. But

* Benjamin of Tudela (Asher, i. 77) identifies Mareshah with "Beit Gabrin." Parchi, with unusual inaccuracy, would place it in the mountains East of Jaffa.

3. (Μαρησ; Alex. Μαρησα) in 1 Chr. iv. 21 we find Mareshah again named as deriving its origin from SHELAH, the third son of Judah, through Laadah. Whether this Mareshah be a man or a place, identical with or distinct from the last-mentioned, it is impossible to determine. [G.]

MARIMOTH (*Marimoth*). The same as MEREMOTH the priest, one of the ancestors of Ezra (1 Esdr. i. 2; comp. Ezr. vii. 3). He is also called MARAIMOTH (1 Esdr. viii. 2).

MARISA (Μαρισά: *Maresa*), the Greek form of the name MARESHAH, occurring 2 Macc. xii. 35 [G.]

MARK (Μάρκος: *Marcus*). Mark the Evangelist is probably the same as "John whose surname was Mark" (Acts xii. 12, 25). Grotius indeed maintains the contrary, on the ground that the earliest ecclesiastical writers nowhere call the Evangelist by the name of John, and that they always describe him as the companion of Peter and not of Paul. But John was the Jewish name, and Mark, a name of frequent use amongst the Romans, was adopted afterwards, and gradually superseded the other. The places in the N. T. enable us to trace the process. The John Mark of Acts xii. 12, 25, and the John of Acts xiii. 5, 13, becomes Mark only in Acts xv. 39, Col. iv. 10, 2 Tim. iv. 11, Philem. 24. The change of John to Mark is analogous to that of Saul to Paul; and we cannot doubt that the disuse of the Jewish name in favour of the other is intentional, and has reference to the putting away of his former life, and entrance upon a new ministry. No inconsistency arises from the accounts of his ministering to two Apostles. The desertion of Paul (Acts xiii. 13) may have been prompted partly by a wish to rejoin Peter and the Apostles engaged in preaching in Palestine (Benson; see Kuinoel's note), though partly from a disinclination to a perilous and laborious journey. There is nothing strange in the character of a warm impulsive young man, drawn almost equally towards the two great teachers of the faith, Paul and Peter. Had mere cowardice been the cause of his withdrawal, Barnabas would not so soon after have chosen him for another journey, nor would he have accepted the choice.

John Mark was the son of a certain Mary, who dwelt at Jerusalem, and was therefore probably born in that city (Acts xii. 12). He was the cousin (ἀνεψιός) of Barnabas (Col. iv. 10). It was to Mary's house, as to a familiar haunt, that Peter came after his deliverance from prison (Acts xii. 12), and there found "many gathered together praying;" and probably John Mark was converted by Peter from finding him in his mother's house, for he speaks of "Marcus my son" (1 Pet. v. 13). This natural link of connexion between the two passages is broken by the supposition of two Marks, which is on all accounts improbable. The theory that he was one of the seventy disciples is without any warrant. Another theory, that an event of the night of our Lord's betrayal, related by Mark alone, is one that he had himself (Olshausen, Lange), must not be so promptly dismissed. "There followed Him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him: and he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked" (Mark xiv. 51, 52). The detail of facts is remarkably minute, the name only is wanting. The most probable view is that St. Mark suppressed his own name, whilst telling a story which he had the best means of knowing. Awakened out of sleep, or just preparing for it, in some house in the valley of Kedron, he comes out to see the seizure of the betrayed Teacher, known to him and in some degree beloved already. He is so deeply interested in His fate that he follows Him even in his own linen robe. His demeanour is such that some of the crowd are about to arrest him; then, "fear overcoming shame" (Bengel), he leaves his garment in their hands and flees. We can only say that if the name of Mark is supplied the narrative receives its most probable explanation. John (i. 40, xix. 26) introduces himself in this unobtrusive way, and perhaps Luke the same (xxiv. 18). Mary the mother of Mark seems to have been a person of some means and influence, and her house a rallying point for Christians in those dangerous days. Her son, already an inquirer, would soon become more. Anxious to work for Christ, he went with Paul and Barnabas as their "minister" (ὑπηρέτης) on their first journey; but at Perga, as we have seen above, turned back (Acts xii. 25, xiii. 13). On the second journey Paul would not accept him again as a companion, but Barnabas his kinsman was more indulgent; and thus he became the cause of the memorable "sharp contention" between them (Acts xv. 36-40). Whatever was the cause of Mark's vacillation, it did not separate him for ever from Paul, for we find him by the side of that Apostle in his first imprisonment at Rome (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24). In the former place a possible journey of Mark to Asia is spoken of. Somewhat later he is with Peter at Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13). Some consider Babylon to be a name here given to Rome in a mystical sense; surely without reason, since the date of a letter is not the place to look for a figure of speech. Of the causes of this visit to Babylon there is no evidence. It may be conjectured that he made the journey to Asia Minor (Col. iv. 10), and thence went on to join Peter at Babylon. On his return to Asia he seems to have been with Timothy at Ephesus when Paul wrote to him during his second imprisonment, and Paul was anxious for his return to Rome (2 Tim. iv. 11).

When we desert Scripture we find the facts doubtful and even inconsistent. If Papias be trusted (quoted in Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39), Mark never was a disciple of our Lord; which he probably infers from 1 Pet. v. 13. Epiphanius, on the other hand, willing to do honour to the Evangelist, adopts the tradition that he was one of the seventy-two disciples, who turned back from our Lord at the hard saying in John vi. (*Cont. Haer.* li. 6, p. 457, Dindorf's recent edition). The same had been said of St. Luke. Nothing can be decided on this point. The relation of Mark to Peter is of great importance for our view of his Gospel. Ancient writers with one consent make the Evangelist the interpreter (ἑρμηνευτής) of the Apostle Peter (Papias in Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39; Irenaeus, *Haer.* iii. 1, iii. 10, 6; Tertullian, *c. Marc.* iv. 5; Hieronymus, *ad Hedib.* ix., &c.). Some explain this word to mean that the office of Mark was to translate into the Greek tongue the Aramaic discourses of the Apostle (Eichhorn, Bertholdt, &c.); whilst others adopt the more probable view that Mark wrote a Gospel which conformed more exactly than the others to Peter's preaching, and thus "interpreted" it to the church at large (Valesius, Alford, Lange, Ewald, Meyer, &c.). The passage from Eusebius

favours the latter view; it is a quotation from Papias. "This also [John] the elder said:—Mark, being the interpreter of Peter, wrote down exactly whatever things he remembered, but yet not in the order in which Christ either spoke or did them; for he was neither a hearer nor a follower of the Lord's, but he was afterwards, *as I* [Papias] *said, a follower of Peter*." The words in italics refer to the word interpreter above, and the passage describes a disciple writing down what his master preached, and not an interpreter orally translating his words. This tradition will be further examined below. [MARK, GOSPEL OF.] The report that Mark was the companion of Peter *at Rome* is no doubt of great antiquity. Clement of Alexandria is quoted by Eusebius as giving it for "a tradition which he had received of the elders from the first" (*παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων*, Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 14; Clem. Alex. *Hyp.* 6). But the force of this is invalidated by the suspicion that it rests on a misunderstanding of 1 Pet. v. 13, Babylon being wrongly taken for a typical name of Rome (Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 15; Hieron. *De Vir. ill.* 8). Sent on a mission to Egypt by Peter (Epiphanius, *Haer.* li. 6, p. 457, Dindorf; Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 16), Mark there founded the church of Alexandria (Hieron. *De Vir. ill.* 8), and preached in various places (Niceph. *H. E.* ii. 43), then returned to Alexandria, of which church he was bishop, and suffered a martyr's death (Niceph. ibid., and Hieron. *De Vir. ill.* 8). But none of these later details rest on sound authority. (SOURCES:—The works on the Gospels referred to under LUKE and GOSPELS; also Fritzsche, *In Marcum*, Leipzig, 1830; Lange, *Bibelwerk*, part ii., &c.) [W. T.]

MARK, GOSPEL OF. The characteristics of this Gospel, the shortest of the four inspired records, will appear from the discussion of the various questions that have been raised about it.

I. *Sources of this Gospel.*—The tradition that it gives the teaching of Peter, rather than of the rest of the Apostles, has been alluded to above. The witness of John the Presbyter, quoted by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 39) through Papias, has been cited. [See p. 235, b.] Irenaeus calls Mark "interpres et sectator Petri," and cites the opening and the concluding words of the Gospel as we now possess them (iii. x. 6). He also alludes to a sect (the Cerinthians?) who hold "impassibilem perseverasse Christum, passum vero Jesum," and who prefer the Gospel of St Mark to the rest (iii. xi. 7). Eusebius says, on the authority of Clement of Alexandria, that the hearers of Peter at Rome desired Mark, the follower of Peter, to leave with them a record of his teaching; upon which Mark wrote his Gospel, which the Apostle afterwards sanctioned with his authority, and directed that it should be read in the Churches (Eus. *H. E.* ii. 15). Elsewhere, quoting Clement again, we have the same account, except that Peter is there described as "neither hindering nor urging" the undertaking (*H. E.* vi. 14). The apparent contradiction has been conciliated by supposing that Peter neither helped nor hindered the work before it was completed, but gave his approval afterwards ("licet fieri ipsum non jusserit, tamen factum non prohibuit," Ruffinus: see note of Valesius *in loc.* Eus.). Tertullian (*Cont. Marcionem*, iv. 5) speaks of the Gospel of Mark as being connected with Peter, "cujus interpres Marcus," and so having apostolic authority. Epiphanius says that, immediately after St. Matthew, the task was laid on St. Mark, "the follower of St. Peter at Rome," of writing a (*Haer.* li.). Hieronymus (*De Vir. ill.* 8) story of Eusebius; and again says that was written, "Petro narrante, et illo (*Ad Hedib.* 2). If the evidence of the connexion with this Gospel rested wholly passages, it would not be sufficient, since nesses, though many in number, are not pendent of each other, and there are former of the passages from Eusebius, enhance the authority of the Gospel by proval, whilst the latter passage does not same sanction. But there are peculiarities Gospel which are best explained by the that Peter in some way superintended its sition. Whilst there is hardly any part rative that is not common to it and Gospel, in the manner of the narrative often a marked character, which puts the supposition that we have here a mere of Matthew and Luke. The picture of events is far more vivid; touches are such as could only be noted by a witness, and such as make us almost of the Redeemer's doings. The most case of this is the account of the demoniac country of the Gadarenes, where the following are peculiar to Mark: "And no man could no not with chains: because that he had bound with fetters and chains, and the been plucked asunder by him, and the fetters in pieces: neither could any man tame him. always night and day he was in the crying and cutting himself with stones. he saw Jesus afar off, he ran," &c. indebted for the picture of the fierce and wanderer to the Evangelist whose briefest, and whose style is the least sometimes adds to the account of the notice of our Lord's look (iii. 34, viii. x. 23); he dwells on human feelings and of them; on our Lord's pity for the strict charge not to publish the miracle He "loved" the rich young man for (x. 21); He "looked round" with another occasion called it out (iii. 5); in spirit (vii. 34, viii. 12). All these to Mark; and they would be explained by the theory that one of the disciples Jesus had supplied them. To this that whilst Mark goes over the same most part as the other Evangelists, Matthew, there are many facts thrown prove that we are listening to an Thus the humble origin of Peter through him (i. 16-20), and his Capernaum (i. 29); he tells us that son of Alphaeus" (ii. 14), that Peter given by our Lord to Simon (iii. 16), a surname added by Him to the names (iii. 17); he assumes the existence of of disciples wider than the Twelve 10, 36, viii. 34, xiv. 51, 52): the name of Jairus (v. 22), the word applied to our Lord (vi. 3), the "Syrophoenician" woman (vii. 26); Dalmanutha for the "Magdala" of 10); he names Bartimaeus (x. 46); tions that our Lord would not suffer carry any vessel through the Temple that Simon of Cyrene was the father and Rufus (xv. 21). All these are

...ignificant writer, different from Matthew and Luke, ...and in the absence of other traditions it is natural ...to look to Peter. One might hope that much light ...would be thrown on this question from the way in ...which Peter is mentioned in the Gospel; but the ...evidence is not so clear as might have been expected. ...Peter is often mentioned without any special occa... ...sion for it (i. 36, v. 37, xi. 20-26, xiii. 2, xvi. 7); ...but on the other hand there are passages from which ...it might seem that the writer knew less of the great ...Apostle. Thus in Matt. xv. 15 we have "Peter;" ...in the parallel place in Mark only "the disciples." ...The Apostle's walking on the sea is omitted: so the ...blessing pronounced on him (Matt. xvi. 17-19), and ...the promise made to all the Apostles in answer to ...him (Matt. xix. 28). Peter was one of those who ...were sent to prepare the Passover; yet Mark omits ...his name. The word "bitterly" of Matthew and ...Luke is omitted by Mark from the record of Peter's ...repentance; whilst the account of his denials is full ...and circumstantial. It has been sought to account ...for these omissions on the ground of humility; but ...some may think that this cannot be the clue to all ...the places. But what we generalize from these ...passages is, that the name Peter is peculiarly dealt ...with, added here, and there withdrawn, which ...would be explained if the writer had access to ...special information about Peter. On the whole, in ...spite of the doubtfulness of Eusebius' sources, and ...the almost self-contradiction into which he falls, the ...internal evidence inclines us to accept the account ...that this inspired Gospel has some connexion with ...St. Peter, and records more exactly the preaching ...which he, guided by the Spirit of God, uttered for ...the instruction of the world.

Relation of Mark to Matthew and Luke.—The results of criticism as to the relation of the three Gospels are somewhat humiliating. Up to this day three views are maintained with equal ...ardour: (*a*) that Mark's Gospel is the original ...Gospel out of which the other two have been ...developed; (*b*) that it was a compilation from the ...other two, and therefore was written last; and ...(*c*) that it was copied from that of Matthew, and ...forms a link of transition between the other two. ...(*a*) Of the first view Thiersch may serve as the ...exponent. "No one," he says, "will now venture ...to call Mark a mere epitomizer of Matthew and ...Luke. Were his Gospel an epitome of theirs, it ...would bear the marks of the attempt to combine ...in one the excellences of both; else the labour of ...epitome would have been without an object. But ...the very opposite is the case. We miss the pecu... ...liarities of Matthew and Luke. We find that ...which is common to both. And therefore, were ...Mark's Gospel a mere epitome of the others, we ...should have a third repetition of that which had ...been already twice related, with so little additional ...or more exact matter, that the intention and con... ...duct of the writer would remain a riddle. This ...difficulty disappears, and a great step is made in ...threading the labyrinth of the Gospel harmony, ...when we see that Mark formed the basis of Mat... ...thew and Luke. Where they follow him they ...agree. Where they do not, as in the history of ...our Lord's childhood, in His discourses, and in ...His appearances after His resurrection, they differ ...widely, and each takes his own way" (Thiersch, ...*Church History*, p. 94, Carlyle's translation). But ...the amount of independent narrative is too great, ...in each of the others, to admit of their having ...derived their Gospels from Mark; and in the places which they have in common, each treats the events in an independent way, and not as a copyist. Still this opinion has been held by Herder, Storr, Wilke, Weisse, Reuss, Ewald, and others. (*b*) The theory that Mark's Gospel is a compilation and abridgment of that of Matthew is maintained by Augustin, and after him by Euthymius and Michaelis. The facts on which it rests are clear enough. There are in St. Mark only about three events which St. Matthew does not narrate (Mark i. 23, viii. 22, xii. 41); and thus the matter of the two may be regarded as almost the same. But the form in St. Mark is, as we have seen, much briefer, and the omissions are many and important. The explanation is that Mark had the work of Matthew before him, and only condensed it. But many would make Mark a compiler from both the others (Griesbach, De Wette, &c.), arguing from passages where there is a curious resemblance to both (see De Wette, *Handbuch*, §94*a*). (*c*) Lastly, the theory that the Gospel before us forms a sort of transition-link between the other two, standing midway between the Judaic tendency of Matthew and the Universalist or Gentile Gospel of St. Luke, need not trouble us much here [see above, p. 155]. An account of these views may be found in Hilgenfeld's *Evangelien*. It is obvious that they refute one another: the same internal evidence suffices to prove that Mark is the first, and the last, and the intermediate. Let us return to the facts, and, taught by these contradictions what is the worth of "internal evidence," let us carry our speculations no further than the facts. The Gospel of Mark contains scarcely any events that are not recited by the others. There are verbal coincidences with each of the others, and sometimes peculiar words from both meet together in the parallel place in Mark. On the other hand, there are unmistakeable marks of independence. He has passages peculiar to himself (as iii. 20, 21, iv. 26-29, vii. 31-37, viii. 22-26, xi. 11-14, xiv. 51, 52, xvi. 9-11), and a peculiar fulness of detail where he goes over the same ground as the others. The beginning of his Gospel is peculiar; so is the end. Remarkable is the absence of passages quoted from the Old Testament by the writer himself, who, however, recites such passages when used by our Lord. There are only two exceptions to this, namely, the opening verses of the Gospel, where Mal. iii. 1 and Is. xl. 3 are cited; and a verse in the account of the crucifixion (xv. 28), where he quotes the words, "and He was numbered with the transgressors" (Is. liii. 12); but this is rejected by Alford and Tischendorf as spurious, inserted here from Luke xxii. 37. After deducting these exceptions, 23 quotations from or references to the O. T. remain, in all of which it is either our Lord Himself who is speaking, or some one addressing Him.

The hypothesis which best meets these facts is, that whilst the matter common to all three Evangelists, or to two of them,[a] is derived from the oral teaching of the Apostles, which they had purposely reduced to a common form, our Evangelist writes as an independent witness to the truth, and not as a compiler; and that the tradition that the Gospel was written under the sanction of Peter, and its matter in some degree derived from him, is made probable by the evident traces of an eye-witness in

[a] Mark has 39 sections common to all three; 23 common to him and Matthew; and 18 common to him and Luke.

many of the narratives. The omission and abridgment of our Lord's discourses, and the sparing use of O. T. quotations, might be accounted for by the special destination of the Gospel, if we had surer data for ascertaining it; but it was for Gentiles, with whom illustrations from the O. T. would have less weight, and the purpose of the writer was to present a clear and vivid picture of the acts of our Lord's human life, rather than a full record of His divine doctrine. We may thankfully own that, with little that is in substance peculiar to himself, the Evangelist does occupy for us a distinct position, and supply a definite want, in virtue of these characteristics.

III. *This Gospel written primarily for Gentiles.*—We have seen that the Evangelist scarcely refers to the O. T. in his own person. The word Law (*νόμος*) does not once occur. The genealogy of our Lord is likewise omitted. Other matters interesting chiefly to the Jews are likewise omitted; such as the references to the O. T. and Law in Matt. xii. 5-7, the reflexions on the request of the Scribes and Pharisees for a sign, Matt. xii. 38-45; the parable of the king's son, Matt. xxii. 1-14; and the awful denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees, in Matt. xxiii. Explanations are given in some places, which Jews could not require: thus, Jordan is a "river" (Mark i. 5; Matt. iii. 6); the Pharisees, &c. "used to fast" (Mark ii. 18; Matt. ix. 14), and other customs of theirs are described (Mark vii. 1-4; Matt. xv. 1, 2); "the time of figs was not yet," *i. e.* at the season of the Passover (Mark xi. 13; Matt. xxi. 19); the Sadducees' worst tenet is mentioned (Mark xii. 18); the Mount of Olives is "over against the temple" (Mark xiii. 3; Matt. xxiv. 3); at the Passover men eat "unleavened bread" (Mark xiv. 1, 12; Matt. xxvi. 2, 17), and explanations are given which Jews would not need (Mark xv. 6, 16, 42; Matt. xxvii. 15, 27, 57). Matter that might offend is omitted, as Matt. x. 5, 6, vi. 7, 8. Passages, not always peculiar to Mark, abound in his Gospel, in which the antagonism between the pharisaic legal spirit and the Gospel come out strongly (i. 22, ii. 19, 22, x. 5, viii. 15), which hold out hopes to the heathen of admission to the kingdom of heaven even without the Jews (xii. 9), and which put ritual forms below the worship of the heart (ii. 18, iii. 1-5, vii. 5-23). Mark alone preserves those words of Jesus, "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath" (ii. 27). Whilst he omits the invective against the Pharisees, he indicates by a touch of his own how Jesus condemned them "with anger" (iii. 5). When the Lord purges the Temple of those that polluted it, He quotes a passage of Isaiah (lvi. 7); but Mark alone reports as part of it the words "of all nations" (xi. 17). Mark alone makes the Scribe admit that love is better than sacrifices (xii. 33). From the general testimony of these places, whatever may be objected to an inference from one or other amongst them, there is little doubt but that the Gospel was meant for use in the first instance amongst Gentiles. But the facts give no warrant for the dream that the first Evangelist represents the Judaic type of Christianity, and the third the Pauline; and that Mark occupies an intermediate position, marking the transition from one to the other! In St. Mark we have the Gospel as it was preached to all the world, and it is so presented as to suit the wants of Gentiles. But there is not a trace of the wish, consciously or unconsciously, to assist in any change of Christian belief or modes of thinking. In all things it is calm history, not a polemical pleading.

IV. *Time when the Gospel was written.*—[illegible] be understood from what has been said, that [illegible] thing positive can be asserted as to the time when this Gospel was written. The traditions are contradictory. Irenaeus says that it was written after the death (*ἔξοδον*, but Grabe would translate wrongly, *departure* from Rome) of the [illegible] Peter (Eusebius, *H. E.* v. 8); but we have seen above, that in other passages it is supposed to be written during Peter's lifetime (Eus. *H. E.* [illegible] and ii. 15). In the Bible there is nothing to [illegible] the question. It is not likely that it dates before the reference to Mark in the epistle to the Colossians (iv. 10), where he is only introduced as relative of Barnabas, as if this were his [illegible] distinction; and this epistle was written [illegible] A.D. 62. If after coming to Asia Minor on [illegible] sending he went on and joined Peter at Rome, he may have then acquired, or rather completed, that knowledge of Peter's preaching, which tradition teaches us to look for in the Gospel, and which there is so much internal evidence; and after this the Gospel may have been composed. On the other hand, it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem (xiii. 13, 24–30, [illegible]). Probably, therefore, it was written between A.D. 63 and 70. But nothing can be certainly determined on this point.

V. *Place where the Gospel was written.*—[illegible] place is as uncertain as the time. Clement, Eusebius, Jerome, and Epiphanius, pronounce for Rome, and many moderns take the same view. The [illegible] expressions in the Gospel prove nothing; for there is little doubt that, wherever the Gospel was written, the writer had been at Rome, and [illegible] its language. Chrysostom thinks Alexandria, but this is not confirmed by other testimony.

VI. *Language.*—The Gospel was written in Greek; of this there can be no doubt if [illegible] testimony is to weigh. Baronius indeed, on the authority of an old Syriac translation, asserts that Latin was the original language; and some [illegible] refered to in Scholz (*Greek Test.* p. xxx.) support the same; but this arises no doubt from the belief that it was written at Rome and for Gentiles. The opinion and its grounds Wahl has [illegible] supposing that the Gospel was written at Alexandria in Coptic. A Latin Gospel written for the use of Roman Christians would not have been lost without any mention of it in an [illegible] writer.

VII. *Genuineness of the Gospel.*—Schleiermacher was the first perhaps to question that we have in our present Gospel that of which Papias spoke, on the ground that his words would apply to a simpler and less orderly composition (Schleiermacher, *Kritiken*, 1832). Accordingly the usual assumption of a later editor is brought in, as in the case of St. Luke's Gospel [see p. 155]. But the words of Papias require no such aid (Euseb. *H. E.* [illegible]), nor would such authority be decisive if they did. All ancient testimony makes Mark the author of a certain Gospel, and that this is the Gospel which has come down to us, there is not the least [illegible] rical ground for doubting. Owing to the very sections peculiar to Mark, evidence from [illegible] quotation is somewhat difficult to produce. Justin Martyr, however, quotes ch. ix. 44, 46, 48, and iii. 17, and Irenaeus cites both the opening and closing words (iii. 10. 6). An important testi-

...ness, but doubly so from the doubt that has been cast on the closing verses (xvi. 9-19). Concerning these verses see Meyer's, Alford's, and Tischendorf's notes. The passage is rejected by the majority of modern critics, on the testimony of MSS. and of old writers and on the internal evidence of the diction. Though it is probable that this section is from a different hand, and was annexed to the Gospel soon after the time of the Apostles, it must be remembered that it is found in three of the four great uncial MSS. (A.C.D), and is quoted without any question by Irenæus. Among late critics Olshausen still pronounces for its genuineness. With the exception of these few verses the genuineness of the Gospel is placed above the reach of reasonable doubt.

VIII. *Style and Diction.*—The purpose of the Evangelist seems to be to place before us a vivid picture of the earthly acts of Jesus. The style is peculiarly suitable to this. He uses the present tense instead of the narrative aorist, almost in every chapter. The word εὐθέως, "straightway," is used by St. Mark forty-one times. The first person is preferred to the third (iv. 39, v. 8, 9, 12, vi. 2, 4, 31, 33, ix. 25, 53, xii. 6). Precise and minute details as to persons, places, and numbers, abound in the narrative. All these tend to give force and vividness to the picture of the human life of our Lord. On the other side, the facts are not very exactly arranged; they are often connected by using more definite than καὶ and πάλιν. Its graphicness sometimes makes this Gospel more obscure than the others (i. 13, ix. 5, 6, iv. 26-34).

Many peculiarities of diction may be noticed; amongst them the following:—1. Hebrew (Aramaic) words are used, but explained for Gentile readers (iii. 17, 22, v. 41, vii. 11, 34, ix. 43, x. 46, xiv. 36, xv. 22, 34). 2. Latin words are very frequent, as δηνάριον, λεγεών, σπεκουλάτωρ, κεντυρίων, ξέστος, κοδράντης, φραγγελλόω, πραιτώριον, ζίστης. 3. Unusual words or phrases are found here; as ἐξάπινα, ix. 8; ἐπισυντρέχειν, x. 15; ταυνεχῶς, xii. 34; νάρδος πιστική, xiv. 3; ἀναλύω, xv. 46; ἦφιε, i. 34, xi. 16; προσκαρτερεῖν (of a thing), iii. 9; ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον καθεύδων, iv. 38; προέλαβε μυρίσαι, xiv. 8. 4. Diminutives are frequent. 5. The substantive is often repeated instead of the pronoun; as (to cite from ch. ii. only) ii. 16, 18, 20, 22, 27, 28. 6. Negatives are accumulated for the sake of emphasis (vii. 12, ix. 8, xii. 34, xv. 5, i. 44 (οὐκέτι οὐκέτι), xiv. 25, &c., &c.). 7. Words are often added to adverbs for the sake of emphasis; as τότε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ii. 20; διαπαντὸς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, v. 5; εὐθέως μετὰ στενοχωρίαν, vi. 25; ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς τῆς κτίσεως, vii. 21, viii. 4, x. 20, xiii. 29, xiv. 30, 43. 8. The same idea is often repeated under another expression, as i. 42, ii. 25, viii. 15, xiv. 9, &c. 9. And sometimes the repetition is effected by means of the opposite, as in i. 22, 44, and many other places. 10. Sometimes emphasis is given by simple reiteration, as in ii. 15,-19. 11. The elliptic use of ἵνα, like that of ὅπως in classical writers, is found, v. 23. 12. The word παρρησίᾳ is used twenty-five times in this Gospel. 13. Instead of συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν of Matt. Mark has συμβούλιον ποιεῖν, iii. 6, xv. 1. 13. There are many words peculiar to Mark; thus ἀκάθαρτος, vii. 37, ix. 17, 25; ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, ix. 15, xiv. 33, xvi. 5, 6; ἐναγκαλίζεσθαι, ix. 36, x. 16; κατακρημνίσαι, xv. 39, 44, 45; προμεριμνᾶν, xiii. 11; κατατοξεύσασθαι, x. 35; στίλβειν, ix. 3; στομβάς, xi. 8; συνθλίβειν, v. 24, 31; σκώληξ, ix. 44, 46, 48; παιδιόθεν, ix. 21; σμυρνίζω, xv. 23.

The diction of St. Mark presents the difficulty that whilst it abounds in Latin words, and in expressions that recall Latin equivalents, it is still much more akin to the Hebraistic diction of St. Matthew than to the purer style of St. Luke.

IX. *Quotations from the Old Testament.*—The following list of references to the Old Testament is nearly or quite complete:—

Mark i. 2.	Mal. iii. 1.
„ 3.	Is. xl. 3.
„ 44.	Lev. xiv. 2.
ii. 25.	1 Sam. xxi. 6.
iv. 12.	Is. v.. 10.
vii. 6.	Is. xxix. 13.
„ 10.	Ex. xx. 12, xxi. 17.
ix. 44.	Is. lxvi. 24.
x. 4.	Deut. xxiv. 1.
„ 7.	Gen. ii. 24.
„ 19.	Ex. xx. 12-17.
xi. 17.	Is. lvi. 7; Jer. vii. 11.
xii. 10.	Ps cxviii. 22.
„ 19.	Deut. xxv. 5.
„ 26.	Ex. iii. 6.
„ 29.	Deut. vi. 4.
„ 31.	Lev. xix. 18.
„ 36.	Ps. cx. 1.
xiii. 14.	Dan. ix. 27.
„ 24.	Is. xiii. 10.
xiv. 27.	Zech. xiii. 7.
„ 62.	Dan. vii. 13.
xv. 28(?)	Is. liii. 12.
„ 34.	Ps. xxii. 1.

X. *Contents of the Gospel.*—Though this Gospel has little historical matter which is not shared with some other, it would be a great error to suppose that the voice of Mark could have been silenced without injury to the divine harmony. The minute painting of the scenes in which the Lord took part, the fresh and lively mode of the narration, the very absence of the precious discourses of Jesus, which, interposed between His deeds, would have delayed the action, all give to this Gospel a character of its own. It is the history of the war of Jesus against sin and evil in the world during the time that He dwelt as a Man among men. Its motto might well be, as Lange observes, those words of Peter: "How God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power; who went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed of the devil; for God was with Him" (Acts x. 38). It developes a series of acts of this conflict, broken by times of rest and refreshing, in the wilderness or on the mountain. It records the exploits of the Son of God in the war against Satan, and the retirement in which after each He returned to commune with His Father, and bring back fresh strength for new encounters. Thus the passage from ii. 1 to iii. 6 describes His first conflict with the Pharisees, and it ends in a conspiracy of Pharisees and Herodians for His destruction, before which He retires to the sea (iii. 7). The passage from iii. 13 to vi. 6 contains the account of his conflict with the unbelief of His own countrymen, ending with those remarkable words, "And He could there do no mighty work, save that He laid His hands upon a few sick folk and healed them;" then, constrained (so to speak) in His working by their resistance, He retired for that time from the struggle, and "went round about the villages teaching" (vi. 6).

The principal divisions in the Gospel are these:—1. John the Baptist and Jesus (i. 1-13). 2. Acts of Jesus in Galilee (i. 14–ix. 50). 3. Teaching in Peraea, where the spirit of the new kingdom of the Gospel is brought out (x. 1-34). 4. Teaching, trials, and sufferings in Jerusalem. Jesus revealing Himself as Founder of the new kingdom (x. 35–xv. 47). 5. Resurrection (xvi.).

SOURCES.—The works quoted under LUKE, and besides them, Davidson, *Introduction to N. T.* Bagster, 1848); Lange, *Bibelwerk*, part ii., and *Leben Jesu*; Fritzsche on St. Mark (Leipzig, 1830); Kuhn, *Leben Jesu*, vol. i. (Mainz, 1838); and Sepp, *Leben Jesu* (1843-6). [W. T.]

MAR'MOTH (Μαρμωθ; Alex. Μαρμαθ: *Marmoth*) = MEREMOTH the priest, the son of Uriah (1 Esdr. viii. 62; comp. Ezr. viii. 33).

MAR'OTH (מָרוֹת: ὀδύνη in both MSS.: and so also Jerome, *in Amaritudinibus*), one of the towns of the western lowland of Judah whose names are alluded to or played upon by the prophet Micah in the warning with which his prophecy opens (i. 12). The allusion turns on the signification of Maroth—"bitternesses." It is not elsewhere mentioned, nor has the name been encountered by travellers. Schwarz's conjecture (107) that it is a contraction of Maarath is not very happy, as the latter contains the letter *ain*, which but very rarely disappears under any process to which words are subjected. [G.]

MARRIAGE. The topics which this subject presents to our consideration in connexion with Biblical literature may be most conveniently arranged under the following five heads:—

I. Its origin and history.
II. The conditions under which it could be legally effected.
III. The modes by which it was effected.
IV. The social and domestic relations of married life.
V. The typical and allegorical references to marriage.

I. The institution of marriage is founded on the requirements of man's nature, and dates from the time of his original creation. It may be said to have been ordained by God, in as far as man's nature was ordained by Him; but its formal appointment was the work of man, and it has ever been in its essence a natural and civil institution, though admitting of the infusion of a religious element into it. This view of marriage is exhibited in the historical account of its origin in the book of Genesis: the peculiar formation of man's nature is assigned to the Creator, who, seeing it "not good for man to be alone," determined to form [illegible] meet for him" (ii. 18), and accordingly [illegible] the work by the addition of the female to the [illegible] (i. 27). The necessity for this step appears [illegible] the words used in the declaration of the [illegible] counsel. Man, as an intellectual and spiritual [illegible] would not have been a worthy representative of [illegible] Deity on earth, so long as he lived in solitude [illegible] in communion only with beings either high [illegible] him in the scale of creation, as angels, or far [illegible] him, as the beasts of the field. It was also [illegible] necessary, not only for his comfort and happiness, but still more for the perfection of the [illegible] work, that he should have a "help meet [illegible] him,"[a] or, as the words more properly mean, [illegible] exact counterpart of himself"—a being capable of receiving and reflecting his thoughts and affections. No sooner was the formation of woman effected, than Adam recognised in that act the will of the Creator as to man's social condition, and immediately enunciated the important statement which his posterity might refer as the charter of marriage in all succeeding ages, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh" (ii. 24). From these words, coupled with the circumstances attendant on the formation of the woman, we may evolve the following principles: (1) The unity of man and wife, as implied in her being formed out of man, and as expressed in the words "one flesh;" (2) the indissolubleness of the marriage bond, except on the strongest grounds (comp. Matt. xix. 9); (3) monogamy, as the original law of marriage, resulting from there having been but one original couple,[b] as is forcibly expressed in the subsequent references to this point by our Lord ("they *twain*," Matt. xix. 5, and Paul ("*two* shall be one flesh," 1 Cor. vi. 16); (4) the social equality of man and wife, as implied in the terms *ish* and *ishshah*,[c] the one being the exact correlative of the other, as well as in the words "help meet for him;" (5) the subordination of the wife to the husband, consequent upon the subsequent formation (1 Cor. xi. 8, 9; 1 Tim. ii. 13); and (6) the respective duties of man and wife as implied in the words "help meet for him."

The introduction of sin into the world modified to a certain extent the mutual relations of man and wife. As the blame of seduction to sin lay on the latter, the condition of subordination was turned into subjection, and it was said to her of her husband, "he shall rule over thee" (Gen. iii. 16). This sentence which, regarded as a prediction, has been strikingly fulfilled in the position assigned to women in Oriental countries,[d] but which, regarded as a rule of life, is fully sustained by the voice of nature and by the teaching of Christianity (1 Cor. xi. [illegible]

[a] כְּנֶגְדּוֹ, literally, "as over against," and so "corresponding to." The renderings, in the A. V. "meet for him," in the LXX. κατ' αὐτὸν, ὅμοιος αὐτῷ, and in the Vulg. *simile sibi*, are inadequate.

[b] The LXX. introduces δύο into the text in Gen. ii. 24, and is followed by the Vulgate.

[c] אִישׁ and אִשָּׁה. We are unable to express the verbal correspondence of these words in our language. The Vulgate retains the etymological identity at the expense of the sense: "*Virago* quoniam de *viro*." The old Latin term *vira* would have been better. Luther is more successful with *mann* and *männin*; but even this fails to convey the double sense of *ishshah* as = "woman" and "wife," both of which should be preserved, as in the German *weib*, in order to convey the full force of the original. We may here observe that *ishshah* was the common term in ordinary use among the Hebrews for "wife." They occasionally used בַּעַל, as we use "consort," for wives of kings (Ps. xlv. 9; Neh. ii. 6; Dan. v. 2).

[d] The relation of the husband to the wife is expressed by the Hebrew term *baal* (בַּעַל), literally *lord*, for master (Ex. xxi. 3, 22; Deut. xxi. 13; 2 Sam. xi. 26, &c.). The respectful term used by Sarah to Abraham (1 Pet. iii. 6) "my lord," Gen. xviii. 12; comp. 1 K. i. 17, 18. Ps. xlv. 11 furnishes St. Peter with an illustration of the wife's proper position (1 Pet. iii. 6).

Eph. v. 22, 25; 1 Tim. ii. 12). The evil effects of the fall were soon apparent in the corrupt usages of marriage: the unity of the bond was impaired by polygamy, which appears to have originated among the Cainites (Gen. iv. 19); and its purity was deteriorated by the promiscuous intermarriage of the "sons of God" with the "daughters of men," i. e. of the Sethites with the Cainites, in the days preceding the flood (Gen. vi. 2).

In the post-diluvial age the usages of marriage were marked with the simplicity that characterises a patriarchal state of society. The rule of monogamy was re-established by the example of Noah and his sons (Gen. vii. 13). The early patriarchs selected their wives from their own family (Gen. xx. 12, xxiv. 4, xxviii. 2), and the necessity for doing this on religious grounds superseded the prohibition that afterwards held good against such marriages on the score of kindred (Gen. xx. 12; Lev. xviii. 20; comp. Lev. xviii. 9, 12). Polygamy prevailed (Gen. xvi. 4, xxv. 1, 6, xxviii. 9, xxix. 28, 30; 1 Chr. vii. 14), but to a great extent devoid of the degradation which in modern times attaches to that practice. In judging of it we must take into regard the following considerations:—(1) that the *principle* of monogamy was retained, even in the practice of polygamy, by the distinction made between the chief or original wife and the secondary wives, or, as the A. V. terms them, "concubines"—a term which is objectionable, inasmuch as it conveys to us the notion of an illicit and unrecognised position, whereas the secondary wife was regarded by the Hebrews as a wife, and her rights were secured by law;[e] (2) that the motive which led to polygamy was that absorbing desire of progeny which is prevalent throughout Eastern countries, and was especially powerful among the Hebrews; and (3) that the power of a parent over his child, and of a master over his slave (the *potestas patria* and *dominica* of the Romans), was paramount even in matters of marriage, and led in many cases to phases of polygamy that are otherwise quite unintelligible, as, for instance, to the case where it was adopted by the husband *at the request of his wife*, under the idea that children born to a slave were in the eye of the law the children of the mistress[f] (Gen. xvi. 3, xxx. 4, 9); or, again, to cases where it was adopted at the desire of the father (Gen. xxix. 23, 28; Ex. xxi. 9, 10). It must be allowed that polygamy, thus legalised and systematised, justified to a certain extent by the motive, and entered into, not only without offence to, but actually at the suggestion of those who, according to our notions, would feel most deeply injured by it, is a very different thing from what polygamy would be in our own state of society.

Divorce also prevailed in the patriarchal age, though but one instance of it is recorded (Gen. xxi. 14). Of this, again, we must not judge by our own standard. Wherever marriages are effected by the violent exercise of the *patria potestas*, or without any bond of affection between the parties concerned, ill-assorted matches must be of frequent occurrence, and without the remedy of divorce, in such a state of society, we can understand the truth of the Apostles' remark that "it is not good to marry" (Matt. xix. 10). Hence divorce prevails to a great extent in all countries where marriage is the result of arbitrary appointment or of purchase: we may instance the Arabians (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 111; Layard's *Nineveh*, i. 357) and the Egyptians (Lane, i. 235 ff.). From the enactments of the Mosaic law we may infer that divorce was effected by a mere verbal declaration, as it still is in the countries referred to, and great injustice was thus committed towards the wives.

The Mosaic law aimed at mitigating rather than removing evils which were inseparable from the state of society in that day. Its enactments were directed (1) to the discouragement of polygamy: (2) to obviate the injustice frequently consequent upon the exercise of the rights of a father or a master; (3) to bring divorce under some restriction; and (4) to enforce purity of life during the maintenance of the matrimonial bond. The first of these objects was forwarded by the following enactments:—the prohibition imposed upon kings against multiplying[g] wives (Deut. xvii. 17); the prohibition against marrying two sisters together (Lev. xviii. 18); the assertion of the matrimonial rights of each wife (Ex. xxi. 10, 11); the slur cast upon the eunuch state, which has been ever regarded as in dispensable to a system of polygamy (Deut. xxii. 1); and the ritual observances entailed on a man by the duty of marriage (Lev. xv. 18). The second object was attained by the humane regulations relative to a captive whom a man might wish to marry (Deut. xxi. 10-14), to a purchased wife[h] (Ex. xxi.

[e] The position of the Hebrew concubine may be compared with that of the concubine of the early Christian Church, the sole distinction between her and the wife consisting in this, that the marriage was not in accordance with the civil law: in the eye of the Church the marriage was perfectly valid (Bingham, *Ant.* xi. 5, §11). It is worthy of notice that the term *pillegesh* (פִּלֶגֶשׁ; A. V. "concubine") nowhere occurs in the Mosaic law. The terms used are either "wife" (Deut xxi. 15) or "maid-servant" (Ex. xxi. 7); the latter applying to a purchased wife.

[f] The language in 1 Chr. ii. 18, "these are *her* sons," following on the mention of his two wives, admits of an interpretation on this ground.

[g] The Talmudists practically set aside this prohibition, (1) by explaining the word "multiply" of an inordinate desire, and (2) by treating the motive for it, "that his heart turn not away," as a matter of discretion. They allowed eighteen the maximum to be allowed a king (Jarchi, Deut. i. 8). It is noteworthy that the high-priest himself authorizes bigamy in the case of king Joash (2 Kings xiv. 3).

[h] The regulations in Ex. xxi. 7-11 deserve a detailed notice, as exhibiting the extent to which the power of the head of a family might be carried. It must be premised that the maiden was born of Hebrew parents, was under age at the time of her sale (otherwise her father would have no power to sell), and that the object of the purchase was that when arrived at puberty she should become the wife of her master, as is implied in the difference in the law relating to her (Ex. xxi. 7), and to a slave purchased for ordinary work (Deut. xv. 12-17), as well as in the term *âmâh*, "maid-servant," which is elsewhere used convertibly with "concubine" (Judg. ix. 18; comp. viii. 31). With regard to such it is enacted (1) that she is not to "go out as the men-servants," (*i. e.* be freed after six years' service, or in the year of Jubilee), on the understanding that her master either already has made, or intends to make her his wife (ver. 7): (2) but, if he has no such intention, he is not entitled to retain her in the event of any other person of the Israelites being willing to purchase her of him for the same purpose (ver. 8); (3) he might, however, assign her to his son, and in this case she was to be treated as a daughter and not as a slave (ver. 9); (4) if either he or his son, having married her, took another wife, she was still to be treated as a wife in all respects (ver. 10); and lastly, if neither of the three contingencies took place

7-11), and to a slave who either was married at the time of their purchase, or who, having since received a wife[i] at the hands of his master, was unwilling to be parted from her (Ex. xxi. 2-6), and, lastly, by the law relating to the legal distribution of property among the children of the different wives (Deut. xxi. 15-17). The third object was effected by rendering divorce a formal proceeding, not to be done by word of mouth as heretofore, but by a "bill of divorcement" (Deut. xxiv. 1), which would generally demand time and the intervention of a third party, thus rendering divorce a less easy process, and furnishing the wife, in the event of its being carried out, with a legal evidence of her marriageability: we may also notice that Moses wholly prohibited divorce in case the wife had been seduced prior to marriage (Deut. xxii. 29), or her chastity had been groundlessly impugned (Deut. xxii. 19). The fourth object forms the subject of one of the ten commandments (Ex. xx. 14), any violation of which was punishable with death (Lev. xx. 10 Deut. xxii. 22), even in the case of a betrothed person (Deut. xxii. 23, 4).

The practical results of these regulations may have been very salutary, but on this point we have but small opportunities of judging. The usages themselves, to which we have referred, remained in full force to a late period. We have instances of the arbitrary exercise of the paternal authority in the cases of Achsah (Judg. i. 12), Ibzan (Judg. xii. 9), Samson (Judg. xiv. 20, xv. 2), and Michal (1 Sam. xvii. 25). The case of Abishag, and the language of Adonijah in reference to her (1 K. i. 2, ii. 17), prove that a servant was still completely at the disposal of his or her master. Polygamy also prevailed, as we are expressly informed in reference to Gideon (Judg. viii. 30), Elkanah (1 Sam. i. 2), Saul (2 Sam. xii. 8), David (2 Sam. v. 13), Solomon (1 K. xi. 3), the sons of Issachar (1 Chr. vii. 4), Shaharaim (1 Chr. viii. 8, 9), Rehoboam (2 Chr. xi. 21), Abijah (2 Chr. xiii. 21), and Joash (2 Chr. xxiv. 3); and as we may also infer from the number of children in the cases of Jair, Ibzan, and Abdon (Judg. x. 4, xii. 9, 14). It does not, however, follow that it was the general practice of the country: the inconveniences attendant on polygamy in small houses or with scanty incomes are so great as to put a serious bar to its general adoption,[k] and hence in modern countries where it is fully established the practice is restricted to comparatively few (Niebuhr, *Voyage*, p. 65; Lane, i. 239). The same rule holds good with regard to ancient times: the discomforts of polygamy are exhibited in the jealousies between the wives of Abraham (Gen. xvi. 6), and of Elkanah (1 Sam. i. 6); and the cases cited above rather lead to the inference that it was confined to the wealthy. While it may be noted that the theory of [illegible] was retained and comes prominently forward in the pictures of domestic bliss portrayed in the [illegible] writings of this period (Ps. cxxviii. 3; Prov. xviii. 22, xix. 14, xxxi. 10-29; Eccl. ix. [illegible] sanctity of the marriage-bond was but [illegible] quently violated, as appears from the frequent [illegible] sions to the "strange woman" in the book of [illegible] verbs (ii. 16, v. 20, &c.), and in the denunciations of the prophets against the prevalence of [illegible] (Jer. v. 8; Ez. xviii. 11, xxii. 11).

In the post-Babylonian period monogamy [illegible] to have become more prevalent than at any [illegible] time: indeed we have no instance of polygamy [illegible] this period on record in the Bible, all the [illegible] noticed being with single wives (Tob. i. 9, [illegible] Susan. vers. 29, 63; Matt. xviii. 25; Luke [illegible] Acts v. 1). During the same period the [illegible] monogamy is set forth in Ecclus. xxvi. 1-27. [illegible] practice of polygamy nevertheless still [illegible] Herod the Great had no less than nine wives at [illegible] time (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 1, §3); the Talmud frequently assume it as a well-known fact (*Ketub.* 10, §1; *Yebam.* 1, §1); and the early Christian writers, in their comments on 1 Tim. [illegible] explain it of polygamy in terms which leave no doubt as to the fact of its prevalence in the Apostolic age. The abuse of divorce continued [illegible] (Joseph. *Vit.* §76); and under the Asmonean dynasty the right was assumed by the wife against her husband, an innovation which is attributed to Salome by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 7, [illegible] but which appears to have been prevalent in the Apostolic age, if we may judge from passages where the language implies that the act emanated from the wife (Mark x. 12; 1 Cor. vii. 11), as well as from some of the comments of the early writers on 1 Tim. v. 9. Our Lord and His Apostles established the integrity and sanctity of the marriage-bond by the following measures:—(1) by the confirmation of the original charter of marriage as the basis on which all regulations were to be framed (Matt. xix. 4, 5); (2) by the restriction of divorce to the case of fornication, and the prohibition of re-marriage in all persons divorced on [illegible] grounds (Matt. v. 32, xix. 9; Rom. vii. 3; 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11); and (3) by the enforcement of [illegible] purity generally (Heb. xiii. 4, &c.), and especially by the formal condemnation of fornication,[n] which appears to have been classed among acts merely indifferent (ἀδιάφορα) by a certain party in the Church (Acts xv. 20).

Shortly before the Christian era an important change took place in the views entertained on the question of marriage as affecting the spiritual

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i. e. if he neither married her himself, nor gave her to his son, nor had her redeemed, then the maiden was to become absolutely free without waiting for the expiration of the six years or for the year of jubilee (ver. 11).

[i] In this case we must assume that the wife assigned was a non-Israelitish slave; otherwise, the wife would, as a matter of course, be freed along with her husband in the year of jubilee. In this case the wife and children would be the absolute property of the master, and the position of the wife would be analogous to that of the Roman *contubernalis*, who was not supposed capable of any *connubium*. The issue of such a marriage would remain slaves in accordance with the maxim of the Talmudists, that the child is liable to its mother's disqualification (*Kiddush.* 3, §12). Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, §28) states that in the year of jubilee the slave, having married during service, carried off his wife and children with him; however, may refer to an Israelite maid-servant.

[k] The Talmudists limited polygamists to four wives. The same number was adopted by Mahomet in the Koran, and still forms the rule among his followers (Niebuhr, *Voyage*, p. 62).

[m] Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, iii. 5, §95) asserts that polygamy ceased entirely after the return from the captivity. Selden, on the other hand, that polygamy prevailed among the Jews until the time of Honorius and Arcadius (A.D. 400), when it was prohibited by an Imperial edict (*Ux. Ebr.* i. 9).

[n] The term πορνεία is occasionally used in a broad sense to include both adultery (Matt. v. 32) and incest (1 Cor. v. 1). In the decree of the Council of Jerusalem it must be regarded in its usual and restricted sense.

intellectual parts of man's nature. Throughout the Old Testament period marriage was regarded as the indispensable duty of every man, nor was it assumed that there existed in it any drawback to the attainment of the highest degree of holiness. In the interval that elapsed between the Old and New Testament periods, a spirit of asceticism had been evolved, probably in antagonism to the foreign religions with which the Jews were brought into close and painful contact. The Essenes were the first to propound any doubts as to the propriety of marriage: some of them avoided it altogether, others avoided themselves of it under restrictions (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 8, §2, 13). Similar views were adopted by the Therapeutae, and at a later period by the Gnostics (Burton's *Lectures*, i. 214); thence they passed into the Christian Church, forming one of the distinctive tenets of the Encratites (Burton, ii. 311), and finally developing into the system of asceticism. The philosophical tenets on which the prohibition of marriage was based are generally condemned in Col. ii. 16-23, and specifically in 1 Tim. iv. 3. The general propriety of marriage is inferred on numerous occasions, and abstinence from it is commended only in cases where it was rendered expedient by the calls of duty (Matt. xix. 12; 1 Cor. vii. 8, 26). With regard to re-marriage after the death of one of the parties, the Jews, in common with other nations, regarded abstinence from it, particularly in the case of a widow, laudable and a sign of holiness (Luke ii. 36, 7; Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 13, §4, xviii. 6, §6); but it is clear from the example of Josephus (*Vit.* §76) that there was no prohibition even in the case of a priest. In the Apostolic Church re-marriage was regarded as occasionally undesirable (1 Cor. vii. 40), and as an absolute disqualification for holy functions, whether in a man or woman (1 Tim. iii. 2, 12, v. 9); at the same time it is recommended in the case of young widows (1 Tim. v. 14).

II. The conditions of legal marriage are decided by the prohibitions which the law of any country imposes upon its citizens. In the Hebrew commonwealth these prohibitions were of two kinds, according as they regulated marriage (i.) between an Israelite and a non-Israelite, and (ii.) between an Israelite and one of his own community.

1. The prohibitions relating to foreigners were based on that instinctive feeling of exclusiveness, which forms one of the bonds of every social body, and which prevails with peculiar strength in a rude state of society. In all political bodies the right of marriage (*jus connubii*) becomes in some form or other a constituent element of citizenship, and, even where its nature and limits are not defined by legal enactment, it is supported with rigour by the force of public opinion. The feeling of aversion against intermarriage with foreigners becomes more intense, when distinctions of religious creed supervene upon those of blood and language; and hence we should naturally expect to find it more than usually strong in the Hebrews, who were endowed with a peculiar position, and were separated from surrounding nations by a sharp line of demarcation. The warnings of past history and the examples of the patriarchs come in support of natural feeling: on the one hand, the evil effects of intermarriage with aliens were exhibited in the overwhelming sinfulness of the generation destroyed by the flood (Gen. vi. 2-13): on the other hand, there were the examples of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, marrying from among their own kindred (Gen. xx. 12, xxiv. 3 &c., xxviii. 2), and in each of the two latter cases there is a contrast between these carefully-sought unions and those of the rejected sons Ishmael, who married an Egyptian (Gen. xxi. 21), and Esau, whose marriages with Hittite women were "a grief of mind" to his parents (Gen. xxvi. 34, 35). The marriages of Joseph with an Egyptian (Gen. xli. 45), of Manasseh with a Syrian secondary wife (1 Chr. vii. 14; comp. Gen. xlvi. 20, LXX.), and of Moses with a Midianitish woman in the first instance (Ex. ii. 21), and afterwards with a Cushite or Ethiopian woman (Num. xii. 1), were of an exceptional nature, and yet the last was the cause of great dissatisfaction. A far greater objection was entertained against the marriage of an Israelitish woman with a man of another tribe, as illustrated by the narrative of Shechem's proposals for Dinah, the ostensible ground of their rejection being the difference in religious observances, that Shechem and his countrymen were uncircumcised (Gen. xxxiv. 14).

The only distinct prohibition in the Mosaic law refers to the Canaanites, with whom the Israelites were not to marry[o] on the ground that it would lead them into idolatry (Ex. xxxiv. 16; Deut. vii. 3, 4)—a result which actually occurred shortly after their settlement in the Promised Land (Judg. iii. 6, 7). But beyond this, the legal disabilities to which the Ammonites and Moabites were subjected (Deut. xxiii. 3), acted as a virtual bar to intermarriage with them, totally preventing (according to the interpretation which the Jews themselves put upon that passage) the marriage of Israelitish women with Moabites, but permitting that of Israelites with Moabite women, such as that of Mahlon with Ruth. The prohibition against marriages with the Edomites or Egyptians was less stringent, as a male of those nations received the right of marriage on his admission to the full citizenship in the third generation of proselytism (Deut. xxiii. 7, 8). There were thus three grades of prohibition—total in regard to the Canaanites on either side; total on the side of the males in regard to the Ammonites and Moabites; and temporary on the side of the males in regard of the Edomites and Egyptians, marriages with females in the two latter instances being regarded as legal (Selden, *de Jur. Nat.* cap. 14). Marriages between Israelite women and proselyted foreigners were at all times of rare occurrence, and are noticed in the Bible, as though they were of an exceptional nature, such as that of an Egyptian and an Israelitish woman (Lev. xxiv. 10), of Abigail and Jether the Ishmeelite, contracted probably when Jesse's family was sojourning in Moab (1 Chr. ii. 17), of Sheshan's daughter and an Egyptian, who was staying in his house (1 Chr. ii. 35), and of a Naphthalite woman and a Tyrian, living in adjacent districts (1 K. vii. 14). In the reverse case, viz., the marriage of Israelites with foreign women it is, of course, highly probable that

[o] The act of marriage with a foreigner is described in the Hebrew by a special term, *châtan* (חָתַן), expressive of the affinity thus produced, as appears from the cognate terms, *châtân*, *chothen*, and *chotenèth*, for "son-in-law," "father-in-law," and "mother-in-law." It is used in Gen. xxxiv. 9; Deut. vii. 3; Josh. xxiii. 12; 1 K. iii. 1; Ezr. ix. 14; and metaphorically in 2 Chr. xviii. 1. The same idea comes prominently forward in the term *châthân* in Ex. iv. 26, where it is used of the affinity produced by the rite of circumcision between Jehovah and the child.

the wives became proselytes after their marriage as instanced in the case of Ruth (i. 16); but this was by no means invariably the case. On the contrary we find that the Egyptian wife of Solomon (1 K. xi. 4), and the Phœnician wife of Ahab (1 K. xvi. 31), retained their idolatrous practices and introduced them into their adopted countries. Proselytism does not therefore appear to have been a *sine quâ non* in the case of a wife, though it was so in the case of a husband: the total silence of the law as to any such condition in regard to a captive, whom an Israelite might wish to marry, must be regarded as evidence of the reverse (Deut. xxi. 10-14), nor have the refinements of Rabbinical writers on that passage succeeded in establishing the necessity of proselytism. The opposition of Samson's parents to his marriage with a Philistine woman (Judg. xiv. 3) leads to the same conclusion. So long as such unions were of merely occasional occurrence no veto was placed upon them by public authority; but, when after the return from the Babylonish captivity the Jews contracted marriages with the heathen inhabitants of Palestine in so wholesale a manner as to endanger their national existence, the practice was severely condemned (Ezr. ix. 2, x. 2), and the law of positive prohibition originally pronounced only against the Canaanites was extended to the Moabites, Ammonites, and Philistines (Neh. xiii. 23-25). Public feeling was thenceforth strongly opposed to foreign marriages, and the union of Manasseh with a Cuthæan led to such animosity as to produce the great national schism, which had its focus in the temple on Mount Gerizim (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8, §2). A no less signal instance of the same feeling is exhibited in the cases of Joseph (*Ant.* xii. 4, §6) and Anileus (*Ant.* xviii. 9, §5), and is noticed by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 5) as one of the characteristics of the Jewish nation in his day. In the N. T. no special directions are given on this head, but the general precept of separation between believers and unbelievers (2 Cor. vi. 14, 17)[p] would apply with special force in the case of marriage; and the permission to dissolve mixed marriages, contracted previously to the conversion of one party, at the instance of the unconverted one, cannot but be regarded as implying the impropriety of such unions subsequently to conversion (1 Cor. vii. 12).

The progeny of illegal marriages between Israelites and non-Israelites was described under a peculiar term, *mamzer*[q] (A. V. "bastard"; Deut. xxiii. 2), the etymological meaning of which is uncertain,[r] but which clearly involves the notion of "foreigner," as in Zech. ix. 6, where the LXX. have ἀλλογενεῖς, "strangers." Persons born in this way were excluded from full rights of citizenship until the tenth generation (Deut. xxiii. 2). It follows hence that intermarriage with such persons was prohibited in the same manner as with an Ammonite or Moabite (comp. Mishna, *Kiddush.* 4, §1).

ii. The regulations relative to marriage between Israelites and Israelites may be divided into two classes (1) general, and (2) special—the former applying to the whole population, the latter to particular persons.

1. The general regulations are based on considerations of relationship. The most important passage relating to these is contained in Lev. xviii. 6-18, wherein we have in the first place a general prohibition against marriages between a man and the "flesh of his flesh,"[s] and in the second place special prohibitions[t] against marriage with a mother, stepmother, sister, or half-sister, whether "born at home or abroad,"[u] grand-daughter, etc., whether by consanguinity on either side, or by marriage on the father's side, daughter-in-law, brother's wife, step-daughter, wife's mother, wife's grand-daughter, or wife's sister during the lifetime of the wife.[x] An exception is subsequently made

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[p] The term ἑτεροζυγοῦντες (A. V. "unequally yoked with") has no special reference to marriage: its meaning is shown in the cognate term ἑτερόζυγος (Lev. xix. 19; A. V. "of a diverse kind"). It is, however, correctly connected in the A. V. with the notion of a "yoke," as explained by Hesychius, οἱ μὴ συζυγοῦντες, and not with that of a "balance," as Theophylact.

[q] מַמְזֵר.

[r] Cognate words appear in Rabbinical writers, signifying (1) to *spin* or *weave*; (2) to be *corrupt*, as an addled egg; (3) to *ripen*. The important point to be observed is that the word does not betoken *bastardy* in our sense of the term, but simply the progeny of a mixed marriage of a Jew and a foreigner. It may be with a special reference to this word that the Jews boasted that they were not born "of fornication" (ἐκ πορνείας, John viii. 41), implying that there was no admixture of foreign blood, or consequently of foreign idolatries, in themselves.

[s] The Hebrew expression שְׁאֵר בְּשָׂרוֹ (A.V. "near of kin"), is generally regarded as applying to blood-relationship alone. The etymological sense of the term *sheêr* is not decided. By some it is connected with *shaâr*, "to remain," as by Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, iii. 7, §2), and in the marginal translation of the A. V. "remainder;" but its ordinary sense of "flesh" is more applicable. Whichever of these two we adopt, the idea of blood-relationship evidently attaches to the term from the cases in which it is used (vers. 12, 13, 17; A. V. "near-kinswoman"), as well as from its use in Lev. xx. 19, Num. xxvii. 11. The term *basar*, literally "flesh" or "body," is also peculiarly used of blood-relationship (Gen. xxix. 14, xxxvii. 27; Judg. ix. 2; 2 Sam. v. 1; 1 Chr. xi. 1). The two terms, *sheêr basar*, are used conjointly in Lev. xxv. 49 as equivalent to *mishpachah*, "family." The term is applicable to relationship by affinity, in as far as it regards the blood-relations of a wife. The relationships specified are classed under three heads: (1) blood-relationships proper in vers. 7-13; (2) the wives of blood-relations in vers. 14-16; (3) the blood-relations of the wife in ver. 17.

[t] The daughter is omitted; whether as being eminently the "flesh of a man's flesh," or because thought unnecessary to mention such a connexion.

[u] The expression "born at home or abroad" is generally understood as equivalent to "in or out of wedlock," *i. e.* the daughter of a father's concubine may also be regarded as a re-statement of the preceding words, and as meaning "one born to the father, or not in a former marriage" (comp. Keil, *Archäol.* ii. 80). The distinction between the cases specified in vers. 9 and 11 is not very evident: it probably consists in this, that ver. 9 prohibits the union of a son of the first marriage with a daughter of the second, and ver. 11 that of the son of the second with a daughter of the first. On the other hand, Knobel (*Comm. in loc.*) finds the distinction in the words "wife of thy father" (ver. 11), which according to him includes the mother as well as the stepmother, and thus specifically states the full case, while ver. 9 is reserved for the half-sister.

[x] The sense of this verse has been much canvassed in connexion with the question of marriage with a deceased wife's sister. It has been urged that the marginal translation, "one wife to another," is the correct one, and that the prohibition is really directed against polygamy. The following considerations, however, support the received view of the text. (1) The writer would hardly use the terms rendered "wife" and "sister" in a different sense in ver. 18 from that which he assigned to them in the previous verses. (2) The usage of the Hebrew language, and indeed of every language, requires that the expression

Deut. xxv. 5) in favour of marriage with a brother's wife in the event of his having died childless. To this we shall have occasion to refer at length.

Different degrees of guiltiness attached to the infringement of these prohibitions, as implied both in the different terms[7] applied to the various offences, and in the punishments affixed to them, the general penalty being death (Lev. xx. 11-17), but in the case of the aunt and the brother's wife childlessness (19-21), involving probably the stain of illegitimacy in cases where there was an issue, while in the case of the two sisters no penalty is stated.

The moral effect of the prohibitions extended beyond cases of formal marriage to those of illicit intercourse, and gave a deeper dye of guilt to such conduct as that of Lot's daughters (Gen. xix. 33), of Reuben in his intercourse with his father's concubine (Gen. xxxv. 22), and of Absalom in the same case (2 Sam. xvi. 22); and it rendered such crimes as those of the greatest national disgrace (Ez. xxii. 11). The Rabbinical writers considered that the prohibitions were abrogated in the case of proselytes, inasmuch as their change of religion was deemed equivalent to a new natural birth, and consequently involved the severing of all ties of previous relationship; it was necessary, however, in such a case that the wife as well as the husband, should have adopted the Jewish faith.

The grounds on which these prohibitions were enacted are reducible to the following three heads:—(1) moral propriety; (2) the practices of heathen nations; and (3) social convenience. The first of these grounds comes prominently forward in the expressions by which the various offences are characterised, as well as in the general prohibitive against approaching "the flesh of his flesh." The use of such expressions undoubtedly contains an appeal to the *horror naturalis*, or that repugnance with which man instinctively shrinks from matrimonial union with one with whom he is connected by the closest ties both of blood and of family affection. On this subject we need say no more than that there is a difference in kind between the affection that binds the members of a family together, and that which lies at the bottom of the matrimonial bond, and that the amalgamation of these affections cannot take place without a serious shock to one or the other of the two; hence the desirability of drawing a distinct line between the provinces of each, by stating definitely where the matrimonial affection may legitimately take root. The second motive to laying down these prohibitions was that the Hebrews might be preserved as a peculiar people, with institutions distinct from those of the Egyptians and Canaanites (Lev. xviii 3), as well as of other heathen nations with whom they might come in contact. Marriages within the proscribed degrees prevailed in many civilized countries in historical times, and were not unusual among the Hebrews themselves in the pre-Mosaic age. For instance, marriages with half-sisters by the same father were allowed at Athens (Plutarch *Cim.* 4, *Themistocl.* 32), with half-sisters by the same mother at Sparta (Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* p. 779), and with full sisters in Egypt (Diod. i. 27) and Persia, as illustrated in the well-known instances of Ptolemy Philadelphus in the former (Paus. i. 7, §1), and Cambyses in the latter country (Herod. iii. 31). It was even believed that in some nations marriages between a son and his mother were not unusual (Ov. *Met.* x. 331; Eurip. *Androm.* 174). Among the Hebrews we have instances of marriage with a half-sister in the case of Abraham (Gen. xx. 12), with an aunt in the case of Amram (Ex. vi. 20), and with two sisters at the same time in the case of Jacob (Gen. xxix. 26). Such cases were justifiable previous to the enactments of Moses: subsequently to them we have no case in the O. T. of actual marriage within the degrees, though the language of Tamar towards her half-brother Amnon (2 Sam. xiii. 13) implies the possibility of their union with the consent of their father.[8] The Herods committed some violent breaches of the marriage law. Herod the Great married his half-sister (*Ant.* xvii. 1, §3); Archelaus his brother's widow, who had children (xvii. 13, §1); Herod Antipas his brother's wife (xviii. 5, §1; Matt xiv. 3). In the Christian Church we have an in-

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"one to another" should be preceded by a plural noun. The cases in which the expression אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ is equivalent to "one to another," as in Ex. xxvi. 3, 5, 6, xxxvi. 12, 13, instead of favouring, as has generally been supposed, the marginal translation, exhibit the peculiarity above noted. (3) The consent of the ancient versions is unanimous, including the LXX. (γυναῖκα ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ αὐτῆς), the Vulgate (*sororem uxoris tuae*), the Chaldee, Syriac, &c. (4) The Jews themselves, as shown by the Mishna, and in the works of Philo, permitted the marriage. (5) Polygamy was recognised by the Mosaic law, and cannot consequently be forbidden in this passage. Another interpretation, by which the sense of the verse is materially altered, is effected by attaching the words "in her lifetime" exclusively to the verb "vex." The objections to this are patent: (1) it is but reasonable to suppose that this clause, like the others, would depend on the principal verb; and (2), if this were denied, it would be unreasonable to attach it to the *nearest* ("uncover"), rather than the more remote secondary verb; which would be fatal to the sense of the passage.

[7] These terms are—(1) *Zimmah* (זִמָּה; A. V. "wickedness"), applied to marriage with mother or daughter (Lev. xx. 14), with mother-in-law, step-daughter, or granddaughter (xviii. 17). The term is elsewhere applied to gross violations of decency or principle (Lev. xix. 29; Jud. xx. 6; Jer. xi. 15; Ez. xvi. 43, xxii. 11). (2) *Tebel* (תֶּבֶל; A. V. "confusion"), applied to marriage with a daughter-in-law (Lev. xx. 12): it signifies *pollution*, and is applied to the worst kind of defilement (Lev. xviii. 23). (3) *Chesed* (חֶסֶד; A. V. "wicked thing"), applied to marriage with a sister (Lev. xx. 17): its proper meaning appears to be *disgrace*. (4) *Niddah* (נִדָּה; A. V. "an unclean thing"), applied to marriage with a brother's wife (Lev. xx. 21) it conveys the notion of *impurity*. Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, iii. 7, §2) asserts that these terms have a forensic force; but there appears to be no ground for this. The view which the same authority propounds (§4) as to the reason for the prohibitions, viz., to prevent seduction under the promise of marriage among near relations, is singularly inadequate both to the occasion and to the terms employed.

[8] Various attempts have been made to reconcile this language with the Levitical law. The Rabbinical explanation was that Tamar's mother was a heathen at the time of her birth, and that the law did not apply to such a case. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 8, §1) regarded it as a mere *ruse* on the part of Tamar to evade Amnon's importunity: but, if the marriage were out of the question, she would hardly have tried such a poor device. Thenius (*Comm. in loc.*) considers that the Levitical prohibitions applied only to cases where a disruption of family bonds was likely to result, or where the motives were of a gross character an argument which would utterly abrogate the authority of this and every other absolute law.

stance of marriage with a father's wife (1 Cor. v. 1), which St. Paul characterizes as "fornication" (πορνεία), and visits with the severest condemnation. The third ground of the prohibitions, social convenience, comes forward solely in the case of marriage with two sisters simultaneously, the effect of which would be to "vex" or *irritate* the first wife, and produce domestic jars.[a]

A remarkable exception to these prohibitions existed in favour of marriage with a deceased brother's wife, in the event of his having died childless. The law which regulates this has been named the "Levirate,"[b] from the Latin *levir*, "brother in-law." The custom is supposed to have originated in that desire of perpetuating a name,[c] which prevails all over the world, but with more than ordinary force in Eastern countries, and pre-eminently among Israelites, who each wished to bear part in the promise made to Abraham that "in his *seed* should all nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. xxvi. 4). The first instance of it occurs in the patriarchal period, where Onan is called upon to marry his brother Er's widow (Gen. xxxviii. 8). The custom was confirmed by the Mosaic law, which decreed that "if brethren (*i. e.* sons of the same father) dwell together (either in one family, in one house, or, as the Rabbins explained it, in contiguous properties; the first of the three senses is probably correct), and one of them die and leave no child (*ben*, here used in its broad sense, and not specifically *son*; compare Matt. xxii. 25, μὴ ἔχων σπέρμα; Mark xii. 19; Luke xx. 28, ἄτεκνος), the wife of the dead shall not marry without (*i. e.* out of the family) unto a stranger (one unconnected by ties of relationship); her husband's brother shall go in unto her and take her to him to wife;" not, however, without having gone through the usual preliminaries of a regular marriage. The first-born of this second marriage then succeeded in the name of the deceased brother,[d] *i. e.* became his legal heir, receiving his name (according to Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8, §23; but compare Ruth i. 2, iv. 17), and his property (Deut. xxv. 5, 6). Should the brother object to marrying his sister-in-law, he was publicly to signify his dissent in the presence of the authorities of the town, to which the widow responded by the significant act of loosing his shoe and spitting in his face, or (as the Talmud explained it) on the ground before him (*Yebam.* xii. §6)—the former signifying the transfer of property from one person to another[e] (as usual among Indians and old Germans, Keil, *Archäol.* ii. 1), the latter the contempt due to a man who refused to perform his just obligations (Deut. xxv. 7-9; Ruth iv. 6-11). In this case it was permitted to the next of kin to come forward and to claim both the wife and the inheritance.

The Levirate marriage was not peculiar to the Jews; it has been found to exist in many other countries,[f] particularly in Arabia (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 112; Niebuhr's *Voyage*, p. 61), and among the tribes of the Caucasus (Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, p. 403). The Mosaic law brought the custom into harmony with the general opposition against marrying a brother's wife by restricting it to cases of childlessness; and it further made the marriage bond as founded on affection by relieving the brother of the obligation where he was averse to the union, instead of making it compulsory, as in the case of Onan (Gen. xxxviii. 9). One of the results of the Levirate marriage would be in certain cases the consolidation of two properties in the same family; but this does not appear to have been the object contemplated.[g]

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[a] The expression לְצָרֵר admits of another explanation, "to pick together," or combine the two in one marriage, and thus confound the nature of their relationship to one another. This is in one respect a preferable meaning, inasmuch as it is not clear why two sisters should be more particularly irritated than any two not so related. The usage, however, of the cognate word צָרָה, in 1 Sam. i. 6, favours the sense usually given; and in the Mishna צָרוֹת is the usual term for the wives of a polygamist (Mishna, *Yebam.* i. §1).

[b] The Talmudical term for the obligation was *yebûm* (יְבוּם), from *yabam* (יָבַם), "husband's brother:" hence the title *yebamoth* of the treatise in the Mishna for the regulation of such marriages. From the same root comes the term *yibbem* (יִבֵּם), to contract such a marriage (Gen. xxxviii. 8).

[c] The reason here assigned is hardly a satisfactory one. May it not rather have been connected with the *purchase* system, which would reduce a wife into the position of a chattel or *mancipium*, and give the survivors a reversionary interest in her? This view derives some support from the statement in Haxthausen's *Transcaucasia*, p. 404, that among the Ossetes, who have a Levirate law of their own, in the event of none of the family marrying the widow, they are entitled to a certain sum from any other husband whom she may marry.

[d] The position of the issue of a Levirate marriage, as compared with other branches of the family, is exhibited in the case of Tamar, whose son by her father-in-law, Judah, became the head of the family, and the channel through whom the Messiah was born (Gen. xxxviii. 29; Matt. i. 3).

[e] The technical term for this act was *khalitzah* (חֲלִיצָה), from *khalats* (חָלַץ), "to draw off." It is of frequent occurrence in the treatise *Yebamoth*, where minute directions are given as to the manner in which the act was to be performed; *e. g.* that the shoe was to be of leather, or a sandal furnished with a heel; a felt shoe or a sandal without a strap would not do (*Yebam.* 12, §1, 2). The *khalitzah* was not valid when the person performing it was deaf and dumb (§4), or if she could not learn the precise formula which accompanied the act. The custom is retained by the modern Jews and is minutely described by Picart (*Cérémonies religieuses*, i. 243). It receives illustration from the expression used by the modern Arabs, in speaking of a repudiated wife, "She was my slipper: I have cast her off" (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 113).

[f] The variations in the usages of the Levirate marriage are worthy of notice. Among the Ossetes in Georgia the marriage of the widow takes place if there are children, and may be contracted by the father as well as the brothers of the deceased husband. If the widow has no children the widow is purchaseable by another husband, as already noticed (Haxthausen, pp. 403, 404). In Arabia, the right of marriage is extended from the brother's widow to the cousin. Neither in this nor in the case of the brother's widow is the marriage compulsory on the part of the woman, though in the former the man can put a veto upon any other marriage (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 115). Another development of the Levirate principle may perhaps be noticed in the privilege which the king enjoyed of succeeding to the wives as well as the throne of his predecessor (2 Sam. xii. 8). Hence Absalom's public seizure of his father's wives was not only a breach of morality, but betokened his usurpation of the throne (2 Sam. xvi. 22). And so, again, Adonijah's request for the hand of Abishag was regarded by Solomon as almost equivalent to demanding the throne (1 K. ii. 22).

[g] The history of Ruth's marriage has led to some conception on this point. Boaz stood to Ruth as a

The Levirate law offered numerous opportunities for the exercise of that spirit of casuistry, for which the Jewish teachers are so conspicuous. One such case is brought forward by the Sadducees for the sake of entangling our Lord, and turns upon the complications which would arise in the world to come (the existence of which the Sadducees sought to invalidate) from the circumstance of the same woman having been married to several brothers (Matt. xxii. 23-30). The Rabbinical solution of this difficulty was that the wife would revert to the first husband: our Lord on the other hand subverts the hypothesis on which the difficulty was based, viz., that the material conditions of the present life were to be carried on in the world to come; and thus He asserts the true character of marriage as a temporary and merely human institution. Numerous difficulties are suggested, and minute regulations laid down by the Talmudical writers, the chief authority on the subject being the book of the Mishna, entitled *Yebamoth*. From this we gather the following particulars, as illustrating the working of the law. If a man stood within the proscribed degrees of relationship in reference to his brother's widow, he was exempt from the operation of the law (2, §3), and if he were on this or any other account exempt from the obligation to marry one of the widows, he was also from the obligation to marry any of them (1, §1); it is also implied that it was only necessary for one brother to marry one of the widows, in cases where there were several widows left. The marriage was not to take place within three months of the husband's death (4, §10). The eldest brother ought to perform the duty of marriage; but, on his declining it, a younger brother might also do it (2, §8, 4, §5). The Chalitzah was regarded as involving future relationship; so that a man who had received it could not marry the widow's relations within the prohibited degrees (4, §7). Special rules are laid down for cases where a woman married under a false impression as to her husband's death (10, §1), or where a mistake took place as to whether her son or her husband died first (10, §3), for in the latter case the Levirate law would not apply; and again as to the evidence of the husband's death to be produced in certain cases (caps. 15, 16).

From the prohibitions expressed in the Bible, others have been deduced by a process of inferential reasoning. Thus the Talmudists added to the Levitical relationships several remoter ones, which they termed *secondary*, such as grandmother and great-grandmother, great-grandchild, &c.: the only points in which they at all touched the Levitical degrees were, that they added (1) the wife of the father's uterine brother under the idea that in the latter the brother described was only by the same father, and (2) the mother's brother's wife, for which they had no authority (Selden, *Ux. Ebr.* i. 5). Considerable differences of opinion have arisen as to the extent to which this process of reasoning should be carried, and conflicting laws have been made in different countries, professedly based on the same original authority. It does not fall within our province to do more than endeavour to point out in what respects and to what extent the Biblical statements bear upon the subject. In the first place we must observe that the design of the legislator apparently was to give an exhaustive list of prohibitions; for he not only gives examples of *degrees* of relationship, but he specifies the prohibitions in cases which are strictly parallel to each other, *e. g.*, son's daughter and daughter's daughter (ver. 10), wife's son's daughter and wife's daughter's daughter (ver. 17): whereas, had he wished only to exhibit the prohibited degree, one of these instances would have been sufficient. In the second place it appears certain that he did not regard the degree as the test of the prohibition; for he establishes a different rule in regard to a brother's widow and a deceased wife's sister, though the degree of relationship is in each case strictly parallel. It cannot, therefore, in the face of this express enactment be argued that Moses designed his countrymen to infer that marriage with a niece was illegal because that with the aunt was, nor yet that marriage with a mother's brother's wife was included in the prohibition of that with the father's brother's wife. For, though no explicit statement is made as to the legality of these two latter, the rule of interpretation casually given to us in the first must be held to apply to them also. In the third place, it must be assumed that there were some tangible and even strong grounds for the distinctions noted in the degrees of equal distance; and it then becomes a matter of importance to ascertain whether these grounds are of *perpetual* force, or arise out of a peculiar state of society or legislation; if the latter, then it seems justifiable to suppose that on the alteration of that state we may recur to the spirit rather than the letter of the enactment, and may infer prohibitions which, though not existing in the Levitical law, may yet be regarded as based upon it.

The cases to which these remarks would most pointedly apply are marriage with a deceased wife's sister, a niece, whether by blood or by marriage, and a maternal uncle's widow. With regard to the first and third of these, we may observe that the Hebrews regarded the relationship existing between the wife and her husband's family, as of a closer nature than that between the husband and his wife's family. To what extent this difference was supposed to hold good we have no means of judging; but as illustrations of the difference we may note (1) that the husband's brother stood in the special relation of *levir* to his brother's wife, and was subject to the law of Levirate marriage in consequence; (2) that the nearest relation on the husband's side, whether brother, nephew, or cousin, stood in the special relation of *goël*, or avenger of blood to his widow; and (3) that an heiress was restricted to a marriage with a relation on her father's side. As no corresponding obligations existed in reference to the wife's or the mother's family, it follows almost as a matter of course that the degree of relationship must have been regarded as different in the two cases, and that prohibitions might on this account be applied to the one, from which the other was exempt. When, however, we transplant the Levitical regulations from the Hebrew to any other

person, not of a Levir (for he was only her husband's brother), but of a *Goël*, or redeemer in the second degree (A. V. "near kinsman," iii. 9): as such, he redeemed the inheritance of Naomi, after the refusal of the redeemer in the nearest degree, in conformity with Lev. xxv. 25. It appears to have been customary for the redeemer at the same time to marry the heiress, but this custom is not founded on any written law. The writer of the book of Ruth, according to Selden (*De Success.* cap. 15), *confuses* the laws relating to the *Goël* and the *Levir*, as Josephus (*Ant.* v. 9, §4) has undoubtedly done; but this is an unnecessary assumption: the custom is one that may well have existed in conformity with the *spirit* of the law of the Levirate marriage.

commonwealth, we are fully warranted in taking into account the temporary and local conditions of relationship in each, and in extending the prohibitions to cases where alterations in the social or legal condition have taken place. The question to be fairly argued, then, is not simply whether marriage within a certain degree is or is not permitted by the Levitical law, but whether, allowing for the altered state of society, *mutatis mutandis*, it appears in conformity with the general spirit of that law. The ideas of different nations as to relationship differ widely; and, should it happen that in the social system of a certain country a relationship is, as a matter of fact, regarded as an intimate one, then it is clearly permissible for the rulers of that country to prohibit marriage in reference to it, not on the ground of any expressed or implied prohibition in reference to it in particular in the book of Leviticus, but on the general ground that Moses intended to prohibit marriage among near relations. The application of such a rule in some cases is clear enough; no one could hesitate for a moment to pronounce marriage with a brother's widow, even in cases where the Mosaic law would permit it, as absolutely illegal in the present day: inasmuch as the peculiar obligation of the *Levir* has been abolished. As little could we hesitate to extend the prohibition from the paternal to the maternal uncle's widow, now that the peculiar differences between relationships on the father's and the mother's side are abolished. With regard to the vexed question of the deceased wife's sister we refrain from expressing an opinion, inasmuch as the case is still *in lite*; under the rule of interpretation we have already laid down, the case stands thus: such a marriage is not only not prohibited, but actually permitted by the letter of the Mosaic law; but it remains to be argued (1) whether the permission was granted under peculiar circumstances; (2) whether those or strictly parallel circumstances exist in the present day; and (3) whether, if they do not exist, the general tenour of the Mosaic prohibitions would, or would not, justify a community in extending the prohibition to such a relationship on the authority of the Levitical law. In what has been said on this point, it must be borne in mind that we are viewing the question simply in its relation to the Levitical law: with the other arguments *pro* and *con* bearing on it, we have at present nothing to do. With regard to the marriage with the niece, we have some difficulty in suggesting any sufficient ground on which it was permitted by the Mosaic law. The Rabbinical explanation, that the distinction between the aunt and the niece was based upon the *respectus parentelae*, which would not permit the aunt to be reduced from her natural seniority, but at the same time would not object to the elevation of the niece, cannot be regarded as satisfactory; for, though it explains to a certain extent the difference between the two, it places the prohibition of marriage with the aunt, and consequently the permission of that with the niece, on a wrong basis; for in Lev. xx. 19 consanguinity, and not *respectus parentelae*, is stated as the ground of the prohibition. The Jews appear to have availed themselves of the privilege without scruple: in the Bible itself, indeed, we have but one instance, and that not an undoubted one, in the case of Othniel, who was probably the brother of Caleb (Josh. xv. 17), and, if so, then the uncle of Achsah his wife. Several such marriages are noticed by Josephus, as in the case of Joseph, the nephew of Onias (*Ant.* xii. 4, §6), Herod the Great (*Ant.* xvii. 1, §3), and Herod Philip (*Ant.* xviii. 5, §1). But on whatever ground they were formerly permitted, there can be no question as to the propriety of prohibiting them in the present day.

2. Among the special prohibitions we have to notice the following. (1) The high-priest was forbidden to marry any except a virgin selected from his own people, *i. e.* an Israelite (Lev. xxi. 13, 14). He was thus exempt from the action of the Levitical law. (2) The priests were less restricted in their choice[h]; they were only prohibited from marrying prostitutes and divorced women (Lev. xxi. 7). (3) Heiresses were prohibited from marrying out of their own tribe,[i] with the view of keeping the possessions of the several tribes intact (Num. xxxvi. 5-9; comp. Tob. vii. 10). (4) Persons defective in physical powers were not to intermarry with Israelites by virtue of the regulations in Deut. xxiii. 1. (5) In the Christian Church, bishops and deacons were prohibited from having more than one wife (1 Tim. iii. 2, 12), a prohibition of an ambiguous nature, inasmuch as it may refer (1) to polygamy in the ordinary sense of the term, as explained by Theodoret (*in loc.*), and most of the Fathers; (2) to marriage after the decease of the first wife; or (3) to marriage after divorce during the lifetime of the first wife. The probable sense is second marriage of any kind whatever, including all the three cases alluded to, but with a special reference to the two last, which were allowable in the case of the laity, while the first was equally forbidden to all. The early Church generally regarded second marriage as a disqualification for the ministry, though on this point there was not absolute unanimity (see Bingham, *Ant.* iv. 4, §1-3). (6) A similar prohibition applied to those who were candidates for admission into the ecclesiastical order of widows, whatever that order may have been (1 Tim. v. 9); in this case the words "wife of one man" can be applied but to two cases, (1) to re-marriage after the decease of the husband, or (2) after divorce. That divorce was obtained sometimes at the instance of the wife, is implied in Mark x. 12, and 1 Cor. vii. 11, and is alluded to by several classical writers (see Whitby *in loc.*). But St. Paul probably refers to the general question of re-marriage. (7) With regard to the general question of the re-marriage of divorced persons, there is some difficulty in ascertaining the sense of Scripture. According to the Mosaic law, a wife divorced at the instance of the husband might marry whom she liked; but if her second husband died or divorced her she could not return to her first husband, on the ground that, as far as he was concerned, she was "defiled" (Deut. xxiv. 2-4); we may infer from the statement of the ground that there was no objection to the re-marriage of the original parties, if the divorced wife had remained unmarried in the interval. If the wife was divorced on the ground of adultery, her re-marriage was impossible, inasmuch as the punishment for such a crime was death. In the

[h] From Ez. xliv. 22 it appears that the law relative to the marriage of priests was afterwards made more rigid: they could marry only maidens of Israelitish origin or the widows of priests.

[i] The close analogy of this regulation to the Athenian law respecting the ἐπίκληροι has been already noticed in the article on HEIR.

N. T. there are no direct precepts on the subject of the re-marriage of divorced persons. All the remarks bearing upon the point had a primary reference to an entirely different subject, viz. the abuse of divorce. For instance, our Lord's declarations in Matt. v. 32, xix. 9, applying as they expressly do to the case of a wife divorced on other grounds than that of unfaithfulness, and again St. Paul's, in 1 Cor. vii. 11, pre-supposing a contingency which he himself had prohibited as being improper, cannot be regarded as directed to the general question of re-marriage. In applying these passages to our own circumstances, due regard must be had to the peculiar nature of the Jewish divorce, which was not, as with us, a judicial proceeding based on evidence and pronounced by authority, but the arbitrary, and sometimes capricious act of an individual. The assertion that a woman divorced on improper and trivial grounds is made to commit adultery, does not therefore bear upon the question of a person divorced by judicial authority; no such case as our Lord supposes can now take place; at all events it would take place only in connexion with the question of what form adequate grounds for divorce. The early Church was divided in its opinion on this subject (Bingham, *Ant.* xxii. 2, §12).

With regard to age, no restriction is pronounced in the Bible. Early marriage is spoken of with approval in several passages (Prov. ii. 17, v. 18; Is. lxii. 5), and in reducing this general statement to the more definite one of years, we must take into account the very early age at which persons arrive at puberty in Oriental countries. In modern Egypt marriage takes place in general before the bride has attained the age of 16, frequently when she is 12 or 13, and occasionally when she is only 10 (Lane, i. 208). The Talmudists forbade marriage in the case of a man under 13 years and a day, and in the case of a woman under 12 years and a day (Buxtorf, *Synagog.* cap. 7, p. 143). The usual age appears to have been higher, about 18 years.

Certain days were fixed for the ceremonies of betrothal and marriage—the fourth day for virgins, and the fifth for widows (Mishna, *Ketub.* 1, §1). The more modern Jews similarly appoint different days for virgins and widows, Wednesday and Friday for the former, Thursday for the latter (Picart, i. 240).

III. The customs of the Hebrews and of Oriental nations generally, in regard to the preliminaries of marriage, as well as the ceremonies attending the rite itself, differ in many respects from those with which we are familiar. In the first place, the choice of the bride devolved not on the bridegroom himself, but on his relations or on a friend deputed by the bridegroom for this purpose. Thus Abraham sends Eliezer to find a suitable bride for his son Isaac, and the narrative of his mission affords one of the most charming pictures of patriarchal life (Gen. xxiv.); Hagar chooses a wife for Ishmael (Gen. xxi. 21); Isaac directs Jacob in his choice (Gen. xxviii. 1); and Judah selects a wife for Er (Gen. xxxviii. 6). It does not follow that the bridegroom's wishes were not consulted in this arrangement: on the contrary, the parents made proposals at the instigation of their sons in the instances of Shechem (Gen. xxxiv. 4, 8) and Samson (Judg. xiv. 1-10). A marriage contracted without the parents' interference was likely to turn out, as in Esau's case, "a grief of mind" to them (Gen. xxvi. 35, xxvii. 46). As a general rule the proposal originated with the family of the bridegroom: occasionally, when there was a difference of rank, this rule was reversed, and the bride was offered by her father, as by Jethro to Moses (Ex. ii. 21), by Caleb to Othniel (Josh. xv. 17), and by Saul to David (1 Sam. xviii. 27). The imaginary case of women soliciting husbands (Is. iv. 1) was designed to convey to the mind a picture of the ravages of war, by which the greater part of the males had fallen. The consent of the maiden was sometimes asked (Gen. xxiv. 58); but this appears to have been subordinate to the previous consent of the father and the adult brothers (Gen. xxiv. 51, xxxiv. 11). Occasionally the whole business of selecting the wife was left in the hands of a friend, and hence the case might arise which is supposed by the Talmudists (*Yebam.* 2, §6, 7), that a man might not be aware to which of two sisters he was betrothed. So in Egypt at the present day the choice of a wife is sometimes entrusted to a professional woman styled a *khát'beh*: and it is seldom that the bridegroom sees the features of his bride before the marriage has taken place (Lane, i. 209-211).

The selection of the bride was followed by the espousal, which was not altogether like our "engagement," but was a formal proceeding, undertaken by a friend or legal representative on the part of the bridegroom, and by the parents on the part of the bride; it was confirmed by oaths, and accompanied with presents to the bride. Thus Eliezer, on behalf of Isaac, propitiates the favour of Rebekah by presenting her in anticipation with a massive golden nose-ring and two bracelets; he then proceeds to treat with the parents, and, having obtained their consent, he brings forth the more costly and formal presents, "jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment," for the bride, and presents of less value for the mother and brothers (Gen. xxiv. 22, 53). These presents were described by different terms, that to the bride by *mohar*[k] (A. V. "dowry"), and that to the relations by *mattan*.[m] Thus Shechem offers "never so much dowry and gift" (Gen. xxxiv. 12), the former for the bride, the latter for the relations. It has been supposed indeed that the *mohar* was a price paid down to the father for the sale of his daughter. Such a custom undoubtedly prevails in certain

[k] The term *mohar* (מֹהַר) occurs only thrice in the Bible (Gen. xxxiv. 12; Ex. xxii. 17; 1 Sam. xviii. 25). From the second of the three passages, compared with Deut. xxii. 29, it has been inferred that the sum was in all cases paid to the father; but this inference is unfounded, because the sum to be paid according to that passage was not the proper *mohar*, but a sum "according to," *i. e.* equivalent to the *mohar*, and this, not as a price for the bride, but as a penalty for the offence committed. The origin of the term, and consequently its specific sense, is uncertain. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 773) has evolved the sense of "purchase-money" by connecting it with מָכַר, "to sell." It has also been connected with מָהַר, "to hasten," as though it signified a present *hastily produced* for the bride when her consent was obtained; and again with מָחָר, "morrow," as though it were the gift presented to the bride on the *morning* after the wedding, like the German *morgen-gabe* (Saalschütz, *Archäol.* ii. 193).

[m] מַתָּן. The importance of presents at the time of betrothal appears from the application of the term *áras* (אָרַשׁ), literally, "to make a present," in the special sense of "to betroth."

parts of the East at the present day, but it does not appear to have been the case with free women in patriarchal times; for the daughters of Laban make it a matter of complaint that their father had bargained for the services of Jacob in exchange for their hands, just as if they were "strangers" (Gen. xxxi. 15); and the permission to sell a daughter was restricted to the case of a "servant" or secondary wife (Ex. xxi. 7): nor does David, when complaining of the non-completion of Saul's bargain with him, use the expression "I *bought* for," but "I *espoused* to me for an hundred foreskins of the Philistines (2 Sam. iii. 14). The expressions in Hos. iii. 2, "So I bought her to me," and in Ruth iv. 10, "Ruth have I *purchased* to be my wife," certainly appear to favour the opposite view; it should be observed, however, that in the former passage great doubt exists as to the correctness of the translation[n]; and that in the latter the case would not be conclusive, as Ruth might well be considered as included in the purchase of her property. It would undoubtedly be expected that the *mohar* should be proportioned to the position of the bride, and that a poor man could not on that account afford to marry a rich wife (1 Sam. xviii. 23). Occasionally the bride received a dowry[o] from her father, as instanced in the cases of Caleb's (Judg. i. 15) and Pharaoh's (1 K. ix. 16) daughters. A "settlement," in the modern sense of the term, *i. e.* a written document securing property to the wife, did not come into use until the post-Babylonian period: the only instance we have of one is in Tob. vii. 14, where it is described as an "instrument" (*συγγραφή*). The Talmudists styled it a *ketubah*,[p] and have laid down minute directions as to the disposal of the sum secured, in a treatise of the Mishna expressly on that subject, from which we extract the following particulars. The peculiarity of the Jewish *ketubah* consisted in this, that it was a definite sum, varying not according to the circumstances of the parties, but according to the state of the bride,[q] whether she be a spinster, a widow, or a divorced woman[r] (1, §2); and further, that the dowry could not be claimed until the termination of the marriage by the death of the husband or by divorce (5, §1), though advances might be made to the wife previously (9, §8). Subsequently to betrothal a woman lost all power over her property, and it became vested in the husband, unless he had previously to marriage renounced his right to it (8, §1; 9, §1). Stipulations were entered into for the increase of the *ketubah*, when the bride had a handsome allowance (6, §3).

The act of betrothal[s] was celebrated by a feast (1, §5) and among the more modern Jews it is the custom in some parts for the bridegroom to place a ring on the bride's finger (Picart, i. 239)—a custom which also prevailed among the Romans (*Dict. of Ant.* p. 604). Some writers have endeavoured to prove that the rings noticed in the O. T. (Ex. xxxv. 22; Is. iii. 21) were nuptial rings, but there is not the slightest evidence of this. The ring was nevertheless regarded among the Hebrews as a token of fidelity (Gen. xli. 42), and of adoption into a family (Luke xv. 22). According to Selden it was originally given as an equivalent for dowry-money (*Uxor Ebraic.* ii. 14). Between the betrothal and the marriage an interval elapsed, varying from a few days in the patriarchal age (Gen. xxiv. 55), to a full year for virgins and a month for widows in later times. During this period the bride-elect lived with her friends, and all communication between herself and her future husband was carried on through the medium of a friend deputed for the purpose, termed the "friend of the bridegroom" (John iii. 29). She was now virtually regarded as the wife of her future husband: for it was a maxim of the Jewish law that betrothal was of equal force with marriage (Phil. *De Spec. Leg.* p. 788). Hence faithlessness on her part was punishable with death (Deut. xxii. 23, 24), the husband having, however, the option of "putting her away" (Matt. i. 19) by giving her a bill of divorcement, in case he did not wish to proceed to such an extreme punishment (Deut. xxiv. 1). False accusations on this ground were punished by a severe fine and the forfeiture of the right of divorce (Deut. xxii. 13-19). The betrothed woman could not part with her property after betrothal, except in certain cases (*Ketub.* 8, §1): and, in short, the bond of matrimony was as fully entered into by betrothal, as with us by marriage. In this respect we may compare the practice of the Athenians, who regarded the formal betrothal as indispensable to the validity of a marriage contract (*Dict. of Ant.* p. 598). The customs of the Nestorians afford several points of similarity in respect both to the mode of effecting the betrothal and the importance attached to it (Grant's *Nestorians*, pp. 197, 198).

We now come to the wedding itself; and in this the most observable point is, that there were no definite religious ceremonies connected with it. It is probable, indeed, that some formal ratification of the espousal with an oath took place, as implied in some allusions to marriage (*Ez.* xvi. 8; Mal. ii. 14), particularly in the expression, "the covenant

[n] The term used (כָּרָה) has a general sense "to make an agreement." The meaning of the verse appears to be this:—the Prophet had previously married a wife, named Gomer, who had turned out unfaithful to him. He had separated from her; but he was ordered to renew his intimacy with her, and previous to doing this he places her on her probation, setting her apart for a time, and for her maintenance agreeing to give her fifteen pieces of silver, in addition to a certain amount of food.

[o] The technical term of the Talmudists for the dowry which the wife brought to her husband, answering to the *dos* of the Latins, was נְדוּנְיָא.

[p] כְּתוּבָה, literally "a writing." The term was also specifically applied to the sum settled on the wife by the husband, answering to the Latin *donatio propter nuptias*.

[q] The practice of the modern Egyptians illustrates this; for with them the dowry, though its amount differs according to the wealth of the suitor, is still graduated according to the state of the bride. A certain portion only of the dowry is paid down, the rest being held in reserve (Lane, i. 211). Among the modern Jews also the amount of the dowry varies with the state of the bride, according to a fixed scale (Picart, i. 240).

[r] The amount of the dowry, according to the Mosaic law, appears to have been fifty shekels (Ex. xxii. 17, compared with Deut. xxii. 29).

[s] The technical term used by the Talmudists for betrothing was *kiddūshin* (קִדּוּשִׁין), derived from קָדַשׁ "to set apart." There is a treatise in the Mishna entitled, in which various questions of casuistry of slight interest to us are discussed.

[t] It is worthy of observation that there is no term in the Hebrew language to express the ceremony of marriage. The substantive *chatunnah* (חֲתֻנָּה) occurs but once and then in connexion with the day (Cant. iii. 11). The word "wedding" does not occur at all in the A. V. of the Old Testament.

of her God" (Prov. ii. 17), as applied to the marriage bond, and that a blessing was pronounced (Gen. xxiv. 60; Ruth iv. 11, 12) sometimes by the parents (Tob. vii. 13). But the essence of the marriage ceremony consisted in the removal of the bride from her father's house to that of the bridegroom or his father.[a]

The bridegroom prepared himself for the occasion by putting on a festive dress, and especially by placing on his head the handsome turban described by the term *peêr* (Is. lxi. 10; A. V. "ornaments"), and a nuptial crown or garland[x] (Cant. iii. 11): he was redolent of myrrh and frankincense and "all powders of the merchant" (Cant. iii. 6). The bride prepared herself for the ceremony by taking a bath, generally on the day preceding the wedding. This was probably in ancient as in modern times a formal proceeding, accompanied with considerable pomp (Picart, i. 240; Lane, i. 217). The notices of it in the Bible are so few as to have escaped general observation (Ruth iii. 3; Ez. xxiii. 40; Eph. v. 26, 27); but the passages cited establish the antiquity of the custom, and the expressions in the last ("having purified her by the laver of water," "not having spot"), have evident reference to it. A similar custom prevailed among the Greeks (*Dict. of Ant.* s. v. *Balneae*, p. 185). The distinctive feature of the bride's attire was the *tsâ'iph*,[y] or "veil"—a light robe of ample dimensions, which covered not only the face but the whole person (Gen. xxiv. 65; comp. xxxviii. 14, 15). This was regarded as the symbol of her submission to her husband, and hence in 1 Cor. xi. 10, the veil is apparently described under the term ἐξουσία, "authority." She also wore a peculiar girdle, named *kishshurim*,[z] the "attire" (A. V.), which no bride could forget (Jer. ii. 32); and her head was crowned with a chaplet, which was again so distinctive of the bride, that the Hebrew term *callah*,[a] "bride," originated from it. If the bride were a virgin, she wore her hair flowing (*Ketub.* 2, §1). Her robes were white (Rev. xix. 8), and sometimes embroidered with gold thread (Ps. xlv. 13, 14), and covered with perfumes (Ps. xlv. 8): she was further decked out with jewels (Is. xlix 18, lxi. 10; Rev. xxi. 2). When the fixed hour arrived, which was generally late in the evening, the bridegroom set forth from his house, attended by his groomsmen, termed in Hebrew *mêrê'im*[b] (A. V. "companions; Judg. xiv. 11), and in Greek *υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος* (A. V. "children of the bridechamber;" Matt. ix. 15), preceded by a band of musicians or singers (Gen. xxxi. 27; Jer. vii. 34, xvi. 9; 1 Macc. ix. 39), and accompanied by persons bearing flambeaux[c] (2 Esdr. x. 2; Matt. xxv. 7; compare Jer. xxv. 10; Rev. xviii. 23, "the light of a candle"). Having reached the house of the bride, who with her maidens anxiously expected his arrival (Matt. xxv. 6), he conducted the whole party back to his own or his father's[d] house, with every demonstration of gladness[e] (Ps. xlv. 15). On their way back they were joined by a party of maidens, friends of the bride and bridegroom, who were in waiting to catch the procession as it passed (Matt. xxv. 6; comp. Trench on *Parables*, p. 244 *note*). The inhabitants of the place pressed out into the streets to watch the procession (Cant. iii. 11). At the house a feast[f] was prepared, to which all the friends and neighbours were invited (Gen. xxix. 22; Matt. xxii. 1-10; Luke xiv. 8; John ii. 2), and the festivities were protracted for seven, or even fourteen days (Judg. xiv. 12; Tob. viii. 19). The guests were provided by the host with fitting robes (Matt. xxii. 11; comp. Trench, *Parables*, p. 230), and the feast was enlivened with riddles (Judg. xiv. 12) and other amusements. The bridegroom now entered into direct communication with the bride, and the joy of the friend was "ful-

[a] There seems indeed to be a literal truth in the Hebrew expression "to *take*" a wife (Num. xii. 1; 1 Chr. ii. 21); for the ceremony appears to have mainly consisted in the taking. Among the modern Arabs the same custom prevails, the capture and removal of the bride being effected with a considerable show of violence (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 108).

[x] The bridegroom's crown was made of various materials (gold or silver, roses, myrtle or olive), according to his circumstances (Selden, *Ux. Ebr.* ii. 15). The use of the crown at marriages was familiar both to the Greeks and Romans (*Dict. of Ant.*, CORONA).

[y] צָעִיף. See article on DRESS. The use of the veil was not peculiar to the Hebrews. It was customary among the Greeks and Romans; and among the latter it gave rise to the expression *nubo*, literally "to veil," and hence to our word "nuptial." It is still used by the Jews (Picart, i. 241). The modern Egyptians envelope the bride in an ample shawl, which perhaps more than any thing else resembles the Hebrew *tzaiph* (Lane, i. 220).

[z] קִשֻּׁרִים. Some difference of opinion exists as to this term. [GIRDLE.] The girdle was an important article of the bride's dress among the Romans, and gave rise to the expression *solvere zonam*.

[a] כַּלָּה. The bride's crown was either of gold or gilded. The use of it was interdicted after the destruction of the second Temple, as a token of humiliation (Selden, *Ux. Ebr.* ii. 15).

[b] מְרֵעִים. Winer (*Bib.* s. v. "Hochzeit") identifies the "children of the bridechamber" with the *shoshbenim* (שׁוֹשְׁבָנִים) of the Talmudists. But the former were the attendants on the bridegroom alone, while the *shoshbenim* were two persons selected on the day of the marriage to represent the interests of bride and bridegroom, apparently with a special view to any possible litigation that might subsequently arise on the subject noticed in Deut. xxii. 15-21 (Selden, *Ux. Ebr.* ii. 16).

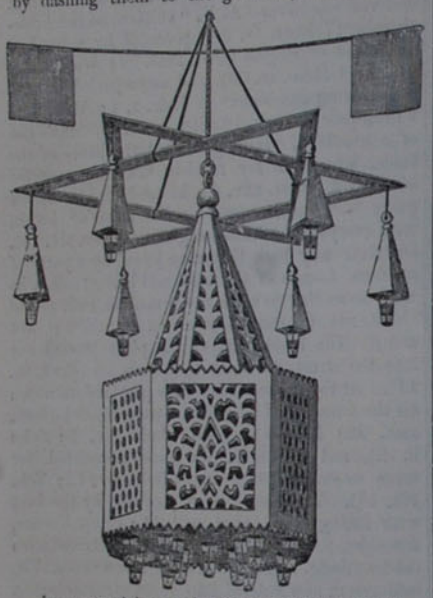
[c] Compare the δᾷδες νυμφικαί of the Greeks (Aristoph. *Pax*, 1317). The lamps described in Matt. xxv. 7 would be small hand-lamps. Without them none could join the procession (Trench's *Parables*, p. 257 note).

[d] The bride was said to "go to" (בּוֹא אֶל) the house of her husband (Josh. xv. 18; Judg. i. 14); an expression which is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it has not been rightly understood in Dan. xi. 6, where "they that brought her" is an expression for *husband*. The bringing home of the bride was regarded in the later days of the Roman empire as one of the most important parts of the marriage ceremony (Bingham, *Ant.* xxii. 4, §7).

[e] From the joyous sounds used on these occasions the term *hâlal* (הָלַל) is applied in the sense of marrying in Ps. lxxviii. 63; A. V. "their maidens were not given to marriage," literally, "were not praised," as in the margin. This sense appears preferable to that of the LXX. οὐκ ἐπένθησαν, which is adopted by Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 596). The noise in the streets, attendant on an Oriental wedding, is excessive, and enables us to understand the allusions in Jeremiah to the "voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride."

[f] The feast was regarded as so essential a part of the marriage ceremony, that ποιεῖν γάμον acquired the specific meaning "to celebrate the marriage-feast" (Gen. xxix. 22; Esth. ii. 18; Tob. viii. 19; 1 Macc. ix. 37, x. 58 LXX., Matt. xxii. 4, xxv. 10; Luke xiv. 8), and sometimes to celebrate any feast (Esth. ix. 22).

filled" at hearing the voice of the bridegroom (John iii. 29) conversing with her, which he regarded as a satisfactory testimony of the success of his share in the work. In the case of a virgin, parched corn was distributed among the guests (*Ketub.* 2, §1), the significance of which is not apparent; the custom bears some resemblance to the distribution of the *mustaceum* (Juv. vi. 202) among the guests at a Roman wedding. The modern Jews have a custom of shattering glasses or vessels, by dashing them to the ground (Picart, i. 240).



Lamp suspended at a modern Egyptian wedding. (Lane.)

The last act in the ceremonial was the conducting of the bride to the bridal chamber, *cheder*[g] (Judg. xv. 1; Joel ii. 16), where a canopy, named *chuppâh*[h] was prepared (Ps. xix. 5; Joel ii. 16). The bride was still completely veiled, so that the deception practised on Jacob (Gen. xxix. 23) was very possible. If proof could be subsequently adduced that the bride had not preserved her maiden purity, the case was investigated; and, if she was convicted, she was stoned to death before her father's house (Deut. xxii. 13-21). A newly married man was exempt from military service, or from any public business which might draw him away from his home, for the space of a year (Deut. xxiv. 5): a similar privilege was granted to him who was betrothed (Deut. xx. 7).

Hitherto we have described the usages of marriage as well as they can be ascertained from the Bible itself. The Talmudists specify three modes by which marriage might be effected, viz., money, marriage-contract, and consummation (*Kiddush.* i. §1). The first was by the presentation of a sum of money, or its equivalent, in the presence of witnesses, accompanied by a mutual declaration of betrothal. The second was by a *written*, instead of a verbal agreement, either with or without a sum of money. The third, though valid in point of law, was discouraged to the greatest extent, as being contrary to the laws of morality (Selden, *Ux. Eb.* ii. 1, 2).

IV. In considering the social and domestic conditions of married life among the Hebrews, we must in the first place take into account the position assigned to women generally in their social scale. The seclusion of the *harem* and the habits consequent upon it were utterly unknown in early times, and the condition of the Oriental woman, as portrayed to us in the Bible, contrasts most favourably with that of her modern representative. There is abundant evidence that women, whether married or unmarried, went about with their faces unveiled (Gen. xii. 14, xxiv. 16, 65, xxix. 11; 1 Sam. i. 13). An unmarried woman might meet and converse with men, even strangers, in a public place (Gen. xxiv. 24, 45-7, xxix. 9-12; 1 Sam. ix. 11): she might be found alone in the country without any reflection on her character (Deut. xxii. 25-27): or she might appear in a court of justice (Num. xxvii. 2). Women not unfrequently held important offices: some were prophetesses, as Miriam, Deborah, Huldah, Noadiah, and Anna: of others advice was sought in emergencies (2 Sam. xiv. 2, xx. 16-22). They took their part in matters of public interest (Ex. xv. 20; 1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7): in short, they enjoyed as much freedom in ordinary life as the women of our own country.

If such was her general position, it is certain that the wife must have exercised an important influence in her own home. She appears to have taken her part in family affairs, and even to have enjoyed a considerable amount of independence. For instance, she entertains guests at her own door (2 K. iv. 8) in the absence of her husband (Judg. iv. 18), and sometimes even in defiance of his wishes (1 Sam. xxv. 14, &c.): she disposes of her child by a vow without any reference to her husband (1 Sam. i. 24): she consults with him as to the marriage of her children (Gen. xxvii. 46): her suggestions as to any domestic arrangements meet with due attention (2 K. iv. 9): and occasionally she criticises the conduct of her husband in terms of great severity (1 Sam. xxv. 25; 2 Sam. vi. 20).

The relations of husband and wife appear to have been characterised by affection and tenderness. He is occasionally described as the "friend" of his wife (Jer. iii. 20; Hos. iii. 1), and his love for her is frequently noticed (Gen. xxiv. 67, xxix. 18). On the other hand, the wife was the consolation of her husband in time of trouble (Gen. xxiv. 67), and her grief at his loss presented a picture of the most abject woe (Joel i. 8). No stronger testimony, however, can be afforded as to the ardent affection of husband and wife, than that which we derive from the general tenor of the book of Canticles. At the same time we cannot but think that the exceptions to this state of affairs were more numerous than is consistent with our ideas of matrimonial happiness. One of the evils inseparable from polygamy is the discomfort arising from the jealousies and quarrels of the several wives, as instanced in the households of Abraham and Elkanah (Gen. xxi. 11; 1 Sam. i. 6). The purchase of wives, and the small amount of liberty allowed to daughters in the choice of husbands, must inevitably have led to unhappy unions. The allusions to the misery of a con-

[g] חֹדֶר.

[h] חֻפָּה. The term occurs in the Mishna (*Ketub.* 4, 4), and is explained by some of the Jewish commentators to have been a bower of roses and myrtles. The term was also applied to the canopy under which the nuptial benediction was pronounced, or to the robe spread over the heads of the bride and bridegroom (Selden, ii. 10).

tentious and brawling wife in the Proverbs (xix. 13 xxi. 9, 19, xxvii. 15) convey the impression that the infliction was of frequent occurrence in Hebrew households, and in the Mishna (*Ketub.* 7, §6) the fact of a woman being noisy is laid down as an adequate ground for divorce. In the N. T. the mutual relations of husband and wife are a subject of frequent exhortation (Eph. v. 22-33; Col. iii. 18, 19; Tit. ii. 4, 5; 1 Pet. iii. 1-7): it is certainly a noticeable coincidence that these exhortations should be found exclusively in the epistles addressed to Asiatics, nor is it improbable that they were more particularly needed for them than for Europeans.

The duties of the wife in the Hebrew household were multifarious: in addition to the general superintendence of the domestic arrangements, such as cooking, from which even women of rank were not exempted (Gen. xviii. 6; 2 Sam. xiii. 8), and the distribution of food at meal-times (Prov. xxxi. 15), the manufacture of the clothing and the various textures required in an Eastern establishment devolved upon her (Prov. xxxi. 13, 21, 22), and if she were a model of activity and skill, she produced a surplus of fine linen sheets and girdles, which she sold, and so, like a well-freighted merchantship, brought in wealth to her husband from afar (Prov. xxxi. 14, 24). The poetical description of a good house-wife drawn in the last chapter of the Proverbs is both filled up and in some measure illustrated by the following minute description of a wife's duties towards her husband, as laid down in the Mishna: "She must grind corn, and bake, and wash, and cook, and suckle his child, make his bed, and work in wool. If she brought her husband one bondwoman, she need not grind, bake, or wash: if two, she need not cook nor suckle his child: if three, she need not make his bed nor work in wool: if four, she may sit in her chair of state" (*Ketub.* 5, §5). Whatever money she earned by her labour belonged to her husband (ib. 6, §1). The qualification not only of working, but of working *at home* (Tit. ii. 5, where *οἰκουργούς* is preferable to *οἰκουρούς*), was insisted on in the wife, and to spin in the street was regarded as a violation of Jewish customs (*Ketub.* 7, §6).

The legal rights of the wife are noticed in Ex. xxi. 10, under the three heads of food, raiment, and duty of marriage or conjugal right. These were defined with great precision by the Jewish doctors; for thus only could one of the most cruel effects of polygamy be averted, viz., the sacrifice of the rights of the many in favour of the one whom the lord of the modern *harem* selects for his special attention. The regulations of the Talmudists founded on Ex. xxi. 10 may be found in the Mishna (*Ketub.* 5, §6-9).

V. The allegorical and typical allusions to marriage have exclusive reference to one subject, viz., to exhibit the spiritual relationship between God and his people. The earliest form, in which the image is implied, is in the expressions "to go a whoring," and "whoredom," as descriptive of the rupture of that relationship by acts of idolatry. These expressions have by some writers been taken in their primary and literal sense, as pointing to the licentious practices of idolaters. But this destroys the whole point of the comparison, and is opposed to the plain language of Scripture: for (1) Israel is described as the false wife[1] "playing the harlot" (Is. i. 21; Jer. iii. 1, 6, 8); (2) Jehovah is the injured husband, who therefore divorces her (Ps. lxxiii. 27: Jer. ii. 20: Hos. iv. 12 ix. 1); and (3) the other party in the adultery is specified, sometimes generally, as idols or false gods (Deut. xxxi. 16; Judg. ii. 17; 1 Chr. v. 25; Ez. xx. 30, xxiii. 30), and sometimes particularly, as in the case of the worship of goats (A. V. "devils," Lev. xvii. 7), Molech (Lev. xx. 5), wizards (Lev. xx. 6), an ephod (Judg. viii. 27), Baalim (Judg. viii. 33), and even the heart and eyes (Num. xv. 39)—the last of these objects being such as wholly to exclude the idea of actual adultery. The image is drawn out more at length by Ezekiel (xxiii.), who compares the kingdoms of Samaria and Judah to the harlots Aholah and Aholibah; and again by Hosea (i. iii.), whose marriage with an adulterous wife, his separation from her, and subsequent reunion with her, were designed to be a visible lesson to the Israelites of their dealings with Jehovah.

The direct comparison with marriage is confined in the O. T. to the prophetic writings, unless we regard the Canticles as an allegorical work. [CANTICLES.] The actual relation between Jehovah and His people is generally the point of comparison (Is. liv. 5, lxii. 4; Jer. iii. 14; Hos. ii. 19; Mal. ii. 11); but sometimes the graces consequent thereon are described under the image of bridal attire (Is. xlix. 18, lxi. 10), and the joy of Jehovah in His Church under that of the joy of a bridegroom (Is. lxii. 5).

In the N. T. the image of the bridegroom is transferred from Jehovah to Christ (Matt. ix. 15; John iii. 29), and that of the bride to the Church (2 Cor. xi. 2; Rev. xix. 7, xxi. 2, 9, xxii. 17), and the comparison thus established is converted by St. Paul into an illustration of the position and mutual duties of man and wife (Eph. v. 23-32). The suddenness of the Messiah's appearing, particularly at the last day, and the necessity of watchfulness are inculcated in the parable of the Ten Virgins, the imagery of which is borrowed from the customs of the marriage ceremony (Matt. xxv. 1-13). The Father prepares the marriage feast for his Son, the joys that result from the union being thus represented (Matt. xxii. 1-14, xxv. 10; Rev. xix. 9; comp. Matt. viii. 11), while the qualifications requisite for admission into that union are prefigured by the marriage garment (Matt. xxii. 11). The breach of the union is, as before, described as fornication or whoredom in reference to the mystical Babylon (Rev. xvii. 1, 2, 5).

The chief authorities on this subject are Selden's *Uxor Ebraica;* Michaelis' *Commentaries*; the Mishna, particularly the books *Yebamoth*, *Ketuboth*, *Gittin*, and *Kiddushin*; Buxtorf's *Sponsal. et Divort.* Among the writers on special points we may notice Benary, *de Hebr. Leviratu*, Berlin, 1835; Reislob's *Leviratsehe*, Leipzig, 1836; and Kurtz's *Ehe des Hosea*, Dorpat, 1859. [W. L. B.]

MARS' HILL. [AREOPAGUS.]

MAR'SENA (מַרְסְנָא: Μαλισεάρ; Alex. Μα-

[1] The term *zánâh* (זָנָה). In its ordinary application, it is almost without exception applied to the act of the woman. We may here notice the only exceptions to the ordinary sense of this term, viz., Is. xxiii. 17, where it means "commerce," and Nah. iii. 4, where it is equivalent to "crafty policy," just as in 2 K. ix. 22 the parallel word is "witchcrafts."

λησεδρ: *Marsana*), one of the seven princes of Persia, "wise men which knew the times," which saw the king's face and sat first in the kingdom (Esth. i. 14). According to Josephus they had the office of interpreters of the laws (*Ant.* xi. 6, §1).

MARTHA (Μάρθα: *Martha*). This name, which does not appear in the O. T., belongs to the later Aramaic, and is the feminine form of מָרָא = Lord. We first meet with it towards the close of the 2nd century B.C. Marius, the Roman dictator, was attended by a Syrian or Jewish prophetess Martha during the Numidian war and in his campaign against the Cimbri (Plutarch, *Marius*, xvii.). Of the Martha of the N. T. there is comparatively little to be said. What is known or conjectured as to the history of the family of which she was a member may be seen under LAZARUS. The facts recorded in Luke x. and John xi. indicate a character devout after the customary Jewish type of devotion, sharing in Messianic hopes and accepting Jesus as the Christ; sharing also in the popular belief in a resurrection (John xi. 24), but not rising, as her sister did, to the belief that Christ was making the eternal life to belong, not to the future only, but to the present. When she first comes before us in Luke x. 38, as receiving her Lord into her house (it is uncertain whether at Bethany or elsewhere), she loses the calmness of her spirit, is "cumbered with much serving," is "careful and troubled about many things." She is indignant that her sister and her Lord care so little for that for which she cares so much. She needs the reproof "one thing is needful;" but her love, though imperfect in its form, is yet recognised as true, and she too, no less than Lazarus and Mary, has the distinction of being one whom Jesus loved (John xi. 3). Her position here, it may be noticed, is obviously that of the elder sister, the head and manager of the household. It has been conjectured that she was the wife or widow of "Simon the leper" of Matt. xxvi. 6 and Mark xiv. 3 (Schulthess, in Winer, *Rwb.*; Paulus, in Meyer, *in loc.*; Greswell, *Diss. on Village of Martha and Mary*). The same character shows itself in the history of John xi. She goes to meet Jesus as soon as she hears that He is coming, turning away from all the Pharisees and rulers who had come with their topics of consolation (ver. 19, 20). The same spirit of complaint that she had shown before finds utterance again (ver. 21), but there is now, what there was not before, a fuller faith at once in His wisdom and His power (ver. 22). And there is in that sorrow an education for her as well as for others. She rises from the formula of the Pharisee's creed to the confession which no "flesh and blood," no human traditions, could have revealed to her (ver. 24-27). It was an immense step upward from the dull stupor of a grief which refused to be comforted, that, without any definite assurance of an *immediate* resurrection, she should now think of her brother as living still, never dying, because he had believed in Christ. The transition from vain fruitless regrets to this assured faith, accounts it may be for the words spoken by her at the sepulchre (ver. 39). We judge wrongly of her if we see in them the utterance of an impatient or despondent unbelief. The thought of that true victory over death has comforted her, and she is no longer expecting that the power of the eternal life will show itself in the renewal of the earthly. The wonder that followed, no less than the tears which preceded, taught her how deeply her Lord sympathised with the passionate human sorrows of which He *must* seemed to her so unmindful. It taught her, as it teaches us, that the eternal life in which she had learnt to believe was no absorption of the individual being in that of the spirit of the universe—that it recognised and embraced all true and pure affections.

Her name appears once again in the N. T. She is present at the supper at Bethany as "serving" (John xii. 2). The old character shows itself still, but it has been freed from evil. She is no longer "cumbered," no longer impatient. Activity has been calmed by trust. When other voices are raised against her sister's overflowing love, hers is not heard among them.

The traditions connected with Martha have been already mentioned. [LAZARUS.] She goes with her brother and other disciples to Marseilles, gathers round her a society of devout women, and, true to her former character, leads them to a life of active ministration. The wilder Provençal legends make her victorious over a dragon that laid waste the country. The town of Tarascon boasted of possessing her remains, and claimed her as its patroness (*Acta Sanctorum*, and *Brev. Rom.* in Jul. 29; Fabricii, *Lux Evangel.* p. 388). [E. H. P.]

MARY OF CLEOPHAS. So in A. V., but accurately "of CLOPAS" (Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ). In St. John's Gospel we read that "there stood by the cross of Jesus His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene" (John xix. 25). The same group of women is described by St. Matthew as consisting of Mary Magdalene, and Mary of James and Joses, and the mother of Zebedee's children" (Matt. xxvii. 56); and by St. Mark, as "Mary Magdalene, and Mary of James the Little and of Joses, and Salome"[a] (Mark xv. 40). From a comparison of these passages, it appears that Mary of Clopas, and Mary of James the Little and of Joses, are the same person, and that she was the sister of St. Mary the Virgin. The arguments, preponderating on the affirmative side, for this Mary being (according to the A. V. translation), the *wife* of Clopas or Alphaeus, and the *mother* of James the Little, Joses, Jude, Simon, and their sisters, have been given under the heading JAMES. There is an apparent difficulty in the fact of two sisters seeming to bear the name of Mary. To escape this difficulty it has been suggested (1) that the two clauses "the mother's sister" and "Mary of Clopas," are not in apposition, and that St. John meant to designate two persons as present—namely, the mother of Jesus' her sister, to whom he does not assign any name, Mary of Clopas; and Mary Magdalene (Lange). And it has been further suggested that this sister's name was Salome, wife of Zebedee (Wieseler). This is avoiding, not solving a difficulty. St. John could not have expressed himself as he does had he meant

[a] The form of the expression "Mary of Clopas," 'Mary of James," in its more colloquial form "Clopas' Mary," "James' Mary" is familiar to every one acquainted with English village life. It is still a common thing for the unmarried, and sometimes for the married women of the labouring classes in a country town or village, to be distinguished from their namesakes not by their surnames, but by the name of their father or husband, or son, *e. g.* "William's Mary," "John's Mary," &c.

more than three persons. It has been suggested (2) that the word ἀδελφή is not here to be taken in its strict sense, but rather in the laxer acceptation, which it clearly does bear in other places. Mary, wife of Clopas, it has been said, was not the sister, but the cousin of St. Mary the Virgin (see Wordsworth, *Gk. Test.*, Preface to the Epistle of St. James). There is nothing in this suggestion which is objectionable, or which can be disproved. But it appears unnecessary and unlikely: unnecessary, because the fact of two sisters having the same name, though unusual, is not singular; and unlikely, because we find the two families so closely united—living together in the same house, and moving about together from place to place—that we are disposed rather to consider them connected by the nearer than the more distant tie. That it is far from impossible for two sisters to have the same name, may be seen by any one who will cast his eye over Betham's Genealogical Tables. To name no others, his eye will at once light on a pair of Antonias and a pair of Octavias, the daughters of the same father, and in one case of different mothers, in the other of the same mother. If it be objected that these are merely gentilic names, another table will give two Cleopatras. It is quite possible too that the same cause which operates at present in Spain, may have been at work formerly in Judea. MIRIAM, the sister of Moses, may have been the holy woman after whom Jewish mothers called their daughters, just as Spanish mothers not unfrequently give the name of Mary to their children, male and female alike, in honour of St. Mary the Virgin.[b] This is on the hypothesis that the two names are identical, but on a close examination of the Greek text, we find that it is possible that this was not the case. St Mary the Virgin is Μαριάμ; her sister is Μαρία. It is more than possible that these names are the Greek representatives of two forms which the antique מרים had then taken; and as in pronunciation, the emphasis would have been thrown on the last syllable in Μαριάμ, while the final letter in Μαρία would have been almost unheard, there would, upon this hypothesis, have been a greater difference in the sisters' names than there is between Mary and Maria among ourselves.[c]

Mary of Clopas was probably the elder sister of the Lord's mother. It would seem that she had married Clopas or Alphæus while her sister was still a girl. She had four sons, and at least three daughters. The names of the daughters are unknown to us: those of the sons are James, Joses, Jude, Simon, two of whom became enrolled among the twelve apostles [JAMES], and a third (Simon), may have succeeded his brother in the charge of the Church of Jerusalem. Of Joses and the daughters we know nothing. Mary herself is brought before us for the first time on the day of the Crucifixion—in the parallel passages already quoted from St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. John. In the evening of the same day we find her sitting desolately at the tomb with Mary Magdalene (Matt. xxvii. 61; Mark xv. 47), and at the dawn of Easter morning she was again there with sweet spices, which she had prepared on the Friday night (Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 1; Luke xxiii. 56), and was one of those who had "a vision of angels, which said that He was alive" (Luke xxiv. 23). These are all the glimpses that we have of her. Clopas or Alphaeus is not mentioned at all, except as designating Mary and James. It is probable that he was dead before the ministry of our Lord commenced. Joseph the husband of St. Mary the Virgin, was likewise dead; and the two widowed sisters, as was natural, both for comfort and for protection, were in the custom of living together in one house. Thus the two families came to be regarded as one, and the children of Mary and Clopas were called the brothers and sisters of Jesus. How soon the two sisters commenced living together cannot be known. It is possible that her sister's house at Nazareth was St. Mary's home at the time of her marriage, for we never hear of the Virgin's parents. Or it may have been on their return from Egypt to Nazareth that Joseph and Mary took up their residence with Mary and Clopas. But it is more likely that the union of the two households took place after the death of Joseph and of Clopas. In the second year of our Lord's ministry, we find that they had been so long united as to be considered one by their fellow townsmen (Matt. xiii. 55) and other Galileans (Matt. xii. 47). At whatever period it was that this joint housekeeping commenced, it would seem to have continued at Nazareth (Matt. xiii. 55) and at Capernaum (John ii. 12), and elsewhere, till St. John took St. Mary the Virgin to his own home in Jerusalem, A.D. 30. After this time Mary of Clopas would probably have continued living with St. James the Little and her other children at Jerusalem until her death. The fact of her name being omitted on all occasions on which her children and her sister are mentioned, save only on the days of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, would indicate a retiring disposition, or perhaps an advanced age. That his cousins were older than Jesus, and consequently that their mother was the elder sister of the Virgin, may be gathered as likely from Mark iii. 21, as it is not probable that if they had been younger than Jesus, they would have ventured to have attempted to interfere by force with Him for over-exerting Himself, as they thought, in the prosecution of His ministry. We may note that the Gnostic legends of the early ages, and the mediaeval fables and revelations alike refuse to acknowledge the existence of a sister of St. Mary, as interfering with the miraculous conception and birth of the latter. [F. M.]

MARY MAG'DALENE (Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνή: *Maria Magdalene*). Four different explanations have been given of this name. (1) That which at first suggests itself as the most natural, that she came from the town of Magdala. The statement that the women with whom she journeyed, followed Jesus in Galilee (Mark xv. 41),

[b] Maria, Maria-Pia, and Maria-Immacolata, are the first names of three of the sisters of the late king of the Two Sicilies.

[c] The ordinary explanation that Μαριάμ is the Hebraic form, and Μαρία the Greek form, and that the difference is in the use of the Evangelists, not in the name itself, seems scarcely adequate: for why should the Evangelists invariably employ the Hebraic form when writing of St. Mary the Virgin, and the Greek form when writing about all the other Maries in the Gospel history? It is true that this distinction is not constantly observed in the readings of the Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Ephraemi, and a few other MSS.; but there is sufficient agreement in the majority of the Codices to determine the usage. That it is possible for a name to develop into several kindred forms, and for these forms to be considered sufficiently distinct appellations for two or more brothers or sisters, is evidenced by our daily experience.

agrees with this notion. (2) Another explanation has been found in the fact that the Talmudic writers in their calumnies against the Nazarenes make mention of a Miriam Megaddela (מגדלא), and deriving that word from the Piel of גָּדַל, to twine, explain it as meaning "the twiner or plaiter of hair." They connect with this name a story which will be mentioned later; but the derivation has been accepted by Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xxvi. 56; *Harm. Evang.* on Luke viii. 3) as satisfactory, and pointing to the previous worldliness of "Miriam with the braided locks," as identical with "the woman that was a sinner" of Luke vii. 37. It has been urged in favour of this, that the ἡ καλουμένη of Luke viii. 3, implies something peculiar, and is not used where the word that follows points only to origin or residence. (3) Either seriously, or with the patristic fondness for *paronomasia*, Jerome sees in her name, and in that of her town, the old Migdol (= a watch-tower), and dwells on the coincidence accordingly. The name denotes the stedfastness of her faith. She is "vere πυργίτης, vere turris candoris et Libani, quae prospicit in faciem Damasci" (*Epist. ad Principiam*).[a] He is followed in this by later Latin writers, and the pun forms the theme of a panegyric sermon by Odo of Clugni (*Acta Sanctorum*, Antwerp, 1727, July 12). (4) Origen, lastly, looking to the more common meaning of גָּדַל (*gâdal*, to be great), sees in her name a prophecy of her spiritual greatness as having ministered to the Lord, and been the first witness of His resurrection (*Tract. in Matt.* xxxv.). It will be well to get a firm standing-ground in the facts that are definitely connected in the N. T. with Mary Magdalene before entering on the perplexed and bewildering conjectures that gather round her name.

I. She comes before us for the first time in Luke viii. 2. It was the custom of Jewish women (Jerome on 1 Cor. ix. 5) to contribute to the support of Rabbis whom they reverenced, and in conformity with that custom, there were among the disciples of Jesus, women who "ministered unto Him of their substance." All appear to have occupied a position of comparative wealth. With all the chief motive was that of gratitude for their deliverance from "evil spirits and infirmities." Of Mary it is said specially that "seven devils (δαιμόνια) went out of her," and the number indicates, as in Matt. xii. 45, and the "Legion" of the Gadarene demoniac (Mark v. 9), a *possession* of more than ordinary malignity. We must think of her, accordingly as having had, in their most aggravated forms, some of the phenomena of mental and spiritual disease which we meet with in other demoniacs, the wretchedness of despair, the divided consciousness, the preternatural frenzy, the long-continued fits of silence. The appearance of the same description in Mark xvi. 9 (whatever opinion we may form as to the authorship of the closing section of that Gospel), indicates that this was the fact most intimately connected with her name in the minds of the early disciples. From that state of misery she had been set free by the presence of the Healer, and, in the absence, as we may infer, of other ties and duties, she found her safety and her blessedness in following Him. The silence of the Gospels as to the presence of these women at other periods of the Lord's ministry, makes it probable that they attended on Him chiefly in His more solemn progresses through the towns and villages of Galilee, while at other times he journeyed to and fro without any other attendants than the Twelve, and sometimes without even them. In the last journey to Jerusalem, in which so many had been looking with eager expectation, they again accompanied Him (Matt. xxvii. 55; Mark xv. 41; Luke xxiii. 55, xxiv. 10). It will explain much that follows if we remember that this life of ministration must have brought Mary Magdalene into companionship of the closest nature with Salome the mother of James and John (Mark xv. 40), and even also with Mary the mother of the Lord (John xix. 25). The women who thus devoted themselves are not prominent in the history: we have no record of their mode of life, or abode, or hopes or fears during the few momentous days that preceded the crucifixion. From that point they come forth for a brief two days' space into marvellous distinctness. They "stood afar off, beholding these things" (Luke xxiii. 49) during the closing hours of the Agony on the Cross. Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of the Lord, and the beloved disciple were at one time not afar off, but close to the cross, within hearing. The same close association which drew them together there is seen afterwards. She remains by the cross till all is over, waits till the body is taken down, and wrapped in the linen-cloth and placed in the garden-sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea. She remains there in the dusk of the evening watching what she must have looked on as the final resting-place of the Prophet and Teacher whom she had honoured (Matt. xxvii. 61; Mark xv. 47; Luke xxiii. 55). Not for her had there been given the hope of the Resurrection. The disciples to whom the words that spoke of it had been addressed had failed to understand them, and were not likely to have reported them to her. The sabbath that followed brought an enforced rest, but no sooner is the sunset over than she, with *Salome* and Mary the mother of James, "bought sweet spices that they might come and anoint" the body, the interment of which on the night of the crucifixion they looked on as hasty and provisional (Mark xvi. 1).

The next morning accordingly, in the early dawn (Matt. xxviii. 1; Mark xvi. 2) they come with Mary the mother of James, to the sepulchre. It would be out of place to enter here into the harmonistic discussions which gather round the history of the Resurrection. As far as they connect themselves with the name of Mary Magdalene, the one fact which St. John records is that of the chiefest interest. She had been to the tomb and had found it empty, had seen the "vision of angels" (Matt. xxviii. 5; Mark xvi. 5). To her, however, after the first moment of joy, it had seemed to be but a vision. She went with her cry of sorrow to Peter and *John* (let us remember that *Salome* had been with her), "they have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid Him" (John xx. 1, 2). But she returns there. She follows Peter and John, and remains when they go back. The one thought that fills her mind is still that the body is not there. She has been robbed of that task of reverential love on which she had set her heart. The words of the angels can call out no other answer than that—"They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid Him" (John xx. 13). This intense

[a] The writer is indebted for this quotation, and for one or two references in the course of the article, to the kindness of Mr. W. A. Wright.

brooding over one fixed thought was, we may venture to say, to one who had suffered as she had suffered, full of special danger, and called for a special discipline. The spirit must be raised out of its blank despair, or else the "seven devils" might come in once again, and the last state be worse than the first. The utter stupor of grief is shown in her want of power to recognise at first either the voice or the form of the Lord to whom she had ministered (John xx. 14, 15). At last her own name uttered by that voice as she had heard it uttered, it may be, in the hour of her deepest misery, recalls her to consciousness; and then follows the cry of recognition, with the strongest word of reverence which a woman of Israel could use, "Rabboni," and the rush forward to cling to His feet. That, however, is not the discipline she needs. Her love had been too dependent on the visible presence of her Master. She had the same lesson to learn as the other disciples. Though they had "known Christ after the flesh," they were "henceforth to know Him so no more." She was to hear that truth in its highest and sharpest form. "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father." For a time, till the earthly affection had been raised to a heavenly one, she was to hold back. When He had finished His work and had ascended to the Father, there should be no barrier then to the fullest communion that the most devoted love could crave for. Those who sought, might draw near and touch Him then. He would be one with them, and they one with Him.—It was fit that this should be the last mention of Mary. The Evangelist, whose position, as the son of Salome, must have given him the fullest knowledge at once of the facts of her after-history, and of her inmost thoughts, bore witness by his silence, in this case as in that of Lazarus, to the truth that lives, such as theirs, were thenceforth "hid with Christ in God."

II. What follows will show how great a contrast there is between the spirit in which he wrote and that which shows itself in the later traditions. Out of these few facts there rise a multitude of wild conjectures; and with these there has been constructed a whole romance of hagiology.

The questions which meet us connect themselves with the narratives in the four Gospels of women who came with precious ointment to anoint the feet or the head of Jesus. Each Gospel contains an account of one such anointing; and men have asked, in endeavouring to construct a harmony, "Do they tell us of four distinct acts, or of three, or of two, or of one only? On any supposition but the last, are the distinct acts performed by the same or by different persons; and if by different, then by how many? Further, have we any grounds for identifying Mary Magdalene with the woman or with any one of the women whose acts are thus brought before us?" This opens a wide range of possible combinations, but the limits of the inquiry may, without much difficulty, be narrowed. Although the opinion seems to have been at one time maintained (Origen, *Tract. in Matt.* xxv.), few would now hold that Matt. xxvi. and Mark xiv. are reports of two distinct events. Few, except critics bent like Schleiermacher and Strauss

[b] The difficulty is hardly met by the portentous conjecture of one commentator, that the word ἁμαρτωλὸς does not mean what it is commonly supposed to mean, and that the "many sins" consisted chiefly (as the name

on getting up a case against the historical veracity of the Evangelists, could persuade themselves that the narrative of Luke vii., differing as it does in well-nigh every circumstance, is but a misplaced and embellished version of the incident which the first two Gospels connect with the last week of our Lord's ministry. The supposition that there were three anointings has found favour with Origen (*l. c.*) and Lightfoot (*Harm. Evang.* in loc., and *Hor. Heb.* in Matt. xxvi.); but while, on the one hand, it removed some harmonistic difficulties, there is, on the other, something improbable to the verge of being inconceivable, in the repetition within three days of the same scene, at the same place, with precisely the same murmur and the same reproof. We are left to the conclusion adopted by the great majority of interpreters, that the Gospels record two anointings, one in some city unnamed (Capernaum or Nain have been suggested) during our Lord's Galilean ministry (Luke vii.), the other at Bethany, before the last entry into Jerusalem (Matt. xxvi.; Mark xiv.; John xii.). We come, then, to the question whether in these two narratives we meet with one woman or with two. The one passage adduced for the former conclusion is John xi. 2. It has been urged (Maldonatus *in Matt.* xxvi. and *Joan.* xi. 2, *Acta Sanctorum*, July 22nd) that the words which we find there ("It was that Mary which anointed the Lord with ointment . . . . . whose brother Lazarus was sick") could not possibly refer by anticipation to the history which was about to follow in ch. xii., and must therefore presuppose some fact known through the other Gospels to the Church at large, and that fact, it is inferred, is found in the history of Luke vii. Against this it has been said on the other side, that the assumption thus made is entirely an arbitrary one, and that there is not the slightest trace of the life of Mary of Bethany ever having been one of open and flagrant impurity.[b]

There is, therefore, but slender evidence for the assumption that the two anointings were the acts of one and the same woman, and that woman the sister of Lazarus. There is, if possible, still less for the identification of Mary Magdalene with the chief actor in either history. (1.) When her name appears in Luke viii. 3 there is not one word to connect it with the history that immediately precedes. Though possible, it is at least unlikely that such an one as the "sinner" would at once have been received as the chosen companion of Joanna and Salome and have gone from town to town with them and the disciples. Lastly, the description that *is* given—"Out of whom went seven devils"—points, as has been stated, to a form of suffering all but absolutely incompatible with the life implied in ἁμαρτωλὸς, and to a very different work of healing from that of the divine words of pardon—"Thy sins be forgiven thee." To say, as has been said, that the "seven devils" are the "many sins" (Greg. Mag. *Hom. in Evang.* 25 and 53), is to identify two things which are separated in the whole tenor of the N. T. by the clearest line of demarcation. The argument that because Mary Magdalene is mentioned so soon afterwards she must be the same as the woman of

Magdalene, according to the etymology noticed above, implies) in her giving too large a portion of the Sabbath to the braiding or plaiting of her hair (!). Lamy in Lampe on John xii. 2.

Luke vii. (Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, July 22), is simply puerile. It would be just as reasonable to identify "the sinner" with Susanna. Never, perhaps, has a figment so utterly baseless obtained so wide an acceptance as that which we connect with the name of the "penitent Magdalene." It is to be regretted that the chapter-heading of the A. V. of Luke vii. should seem to give a quasi-authoritative sanction to a tradition so utterly uncertain, and that it should have been perpetuated in connexion with a great work of mercy. (2.) The belief that Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene are identical is yet more startling. Not one single circumstance, except that of love and reverence for their Master, is common. The epithet Magdalene, whatever may be its meaning, seems chosen for the express purpose of distinguishing her from all other Maries. No one Evangelist gives the slightest hint of identity. St. Luke mentions Martha and her sister Mary in x. 38, 39, as though neither had been named before. St. John, who gives the fullest account of both, keeps their distinct individuality most prominent. The only *simulacrum* of an argument on behalf of the identity is that, if we do not admit it, we have no record of the sister of Lazarus having been a witness of the resurrection.

Nor is this lack of evidence in the N.T. itself compensated by any such weight of authority as would indicate a really trustworthy tradition. Two of the earliest writers who allude to the histories of the anointing—Clement of Alexandria (*Paedag.* ii. 8) and Tertullian (*de Pudic.* ch. 8)—say nothing that would imply that they accepted it. The language of Irenaeus (iii. 4) is against it. Origen (*l. c.*) discusses the question fully, and rejects it. He is followed by the whole succession of the expositors of the Eastern Church: Theophilus of Antioch, Macarius, Chrysostom, Theophylact. The traditions of that Church, when they wandered into the regions of conjecture, took another direction, and suggested the identity of Mary Magdalene with the daughter of the Syro-Phoenician woman of Mark vii. 26 (Nicephorus, *H. E.* i. 33). In the Western Church, however, the other belief began to spread. At first it is mentioned hesitatingly, as by Ambrose (*de Virg. Vel.* and *in Luc.* lib. vi.), Jerome (*in Matt.* xxvi. 2; *contr. Jovin.* c. 16), Augustine at one time inclines to it (*de Consens. Evang.* c. 69), at another speaks very doubtingly (*Tract. in Joann.* 49). At the close of the first great period of Church history, Gregory the Great takes up both notions, embodies them in his Homilies (*in Ev.* 25, 53), and stamps them with his authority. The reverence felt for him, and the constant use of his works as a text-book of theology during the whole mediaeval period, secured for the hypothesis a currency which it never would have gained on its own merits. The services of the feast of St. Mary Magdalene were constructed on the assumption of its truth (*Brev. Rom. in Jul.* 22). Hymns and paintings and sculptures fixed it deep in the minds of the Western nations, France and England being foremost in their reverence for the saint whose history appealed to their sympathies. (See below.) Well-nigh all ecclesiastical writers, after the time of Gregory the Great (Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas are exceptions), take it for granted. When it was first questioned by Fevre d'Etaples (Faber Stapulensis) in the early Biblical criticism of the 16th century, the new opinion was formally condemned by the Sorbonne (*Acta Sanctorum*, l. c.), and denounced by Bishop Fisher of Rochester. The Prayer-Book of 1549 follows in the wake of the Breviary; but in that of 1552, either on account of the uncertainty or for other reasons, the feast disappears. The Book of Homilies gives a double testimony. In one passage the "sinful woman" is mentioned without any notice of her being the same as the Magdalene (*Serm. on Repentance*, Part I.), in another it depends upon a comma whether the two are distinguished or identified (*Ibid.* Part II.). The translators under James I., as has been stated, adopted the received tradition. Since that period there has been a gradually accumulating consensus against it. Calvin, Grotius, Hammond, Cave, and among older critics, Bengel, Lampe, Greswell, Alford, Wordsworth, Stier, Meyer, Ellicott, Olshausen, among later, agree in rejecting it. Romanist writers even (Tillemont, Dupin, Estius) have borne their protest against it in whole or in part; and books that represent the present teaching of the Gallican Church reject entirely the identification of the two Maries as an unhappy mistake (Migne, *Dict. de le Bible*). The mediaeval tradition has, however, found defenders in Baronius, the writers of the *Acta Sanctorum*, Maldonatus, Bishop Andrewes, Lightfoot, Isaac Williams, and Dr. Pusey.

It remains to give the substance of the legend formed out of these combinations. At some time before the commencement of our Lord's ministry a great sorrow fell upon the household of Bethany. The younger of the two sisters fell from her purity and sank into the depths of shame. Her life was that of one possessed by the "seven devils" of uncleanness. From the city to which she then went, or from her harlot-like adornments, she was known by the new name of Magdalene. Then she hears of the Deliverer, and repents and loves and is forgiven. Then she is received at once into the fellowship of the holy women and ministers to the Lord, and is received back again by her sister and dwells with her, and shows that she has chosen the good part. The death of Lazarus and his return to life are new motives to her gratitude and love; and she shows them, as she had shown them before, anointing not longer the feet only, but the head also of her Lord. She watches by the cross, and is present at the sepulchre and witnesses the resurrection. Then (the legend goes on, when the work of formation combination is completed), after some years of waiting, she goes with Lazarus and Martha and Maximin (one of the Seventy) to Marseilles [comp. LAZARUS]. They land there; and she, leaving Martha to more active work, retires to a cave in the neighbourhood of Arles, and there leads a life of penitence for thirty years. When she dies a church is built in her honour, and miracles are wrought at her tomb. Clovis the Frank is healed by her intercession, and his new faith is strengthened; and the chivalry of France does homage to her name as to that of the greater Mary.

Such was the full-grown form of the Western story. In the East there was a different tradition. Nicephorus (*H. E.* ii. 10) states that she went to Rome to accuse Pilate for his unrighteous judgment; Modestus, patriarch of Constantinople (*Encom. in Marias*), that she came to Ephesus with the Virgin and St. John, and died and was buried there. The Emperor Leo the Philosopher (A.D. 890) brought her body from that city to Constantinople (*Acta Sanctorum*, l. c.).

The name appears to have been conspicuous

enough, either among the living members of the Church of Jerusalem or in their written records, to attract the notice of their Jewish opponents. The Talmudists record a tradition, confused enough, that Stada or Satda, whom they represent as the mother of the Prophet of Nazareth, was known by this name as a "plaiter or twiner of hair;" that she was the wife of Paphus Ben-Jehudah, a contemporary of Gamaliel, Joshua, and Akiba; and that she grieved and angered him by her wantonness (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xxvi., *Harm. Evang.* on Luke viii. 3). It seems, however, from the fuller report given by Eisenmenger, that there were two women to whom the Talmudists gave this name, and the wife of Paphus is not the one whom they identified with the Mary Magdalene of the Gospels (*Entdeckt. Judenth.* i. 277).

There is lastly the strange supposition (rising out of an attempt to evade some of the harmonistic difficulties of the resurrection history) that there were two women both known by this name, and both among those who went early to the sepulchre (Lampe, *Comm.* in Joann.; Ambrose, *Comm.* in Luc. x. 24). [E. H. P.]

MARY, MOTHER OF MARK. The woman known by this description must have been among the earliest disciples. We learn from Col. iv. 10 that she was sister to Barnabas, and it would appear from Acts iv. 37, xii. 12, that, while the brother gave up his land and brought the proceeds of the sale into the common treasury of the Church, the sister gave up her house to be used as one of its chief places of meeting. The fact that Peter goes to that house on his release from prison, indicates that there was some special intimacy (Acts xii. 12) between them, and this is confirmed by the language which he uses towards Mark as being his "son" (1 Pet. v. 13). She, it may be added, must have been like Barnabas of the tribe of Levi, and may have been connected, as he was, with Cyprus (Acts iv. 36). It has been surmised that filial anxiety about her welfare during the persecutions and the famine which harassed the Church at Jerusalem, was the chief cause of Mark's withdrawal from the missionary labours of Paul and Barnabas. The tradition of a later age represented the place of meeting for the disciples, and therefore probably the house of Mary, as having stood on the upper slope of Zion, and affirmed that it had been the scene of the wonder of the day of Pentecost, had escaped the general destruction of the city by Titus, and was still used as a church in the 4th century (Epiphan. *de Pond. et Mens*, xiv.; Cyril Hierosol. *Catech.* xvi.). [E. H. P.]

MARY, SISTER OF LAZARUS. For much of the information connected with this name, compr. LAZARUS and MARY MAGDALENE. The facts strictly personal to her are but few. She and her sister Martha, appear in Luke x. 40, as receiving Christ in their house. The contrasted temperaments of the two sisters have been already in part discussed [MARTHA]. Mary sat listening eagerly for every word that fell from the Divine Teacher. She had chosen the good part, the life that has found its unity, the "one thing needful," in rising from the earthly to the heavenly, no longer distracted by the "many things" of earth. The same character shows itself in the history of John xi. Her grief is deeper but less active. She sits still in the house. She will not go to meet the friends who come on the formal visit of consolation. But when her sister tells her secretly "The Master is come and calleth for thee," she rises quickly and goes forth at once (John xi. 20, 28). Those who have watched the depth of her grief have but one explanation for the sudden change: "She goeth to the grave to weep there!" Her first thought when she sees the Teacher in whose power and love she had trusted, is one of complaint. "She fell down at his feet, saying, Lord if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died." Up to this point, her relation to the Divine Friend had been one of reverence, receiving rather than giving, blessed in the consciousness of His favour. But the great joy and love which her brother's return to life calls up in her, pour themselves out in larger measure than had been seen before. The treasured alabaster-box of ointment is brought forth at the final feast of Bethany, John xii. 3. St. Matthew and St. Mark keep back her name. St. John records it as though the reason for the silence held good no longer. Of her he had nothing more to tell. The education of her spirit was completed. The love which had been recipient and contemplative shows itself in action.

Of her after-history we know nothing. The ecclesiastical traditions about her are based on the unfounded hypothesis of her identity with Mary Magdalene. [E. H. P.]

MARY THE VIRGIN (Μαριάμ: on the form of the name see p. 255). There is no person perhaps in sacred or in profane literature, around whom so many legends have been grouped as the Virgin Mary; and there are few whose authentic history is more concise. The very simplicity of the evangelical record has no doubt been one cause of the abundance of the legendary matter of which she forms the central figure. Imagination had to be called in to supply a craving which authentic narrative did not satisfy. We shall divide her life into three periods. I. The period of her childhood, up to the time of the birth of our Lord. II. The period of her middle age contemporary with the Bible record. III. The period subsequent to the Ascension. The first and last of these are wholly legendary, except in regard to one fact mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; the second will contain her real history. For the first period we shall have to rely on the early apocryphal gospels; for the second on the Bible; for the third on the traditions and tales which had an origin external to the Church, but after a time were transplanted within her boundaries, and there flourished and increased both by the force of natural growth, and by the accretions which from time to time resulted from supposed visions and revelations.

I. *The childhood of Mary, wholly legendary.*—Joachim and Anna were both of the race of David. The abode of the former was Nazareth; the latter passed her early years at Bethlehem. They lived piously in the sight of God, and faultlessly before man, dividing their substance into three portions, one of which they devoted to the service of the temple, another to the poor, and the third to their own wants. And so twenty years of their life passed silently away. But at the end of this period Joachim went to Jerusalem with some others of his tribe, to make his usual offering at the Feast of the Dedication. And it chanced that Issachar was high-priest (Gospel of Birth of Mary), that Reuben was high-priest (Protevangelion). And the high-priest

scorned Joachim, and drove him roughly away, asking how he dared to present himself in company with those who had children, while he had none; and he refused to accept his offerings until he should have begotten a child, for the Scripture said, "Cursed is every one who does not beget a man-child in Israel." And Joachim was shamed before his friends and neighbours, and he retired into the wilderness and fixed his tent there, and fasted forty days and forty nights. And at the end of this period an angel appeared to him, and told him that his wife should conceive, and should bring forth a daughter, and he should call her name Mary. Anna meantime was much distressed at her husband's absence, and being reproached by her maid Judith with her barrenness, she was overcome with grief of spirit. And in her sadness she went into her garden to walk, dressed in her wedding-dress. And she sat down under a laurel-tree, and looked up and spied among the branches a sparrow's nest, and she bemoaned herself as more miserable than the very birds, for they were fruitful and she was barren; and she prayed that she might have a child even as Sarai was blessed with Isaac. And two angels appeared to her, and promised her that she should have a child who should be spoken of in all the world. And Joachim returned joyfully to his home, and when the time was accomplished, Anna brought forth a daughter, and they called her name Mary. Now the child Mary increased in strength day by day, and at nine months of age she walked nine steps. And when she was three years old her parents brought her to the Temple, to dedicate her to the Lord. And there were fifteen stairs up to the Temple, and while Joseph and Mary were changing their dress, she walked up them without help; and the high-priest placed her upon the third step of the altar, and she danced with her feet, and all the house of Israel loved her. Then Mary remained at the Temple until she was twelve (Prot.) fourteen (G. B. M.) years old, ministered to by the angels, and advancing in perfection as in years. At this time the high-priest commanded all the virgins that were in the Temple to return to their homes and to be married. But Mary refused, for she said that she had vowed virginity to the Lord. Thus the high-priest was brought into a perplexity, and he had recourse to God to enquire what he should do. Then a voice from the ark answered him (G. B. M.), an angel spake unto him (Prot.); and they gathered together all the widowers in Israel (Prot.), all the marriageable men of the house of David (G. B. M.), and desired them to bring each man his rod. And amongst them came Joseph and brought his rod, but he shunned to present it, because he was an old man and had children. Therefore the other rods were presented and no sign occurred. Then it was found that Joseph had not presented his rod; and behold, as soon as he had presented it, a dove came forth from the rod and flew upon the head of Joseph (Prot.); a dove came from heaven and pitched on the rod (G. B. M.). And Joseph, in spite of his reluctance, was compelled to betroth himself to Mary, and he returned to Bethlehem to make preparations for his marriage (G. B.

M.); he betook himself to his occupation of building houses (Prot.); while Mary went back to her parents' house in Galilee. Then it chanced that the priests needed a new veil for the Temple, and seven virgins cast lots to make different parts of it; and the lot to spin the true purple fell to Mary. And she went out with a pitcher to draw water, and she heard a voice, saying unto her, "Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women!" and she looked round with trembling to see whence the voice came, and she laid down the pitcher and went into the house and took the purple and sat down to work at it. And behold the angel Gabriel stood by her and filled the chamber with prodigious light, and said, "Fear not," &c. And when Mary had finished the purple, she took it to the high-priest; and having received his blessing, went to visit her cousin Elizabeth, and returned back again.[a] Then Joseph returned to his home from building houses (Prot.); came into Galilee, to marry the Virgin to whom he was betrothed (G. B. M.), and finding her with child, he resolved to put her away privily; but being warned in a dream, he relinquished his purpose, and took her to his house. Then came Annas the scribe to visit Joseph, and he went back and told the priest that Joseph had committed a great crime, for he had privately married the Virgin whom he had received out of the Temple, and had not made it known to the children of Israel. And the priest sent his servants, and they found that she was with child; and he called them to him, and Joseph denied that the child was his, and the priest made Joseph drink the bitter water of trial (Num. v. 18), and sent him to a mountainous place to see what would follow. But Joseph returned in perfect health, so the priest sent them away to their home. Then after three months Joseph put Mary on an ass to go to Bethlehem to be taxed, and as they were going, Mary besought him to take her down, and Joseph took her down and carried her into a cave, and leaving her there with his sons, he went to seek a midwife. And as he went he looked up, and he saw the clouds astonished and all creatures amazed. The fowls stopped in their flight; the working people sat at their food, but did not eat; the sheep stood still; the shepherds' lifted hands became fixed; the kids were touching the water with their mouths, but did not drink. And a midwife came down from the mountains, and Joseph took her with him to the cave, and a bright cloud overshadowed the cave, and the cloud became a great light, and when the bright light faded there appeared an infant at the breast of Mary. Then the midwife went out and told Salome that a Virgin had brought forth, and Salome would not believe; and they came back again into the cave, and Salome received satisfaction, but her hand withered away, nor was it restored, until, by the command of an angel, she touched the child, whereupon she was straightway cured. (Giles, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, pp. 33-47 and 64-67. Lond. 1852; Jones, *On the New Testament*, ii. 2, xiii. and xv., Oxf. 1827; Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*. See also *Vita gloriosissimae Matris Annae per*

[a] Three spots lay claim to be the scene of the Annunciation. Two of these are, as was to be expected, in Nazareth, and one, as every one knows, is in Italy. The Greeks and Latins each claim to be the guardians of the true spot in Palestine; the third claimant is the holy house of Loretto. The Greeks point out the spring of water mentioned in the Protevangelion as confirmatory of their claim. The Latins have engraved on a marble slab in the grotto of their convent in Nazareth the words *Verbum hic caro factum est*, and point out the pillar which marks the spot where the angel stood; whilst the Head of their Church is irretrievably committed to the wild legend of Loretto. (See Stanley, *S. & P.* ch. xiv).

Petrum Dorlando, appended to Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, Lyons, 1642; and a most audacious *Historia Christi*, written in Persian by the Jesuit P. Jerome Xavier, and exposed by Louis de Dieu, Lugd. Bat. 1639).

II. *The real history of Mary.*—We now pass from legend to that period of St. Mary's life which is made known to us by Holy Scripture. In order to give a single view of all that we know of her who was chosen to be the mother of the Saviour, we shall in the present section put together the whole of her authentic history, supplementing it afterwards by the more prominent legendary circumstances which are handed down.

We are wholly ignorant of the name and occupation of St. Mary's parents. If the genealogy given by St. Luke is that of St. Mary (Greswell, &c.), her father's name was Heli, which is another form of the name given to her legendary father, Joiakim or Joachim. If Jacob and Heli were the two sons of Matthan or Matthat, and if Joseph, being the son of the younger brother, married his cousin, the daughter of the elder brother (Hervey, *Genealogies of our Lord Jesus Christ*), her father was Jacob. The evangelist does not tell us, and we cannot know. She was, like Joseph, of the tribe of Judah, and of the lineage of David (Ps. cxxxii. 11; Luke i. 32; Rom. i. 3). She had a sister, named probably like herself, Mary (John xix. 25) [MARY OF CLEOPHAS], and she was connected by marriage (*συγγενής*, Luke i. 36) with Elisabeth, who was of the tribe of Levi and of the lineage of Aaron. This is all that we know of her antecedents.

In the summer of the year which is known as B.C. 5, Mary was living at Nazareth, probably at her parents'—possibly at her elder sister's—house, not having yet been taken by Joseph to his home. She was at this time betrothed to Joseph, and was therefore regarded by the Jewish law and custom as his wife, though he had not yet a husband's rights over her. [MARRIAGE, p. 250, *b*.] At this time the angel Gabriel came to her with a message from God, and announced to her that she was to be the mother of the long-expected Messiah. He probably bore the form of an ordinary man, like the angels who manifested themselves to Gideon and to Manoah (Judg. vi., xiii.). This would appear both from the expression *εἰσελθών*, "he came in;" and also from the fact of her being troubled, not at his presence, but at the meaning of his words. The scene as well as the salutation is very similar to that recounted in the Book of Daniel, "Then there came again and touched me one like the appearance of a man, and he strengthened me, and said, O man greatly beloved, fear not: peace be unto thee, be strong, yea, be strong!" (Dan. x. 18, 19). The exact meaning of *κεχαριτωμένη* is "thou that hast been bestowed upon thee a free gift of grace." The A. V. rendering of "highly favoured" is therefore very exact and much nearer to the original than the "*gratia plena*" of the Vulgate, on which a huge and wholly unsubstantial edifice has been built by Romanist devotional writers. The next part of the salutation, "The Lord is with thee," would probably have been better translated, "The Lord be with thee." It is the same salutation as that with which the angel accosts Gideon (Judg. vi. 12). "Blessed art thou among women," is nearly the same expression as that used by Ozias to Judith (Jud. xiii. 18). Gabriel proceeds to instruct Mary that by the operation of the Holy Ghost the everlasting Son of the Father should be born of her; that in Him the prophecies relative to David's throne and kingdom should be accomplished; and that His name was to be called Jesus. He further informs her, perhaps as a sign by which she might convince herself that his prediction with regard to herself would come true, that her relative Elisabeth was within three months of being delivered of a child.

The angel left Mary, and she set off to visit Elisabeth either at Hebron or Juttah (whichever way we understand the *εἰς τὴν ὀρεινὴν εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα*, Luke i. 39), where the latter lived with her husband Zacharias, about 20 miles to the south of Jerusalem, and therefore at a very considerable distance from Nazareth. Immediately on her entrance into the house she was saluted by Elisabeth as the mother of her Lord, and had evidence of the truth of the angel's saying with regard to her cousin. She embodied her feelings of exultation and thankfulness in the hymn known under the name of the *Magnificat*. Whether this was uttered by immediate inspiration, in reply to Elisabeth's salutation, or composed during her journey from Nazareth, or was written at a later period of her three months' visit at Hebron, does not appear for certain. The hymn is founded on Hannah's song of thankfulness (1 Sam. ii. 1-10), and exhibits an intimate knowledge of the Psalms, prophetical writings, and books of Moses, from which sources almost every expression in it is drawn. The most remarkable clause, "From henceforth all generations shall call me blessed," is borrowed from Leah's exclamation on the birth of Asher (Gen. xxx. 13). The same sentiment and expression are also found in Prov. xxxi. 28; Mal. iii. 12; Jas. v. 11. In the latter place the word *μακαρίζω* is rendered with great exactness "count happy." The notion that there is conveyed in the word any anticipation of her bearing the title of "Blessed" arises solely from ignorance.

Mary returned to Nazareth shortly before the birth of John the Baptist, and continued living at her own home. In the course of a few months Joseph became aware that she was with child, and determined on giving her a bill of divorcement, instead of yielding her up to the law to suffer the penalty which he supposed that she had incurred. Being, however, warned and satisfied by an angel who appeared to him in a dream, he took her to his own house. It was soon after this, as it would seem, that Augustus' decree was promulgated, and Joseph and Mary travelled to Bethlehem to have their names enrolled in the registers (B.C. 4) by way of preparation for the taxing, which however was not completed till ten years afterwards (A.D. 6), in the governorship of Quirinus. They reached Bethlehem, and there Mary brought forth the Saviour of the world, and humbly laid him in a manger.

The visit of the shepherds, the circumcision, the adoration of the wise men, and the presentation in the Temple, are rather scenes in the life of Christ than in that of his mother. The presentation in the Temple might not take place till forty days after the birth of the child. During this period the mother, according to the law of Moses, was unclean (Lev. xii.). In the present case there could be no necessity for offering the sacrifice and making atonement beyond that of obedience to the Mosaic precept; but already He, and His mother for Him, were acting upon the principle of fulfilling all righteousness. The poverty of St. Mary and Joseph, it may be noted, is shown by their making

the offering of the poor. The song of Simeon and the thanksgiving of Anna, like the wonder of the shepherds and the adoration of the magi, only incidentally refer to Mary. One passage alone in Simeon's address is specially directed to her, "Yea a sword shall pierce through thy own soul also." The exact purport of these words is doubtful. A common patristic explanation refers them to the pang of unbelief which shot through her bosom on seeing her Son expire on the cross (Tertullian, Origen, Basil, Cyril, &c.). By modern interpreters it is more commonly referred to the pangs of grief which she experienced on witnessing the sufferings of her Son.

In the flight into Egypt, Mary and the babe had the support and protection of Joseph, as well as in their return from thence, in the following year, on the death of Herod the Great (B.C. 3).[b] It appears to have been the intention of Joseph to have settled at Bethlehem at this time, as his home at Nazareth had been broken up for more than a year; but on finding how Herod's dominions had been disposed of, he changed his mind and returned to his old place of abode, thinking that the child's life would be safer in the tetrarchy of Antipas than in that of Archelaus. It is possible that Joseph might have been himself a native of Bethlehem, and that before this time he had been only a visitor at Nazareth, drawn thither by his betrothal and marriage. In that case, his fear of Archelaus would make him exchange his own native town for that of Mary. It may be that the holy family at this time took up their residence in the house of Mary's sister, the wife of Clopas.

Henceforward, until the beginning of our Lord's ministry—*i. e.* from B.C. 3 to A.D. 26—we may picture St. Mary to ourselves as living in Nazareth, in a humble sphere of life, the wife of Joseph the carpenter, pondering over the sayings of the angels, of the shepherds, of Simeon, and those of her Son, as the latter "increased in wisdom and stature and in favour with God and man" (Luke ii. 52). Two circumstances alone, so far as we know, broke in on the otherwise even flow of the still waters of her life. One of these was the temporary loss of her Son when he remained behind in Jerusalem, A.D. 8. The other was the death of Joseph. The exact date of this last event we cannot determine. But it was probably not long after the other.

From the time at which our Lord's ministry commenced, St. Mary is withdrawn almost wholly from sight. Four times only is the veil removed, which, not surely without a reason, is thrown over her. These four occasions are,—1. The marriage at Cana of Galilee (John ii.). 2. The attempt which she and his brethren made "to speak with him" (Matt. xii. 46; Mark iii. 21 and 31; Luke viii. 19). 3. The Crucifixion. 4. The days succeeding the Ascension (Acts i. 14). If to these we add two references to her, the first by her Nazarene fellow-citizens (Matt. xiii. 54, 5; Mark vi. 1-3), the second by a woman in the multitude (Luke xi. 27), we have specified every event known to us in her life. It is noticeable that, on every occasion of our Lord's addressing her, or speaking of her, there is a sound of reproof in His words, with the exception of the last words spoken to her from the cross.

1. The marriage at Cana in Galilee took place in the three months which intervened between the baptism of Christ and the passover of the year 27. When Jesus was found by his mother and Joseph in the Temple in the year 8, we find him repudiating the name of "father" as applied to Joseph. "Thy *father* and I have sought thee sorrowing"—"How is it that ye sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about" (not Joseph's and yours, but) "my *father's* business?" (Luke ii. 48, 9). Now, in like manner, at His first miracle which inaugurates His ministry, He solemnly withdraws himself from the authority of His earthly mother. This is St. Augustine's explanation of the "What have I to do with thee? my hour is not yet come." It was His humanity not His divinity which came from Mary. While therefore He was acting in His divine character He could not acknowledge her, nor does He acknowledge her again until He was hanging on the cross, when, in that nature which He took from her, He was about to submit to death (St. Aug. *Comm. in Joan. Evang.* tract viii., vol. iii. p. 1450, ed. Migne, Paris, 1845). That the words Τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί; = מה לי ולך, imply reproof, is certain (cf. Matt. viii. 29; Mark i. 24; and LXX., Judg. xi. 12; 1 K. xvii. 18; 2 K. iii. 13), and such is the patristic explanation of them (see Iren. *Adv. Haer.* iii. 18; *Apud Bibl. Patr. Max.* tom. i. pt. ii. 293; S. Chrys. *Hom. in Joan.* xxi.). But the reproof is of a gentle kind (Trench, *on the Miracles*, p. 102, Lond. 1856; Alford, *Comm. in loc.*; Wordsworth, *Comm. in loc.*). Mary seems to have understood it, and accordingly to have drawn back, desiring the servants to pay attention to her divine Son (Olshausen, *Comm. in loc.*). The modern humanist translation, "What is that to me and to thee?" is not a mistake, because it is a wilful misrepresentation (Douay version; Orsini, *Life of Mary*, &c.; see *The Catholic Layman*, p. 117, Dublin, 1852).

2. Capernaum (John ii. 12), and Nazareth (Matt. iv. 13, xiii. 54; Mark vi. 1), appear to have been the residence of St. Mary for a considerable period. The next time that she is brought before us we find her at Capernaum. It is the autumn of the year 28, more than a year and a half after the miracle wrought at the marriage feast in Cana. The Lord had in the meantime attended two feasts of the passover, and had twice made a circuit throughout Galilee, teaching and working miracles. His fame had spread, and crowds came pressing round him, so that he had not even time "to eat bread." Mary was still living with her sister, and her nephews and nieces, James, Joses, Simon, Jude, and their three sisters (Matt. xiii. 55); and she and they heard of the toils which He was undergoing, and

[b] In the Gospel of the Infancy, which seems to date from the 2nd century, innumerable miracles are made to attend on St. Mary and her Son during their sojourn in Egypt: *e. g.*, Mary looked with pity on a woman who was possessed, and immediately Satan came out of her in the form of a young man, saying, "Woe is me because of thee, Mary, and thy Son!" On another occasion they fell in with two thieves, named Titus and Dumachus; and Titus was gentle, and Dumachus was harsh: the Lady Mary therefore promised Titus that God should receive him on his right hand. And accordingly, thirty-three years afterwards, Titus was the penitent thief who was crucified on the right hand, and Dumachus was crucified on the left. These are sufficient as samples. Throughout the book we find St. Mary associated with her Son, in the strange freaks of power attributed to them, in a way which shows us whence the *cultus* of St. Mary took its origin. (See Jones, *On the New Test.*, vol. ii. Oxf. 1827; Giles, *Codex Apocryphus*; Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus*).

they understood that He was denying himself every relaxation from His labours. Their human affection conquered their faith. They thought that He was killing Himself, and with an indignation arising from love, they exclaimed that He was beside himself, and set off to bring Him home either by entreaty or compulsion.[c] He was surrounded by eager crowds, and they could not reach Him. They therefore sent a message, begging Him to allow them to speak to Him. This message was handed on from one person in the crowd to another, till at length it was reported aloud to Him. Again He reproves. Again He refuses to admit any authority on the part of his relatives, or any privilege on account of their relationship. "Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And He stretched forth His hand towards His disciples, and said, Behold my mother and my brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother" (Matt. xii. 48, 49). Comp. Theoph. *in Marc.* iii. 32; S. Chrys. *Hom.* xliv. in Matt.; S. Aug. *in Joan.* tract x., who all of them point out that the blessedness of St. Mary consists, not so much in having borne Christ, as in believing on Him and in obeying His words (see also *Quaest. et Resp. ad Orthod.* cxxxvi., *ap. S. Just. Mart. in Bibl. Max. Patr.* tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 138). This indeed is the lesson taught directly by our Lord Himself on the next occasion on which reference is made to St. Mary. It is now the spring of the year 30, and only about a month before the time of His crucifixion. Christ had set out on His last journey from Galilee, which was to end at Jerusalem. As He passed along, He, as usual, healed the sick, and preached the glad tidings of salvation. In the midst, or at the completion, of one of His addresses, a woman of the multitude, whose soul had been stirred by His words, cried out, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked!" Immediately the Lord replied, "Yea rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it" (Luke xi. 27). He does not either affirm or deny anything with regard to the direct bearing of the woman's exclamation, but passes that by as a thing indifferent, in order to point out in what alone the true blessedness of His mother and of all consists. This is the full force of the μενοῦνγε, with which He commences his reply.

3. The next scene in St. Mary's life brings us to the foot of the cross. She was standing there with her sister Mary and Mary Magdalene, and Salome, and other women, having no doubt followed her Son as she was able throughout the terrible morning of Good Friday. It was about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and He was about to give up His spirit. His divine mission was now, as it were, accomplished. While His ministry was in progress He had withdrawn Himself from her that He might do His Father's work. But now the hour was come when His human relationship might be again recognised, "Tunc enim agnovit," says St. Augustine, "quando illud quod peperit moriebatur" (S. Aug. *In Joan.* ix.). Standing near the company of the women was St. John; and, with almost His last words, Christ commended His mother to the care of him who had borne the name of the Disciple whom Jesus loved. "Woman, behold thy son." "Commendat homo homini hominem," says St. Augustine. And from that hour St. John assures us that he took her to his own abode. If by "that hour" the Evangelist means immediately after the words were spoken, Mary was not present at the last scene of all. The sword had sufficiently pierced her soul, and she was spared the hearing of the last loud cry, and the sight of the bowed head. St. Ambrose considers the chief purpose of our Lord's words to have been a desire to make manifest the truth that the Redemption was His work alone, while He gave human affection to His mother. "Non egebat adjutore ad omnium redemptionem. Suscepit quidem matris affectum, sed non quaesivit hominis auxilium" (S. Amb. *Exp. Evang. Luc.* x. 132).

4. A veil is drawn over her sorrow and over her joy which succeeded that sorrow. Mediaeval imagination has supposed, but Scripture does not state, that her Son appeared to Mary after His resurrection from the dead. (See for example Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita Christi*, p. 666, Lyons, 1642; and Ruperti, *De Divinis Officiis*, vii. 25, tom. iv. p. 92, Venice, 1751). St. Ambrose is considered to be the first writer who suggested the idea, and reference is made to his treatise, *De Virginitate*, i. 3; but it is quite certain that the text has been corrupted, and that it is of Mary Magdalene that he is there speaking. (Comp. his *Exposition of St. Luke*, x. 156. See note of the Benedictine edition, tom. ii. p. 217, Paris, 1790.) Another reference is usually given to St. Anselm. The treatise quoted is not St. Anselm's, but Eadmer's. (See Eadmer., *De Excellentia Mariae*, ch. v., appended to Anselm's Works, p. 138, Paris, 1721.) Ten appearances are related by the Evangelists as having occurred in the 40 days intervening between Easter and Ascension Day, but none to Mary. She was doubtless living at Jerusalem with John, cherished with the tenderness which her tender soul would have specially needed, and which undoubtedly she found pre-eminently in St. John. We have no record of her presence at the Ascension. Arator, a writer of the 6th century, describes her as being at the time not on the spot, but in Jerusalem (Arat. *De Act. Apost.* l. 50, apud Migne, tom. lxviii. p. 95, Paris, 1848, quoted by Wordsworth, *Gk. Test. Com. on the Acts*, i. 14). We have no account of her being present at the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. What we do read of her is, that she remained stedfast in prayer in the upper room at Jerusalem with Mary Magdalene and Salome, and those known as the Lord's brothers and the apostles. This is the last view that we have of her. Holy Scripture leaves her engaged in prayer (see Wordsworth as cited above). From this point forwards we know nothing of her. It is probable that the rest of her life was spent in Jerusalem with St. John (see Epiph. *Haer.* 78). According to one tradition the beloved disciple would not leave Palestine until she had expired in his arms (see Tholuck *Light from the Cross*, ii. *Serm.* x. p. 234, Edinb., 1857); and it is added that she lived and died in the Coenaculum in what is now the Mosque of the Tomb of David, the traditional chamber of the Last Supper (Stanley, *S. & P.* ch. xiv. p. 456). Other traditions make her journey with St. John to Ephesus, and there die in extreme old age. It was believed by some in the 5th century that she was buried at Ephesus (see *Conc. Ephes., Conc. Labb.* tom. iii. p. 574 a); by others, in the same century, that she was buried at Gethsemane, and this appears to have been the

[c] It is a mere subterfuge to refer the words ἔλεγον κ.τ.λ. &c., to the people, instead of to Mary and his brethren (Calmet and Migne, *Dict. of the Bible*).

information given to Marcian and Pulcheria by Juvenal of Jerusalem. As soon as we lose the guidance of Scripture, we have nothing from which we can derive any sure knowledge about her. The darkness in which we are left is in itself most instructive.

5. The *character* of St. Mary is not drawn by any of the Evangelists, but some of its lineaments are incidentally manifested in the fragmentary record which is given of her. They are to be found for the most part in St. Luke's Gospel, whence an attempt has been made, by a curious mixture of the imaginative and rationalistic methods of interpretation, to explain the old legend which tells us that St. Luke painted the Virgin's portrait (Calmet, Kitto, Migne, Mrs. Jameson). We might have expected greater details from St. John than from the other Evangelists; but in his Gospel we learn nothing of her except what may be gathered from the scene at Cana and at the cross. It is clear from St. Luke's account, though without any such intimation we might rest assured of the fact, that her youth had been spent in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and that she had set before her the example of the holy women of the Old Testament as her model. This would appear from the *Magnificat* (Luke i. 46). The same hymn, so far as it emanated from herself, would show no little power of mind as well as warmth of spirit. Her faith and humility exhibit themselves in her immediate surrender of herself to the Divine will, though ignorant how that will should be accomplished (Luke i. 38); her energy and earnestness, in her journey from Nazareth to Hebron (Luke i. 39); her happy thankfulness, in her song of joy (Luke i. 48); her silent musing thoughtfulness, in her pondering over the shepherds' visit (Luke ii. 19), and in her keeping her Son's words in her heart (Luke ii. 51) though she could not fully understand their import. Again, her humility is seen in her drawing back, yet without anger, after receiving reproof at Cana in Galilee (John ii. 5), and in the remarkable manner in which she shuns putting herself forward throughout the whole of her Son's ministry, or after his removal from earth. Once only does she attempt to interfere with her Divine Son's freedom of action (Matt. xii. 46; Mark iii. 31; Luke viii. 19); and even here we can hardly blame, for she seems to have been roused, not by arrogance and by a desire to show her authority and relationship, as St. Chrysostom supposes (*Hom.* xliv. *in Matt.*); but by a woman's and a mother's feelings of affection and fear for him whom she loved. It was part of that exquisite tenderness which appears throughout to have belonged to her. In a word, so far as St. Mary is pourtrayed to us in Scripture, she is, as we should have expected, the most tender, the most faithful, humble, patient, and loving of women, but a woman still.

III. *Her after life, wholly legendary.*—We pass again into the region of free and joyous legend which we quitted for that of true history at the period of the Annunciation. The Gospel record confined the play of imagination, and as soon as this check is withdrawn the legend bursts out afresh. The legends of St. Mary's childhood may be traced back as far as the third or even the second century. Those of her death are probably of a later date. The chief legend was for a length of time considered to be a veritable history, written by Melito Bishop of Sardis in the 2nd century. It is to be found in the *Bibliotheca Maxima* (tom. II. pt. ii. p. 212), entitled *Sancti Melitonis Episcopi Sardensis de Transitu Virginis Mariae Liber*, and there certainly existed a book with this title at the end of the 5th century, which was condemned by Pope Gelasius as apocryphal (Op. Gelas. apud Migne, tom. 59, p. 152). Another form of the same legend has been published at Elberfeld in 1854 by Maximilian Enger in Arabic. He supposes that it is an Arabic translation from a syriac original. It was found in the library at Bonn and is entitled *Joannis Apostoli de Transitu Beatae Mariae Virginis Liber*. It is perhaps the same as that referred to in Assemani (*Biblioth. Orient.* tom. iii. p. 287, Rome, 1725), under the name of *Historia Dormitionis et Assumptionis B. Mariae Virginis Joanni Evangelistae falso inscripta*. We give the substance of the legend with its main variations.

When the apostles separated in order to evangelize the world, Mary continued to live with St. John in her parents in their house near the Mount of Olives, and every day she went out to pray at the tomb of Christ, and at Golgotha. But the Jews had placed a watch to prevent prayers being offered at these spots, and the watch went into the city and told the chief priests that Mary came daily to pray. Then the priests commanded the watch to stone her. But at this time king Abgarus wrote to Tiberius to desire him to take vengeance on the Jews for slaying Christ. They feared therefore to add to his wrath by slaying Mary also, and yet they could not allow her to continue her prayers at Golgotha, because an excitement and tumult was thereby made. They therefore went and spoke softly to her, and she consented to go and dwell in Bethlehem; and thither she took with her three holy virgins who should attend upon her. And in the twenty-second year after the ascension of the Lord, Mary felt her heart burn with an inexpressible longing to be with her Son; and behold an angel appeared to her, and announced to her that her soul should be taken up from her body on the third day, and he placed a palm-branch from paradise in her hands, and desired that it should be carried before her bier. And Mary besought that the apostles might be gathered round her before she died, and the angel replied that they should come. Then the Holy Spirit caught up John as he was preaching at Ephesus, and Peter as he was offering sacrifice at Rome, and Paul as he was disputing with the Jews near Rome, and Thomas in the extremity of India, and Matthew and James; these were all of the apostles who were still living; then the Holy Spirit awakened the dead, Philip and Andrew, and Luke and Simon, and Mark and Bartholomew; and all of them were snatched away in a bright cloud and found themselves at Bethlehem. And angels and powers without number descended from heaven and stood round about the house; Gabriel stood at blessed Mary's head, and Michael at her feet, and they fanned her with their wings; and Peter and John wiped away her tears; and there was a great cry, and they all said "Hail blessed one! blessed is the fruit of thy womb!" And the people of Bethlehem brought their sick to the house, and they were all healed. Then news of these things was carried to Jerusalem, and the king sent and commanded that they should bring Mary and the disciples to Jerusalem. And horsemen came to Bethlehem to seize Mary, but they did not find her, for the Holy Spirit had taken her and hid

disciples in a cloud over the heads of the horsemen to Jerusalem. Then the men of Jerusalem saw angels ascending and descending at the spot where Mary's house was. And the high-priests went to the governor, and craved permission to burn her and the house with fire, and the governor gave them permission, and they brought wood and fire; but as soon as they came near to the house, behold there burst forth a fire upon them which consumed them utterly. And the governor saw these things afar off, and in the evening he brought his son, who was sick, to Mary, and she healed him.

Then, on the sixth day of the week, the Holy Spirit commanded the apostles to take up Mary, and to carry her from Jerusalem to Gethsemane, and as they went the Jews saw them. Then drew near Juphia, one of the high-priests, and attempted to overthrow the litter on which she was being carried, for the other priests had conspired with him, and they hoped to cast her down into the valley, and to throw wood upon her, and to burn her body with fire. But as soon as Juphia had touched the litter the angel smote off his arms with a fiery sword, and the arms remained fastened to the litter. Then he cried to the disciples and Peter for help, and they said, "Ask it of the Lady Mary;" and he cried, "O Lady, O Mother of Salvation, have mercy on me!" Then she said to Peter, "Give him back his arms;" and they were restored whole. But the disciples proceeded onwards, and they laid down the litter in a cave, as they were commanded, and gave themselves to prayer.

And the angel Gabriel announced that on the first day of the week Mary's soul should be removed from this world. And on the morning of that day there came Eve and Anne and Elisabeth, and they kissed Mary and told her who they were: came Adam, Seth, Shem, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David, and the rest of the old fathers: came Enoch and Elias and Moses: came twelve chariots of angels innumerable: and then appeared the Lord Christ in his humanity, and Mary bowed before him and said, "O my Lord and my God, place thy hand upon me;" and he stretched out his hand and blessed her; and she took his hand and kissed it, and placed it to her forehead and said, "I bow before this right hand, which has made heaven and earth and all that in them is, and I thank thee and praise thee that thou hast thought me worthy of this hour." Then she said, "O Lord, take me to thyself!" And he said to her, "Now shall thy body be in paradise to the day of the resurrection, and angels shall serve thee; but thy pure spirit shall shine in the kingdom, in the dwelling-place of my Father's fulness." Then the disciples drew near and besought her to pray for the world which she was about to leave. And Mary prayed. And after her prayer was finished her face shone with marvellous brightness, and she stretched out her hands and blessed them all; and her Son put forth his hands and received her pure soul, and bore it into his Father's treasure-house. And there was a light and a sweet smell, sweeter than anything on earth; and a voice from heaven saying, "Hail, blessed one! blessed and celebrated art thou among women!"[d]

And the apostles carried her body to the valley of Jehoshaphat, to a place which the Lord had told them of, and John went before and carried the palm-branch. And they placed her in a new tomb, and sat at the mouth of the sepulchre, as the Lord commanded them; and suddenly there appeared the Lord Christ, surrounded by a multitude of angels, and said to the apostles, "What will ye that I should do with her whom my Father's command selected out of all the tribes of Israel that I should dwell in her?" And Peter and the apostles besought him that he would raise the body of Mary and take it with him in glory to heaven. And the Saviour said, "Be it according to your word." And he commanded Michael the archangel to bring down the soul of Mary. And Gabriel rolled away the stone, and the Lord said, "Rise up, my beloved, thy body shall not suffer corruption in the tomb." And immediately Mary arose and bowed herself at his feet and worshipped; and the Lord kissed her and gave her to the angels to carry her to paradise.

But Thomas was not present with the rest, for at the moment that he was summoned to come he was baptising Polodius, who was the son of the sister of the king. And he arrived just after all these things were accomplished, and he demanded to see the sepulchre in which they had laid his Lady: "For ye know," said he, "that I am Thomas, and unless I see I will not believe." Then Peter arose in haste and wrath, and the other disciples with him, and they opened the sepulchre and went in; but they found nothing therein save that in which her body had been wrapped. Then Thomas confessed that he too, as he was being borne in the cloud from India, had seen her holy body being carried by the angels with great triumph into heaven; and that on his crying to her for her blessing, she had bestowed upon him her precious Girdle, which when the apostles saw they were glad.[e] Then the apostles were carried back each to his own place.

Joannis Apostoli de Transitu Beatae Mariae Virginis Liber, Elberfeldae, 1854; *S. Melitonis Episc. Sard. de Transitu V. M. Liber*, apud *Bibl. Max. Patr.* tom. ii. pt. ii. p. 212, Lugd. 1677; Jacobi a Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Graesse, ch. cxix. p. 504, Dresd. 1846; John Damasc. *Serm. de Dormit. Deiparae*, Op. tom. ii. p. 857 seq., Venice, 1743; Andrew of Crete, *In Dormit. Deiparae Serm* iii. p. 115, Paris, 1644; Mrs. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, Lond. 1852; Butler, *Lives of the Saints in Aug.* 15; Dressel, *Edita et inedita Epiphanii Monachi et Presbyteri*, p. 105, Paris, 1843.

IV. *Jewish traditions respecting her.*—These are of a very different nature from the light-hearted fairy-tale-like stories which we have recounted above. We should expect that the miraculous birth of our Lord would be an occasion of scoffing to the unbelieving Jews, and we find this to be the case. To the Christian believer the Jewish slander becomes in the present case only a confirmation of his faith. The most definite and outspoken of these slanders is that which is contained in the book called תולדות ישוע, or *Toldoth Jesu*. It was grasped at with avidity by Voltaire, and declared by him to be the most ancient Jewish writing directed against Christianity, and apparently of the first century. It was written, he says, before the Gospels, and is altogether contrary to them (*Lettre*

[d] The legend ascribed to Melito makes her soul to be carried to paradise by Gabriel while her Son returns to heaven.

[e] For the story of this *Sacratissimo Cintolo*, still preserved at Prato, see Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 344 Lond. 1852.

MARY THE VIRGIN

sur les Juifs). It is proved by Ammon (*Biblisch. Theologie*, p. 263, Erlang. 1801) to be a composition of the 13th century, and by Wagenseil (*Tela ignea Satanae*; *Confut. Libr. Toldos Jeschu*, p. 12, Altorf. 1681) to be irreconcileable with the earlier Jewish tales. In the Gospel of Nicodemus, otherwise called the Acts of Pilate, we find the Jews represented as charging our Lord with illegitimate birth (c. 2). The date of this Gospel is about the end of the third century. The origin of the charge is referred with great probability by Thilo (*Codex Apocr.* p. 527, Lips. 1832) to the circular letters of the Jews mentioned by Grotius (*ad Matt.* xxvii. 63, *et ad Act. Apost.* xxviii. 22; *Op.* ii. 278 and 666, Basil. 1732), which were sent from Palestine to all the Jewish synagogues after the death of Christ, with the view of attacking "the lawless and atheistic sect which had taken its origin from the deceiver Jesus of Galilee" (Justin, *adv. Tryph.*). The first time that we find it openly proclaimed is in an extract made by Origen from the work of Celsus, which he is refuting. Celsus introduces a Jew declaring that the mother of Jesus ὑπὸ τοῦ γήμαντος, τέκτονος τὴν τέχνην ὄντος, ἐξωσθῆναι, ἐλεγχθεῖσαν ὡς μεμοιχευμένην (*Contra Celsum*, c. 28, Origenis *Opera*, xviii. 59, Berlin, 1845). And again, ἡ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μήτηρ κύουσα, ἐξωσθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ μνηστευσαμένου αὐτὴν τέκτονος, ἐλεγχθεῖσα ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ καὶ τίκτουσα ἀπό τινος στρατιώτου Πανθήρα τοὔνομα (ibid. 32). Stories to the same effect may be found in the Talmud—not in the Mishna, which dates from the second century, but in the Gemara, which is of the fifth or sixth (see *Tract. Sanhedrin*, cap. vii. fol. 67, col. 1; *Shabbath*, cap. xii. fol. 104, col. 2; and the *Midrash Koheleth*, cap. x. 5). Rabanus Maurus, in the ninth century, refers to the same story:—"Jesum filium Ethnici cujusdam Pandera adulteri, more latronum punitum esse." We then come to the *Toldoth Jesu*, in which these calumnies were intended to be summed up and harmonised. In the year 4671, the story runs, in the reign of King Jannoeus, there was one Joseph Pandera who lived at Bethlehem. In the same village there was a widow who had a daughter named Miriam, who was betrothed to a God-fearing man named Johanan. And it came to pass that Joseph Pandera meeting with Miriam when it was dark, deceived her into the belief that he was Johanan her husband. And after three months Johanan consulted Rabbi Simeon Shetachides what he should do with Miriam, and the rabbi advised him to bring her before the great council. But Johanan was ashamed to do so, and instead he left his home and went and lived at Babylon; and there Miriam brought forth a son and gave him the name of Jehoshua. The rest of the work, which has no merit in a literary aspect or otherwise, contains an account of how this Jehoshua gained the art of working miracles by stealing the knowledge of the unmentionable name from the Temple; how he was defeated by the superior magical arts of one Juda; and how at last he was crucified, and his body hidden under a watercourse. It is offensive to make use of sacred names in connexion with such tales; but in Wagenseil's quaint words we may recollect, "haec nomina non attinere ad Servatorem Nostrum aut beatissimam illius matrem coeterosque quos significare videntur, sed designari iis a Diabolo supposita Spectra, Larvas, Lemures, Lamias, Stryges, aut si quid turpius istis" (*Tela Ignea Satanae, Liber Toldos Jeschu*, p. 2, Altorf, 1681). It is a curious thing that a Pandera or Panther has been introduced into the genealogy of our Lord by Epiphanius (*Haeres.* lxxviii.), who makes him grandfather of Joseph, and by John of Damascus (*De Fide orthodoxa*, iv. 15), who makes him the father of Barpanther and grandfather of St. Mary.

V. *Mahometan Traditions.*—These are again cast in a totally different mould from those of the Jews. The Mahometans had no purpose to serve in spreading calumnious stories as to the birth of Jesus, and accordingly we find none of the Jewish malignity about their traditions. Mahomet and his followers appear to have gathered up the floating Oriental traditions which originated in the legends of St. Mary's early years, given above, and to have drawn from them and from the Bible indifferently. It has been suggested that the Koran had an object in magnifying St. Mary, and that this was to insinuate that the Son was of no other nature than the mother. But this does not appear to be the case. Mahomet seems merely to have written down what had come to his ears about her, without definite theological purpose or inquiry.

Mary was, according to the Koran, the daughter of Amram (sur. iii.) and the sister of Aaron (sur. xix.). Mahomet can hardly be absolved from having here confounded Miriam the sister of Moses with Mary the mother of our Lord. It is possible indeed that he may have meant different persons, and such is the opinion of Sale (*Koran*, pp. 38 and 251), and of D'Herbelot (*Bibl. Orient.* in voc. "Miriam"); but the opposite view is more likely (see Guadagnoli, *Apol. pro rel. Christ.* c. viii. p. 277, Rom. 1631). Indeed, some of the Mahometan commentators have been driven to account for the chronological difficulty, by saying that Miriam was miraculously kept alive from the days of Moses in order that she might be the mother of Jesus. Her mother Hannah dedicated her to the Lord while still in the womb, and at her birth "commended her and her future issue to the protection of God against Satan." And Hannah brought the child to the Temple to be educated by the priests, and the priests disputed among themselves who should take charge of her. Zacharias maintained that it was his office, because he had married her aunt. But when the others would not give up their claims, it was determined that the matter should be decided by lot. So they went to the river Jordan, twenty-seven of them, each man with his rod; and they threw their rods into the river, and none of them floated save that of Zacharias, whereupon the care of the child was committed to him (Al Beidawi; Jallalo'ddin). Then Zacharias placed her in an inner chamber by herself; and though he kept seven doors ever locked upon her,[f] he always found her abundantly supplied with provisions which God sent her from paradise, winter fruits in summer, and summer fruits in winter. And the angels said unto her, "O Mary, verily God hath chosen thee, and hath purified thee, and hath chosen thee above all the women of the world" (*Koran*, sur. iii.). And she retired to a place towards the East, and Gabriel appeared unto her and said, "Verily I am the messenger of thy Lord, and am sent to give thee a holy Son" (sur. xix.). And the angels said, "O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good tidings that thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from Himself: His name shall be Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, honourable in this world and in

[f] Other stories make the only entrance to be by a ladder and a door always kept locked.

the world to come, and one of them who approach near to the presence of God: and he shall speak unto men in his cradle and when he is grown up; and he shall be one of the righteous." And she said, "How shall I have a son, seeing I know not a man?" The angel said, "So God createth that which He pleaseth: when He decreeth a thing. He only saith unto it, 'Be,' and it is. God shall teach him the scripture and wisdom, and the law and the gospel, and shall appoint him His apostle to the children of Israel" (sur. iii.). So God breathed of His Spirit into the womb of Mary[a]; and she preserved her chastity (sur. lxvi.); for the Jews have spoken against her a grievous calumny (sur. iv.). And she conceived a son, and retired with him apart to a distant place; and the pains of childbirth came upon her near the trunk of a palm-tree: and God provided a rivulet for her, and she shook the palm-tree, and it let fall ripe dates, and she ate and drank, and was calm. Then she carried the child in her arms to her people; but they said that it was a strange thing she had done. Then she made signs to the child to answer them; and he said, "Verily I am the servant of God: He hath given me the book of the gospel, and hath appointed me a prophet; and He hath made me blessed, wheresoever I shall be; and hath commanded me to observe prayer and to give alms so long as I shall live; and He hath made me dutiful towards my mother, and hath not made me proud or unhappy: and peace be on me the day whereon I was born, and the day whereon I shall die, and the day whereon I shall be raised to life." This was Jesus the Son of Mary, the Word of Truth concerning whom they doubt (sur. xix.).

Mahomet is reported to have said that many men have arrived at perfection, but only four women; and that these are, Asia the wife of Pharaoh, Mary the daughter of Amram, his first wife Khadîjah, and his daughter Fâtima.

The commentators on the Koran tell us that every person who comes into the world is touched at his birth by the devil, and therefore cries out; but that God placed a veil between Mary and her Son and the Evil Spirit, so that he could not reach them. For which reason they were neither of them guilty of sin, like the rest of the children of Adam. This privilege they had in answer to Hannah's prayer for their protection from Satan. (Jallalo'ddin; Al Beidawi; Kitada.) The Immaculate Conception therefore, we may note, was a Mahometan doctrine six centuries before any Christian theologians or schoolmen maintained it.

Sale, *Koran*, pp. 39, 79, 250, 458, Lond. 1734; Warner, *Compendium Historicum eorum quae Mahumedani de Christo tradiderunt*, Lugd. Bat. 1643; Guadagnoli, *Apologia pro Christiana Religione*, Rom. 1631; D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 583, Paris, 1697; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, p. 230, Frankf. 1845.

[a] The commentators have explained this expression as signifying the breath of Gabriel (Yahya; Jallalo'ddin). But this does not seem to have been Mahomet's meaning.

VI. *Emblems.*—There was a time in the history of the Church when all the expressions used in the book of Canticles were applied at once to St. Mary. Consequently all the Eastern metaphors of king Solomon have been hardened into symbols, and represented in pictures or sculpture, and attached to her in popular litanies. The same method of interpretation was applied to certain parts of the book of the Revelation. Her chief emblems are the sun, moon, and stars (Rev. xii. 1; Cant. vi. 10). The name of Star of the Sea is also given her, from a fanciful interpretation of the meaning of her name. She is the Rose of Sharon (Cant. ii. 1), and the Lily (ii. 2), the Tower of David (iv. 4), the Mountain of Myrrh and the Hill of Frankincense (iv. 6), the Garden enclosed, the Spring shut up, the Fountain sealed (iv. 12), the Tower of Ivory (vii. 4), the Palm-tree (vii. 7), the Closed Gate (Ez. xliv. 2). There is no end to these metaphorical titles. See Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*, and the ordinary Litanies of the B. Virgin.

VII. *Cultus of the Blessed Virgin.*—We do not enter into the theological bearings of the worship of St. Mary; but we shall have left our task incomplete if we do not add a short historical sketch of the origin, progress, and present state of the devotion to her. What was its origin? Certainly not the Bible. There is not a word there from which it could be inferred; nor in the Creeds; nor in the Fathers of the first five centuries. We may scan each page that they have left us, and we shall find nothing of the kind. There is nothing of the sort in the supposed works of Hermas and Barnabas, nor in the real works of Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp: that is, the doctrine is not to be found in the 1st century. There is nothing of the sort in Justin Martyr, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian: that is, in the 2nd century. There is nothing of the sort in Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Cyprian, Methodius, Lactantius: that is, in the 3rd century. There is nothing of the sort in Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem. Hilary, Macarius, Epiphanius, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Ephrem Syrus, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose: that is, in the 4th century. There is nothing of the sort in Chrysostom, Augustine, Jerome, Basil of Seleucia, Orosius, Sedulius, Isidore, Theodoret, Prosper, Vincentius Lirinensis, Cyril of Alexandria, Popes Leo, Hilarus, Simplicius, Felix, Gelasius, Anastasius, Symmachus: that is, in the 5th century.[b] Whence, then, did it arise? There is not a shadow of doubt that the origin of the worship of St. Mary is to be found in the apocryphal legends of her birth and of her death which we have given above. There we find the germ of what afterwards expanded into its present portentous proportions. Some of the legends of her birth are as early as the 2nd or 3rd century. They were the production of the Gnostics, and were unanimously

[b] "Origen's Lament," the "Three Discourses" published by Vossius as the work of Gregory Thaumaturgus, the Homily attributed to St. Athanasius containing an invocation of St. Mary, the Panegyric attributed to St. Epiphanius, the "Christ Suffering," and the Oration containing the story of Justina and St. Cyprian, attributed to Gregory Nazianzen; the Eulogy of the Holy Virgin, and the Prayer attributed to Ephrem Syrus; the Book of Meditations attributed to St. Augustine; the Two Sermons supposed to have been delivered by Pope Leo on the Feast of the Annunciation,—are all spurious. See *Moral and Devotional Theology of the Church of Rome* (Mozley, Lond. 1857). The oration of Gregory, containing the story of Justina and Cyprian, is retained by the Benedictine editors as genuine; and they pronounce that nowhere else is the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary so clearly and explicitly commended in the 4th century. The words are: "Justina ... meditating on these instances (and beseeching the Virgin Mary to assist a virgin in peril), throws before her the charm of fasting." It is shown to be spurious by Tyler (*Worship of the Blessed Virgin*, p. 378, Lond. 1844). Even suppose it were genuine, the contrast between the strongest passage of the 4th century and the ordinary language of the 19th would be sufficiently striking.

and firmly rejected by the Church of the first five centuries as fabulous and heretical. The Gnostic tradition seems to have been handed on to the Collyridians, whom we find denounced by Epiphanius for worshipping the Virgin Mary. They were regarded as distinctly heretical. The words which this Father uses respecting them were probably expressive of the sentiments of the entire Church in the 4th century. "The whole thing," he says, "is foolish and strange, and is a device and deceit of the devil. Let Mary be in honour. Let the Lord be worshipped. Let no one worship Mary" (Epiphan. *Haer.* lxxxix., Op. p. 1066, Paris, 1662). Down to the time of the Nestorian controversy the *cultus* of the Blessed Virgin would appear to have been wholly external to the Church, and to have been regarded as heretical. But the Nestorian controversies produced a great change of sentiment in men's minds. Nestorius had maintained, or at least it was the tendency of Nestorianism to maintain, not only that our Lord had two natures, the divine and the human (which was right), but also that He was two persons, in such sort that the child born of Mary was not divine, but merely an ordinary human being, until the divinity subsequently united itself to Him. This was condemned by the Council of Ephesus in the year 431; and the title Θεότοκος, loosely translated "Mother of God," was sanctioned. The object of the Council and of the Anti-Nestorians was in no sense to add honour to the mother, but to maintain the true doctrine with respect to the Son. Nevertheless the result was to magnify the mother, and, after a time, at the expense of the Son. For now the title Θεοτόκος became a shibboleth; and in art the representation of the Madonna and Child became the expression of orthodox belief. Very soon the purpose for which the title and the picture were first sanctioned became forgotten, and the veneration of St. Mary began to spread within the Church, as it had previously existed external to it. The legends too were no longer treated so roughly as before. The Gnostics were not now objects of dread. Nestorians, and afterwards Iconoclasts, were objects of hatred. The old fables were winked at, and thus they "became the mythology of Christianity, universally credited among the Southern nations of Europe, while many of the dogmas, which they are grounded upon, have, as a natural consequence, crept into the faith" (Lord Lindsay, *Christian Art*, i. p. xl. Lond. 1847). From this time the worship of St. Mary grew apace. It agreed well with many natural aspirations of the heart. To paint the mother of the Saviour an ideal woman, with all the grace and tenderness of womanhood, and yet with none of its weaknesses, and then to fall down and worship the image which the imagination had set up, was what might easily happen, and what did happen. Evidence was not asked for. Perfection "was becoming" to the mother of the Lord; therefore she was perfect. Adoration "was befitting" on the part of Christians; therefore they gave it. Any tales attributed to antiquity were received as genuine; any revelations supposed to be made to favoured saints were accepted as true: and the Madonna reigned as queen in heaven, in earth, in purgatory, and over hell. We learn the present state of the religious regard in which she is held throughout the south of Europe from St. Alfonso de' Liguori, whose every word is vouched for by the whole weight of his Church's authority. From the *Glories of Mary*, translated from the original, and published in London in 1852, we find

that St. Mary is Queen of Mercy (p. 13) and Mother of all mankind (p. 23), our Life (p. 52), our Protectress in death (p. 71), the Hope of all (p. 79), our only Refuge, Help, and Asylum (p. 81); the Propitiatory of the whole world (p. 81), the one City of Refuge (p. 89); the Comfortress of the world, the Refuge of the unfortunate (p. 100), our Patroness (p. 106); Queen of Heaven and Hell (p. 110); our Protectress from the Divine Justice and from the Devil (p. 115); the Ladder of Paradise, the Gate of Heaven (p. 121); the Mediatrix of grace (p. 124); the Dispenser of all graces (p. 128); the Helper of the Redemption (p. 133); the Co-operator in our Justification (p. 133); a tender Advocate (p. 145); Omnipotent (p. 146); the singular Refuge of the lost (p. 156); the great Peacemaker (p. 165); the Throne prepared in mercy (p. 165); the Way of Salvation (p. 200); the Mediatrix of Angels (p. 278). In short, she is the Way (p. 200), the Door (p. 583), the Mediator (p. 295), the Intercessor (p. 129), the Advocate (p. 144), the Redeemer (p. 275), the Saviour (p. 343).

Thus, then, in the worship of the Blessed Virgin there are two distinctly marked periods. The first is that which commences with the apostolic times, and brings us down to the close of the century in which the Council of Ephesus was held, during which time the worship of St. Mary was wholly external to the Church, and was regarded by the Church as heretical, and confined to Gnostic and Collyridian heretics. The second period commences with the 6th century, when it began to spread within the Church; and, in spite of the shock given it by the Reformation, has continued to spread, as shown by Liguori's teaching; and is spreading still, as shown by the manner in which the papal decree of Dec. 8, 1854, has been, not universally indeed, but yet generally, received. Even before that decree was issued, the sound of the word "deification" had been heard with reference to St. Mary (Newman, *Essay on Development*, p. 409, Lond. 1846); and she had been placed in "a throne far above all created powers, mediatorial, intercessory;" she had been invested with "a title archetypal; with a crown bright as the morning star; a glory issuing from the Eternal Throne; robes pure as the heavens; and a sceptre over all" (*ibid.* p. 406).

VIII. *Her Assumption.*—Not only religious sentiments, but facts grew up in exactly the same way. The Assumption of St. Mary is a fact, or an alleged fact. How has it come to be accepted? At the end of the 5th century we find that there existed a book, *De Transitu Virginis Mariae*, which was condemned by Pope Gelasius as apocryphal. This book is without doubt the oldest form of the legend, of which the books ascribed to St. Melito and St. John are variations. Down to the end of the 5th century, then, the story of the Assumption was external to the Church, and distinctly looked upon by the Church as belonging to the heretics and not to her. But then came the change of sentiment already referred to, consequent on the Nestorian controversy. The desire to protest against the early fables which had been spread abroad by the heretics was now passed away, and had been succeeded by the desire to magnify her who had brought forth Him who was God. Accordingly a writer, whose date Baronius fixes at about this time (*Ann. Eccl.* i. 347, Lucca, 1738), suggested the possibility of the Assumption, but declared his inability to decide the question. The letter in which this possibility or probability is thrown out came to be attributed to St. Jerome

and may be still found among his works, entitled *Ad Paulam et Eustochium de Assumptione B. Virginis* (v. 82, Paris, 1706). About the same time, probably or rather later, an insertion (now recognised on all hands to be a forgery) was made in Eusebius' Chronicle, to the effect that "in the year A.D. 48 Mary the Virgin was taken up into heaven, as some wrote that they had had it revealed to them." Another tract was written to prove that the Assumption was not a thing in itself unlikely; and this came to be attributed to St. Augustine, and may be found in the appendix to his works: and a sermon, with a similar purport, was ascribed to St. Athanasius. Thus the names of Eusebius, Jerome, Augustine, Athanasius, and others, came to be quoted as maintaining the truth of the Assumption. The first writers within the Church in whose extant writings we find the Assumption asserted, are Gregory of Tours in the 6th century, who has merely copied Melito's book, *De Transitu* (*De Glor. Mart.* lib. i. c. 4; Migne, 71, p. 708); Andrew of Crete, who probably lived in the 7th century; and John of Damascus, who lived at the beginning of the 8th century. The last of these authors refers to the Euthymiac history as stating that Marcian and Pulcheria being in search of the body of St. Mary, sent to Juvenal of Jerusalem to inquire for it. Juvenal replied, "In the holy and divinely inspired Scriptures, indeed, nothing is recorded of the departure of the holy Mary, Mother of God. But from an ancient and most true tradition we have received, that at the time of her glorious falling asleep all the holy apostles, who were going through the world for the salvation of the nations, borne aloft in a moment of time, came together to Jerusalem: and when they were near her they had a vision of angels, and divine melody was heard; and then with divine and more than heavenly melody she delivered her holy soul into the hands of God in an unspeakable manner. But that which had borne God, being carried with angelic and apostolic psalmody, with funeral rites, was deposited in a coffin at Gethsemane. In this place the chorus and singing of the angels continued three whole days. But after three days, on the angelic music ceasing, those of the apostles who were present opened the tomb, as one of them, Thomas, had been absent, and on his arrival wished to adore the body which had borne God. But her all glorious body they could not find; but they found the linen clothes lying, and they were filled with an ineffable odour of sweetness which proceeded from them. Then they closed the coffin. And they were astonished at the mysterious wonder; and they came to no other conclusion than that He who had chosen to take flesh of the Virgin Mary, and to become a man, and to be born of her—God the Word, the Lord of Glory—and had preserved her virginity after birth, was also pleased, after her departure, to honour her immaculate and unpolluted body with incorruption, and to translate her before the common resurrection of all men" (St. Joan. Damasc. *Op.* ii. 880, Venice, 1748). It is quite clear that this is the same legend as that which we have before given. Here, then, we see it brought over the borders and planted within the Church, if this "Euthymiac history" is to be accepted as veritable, by Juvenal of Jerusalem in the 5th century, or else by Gregory of Tours in the 6th century, or by Andrew of Crete in the 7th century, or finally, by John of Damascus in the 8th century (see his three *Homilies on the Sleep of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, Op. ii. 857-886).[1] The same legend is given in a slightly different form as veritable history by Nicephorus Callistus in the 13th century (Niceph. i. 171, Paris 1630); and the fact of the Assumption is stereotyped in the Breviary Services for Aug. 15th (*Brev. Rom. Pars aest.* p. 551, Milan, 1851). Here again, then, we see a legend originated by heretics, and remaining external to the Church till the close of the 5th century, creeping into the Church during the 6th and 7th centuries, and finally ratified by the authority both of Rome and Constantinople. See Baronius, *Ann. Eccl.* (i. 344, Lucca, 1738), and *Martyrologium* (p. 314, Paris, 1607).

IX. *Her Immaculate Conception.*—Similarly with regard to the sinlessness of St. Mary, which has issued in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Down to the close of the 5th century the sentiment with respect to her was identical with that which is expressed by theologians of the Church of England (see Pearson, *On the Creed*). She was regarded as "highly favoured;" as a woman arriving as near the perfection of womanhood as it was possible for human nature to arrive, but yet liable to the infirmities of human nature, and sometimes led away by them. Thus, in the 2nd century, Tertullian represents her as guilty of unbelief (*De carne Christi*, vii. 315, and *Adv. Marcion.* iv. 19, p. 433, Paris, 1695). In the 3rd century, Origen interprets the sword which was to pierce her bosom as being her unbelief, which caused her to be offended (*Hom. in Luc.* xvii. iii. 952, Paris, 1733). In the 4th century St. Basil gives the same interpretation of Simeon's words (*Ep.* 260, iii. 400, Paris, 1721); and St. Hilary speaks of Le as having to come into the severity of the final judgment (*In Ps.* cxix. p. 262, Paris, 1693). In the 5th century St. Chrysostom speaks of the "excessive ambition," "foolish arrogancy," and "vain-glory," which made her stand and desire to speak with Him (vii. 467, Paris, 1718); and St. Cyril of Alexandria (so entirely is he misrepresented by popular writers) speaks of her as failing in faith when present at the Passion—as being weaker in the spiritual life than St. Peter—as being entrusted to St. John, because he was capable of explaining to her the mystery of the Cross—as inferior to the apostles in knowledge and belief of the resurrection (iv. 1064, vi. 391, Paris, 1638). It is plain from these and other passages, which might be quoted, that the idea of St. Mary's exemption from even actual sins of infirmity and imperfection, if it existed at all, was external to the Church. Nevertheless there grew up, as was most natural, a practice of looking upon St. Mary as an example to other women, and investing her with an ideal character of beauty and sweetness. A very beautiful picture of what a girl ought to be is drawn by St. Ambrose (*De Virgin.* ii. 2, p. 164, Paris, 1690), and attached to St. Mary. It is drawn wholly from the imagination (as may be seen by his making one of her characteristics to be that she never went out of doors except when she accompanied her parents to church), but there is nothing in it which is in any way superhuman. Similarly we find St. Jerome speaking of the clear light of Mary hiding the little fires of other women, such as Anna and Elisa-

[1] This "Euthymiac History" is involved in the utmost confusion. Cave considers the Homily proved spurious by its reference to it. See *Historia Literar.* i. 582, 626 Oxf. 1740.

beth (vi. 671, Verona, 1734). St. Augustine takes us a step further. He again and again speaks of her as under *original* sin (iv. 241, x. 654, &c., Paris, 1700); but with respect to her *actual* sin he says that he would rather not enter on the question, for it was possible (how could we tell?) that God had given her sufficient grace to keep her free from actual sin (x. 144). At this time the change of mind before referred to, as originated by the Nestorian controversies, was spreading within the Church; and it became more and more the general belief that St. Mary was preserved from actual sin by the grace of God. This opinion had become almost universal in the 12th century. And now a further step was taken. It was maintained by St. Bernard that St. Mary was conceived in original sin, but that before her birth she was cleansed from it, like John the Baptist and Jeremiah. This was the sentiment of the 13th century, as shown by the works of Peter Lombard (*Sentent.* lib. iii. dist. 3), Alexander of Hales (*Sum. Theol.* num. ii. art. 2), Albertus Magnus (*Sentent.* lib. iii. dist. 3), and Thomas Aquinas (*Sum. Theol.* quaest. xxvii. art. 1, and *Comm. in Lib. Sentent.* dist. 3, quaest. 1). Early in the 14th century died J. Duns Scotus, and he is the first theologian or schoolman who threw out as a possibility the idea of an Immaculate Conception, which would exempt St. Mary from original as well as actual sin. This opinion had been growing up for the two previous centuries, having originated apparently in France, and having been adopted, to St. Bernard's indignation, by the canons of Lyons. From this time forward there was a struggle between the maculate and immaculate conceptionists, which has led at length to the decree of Dec. 8, 1854, but which has not ceased with that decree. Here, then, we may mark four distinct theories with respect to the sinlessness of St. Mary. The first is that of the early Church to the close of the 5th century. It taught that St. Mary was born in original sin, was liable to actual sin, and that she fell into sins of infirmity. The second extends from the close of the 5th to the 12th century. It taught that St. Mary was born in original sin, but by God's grace was saved from falling into actual sins. The third is *par excellence* that of the 13th century. It taught that St. Mary was conceived in original sin, but was sanctified in the womb before birth. The fourth may be found obscurely existing, but only existing to be condemned, in the 12th and 13th centuries; brought into the light by the speculations of Scotus and his followers in the 14th century; thenceforward running parallel with and struggling with the *sanctificata in utero* theory, till it obtained its apparently final victory, so far as the Roman Church is concerned, in the 19th century, and in the lifetime of ourselves. It teaches that St. Mary was not conceived or born in original sin, but has been wholly exempt from all sin, original and actual, in her conception and birth, throughout her life, and in her death.

See Laborde, *La Croyance à l'Immaculée Conception ne peut devenir Dogme de Foi*, Paris, 1855; Perrone, *De Immaculato B. V. M. Conceptu*, Avenione, 1848; *Christian Remembrancer*, vols. xxiii. and xxxvii.; Bp. Wilberforce, *Rome—her new Dogma, and our Duties*, Oxf. 1855; *Observateur Catholique*, Paris, 1855-60; Fray Morgaez, *Examen Bullae Ineffabilis*, Paris, 1858. [F. M.]

MARY (Rec. Text, with D, Μαριάμ; Lachmann, with A B C, Μαρία: *Maria*), a Roman Christian who is greeted by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 6) as having toiled hard for him—or according to some MSS. for them. Nothing more is known of her. But Professor Jowett (*The Epistles of St. Paul*, &c. *ad loc.*) has called attention to the fact that hers is the only Jewish name in the list. [G.]

MAS'ALOTH (Μεσαλώθ; Alex. Μεσσαλώθ: *Masaloth*), a place in Arbela, which Bacchides and Alcimus, the two generals of Demetrius, besieged and took with great slaughter on their way from the north to Gilgal (1 Macc. ix. 2). Arbela is probably the modern *Irbid*, on the south side of the *Wady el-Hŭmâm*, about 3 miles N.W. of Tiberias, and half that distance from the Lake. The name Mesaloth is omitted by Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 11, §1), nor has any trace of it been since discovered; but the word may, as Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 398) suggests, have originally signified the "steps" or "terraces" (as if מְסִלּוֹת). In that case it was probably a name given to the remarkable caverns still existing on the northern side of the same Wady, and now called *Kula'at Ibn Ma'an*, the "fortress of the son of Maan"—caverns which actually stood a remarkable siege of some length, by the forces of Herod (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 16, §4).

A town with the similar name of MISHAL, or MASHAL, occurs in the list, of the tribe of Asher, but whether its position was near that assumed above for Masaloth, we have no means of judging. [G.]

MAS'CHIL (מַשְׂכִּיל: σύνεσις: *intellectus*, but in Ps. liii. *intelligentia*). The title of thirteen Psalms; xxxii., xlii., xliv., xlv., lii.-lv., lxxv., lxxviii., lxxxviii., lxxxix., cxlii. Jerome in his version from the Hebrew renders it uniformly *eruditio*, "instruction," except in Pss. xlii., lxxx., where he has *intellectus*, "understanding." The margin of our A. V. has in Pss. lxxiv., lxxvii., lxxxix., "to give instruction;" and in Pss. lxxvii., cxlii., "giving instruction." In other passages in which the word occurs it is rendered "wise" (Job xxii. 2; Prov. x. 5, 19, &c.), "prudent" (Prov. xix. 14; Am. v. 13), "expert" (Jer. iv. 9), and "skilful" (Dan. i. 4). In the Psalm in which it first occurs as a title, the root of the word is found in another form (Ps. xxxii. 8), "I will instruct thee," from which circumstance, it has been inferred, the title was applied to the whole Psalm as "didactic." But since "Maschil" is affixed to many Psalms which would scarcely be classed as didactic, Gesenius (or rather Roediger) explains it as denoting "any sacred song, relating to divine things, whose end it was to promote wisdom and piety" (*Thes.* p. 1330). Ewald (*Dichter d. alt. B.* i. 25) regards Ps. xlvii. 7 (A. V. "sing ye praises *with understanding*;" Heb. *maschil*), as the key to the meaning of Maschil, which in his opinion is a musical term, denoting a melody requiring great skill in its execution. The objection to the explanation of Roediger is, that it is wanting in precision, and would allow the term "Maschil" to be applied to every Psalm in the Psalter. That it is employed to indicate to the conductor of the Temple choir the manner in which the Psalm was to be sung, or the melody to which it was adapted, rather than as descriptive of its contents, seems to be implied in the title of Ps. xlv., where, after "Maschil," is added "a song of loves" to denote the special character of the Psalm. Again, with few exceptions, it is associated with directions for the choir. "to the chief musician," &c., and occupies the same position as the titles as *Michtam* (Ps. xvi., lvi.-lx.), *Miktam*

(A. V. "Psalm;" Ps. iv.–vi., &c.), and *Shiggaion* (Ps. vii.). If, therefore, we regard it as originally used, in the sense of "didactic," to indicate the character of one particular Psalm, it might have been applied to others as being set to the melody of the original Maschil-Psalm. But the suggestion of Ewald, given above, has most to commend it. Comparing "Maschil" with the musical terms already alluded to, and observing the different manner in which the character of a psalm is indicated in other instances (1 Chr. xvi. 7; Pss. xxxviii., lxx., titles), it seems probable that it was used to convey a direction to the singers as to the mode in which they were to sing. There appear to have been Maschils of different kinds, for in addition to those of David which form the greater number, there are others of Asaph (Pss. lxxiv., lxxviii.), Heman the Ezrahite (lxxxviii.), and Ethan (lxxxix.). [W. A. W.]

MASH (מֶשׁ: Μοσόχ: *Mes*), one of the sons of Aram, and the brother of Uz, Hul, and Gether (Gen. x. 23). In 1 Chr. i. 17 the name appears as Meshech, and the rendering of the LXX., as above given, leads to the inference that a similar form also existed in some of the copies of Genesis. It may further be noticed that in the Chronicles, Mash and his brothers are described as sons of Shem to the omission of Aram; this discrepancy is easily explained: the links to connect the names are omitted in other instances (comp. ver. 4), the ethnologist evidently assuming that they were familiar to his readers. As to the geographical position of Mash, Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §4) connects the name with *Mesene* in lower Babylonia, on the shores of the Persian Gulf—a locality too remote, however, from the other branches of the Aramaic race. The more probable opinion is that which has been adopted by Bochart (*Phal.* ii. 11), Winer (*Rwb.* s. v.), and Knobel (*Völkert.* p. 237)—viz. that the name Mash is represented by the *Mons Masius* of classical writers, a range which forms the northern boundary of Mesopotamia, between the Tigris and Euphrates (Strab. xi. pp. 506, 527). Knobel reconciles this view with that of Josephus by the supposition of a migration from the north of Mesopotamia to the south of Babylonia, where the race may have been known in later times under the name of Meshech: the progress of the population in these parts was, however, in an opposite direction, from south to north. Kalisch (*Comm. on Gen.* p. 286) connects the names of Mash and Mysia: this is, to say the least, extremely doubtful; both the Mysians themselves and their name (= *Moesia*) were probably of European origin. [W. L. B.]

MASH'AL (מִשְׁעָל: Μασσᾶ: *Masal*), the contracted or provincial (Galilean) form in which, in the later list of Levitical cities (1 Chr. vi. 74), the name of the town appears, which in the earlier records is given as MISHEAL and MISHAL. It suggests the MASALOTH of the Maccabean history. [G.]

MASI'AS (Μισαίας; Alex. Μασίας: *Malsith*), one of the servants of Solomon, whose descendants returned with Zorobabel (1 Esdr. v. 34).

MASMAN (Μασμάν; Alex. Μαασμάν: *Masman*). This name occurs for SHEMAIAH in 1 Esd. viii. 43 (comp. Ezr. viii. 16). The Greek text is evidently corrupt, Σαμαίας (A. V. Mamaias), which is the true reading, being misplaced in ver. 44 after Almathan.

MASORA. [OLD TESTAMENT.]

MAS'PHA. 1. (Μασσηφάθ; Alex. Μασσηφα: *Maspha.*) A place opposite to (κατέναντι) Jerusalem, at which Judas Maccabaeus and his followers assembled themselves to bewail the desolation of the city and the sanctuary, and to inflame their resentment before the battle of Emmaus, by the sight, not only of the distant city, which was probably visible from the eminence, but also of the Book of the Law mutilated and profaned, and of other objects of peculiar preciousness and sanctity (1 Macc. iii. 46). There is no doubt that it is identical with MIZPEH of Benjamin, the ancient sanctuary at which Samuel had convened the people on an occasion of equal emergency. In fact, Maspha, or more accurately Massêpha, is merely the form in which the LXX. uniformly render the Hebrew name Mizpeh.

2. (Μαρφά in both MSS.; but Josephus Μάλλην: *Maspha.*) One of the cities which were taken from the Ammonites by Judas Maccabaeus in his campaign on the east of Jordan (1 Macc. v. 35) It is probably the ancient city of Mizpeh of Gilead. The Syriac has the curious variation of *Olim*, ܐܠܡ, "salt." Perhaps Josephus also reads מֶלַח, "salt." [G.]

MASR'EKAH (מַשְׂרֵקָה: Μασσεκκᾶς, in Chron. Μασεκκᾶς, and so Alex. in both: *Masereca, Maresca*), an ancient place, the native spot of Samlah, one of the old kings of the Edomites (Gen. xxxvi. 36; 1 Chr. i. 47). Interpreted as Hebrew, the name refers to vineyards—as if from *Sarak*, a root with which we are familiar in the "vine of Sorek," that is, the choice vine; and led by this, Knobel (*Genesis*, 257) proposes to place Masrekah in the district of the Idumaean mountains north of Petra, and along the Hadj route, where Burckhardt found "extensive vineyards," and "great quantities of dried grapes," made by the tribe of the *Refaya* for the supply of Gaza and for the Mecca pilgrims (Burckhardt, *Syria*, Aug. 21). But this is mere conjecture, as no name at all corresponding with Masrekah has been yet discovered in that locality. Schwarz (215) mentions a site called *En-Masrak*, a few miles south of Petra. He probably refers to the place marked *Ain Mafrak* in Palmer's Map, and *Ain el-Usdaka* in Kiepert's (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* 1856). The versions are unanimous in adhering more or less closely to the Hebrew. [G.]

MAS'SA (מַשָּׂא: Μασσῆ: *Massa*), a son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 14; 1 Chr. i. 30). His descendants were not improbably the *Masani*, who are placed by Ptolemy (v. 19, §2) in the east of Arabia, near the borders of Babylonia. [W. L. B.]

MASSAH (מַסָּה: πειρασμός), *i. e.* "temptation," a name given to the spot, also called MERIBAH, where the Israelites "tempted Jehovah, saying, Is Jehovah among us or not?" (Ex. xvi. 7). The name also occurs, with mention of the circumstances which occasioned it, in Ps. xcv. 8, 9, and its Greek equivalent in Heb. iii. 8. [H. H.]

MASSI'AS (Μασσίας: *Hismaenis*) = MAASEIAH 3 (1 Esd. ix. 22; comp. Ezr. x. 22).

MASTICH-TREE (σχῖνος, *lentiscus*) occurs only in the Apocrypha (Susan. ver. 54[a]), where the

[a] This verse contains a happy play upon the word "Under what tree sawest thou them? . . . under a mastich tree (ὑπὸ σχῖνον). And Daniel said . . . the angel of God

margin of the A. V. has *lentisk*. There is no doubt that the Greek word is correctly rendered, as is evident from the description of it by Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* ix. i. §2, 4, §7, &c.); Pliny (*N. H.* xii. 36, xxiv. 28); Dioscorides (i. 90), and other writers. Herodotus (iv. 177) compares the fruit of the lotus (the *Rhamnus lotus*, Linn., not the Egyptian *Nelumbium speciosum*) in size with the mastich berry, and Babrius (3, 5) says its leaves are browsed by goats. The fragrant resin known in the arts as "mastick," and which is obtained by incisions made in the trunk in the month of August, is the produce of this tree, whose scientific name is *Pistacia lentiscus*. It is used with us to strengthen the teeth and gums, and was so applied by the ancients, by whom it was much prized on this account, and for its many supposed medicinal virtues. Lucian (*Lexiph.* 12) uses the term σχινοτρώκτης of one who chews mastich wood in order to whiten his teeth. Martial (*Ep.* xiv. 22) recommends a mastich toothpick (*dentiscalpium*). Pliny (xxiv. 7) speaks of the leaves of this tree being rubbed on the teeth for toothache. Dioscorides (i. 90) says the resin is often mixed with other materials and used as tooth-powder, and that if chewed,[a] it imparts a sweet odour to the breath. Both Pliny and Dioscorides state that the best mastich comes from Chios, and to this day the Arabs prefer that which is imported from that island (comp. Niebuhr, *Beschr. von Arab.* p. 144; Galen, *de fac. Simpl.* 7, p. 69). Tournefort (*Voyages*, ii. 58-61, transl. 1741) has given a full and very interesting account of the Lentisks or Mastich plants of Scio (Chios): he says that "the towns of the island are distinguished into three classes, those *del Campo*, those of *Apanomeria*, and those where they plant *Lentisk-trees*, from whence the mastick in tears is

Mastich (*Pistacia Lentiscus*).

produced." Tournefort enumerates several Lentisk-tree villages. Of the trees he says, "these trees are very wide spread and circular, ten or twelve foot tall, consisting of several branchy stalks which in time grow crooked. The biggest trunks are a foot diameter, covered with a bark, greyish, rugged, chapt . . . . . the leaves are disposed in three or four couples on each side, about an inch long, narrow at the beginning, pointed at their extremity, half an inch broad about the middle. From the juncture of the leaves grow flowers in bunches like grapes (see woodcut); the fruit too grows like bunches of grapes, in each berry whereof is contained a white kernel. These trees blow in May, the fruit does not ripen but in autumn and winter." This writer gives the following description of the mode in which the mastich gum is procured. "They begin to make incisions in these trees in Scio the first of August, cutting the bark crossways with huge knives, without touching the younger branches; next day the contentious juice distils in small tears, which by little and little form the mastick grains; they harden on the ground, and are carefully swept up from under the trees. The height of the crop is about the middle of August if it be dry serene weather, but if it be rainy the tears are all lost. Likewise towards the end of September the same incisions furnish mastick, but in lesser quantities." Besides the uses to which reference has been made above, the people of Scio put grains of this resin in perfumes, and in their bread before it goes to the oven.

Mastick is one of the most important products of the East, being extensively used in the preparation of spirits, as juniper berries are with us, as a sweetmeat, as a masticatory for preserving the gums and teeth, as an antispasmodic in medicine, and as an ingredient in varnishes. The Greek writers occasionally use the word σχῖνος for an entirely different plant, viz., the Squill (*Scilla maritima*) (see Aristoph. *Plut.* 715; Sprengel, *Flor. Hippoc.* 41; Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* v. 6, §10). The *Pistacia lentiscus* is common on the shores of the Mediterranean. According to Strand (*Flor. Palaest.* No. 559) it has been observed at Joppa, both by Rauwolf and Pococke. The Mastich-tree belongs to the natural order *Anacardiaceae*. [W. H.]

MATHANI'AS (Ματθανίας: *Mathathias*) = MATTANIAH, a descendant of Pahath-Moab (1 Esd. ix. 31; comp. Ezr. x. 30).

MATHU'SALA (Ματθουσάλα: *Mathusala*) = METHUSELAH, the son of Enoch (Luke iii. 37).

MATRED (מַטְרֵד: Ματραΐθ; Alex. Ματρεάθ: *Matred*), a daughter of Mezahab, and mother of Mehetabel, who was wife of Hadar (or Hadad) of Pau, king of Edom (Gen. xxxvi. 39; 1 Chr. i. 50). Respecting the kings of Edom whose records are contained in the chapters referred to, see HADAD, IRAM, &c. [E. S. P.]

MATRI (הַמַּטְרִי, with the art. properly "the Matrite:" Ματραΐ; Alex. Ματραεί and Ματραείτης: *Metri*), a family of the tribe of Benjamin, to which Saul the king of Israel belonged (1 Sam x. 21).

MATTAN (מַתָּן: Ματθάν; Alex. Μαθάν: *Mathan*). 1. The priest of Baal slain before his altars in the temple at Jerusalem, at the time when Jehoiada swept away idolatry from Judah (2 K. xi. 18; 2 Chr. xxiii. 17). He probably accompanied Athe-

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hath received the sentence of God to cut thee in two (σχίσει σε μέσον). This is unfortunately lost in our version; but it is preserved by the Vulgate, "sub schino . . scindet te;" and by Luther, "Linde . . . finden." A similar play occurs in vers. 58, 59, between πρῖνον, and πρίσαι σε. For the bearing of these and similar characteristics on the date and origin of the book, see SUSANNA.

[a] Whence the derivation of *mastich*, from μάστιξ, μαστίχειν, "to chew," "to masticate."

inah from Samaria, and would thus be the first priest of the Baal-worship which Jehoram king of Judah, following in the steps of his father-in-law Ahab, established at Jerusalem (2 Chr. xxi. 6, 13). Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 7, §3) calls him **Μααθάν.**

2. (**Νάθαν.**) The father of Shephatiah (Jer. xxviii. 1). [W. A. W.]

MATTANAH (מַתָּנָה: **Ματθαναείν**; Alex. **Ματθαναείν**: *Matthana*), a station in the latter part of the wanderings of the Israelites (Num. xxi. 18, 19). It lay next beyond the well, or Beer, and between it and Nahaliel; Nahaliel again being but one day's journey from the Bamoth or heights of Moab. Mattanah was therefore probably situated to the S.E. of the Dead Sea, but no name like it appears to have been yet discovered. The meaning at the root of the word (if taken as Hebrew) is a "gift," and accordingly the Targumists—Onkelos as well as Pseudojonathan and the Jerusalem—treat Mattanah as if a synonym for BEER, the well which was "given" to the people (ver. 16). In the same vein they further translate the names in verse 20; and treat them as denoting the valleys (Nahaliel) and the heights (Bamoth), to which the miraculous well followed the camp in its journeyings. The legend is noticed under BEER.[a] By Le Clerc it is suggested that Mattanah may be the same with the mysterious word *Vaheb* (ver. 14; A. V. "what He did")—since the meaning of that word in Arabic is the same as that of Mattanah in Hebrew. [G.]

MATTANI'AH (מַתַּנְיָה: **Ματθανίας**; Alex. **Μαθθανίας**: *Matthanias*). 1. The original name of Zedekiah king of Judah, which was changed when Nebuchadnezzar placed him on the throne instead of his nephew Jehoiachin (2 K. xxiv. 17). In like manner Pharaoh had changed the name of his brother Eliakim to Jehoiakim on a similar occasion (2 K. xxiii. 34), when he restored the succession to the elder branch of the royal family (comp. 2 K. xxiii. 31, 36).

2. (**Ματθανίας** in Chr., and Neh. xi. 17; **Ματθανία** Neh. xii. 8, 35; Alex. **Μαθθανίας**, Neh. xi. 17, **Μαθανία**, Neh. xii. 8, **Μαθθανία**, Neh. xii. 35: *Mathania*, exc. Neh. xii. 8, 35, *Mathanias*). A Levite singer of the sons of Asaph (1 Chr. ix. 15). He is described as the son of Micah, Micha (Neh. xi. 17), or Michaiah (Neh. xii. 35), and after the return from Babylon lived in the villages of the Netophathites (1 Chr. ix. 16) or Netophathi (Neh. xii. 28), which the singers had built in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 29). As leader of the Temple choir after its restoration (Neh. xi. 17, xii. 8) in the time of Nehemiah, he took part in the musical service which accompanied the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xii. 25, 35). We find him among the Levites of the second rank, "keepers of the thresholds," an office which fell to the singers (comp. 1 Chr. xv. 18, 21). In Neh. xii. 35, there is a difficulty, for "Mattaniah, the son of Michaiah, the son of Zaccur, the son of Asaph," is apparently the same with "Mattaniah, the son of Micha, the son of Zabdi the son of Asaph" (Neh. xi. 17), and with the Mattaniah of Neh. xii. 8, 25, who, as in xi. 17, is associated with Bakbukiah, and is expressly mentioned as living in the days of Nehemiah and Ezra (Neh. xii. 26). But, if the reading in Neh. xii. 35 be correct, Zechariah, the great-grandson of Mattaniah (further described as one of "the *priests'* sons," whereas Mattaniah was a Levite), blew the trumpet at the head of the procession led by Ezra, which marched round the city wall. From a comparison of Neh. xii. 35 with xii. 41, 42, it seems probable that the former is corrupt, that Zechariah in verses 35 and 41 is the same priest, and that the clause in which the name of Mattaniah is found is to be connected with ver. 36, in which are enumerated his "brethren" alluded to in ver. 8.

3. (**Ματθανίας**: *Mathanias.*) A descendant of Asaph, and ancestor of Jahaziel the Levite in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chron. xx. 14).

4. (**Ματθανία**; Alex. **Μαθθανία**: *Mathania.*) One of the sons of Elam who had married a foreign wife in the time of Ezra (Ezr. x. 26). In 1 Esdr. ix. 27 he is called MATTHANIAS.

5. (**Ματθανατ**; Alex. **Μαθθανατ.**) One of the sons of Zattu in the time of Ezra, who put away his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 27). He is called OTHONIAS in 1 Esdr. ix. 28.

6. (**Ματθανιά**; Alex. **Μαθθανιά**: *Mathanias.*) A descendant of Pahath-Moab who lived at the same time, and is mentioned under the same circumstances as the two preceding (Ezr. x. 30). In 1 Esdr. ix. 31, he is called MATHANIAS.

7. One of the sons of Bani, who like the three above mentioned, put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 37). In the parallel list of Esdr. ix. 34, the names "Mattaniah, Mattenai," are corrupted into MAMNITANAIMUS.

8. (**Ματθανάας**; Alex. **Μαθθανίας.**) A Levite, father of Zaccur, and ancestor of Hanan the under-treasurer who had charge of the offerings for the Levites in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 13).

9. (מַתַּנְיָהוּ: **Ματθανίας**: *Mathaniaū*, 1 Chr. xxv. 4; *Mathanias*, 1 Chr. xxv. 16), one of the fourteen sons of Heman the singer, whose office it was to blow the horns in the Temple service as appointed by David. He was the chief of the 9th division of twelve Levites who were "instructed in the songs of Jehovah."

10. A descendant of Asaph, the Levite minstrel, who assisted in the purification of the Temple in the reign of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 13). [W. A. W.]

MATTATHA (**Ματταθά**: *Mathatha*), the son of Nathan, and grandson of David in the genealogy of our Lord (Luke iii. 31).

MATTATHAH (מַתַּתָּה: **Ματθαθά**: Alex. **Μαθθαθά**: *Mathatha*), a descendant of Hashum, who had married a foreign wife in the time of Ezra, and was separated from her (Ezr. x. 33). He is called MATTHIAS in 1 Esdr. ix. 33.

MATTATHI'AS (**Ματταθίας**: *Mathathias*). 1. = MATTITHIAH, who stood at Ezra's right hand when he read the law to the people (1 Esdr. ix. 43; comp. Neh. viii. 4).

2. (*Mathathias.*) The father of the Maccabees (1 Macc. ii. 1, 14, 16, 17, 19, 24, 27, 39, 45, 49 xiv. 29). [MACCABEES, 165*a*.]

[a] Vol. I. 179a. In addition to the authorities there cited, the curious reader who may desire to investigate this remarkable tradition will find it exhausted in Buxtorf's *Exercitationes* (No. v. *Hist. Petrae in Deserto*).

[b] The word "priest" is apparently applied in a less restricted sense in later times, for we find in Ezr. viii. 24 Shereblah and Hashabiah described as among the "chief of the priests," whereas, in vers. 18, 19, they are Merarite Levites; if, as is probable, the same persons are alluded to in both instances. Comp. also Josh. iii. 3 with Num. vii. 9.

3. (*Mathathias.*) The son of Absalom, and brother of JONATHAN 14 (1 Macc. xi. 70; xiii. 11). In the battle fought by Jonathan the high-priest with the forces of Demetrius on the plain of Nasor (the old Hazor), his two generals Mattathias and Judas alone stood by him, when his army was seized with a panic and fled, and with their assistance the fortunes of the day were restored.

4. (*Mathathias.*) The son of Simon Maccabeus, who was treacherously murdered, together with his father and brother, in the fortress of Docus, by Ptolemæus the son of Abubus (1 Macc. xvi. 14).

5. (*Matthias.*) One of the three envoys sent by Nicanor to treat with Judas Maccabeus (2 Macc. xiv. 19).

6. (*Mathathias.*) Son of Amos, in the genealogy of Jesus Christ (Luke iii. 25).

7. (*Mathathias.*) Son of Semei, in the same catalogue (Luke iii. 26). (W. A. W.)

MATTENA'I (מַתְּנַי: Μεττθανία; Alex. Μαθθαναΐ: *Mathonaï*). 1. One of the family of Hashum, who in the time of Ezra had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 33). In 1 Esdr. ix. 33 he is called ALTANEUS.

2. (Ματθαναΐ; Alex. Μαθθαναΐ: *Mathanaï*). A descendant of Bani, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 37). The place of this name and of Mattaniah which precedes it is occupied in 1 Esdr. ix. 34 by MAMNITANAIMUS.

3. A priest in the days of Joiakim the son of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 19). He represented the house of Joiarib.

MAT'THAN (Rec. Text, Ματθάν; Lachm. with B, Μαθθάν: *Mathan, Matthan.*) The son of Eleazar, and grandfather of Joseph "the husband of Mary" (Matt. i. 15). He occupies the same place in the genealogy as MATTHAT in Luke iii. 24, with whom indeed he is probably identical (Hervey, *Genealogies of Christ*, 129, 134, &c.). "He seems to have been himself descended from Joseph the son of Judah, of Luke iii. 26, but to have become the heir of the elder branch of the house of Abiud on the failure of Eleazar's issue" (ib. 134).

MATTHANI'AS (Ματθανίας) = MATTANIAH, one of the descendants of Elam (1 Esdr. ix. 27; comp. Ezr. x. 26). In the Vulgate, "Ela, Mathanias," are corrupted into "Jolaman, Chamas," which is evidently a transcriber's error.

MATTHAT (Ματθάτ; but Tisch. Μαθθάτ: *Mathat, Mattat, Matthad*, &c.) 1. Son of Levi and grandfather of Joseph, according to the genealogy of Luke (iii. 24). He is maintained by Lord A. Hervey to have been the same person as the MATTHAN of Matt. i. 15 (see *Genealogies of Christ*, 137, 138, &c.).

2. Also the son of a Levi, and a progenitor of Joseph, but much higher up in the line, namely eleven generations from David (Luke iii. 29). Nothing is known of him.

It should be remarked that no fewer than five names in this list are derived from the same Hebrew root as that of their ancestor NATHAN the son of David (see Hervey, *Genealogies*, &c., p. 150).

MATTHE'LAS (Μαθήλας: *Maseas*) = MAASEIAH 1 (1 Esd. ix. 19; comp. Ezr. x. 18). The reading of the LXX. which is followed in the A. V. might easily arise from a mistake between the uncial Θ and Σ (C).

MATTHEW (Lachm. with BD, Μαθθαῖος; AC and Rec. Text, Ματθαῖος: *Matthaeus.*) Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist is the same as Levi (Luke v. 27-29) the son of a certain Alphæus (Mark ii. 14). His call to be an Apostle is related by all three Evangelists in the same words, except that Matthew (ix. 9) gives the former, and Mark (ii. 14) and Luke (v. 27) the latter name. If there were two publicans, both called solemnly in the same form at the same place, Capernaum, then one of them became an Apostle, and the other was heard of no more; for Levi is not mentioned again after the feast which he made in our Lord's honour (Luke v. 29). This is most unlikely. Euthymius and many other commentators of note identify Alphæus the father of Matthew with Alphæus the father of James the Less. Against this is to be set the fact that in the lists of Apostles (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13), Matthew and James the Less are never named together, like other pairs of brothers in the apostolic body. It may be, as in other cases, that the name Levi was replaced by the name Matthew at the time of the call. According to Gesenius, the names Matthew and Matthias are both contractions of Mattathias (=מַתִּתְיָה, "gift of Jehovah;" Θεόδωρος, Θεόδοτος), a common Jewish name after the exile; but the true derivation is not certain (see Winer, Lange). The publicans, properly so called (*publicani*), were persons who farmed the Roman taxes, and they were usually, in later times, Roman knights, and persons of wealth and credit. They employed under them inferior officers, natives of the province where the taxes were collected, called properly *portitores*, to which class Matthew no doubt belonged. These latter were notorious for impudent exactions everywhere (Plautus, *Mostell.* i. 2, 5; Cic. *ad Quint. Fr.* i. 1; Plut. *De Curios.* p. 518 *e*); but to the Jews they were especially odious, for they were the very spot where the Roman chain galled them, the visible proof of the degraded state of their nation. As a rule, none but the lowest would accept such an unpopular office, and thus the class became more worthy of the hatred with which in any case the Jews would have regarded it. The readiness, however, with which Matthew obeyed the call of Jesus seems to show that his heart was still open to religious impressions. His conversion was attended by a great awakening of the outcast classes of the Jews (Matt. ix. 9, 10). Matthew in his Gospel does not omit the title of infamy which had belonged to him (x. 3); but neither of the other Evangelists speaks of "Matthew *the publican.*" Of the exact share which fell to him in preaching the Gospel we have nothing whatever in the N. T., and other sources of information we cannot trust.

Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 24) mentions that after our Lord's ascension Matthew preached in Judæa (some add for fifteen years, Clem. *Strom.* vi.), and then went to foreign nations. To the lot of Matthew it fell to visit Aethiopia, says Socrates Scholasticus (*H. E.* i. 19; Ruff. *H. E.* x. 9). But Ambrose says that God opened to him the country of the Persians (*In Ps.* 45); Isidore the Macedonian (Isidore Hisp. *de Sanct.* 77); and others the Parthians, the Medes, the Persians of the Euphrates. Nothing whatever is really known. Heracleon, the disciple of Valentinus (cited by Clement *Strom.* iv. 9), describes him as dying a natural death, which Clement, Origen, and Tertullian seem to accept: the tradition that he died a martyr's

a true or false, came in afterwards (Niceph. *H. E.* ii. 41).

If the first feeling on reading these meagre particulars be disappointment, the second will be admiration for those who doing their part under God in the great work of founding the Church on earth, have passed away to their Master in heaven without so much as an effort to redeem their names from silence and oblivion. (For authorities see the works on the Gospels referred to under LUKE and GOSPELS; also Fritzsche, *In Matthaeum*, Leipzic, 1826: Lange, *Bibelwerk*, part i.) [W. T.]

MATTHEW, GOSPEL OF. The Gospel which bears the name of St. Matthew was written by the Apostle, according to the testimony of all antiquity.

I. *Language in which it was first written.*—We are told on the authority of Papias, Irenaeus, Pantaenus, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Jerome, and many other Fathers, that the Gospel was first written in Hebrew, *i. e.* in the vernacular language of Palestine, the Aramaic. *a.* Papias of Hierapolis (who flourished in the first half of the 2nd century) says, "Matthew wrote the divine oracles (τὰ λόγια) in the Hebrew dialect; and each interpreted them as he was able" (Eusebius, *H. E.* iii. 39). It has been held that τὰ λόγια is to be understood as a collection of *discourses*, and that therefore the book here alluded to, contained not the acts of our Lord but His speeches; but this falls through, for Papias applies the same word to the Gospel of St. Mark, and he uses the expression λόγια κυριακά in the title of his own work, which we know from fragments to have contained facts as well as discourses (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1832, p. 735; Meyer, *Einleitung*; De Wette, *Einleitung*, §97 a; Alford's *Prolegomena to Gr. Test.* p. 25). Eusebius, indeed, in the same place pronounces Papias to be "a man of very feeble understanding," in reference to some false opinions which he held; but it requires little critical power to bear witness to the fact that a certain Hebrew book was in use. *b.* Irenaeus says (iii. 1), that "whilst Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome and founding the Church, Matthew put forth his written Gospel amongst the Hebrews in their own dialect." It is objected to this testimony that Irenaeus probably drew from the same source as Papias, for whom he had great respect; this assertion can neither be proved nor refuted, but the testimony of Irenaeus is in itself no mere copy of that of Papias. *c.* According to Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 10), Pantaenus (who flourished in the latter part of the 2nd century) "is reported to have gone to the Indians" (*i. e.* to the south of Arabia?), "where it is said that he found the Gospel of Matthew already among some who had the knowledge of Christ there, to whom Bartholomew, one of the apostles, had preached, and left them the Gospel of Matthew written in Hebrew, which was preserved till the time referred to." We have no writings of Pantaenus, and Eusebius recites the story with a kind of doubt. It reappears in two different forms:—Jerome and Ruffinus say that Pantaenus *brought back* with him this Hebrew Gospel, and Nicephorus asserts that Bartholomew *dictated* the Gospel of Matthew to the inhabitants of that country. Upon the whole, Pantaenus contributes but little to the weight of the argument. *d.* Origen says (*Comment. on Matt.* i. in Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 25), "As I have learnt by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received without dispute by the Church of God under heaven: the first was written by St. Matthew, once a tax-gatherer, afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for the benefit of the Jewish converts, composed in the Hebrew language." The objections to this passage brought by Masch, are disposed of by Michaelis iii. part i. p. 127; the "tradition" does not imply a doubt, and there is no reason for tracing this witness also to Papias. *e.* Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 24) gives as his own opinion the following: "Matthew having first preached to the Hebrews delivered to them, when he was preparing to depart to other countries, his Gospel, composed in their native language." Other passages to the same effect occur in Cyril (*Catech.* 14), Epiphanius (*Haer.* li. 2, 1), Hieronymus (*de Vir. ill.* ch. 3), who mentions the Hebrew original in seven places at least of his works, and from Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, Augustine, and other later writers. From all these there is no doubt that the old opinion was that Matthew wrote in the Hebrew language. To whom we are to attribute the Greek translation, is not shown; but the quotation of Papias proves that in the time of John the Presbyter, and probably in that of Papias, there was no translation of great authority, and Jerome (*de Vir. ill.* ch. 3) expressly says that the translator's name was uncertain.

So far all the testimony is for a Hebrew original. But there are arguments of no mean weight in favour of the Greek, a very brief account of which may be given here. 1. The quotations from the O. T. in this Gospel, which are very numerous (see below), are of two kinds: those introduced into the narrative to point out the fulfilment of prophecies, &c., and those where in the course of the narrative the persons introduced, and especially our Lord Himself, make use of O. T. quotations. Between these two classes a difference of treatment is observable. In the latter class, where the citations occur in discourses, the Septuagint version is followed, even where it deviates somewhat from the original (as iii. 3, xiii. 14), or where it ceases to follow the very words, the deviations do not come from a closer adherence to the Hebrew O. T.; except in two cases, xi. 10 and xxvi. 31. The quotations in the narrative, however, do not follow the Septuagint, but appear to be a translation from the Hebrew text. Thus we have the remarkable phenomenon that, whereas the Gospels agree most exactly in the speeches of persons, and most of all in those of our Lord, the quotations in these speeches are reproduced not by the closest rendering of the Hebrew, but from the Septuagint version, although many or most of them must have been spoken in the vernacular Hebrew, and could have had nothing to do with the Septuagint. A mere translator could not have done this. But an independent writer, using the Greek tongue, and wishing to conform his narrative to the oral teaching of the Apostles (see vol. i. p. 718 *a*), might have used for the quotations the well-known Greek O. T. used by his colleagues. There is an independence in the mode of dealing with citations throughout, which is inconsistent with the function of a mere translator. 2. But this difficulty is to be got over by assuming a high authority for this translation, as though made by an inspired writer; and it has been suggested that this writer was Matthew himself (Bengel, Olshausen, Lee, and others), or at least that he directed it (Guericke), or that it was some other apostle (Gerhard), or James the brother of the Lord, or John, or the general body of the Apostles,

or that two disciples of St. Matthew wrote, from him, the one in Aramaic and the other in Greek! We are further invited to admit, with Dr. Lee, that the Hebrew book "belonged to that class of writings which, although composed by inspired men, were never designed to form part of the Canon" (*On Inspiration*, p. 571). But supposing that there were any good ground for considering these suggestions as facts, it is clear that in the attempt to preserve the letter of the tradition, they have quite altered the spirit of it. Papias and Jerome make a Hebrew original, and dependent translations; the moderns make a Greek original, which is a translation only in name, and a Hebrew original never intended to be preserved. The modern view is not what Papias thought or uttered; and the question would be one of mere names, for the only point worthy of a struggle is this, whether the Gospel in our hands is or is not of apostolic authority, and authentic. 4. Olshausen remarks, "While all the Fathers of the Church relate that Matthew has written in Hebrew, yet they universally make use of the Greek text, as a genuine apostolic composition, without remarking what relation the Hebrew Matthew bears to our Greek Gospel. For that the earlier ecclesiastical teachers did not possess the Gospel of St. Matthew in any other form than we now have it, is established" (*Echtheit*, p. 35). The original Hebrew of which so many speak, no one of the witnesses ever saw (Jerome, *de Vir. ill.* 3, is no exception). And so little store has the Church set upon it, that it has utterly perished. 5. Were there no explanation of this inconsistency between assertion and fact, it would be hard to doubt the concurrent testimony of so many old writers, whose belief in it is shown by the tenacity with which they held it in spite of their own experience. But it is certain that a gospel, not the same as our canonical Matthew, sometimes usurped the Apostle's name; and some of the witnesses we have quoted appear to have referred to this in one or other of its various forms or names. The Christians in Palestine still held that the Mosaic ritual was binding on them, even after the destruction of Jerusalem. At the close of the first century one party existed who held that the Mosaic law was only binding on Jewish converts—this was the Nazarenes. Another, the Ebionites, held that it was of universal obligation on Christians, and rejected St. Paul's Epistles as teaching the opposite doctrine. These two sects, who differed also in the most important tenets as to our Lord's person, possessed each a modification of the same gospel, which no doubt each altered more and more, as their tenets diverged, and which bore various names—the Gospel of the twelve Apostles, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Gospel of Peter, or the Gospel according to Matthew. Enough is known to decide that the Gospel according to the Hebrews was not identical with our Gospel of Matthew. But it had many points of resemblance to the synoptical gospels, and especially to Matthew. What was its origin it is impossible to say: it may have been a description of the oral teaching of the Apostles, corrupted by degrees; it may have come in its early and pure form from the hand of Matthew, or it may have been a version of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, as the Evangelist who wrote especially for Hebrews. Now this Gospel, "the Proteus of criticism" (Thiersch), did exist; is it impossible that when the Hebrew Mattnew is spoken of, this questionable document, the Gospel of the

Hebrews, was really referred to? Observe that all accounts of it are at second hand (with a notable exception); no one quotes it; in cases of double about the text, Origen even does not appeal from the Greek to the Hebrew. All that is certain is, that Nazarenes or Ebionites, or both, boasted that they possessed the original Gospel of Matthew. Jerome is the exception; and him we can convict of the very mistake of confounding the two, and almost on his own confession. "At first he thought," says an anonymous writer (*Edinburgh Review*, 1851, July, p. 39), "that it was the authentic Matthew, and translated it into both Greek and Latin from a copy which he obtained at Beroea, in Syria. This appears from his *De Vir. ill.*, written in the year 392. Six years later, in his Commentary on Matthew, he spoke more doubtfully about it—"quod vocatur *a plerisque* Matthaei authenticus." Later still in his book on the Pelagian heresy, written in the year 415, he modifies his account still further, describing the work as the 'Evangelium juxta Hebraeos, quod Chaldaico quidem sermone, sed *Hebraicis literis* conscriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazareni secundum Apostolos, sive *ut plerique autumant* juxta Matthaeum, quod et in Caesariensi habetur Bibliotheca." 5. Dr. Lee in his work on Inspiration asserts, in an oversight unusual with such a writer, that the theory of a Hebrew original is "generally received by critics as the only legitimate conclusion." Yet there have pronounced for a Greek original—Erasmus, Calvin, Le Clerc, Fabricius, Lightfoot, Wetstein, Paulus, Lardner, Hey, Hales, Hug, Schott, De Wette, Moses Stuart, Fritzsche, Credner, Thiersch, and many others. Great names are ranged also on the other side; as Simon, Mill, Michaelis, Marsh, Eichhorn, Storr, Olshausen, and others.

With these arguments we leave a great question unsettled still, feeling convinced of the early acceptance and the Apostolic authority of our "Gospel according to St. Matthew;" and far from convinced that it is a reproduction of another Gospel from St. Matthew's hand. May not the truth be that Papias, knowing of more than one Aramaic Gospel in use among the Judaic sects, may have assumed the existence of a Hebrew original from which these were supposed to be taken, and knowing also the genuine Greek Gospel may have looked on all these in the loose uncritical way which earned for him Eusebius' description, as the various "interpretations" to which he alludes?

The independence of the style and diction of the Greek Evangelist, will appear from the remarks in the next section.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.—Hug's *Einleitung*, with the Notes of Professor M. Stuart, Andover, 1836; Meyer, *Komm. Einleitung*, and the Commentaries of Kuinöl, Fritzsche, Alford, and others. The passages from the Fathers are discussed in Michaelis (ed. Marsh, vol. iii. part i.); and they will be found for the most part in Kirchhofer, *Quellensammlung*; where will also be found the passages referring to the Gospel of the Hebrews, p. 448. Credner's *Einleitung*, and his *Beiträge*; and the often cited works on the Gospels, of Gieseler, Baur, Norton, Olshausen, Weisse, and Hilgenfeld. Also Curetun's *Syriac Gospels*; but the views in the preface must not be regarded as established. Dr. Lee on *Inspiration*, Appendix P., Loudon, 1857.

II. *Style and Diction.*—The following remarks on the style of St. Matthew are founded on those of Credner.

1. Matthew uses the expression "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet" (i. 22, ii. 15). In ii. 5, and in later passages of Matt. it is abbreviated (ii. 17, iii. 3, iv. 14, viii. 17, xii. 17, xiii. 14, 35, xxi. 4, xxvi. 56, xxvii. 9). The variation ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ in xxii. 31, is notable; and also the τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν of i. 22, not found in other Evangelists; but compare Mark xiv. 49; Luke xxiv. 44.

2. The reference to the Messiah under the name "Son of David," occurs in Matthew eight times; and three times each in Mark and Luke.

3. Jerusalem is called "the holy city," "the holy place" (iv. 5, xxiv. 15, xxvii. 53).

4. The expression συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος is used five times; in the rest of the N. T. only once, in Ep. to Hebrews.

5. The phrase "kingdom of heaven," about thirty-three times; other writers use "kingdom of God," which is found also in Matthew.

6. "Heavenly Father," used about six times; and "Father in heaven" about sixteen, and without explanation, point to the Jewish mode of speaking in this Gospel.

7. Matthew alone of the Evangelists uses τὸ ῥηθέν, ἐῤῥέθη as the form of quotation from O. T. The apparent exception in Mark xiii. 14, is rejected by Tischendorf, &c. as a wrong reading. In Matt. about twenty times.

8. Ἀναχωρεῖν is a frequent word for to *retire*. Once in Mark.

9. Κατ' ὄναρ used six times; and here only.

10. The use of προσέρχεσθαι preceding an interview, as in iv. 3, is much more frequent with Matt. than Mark and Luke; once only in John. Compare the same use of πορεύεσθαι, as in ii. 8, also more frequent in Matt.

11. Σφόδρα after a verb, or participle, six times; the same word used once each by Mark and Luke, but after adjectives.

12. With St. Matthew the particle of transition is usually the indefinite τότε; he uses it ninety times, against six times in Mark and fourteen in Luke.

13. Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε, vii. 28, xi. 1, xiii. 53, xix. 1, xxvi. 1; to be compared with the ὅτε ἐγένετο of Luke.

14. Ποιεῖν ὡς, ὥσπερ, &c., is characteristic of Matthew:—i. 24, vi. 2, xx. 5, xxi. 6, xxvi. 19, xxviii. 15.

15. Τάφος six times in this Gospel, not in the others. They use μνημεῖον frequently, which is also found seven times in Matt.

16. Συμβούλιον λαμβάνειν, peculiar to Matt. Συμ. ποιεῖν twice in Mark; nowhere else.

17. Μαλακία, μαθητεύειν, σεληνιάζεσθαι, peculiar to Matt. The following words are either used by this Evangelist alone, or by him more frequently than by the others:—φρόνιμος οἰκιακός, ὕστερον, ἐκεῖθεν, διστάζειν, καταποντίζεσθαι, μεταίρειν, βαπτίζειν, φράζειν, συναίρειν λόγον.

18. The frequent use of ἰδού after a genitive absolute (as i. 20), and of καὶ ἰδού when introducing anything new, is also peculiar to St. Matt.

19. Adverbs usually stand after the imperative, not before it; except οὕτως, which stands first. Ch. x. 11, is an exception.

20. Προσκυνεῖν takes the dative in St. Matt., and elsewhere more rarely. With Luke and John it takes the accusative. There is one apparent exception in Matt. (ix. 13), but it is a quotation from O. T.

21. The participle λέγων is used frequently without the dative of the person, as in i. 20, ii. 2 Ch. vii. 21 is an exception.

22. The expression ὀμνύω ἐν or εἰς is a Hebraism, frequent in Matt., and unknown to the other Evangelists.

23. Ἱεροσόλυμα is the name of the holy city with Matt. always, except xxiii. 37. It is the same in Mark, with one (doubtful) exception (xi. 1). Luke uses this form rarely; Ἱερουσαλήμ frequently.

III. *Citations from O. T.*—The following list is nearly complete.

Matt.		Matt.	
i. 23.	Is. vii. 14.	xvii. 2.	Ex. xxxiv. 29.
ii. 6.	Mic. v. 2.	11.	Mal. iii. 1, iv. 5
15.	Hos. xi. 1.	xviii. 15.	Lev. xix. 17 (?).
18.	Jer. xxxi. 15.	xix. 4.	Gen. i. 27.
iii. 3.	Is. xl. 3.	5.	Gen. ii. 24.
iv. 4.	Deut. viii. 3.	7.	Deut. xxiv. 1.
6.	Ps. xci. 11.	18.	Ex. xx. 12, Lev. xix. 18.
7.	Deut. vi. 16.	xxi. 5.	Zech. ix. 9.
10.	Deut. vi. 13.	9.	Ps. cxviii. 25.
15.	Is. viii. 23, ix. 1.	13.	Is. lvi. 7, Jer vii. 11.
v. 5.	Ps. xxxvii. 11.	16.	Ps. viii. 2.
21.	Ex. xx. 13.	42.	Ps. cxviii. 22
27.	Ex. xx. 14.	44.	Is. viii. 14.
31.	Deut. xxiv. 1.	xxii. 24.	Deut. xxv. 5.
33.	Lev. xix. 12, Deut. xxiii. 23.	32.	Ex. iii. 6.
38.	Ex. xxi. 24.	37.	Deut. vi. 5.
43.	Lev. xix. 18.	39.	Lev. xix. 18.
viii. 4.	Lev. xiv. 2.	44.	Ps. cx. 1.
17.	Is. liii. 4.	xxiii. 35.	Gen. iv. 8, 2 Chr xxiv. 21.
ix. 13.	Hos. vi. 6.	38.	Ps. lxix. 25 (?) Jer. xii. 7, xxii 5 (?).
x. 35.	Mic. vii. 6.	39.	Ps. cxviii. 26
xi. 5.	Is. xxxv. 5, xxix. 18.	xxiv. 15.	Dan. ix. 27.
10.	Mal. iii. 1.	29.	Is. xiii. 10.
14.	Mal. iv. 5.	37.	Gen. vi. 11.
xii. 3.	1 Sam. xxi. 6.	xxvi. 31.	Zech. xiii. 7.
5.	Num. xxviii. 9 (?)	52.	Gen. ix. 6 (?).
7.	Hos. vi. 6.	64.	Dan. vii. 13.
18.	Is. xlii. 1.	xxvii. 9.	Zech. xi. 13.
40.	Jon. i. 17.	35.	Ps. xxii. 18.
42.	1 K. x. 1.	43.	Ps. xxii. 8.
xiii. 14.	Is. vi. 9.	46.	Ps. xxii. 1.
35.	Ps. lxxviii. 2.		
xv. 4.	Ex. xx. 12, xxi. 17.		
xv. 8.	Is. xxix. 13.		

The number of passages in this Gospel which refer to the O. T. are about 65. In St. Luke they are 43. But in St. Matthew there are 43 *verbal citations* of O. T.; the number of these direct appeals to its authority in St. Luke is only about 19 This fact is very significant of the character and original purpose of the two narratives.

IV. *Genuineness of the Gospel.*—Some critics, admitting the apostolic antiquity of a part of the Gospel, apply to St. Matthew as they do to St. Luke (see above p. 155) the gratuitous supposition of a later editor or compiler, who by augmenting and altering the earlier document produced our present Gospel. Hilgenfeld (p. 106) endeavours to separate the older from the newer work, and includes much historical matter in the former: since Schleiermacher, several critics, misinterpreting the λόγια of Papias, consider the older document to have been a collection of "discourses" only. We are asked to believe that in the second century for two or more of the Gospels, new works, differing from them both in matter and compass, were substituted for the old, and that about the end of the second century our present Gospels were adopted by authority to the exclusion of all others, and that henceforth the copies of the older works entirely disappeared, and have escaped the keenest research ever since. Eichhorn's notion is that "the Church" sanctioned the four canonical books, and by its authority gave them exclusive currency; but there existed at that

time no means for convening a Council; and if such a body could have met and decided, it would not have been able to force on the Churches books discrepant from the older copies to which they had long been accustomed, without discussion, protest, and resistance (see Norton, *Genuineness*, Chap. I.). That there was no such resistance or protest we have ample evidence. Irenaeus knows the four Gospels only (*Haer.* iii. ch. i.). Tatian, who died A.D. 170, composed a harmony of the Gospels, lost to us, under the name of Diatessaron (Eus. *H. E.* iv. 29). Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, about 168, wrote a commentary on the Gospels (Hieron. *ad Algasiam* and *de Vir. ill.*). Clement of Alexandria (flourished about 189) knew the four Gospels, and distinguished between them and the uncanonical Gospel according to the Egyptians. Tertullian (born about 160) knew the four Gospels, and was called on to vindicate the text of one of them against the corruptions of Marcion (see above, LUKE). Origen (born 185) calls the four Gospels the four elements of the Christian faith; and it appears that his copy of Matthew contained the genealogy (*Comm. in Joan.*). Passages from St. Matthew are quoted by Justin Martyr, by the author of the letter to Diognetus (see in Otto's *Justin Martyr*, vol. ii.), by Hegesippus, Irenaeus, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Clement, Tertullian, and Origen. It is not merely from the matter but the manner of the quotations, from the calm appeal as to a settled authority, from the absence of all hints of doubt, that we regard it as proved that the book we possess had not been the subject of any sudden change. Was there no heretic to throw back with double force against Tertullian the charge of alteration which he brings against Marcion? Was there no orthodox Church or member of a Church to complain, that instead of the Matthew and the Luke that had been taught to them and their fathers, other and different writings were now imposed on them? Neither the one nor the other appears.

The citations of Justin Martyr, very important for this subject, have been thought to indicate a source different from the Gospels which we now possess: and by the word ἀπομνημονεύματα (memoirs), he has been supposed to indicate that lost work. Space is not given here to show that the remains referred to are the Gospels which we possess, and not any one book; and that though Justin quotes the Gospels very loosely, so that his words often bear but a slight resemblance to the original, the same is true of his quotations from the Septuagint. He transposes words, brings separate passages together, attributes the words of one prophet to another, and even quotes the Pentateuch for facts not recorded in it. Many of the quotations from the Septuagint are indeed precise, but these are chiefly in the Dialogue with Trypho, where, reasoning with a Jew on the O. T., he does not trust his memory, but consults the text. This question is disposed of in Norton's *Genuineness*, vol. i., and in Hug's *Einleitung*.

The genuineness of the two first chapters of the Gospel has been questioned; but is established on satisfactory grounds (see Fritzsche, *on Matt.*, Excursus iii.; Meyer, *on Matt.* p. 65). i. All the old MSS. and versions contain them; and they are quoted by the Fathers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Irenaeus, Clement Alex., and others). Celsus also knew ch. ii. (see Origen cont. Cels. i. 38). ii. Their contents would naturally form part of a Gospel intended primarily for the Jews. iii. The commencement of ch. iii. is dependent on ii. 23; and in iv. 13 there is a reference to ii. 23. iv. In constructions and expressions they are similar to the rest of the Gospel (see examples above, in II. *Style and diction*). Professor Norton disputes the genuineness of these chapters upon the ground of the difficulty of harmonising them with St. Luke's narrative, and upon the ground that a large number of the Jewish Christians did not possess them in their version of the Gospel. The former objection is discussed in all the commentaries; the answer would require much space. But, 1. Such questions are by no means confined to these chapters, but are found in places of which the Apostolic origin is admitted. 2. The treatment of St. Luke's Gospel by Marcion (above, pp. 152, 153) suggests how the Jewish Christians dropped out of their version an account which they would not accept. 3. Prof. N. stands alone, among those who object to the two chapters, in assigning the genealogy to the same author as the rest of the chapters (Hilgenfeld, p. 46, 47). 4. The difficulties in the harmony are all reconcileable, and the day has passed, it may be hoped, when a passage can be struck out, against all the MSS. and the testimony of early writers, for subjective impressions about its contents.

On the whole, it may be said that we have for the genuineness and Apostolic origin of our Greek Gospel of Matthew, the best testimony that can be given for any book whatever.

V. *Time when the Gospel was written.*—Nothing can be said on this point with certainty. Some of the ancients think that it was written in the eighth year after the Ascension (Theophylact and Euthymius); others in the fifteenth (Nicephorus, *H. E.* ii. 45); whilst Irenaeus says (iii. 1) that it was written "when Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome," and Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 24), at the time when Matthew was about to leave Palestine. From two passages xxvii. 7, 8, xxviii. 15, some time must have elapsed between the events and the description of them, and so the eighth year seems out of the question; but a term of fifteen or twenty years would satisfy these passages. The testimony of old writers that Matthew's Gospel is the earliest must be taken into account (Origen in Eus. *H. E.* vi. 25; Irenaeus iii. 1; comp. Muratorian fragment, as far as it remains, in Credner's *Kanon*); this would bring it before A.D. 58–60 (above, p. 154), the supposed date of St. Luke. The most probable supposition is that it was written between 50 and 60; the exact year cannot even be guessed at.

VI. *Place where it was written.*—There is not much doubt that the Gospel was written in Palestine. Hug has shown elaborately, from the diffusion of the Greek element over and about Palestine, that there is no inconsistency between the assertions that it was written for Jews in Palestine, and that it was written in Greek (*Einleitung*, ii., ch. i. § 10); the facts he has collected are worth study.

VII. *Purpose of the Gospel.*—The Gospel itself tells us by plain internal evidence that it was written for Jewish converts, to show them in Jesus of Nazareth the Messiah of the O. T. whom they expected. Jewish converts over all the world seem to have been intended, and not merely Jews in Palestine (Irenaeus, Origen, and Jerome say simply that it was written "for the Hebrews"). Jesus is the Messiah of the O. T., recognizable by Jews from his acts as such (i. 22, ii. 5, 15 17, iv. 14

viii. 17, xii. 17-21, xiii. 55, xxi. 4, xxvii. 9). Knowledge of Jewish customs and of the country as presupposed in the readers (Matt. xv. 1, 2 with Mark vii. 1-4; Matt. xxvii. 62 with Mark xv. 42; Luke xxiii. 54; John xix. 14, 31, 42, and other places). Jerusalem is the holy city (see above, *Style and diction*). Jesus is the son of David, of the seed of Abraham (i. 1, ix. 27, xii. 23, xv. 22, xx. 30, xxi. 9, 15); is to be born of a virgin in David's place, Bethlehem (i. 22, ii. 6); must flee into Egypt and be recalled thence (ii. 15, 19); must have a forerunner, John the Baptist (iii. 3, xi. 10); was to labour in the outcast Galilee that sat in darkness (iv. 14-16); His healing was a promised mark of His office (viii. 17, xii. 17); and so was His mode of teaching in parables (xiii. 14); He entered the holy city as Messiah (xxi. 5-16); was rejected by the people, in fulfilment of a prophecy (xxi. 42); and deserted by His disciples in the same way (xxvi. 31, 56). The Gospel is pervaded by one principle, the fulfilment of the Law and of the Messianic prophecies in the person of Jesus. This at once sets it in opposition to the Judaism of the time; for it rebuked the Pharisaic interpretations of the Law (v., xxiii.), and proclaimed Jesus as the Son of God and the Saviour of the world through His blood, ideas which were strange to the cramped and limited Judaism of the Christian era.

VIII. *Contents of the Gospel.*—There are traces in this Gospel of an occasional superseding of the chronological order. Its principal divisions are—I. The Introduction to the Ministry, i.–iv. II. The laying down of the new Law for the Church in the Sermon on the Mount, v.–vii. III. Events in historical order, showing Him as the worker of Miracles, viii. and ix. IV. The appointment of Apostles to preach the Kingdom, x. V. The doubts and opposition excited by His activity in divers minds—in John's disciples, in sundry cities, in the Pharisees, xi. and xii. VI. A series of parables on the nature of the Kingdom, xiii. VII. Similar to V. The effects of His ministry on His countrymen, on Herod, the people of Gennesaret, Scribes and Pharisees, and on multitudes, whom He feeds, xiii. 53—xvi. 12. VIII. Revelation to His disciples of His sufferings. His instructions to them thereupon, xvi. 13—xviii. 35. IX. Events of a journey to Jerusalem, xix., xx. X. Entrance into Jerusalem and resistance to Him there, and denunciation of the Pharisees, xxi.–xxiii. XI. Last discourses; Jesus as Lord and Judge of Jerusalem, and also of the world, xxiv., xxv. XII. Passion and Resurrection, xxvi.–xxviii.

Sources.—The works quoted under LUKE, p. 156; and Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*; Fritzsche, *on Matthew*; Lange, *Bibelwerk*; Credner, *Einleitung* and *Beiträge*. [W. T.]

MATTHI'AS (Ματθίας: *Matthias*), the Apostle elected to fill the place of the traitor Judas (Acts i. 26). All beyond this that we know of him for certainty is that he had been a constant attendant upon the Lord Jesus during the whole course of His ministry; for such was declared by St. Peter to be the necessary qualification of one who was to be a witness of the resurrection. The name of Matthias occurs in no other place in the N. T. We may accept as probable the opinion which is shared by Eusebius (*H. E.* lib. i. 12) and Epiphanius (i. 20) that he was one of the seventy disciples. It is said that he preached the Gospel and suffered martyrdom in Ethiopia (Nicephor. ii. 40). Cave believes that it was rather in Cappadocia. An apocryphal gospel was published under his name (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 25), and Clement of Alexandria quotes from the Traditions of Matthias (*Strom.* ii. 163, &c.).

Different opinions have prevailed as to the manner of the election of Matthias. The most natural construction of the words of Scripture seems to be this:—After the address of St. Peter, the whole assembled body of the brethren, amounting in number to about 120 (Acts i. 15), proceeded to nominate two, namely, Joseph surnamed Barsabas, and Matthias, who answered the requirements of the Apostle: the subsequent selection between the two was referred in prayer to Him who, knowing the hearts of men, knew which of them was the fitter to be His witness and apostle. The brethren then, under the heavenly guidance which they had invoked, proceeded to give forth their lots, probably by each writing the name of one of the candidates on a tablet, and casting it into the urn. The urn was then shaken, and the name that first came out decided the election. Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb. Luc.* i. 9) describes another way of casting lots which was used in assigning to the priests their several parts in the service of the Temple. The apostles, it will be remembered, had not yet received the gift of the Holy Ghost, and this solemn mode of casting the lots, in accordance with a practice enjoined in the Levitical law (Lev. xvi. 8), is to be regarded as a way of referring the decision to God (comp. Prov. xvi. 33). St. Chrysostom remarks that it was never repeated after the descent of the Holy Spirit. The election of Matthias is discussed by Bishop Beveridge, *Works*, vol. i. serm. 2. [E. H—s.]

MATTHI'AS (Ματταθίας: *Mathathias*) = MATTATHAH, of the descendants of Hashum (1 Esdr. ix. 33; comp. Ezr. x. 33).

MATTITHI'AH (מַתִּתְיָה: Ματθαΐας; Alex. Ματταθίας: *Mathathias*). 1. A Levite, the firstborn of Shallum the Korhite, who presided over the offerings made in the pans (1 Chr. ix. 31; comp. Lev. vi. 20 [12], &c.).

2. (Ματταθίας.) One of the Levites of the second rank under Asaph, appointed by David to minister before the ark in the musical service (1 Chr. xvi. 5), "with harps upon Sheminith" (comp. 1 Chr. xv 21), to lead the choir. See below, 5.

3. (Ματθανίας; Alex. Ματθαθίας.) One of the family of Nebo, who had married a foreign wife in the days of Ezra (Neh. x. 43). He is called MAZITIAS in 1 Esdr. ix. 35.

4. (Ματθαθίας; Alex. Ματταθίας.) Probably a priest, who stood at the right hand of Ezra when he read the law to the people (Ezr. viii. 4). In 1 Esdr. ix. 43, he appears as MATTATHIAS.

5. (מַתִּתְיָהוּ: Ματθαθία; Alex. Ματταθία; 1 Chr. xv. 18, Ματταθίας; 1 Chr. xv. 21, Ματθαθίας; Alex. Ματταθίας, 1 Chr. xxv. 3; Ματθίας, 1 Chr. xxv. 21). The same as 2, the Hebrew being in the lengthened form. He was a Levite of the second rank, and a doorkeeper of the ark (1 Chr. xv. 18, 21). As one of the six sons of Jeduthun, he was appointed to preside over the 14th division of twelve Levites into which the Temple choir was distributed (1 Chr. xxv. 3, 21).

MATTOCK.[a] The tool used in Arabia for

[a] 1. מַעֲדֵר; *sarculum*, Is. vii. 25. 2. מִחְרֵשָׁה, δρέπανον, *sarculum* and מִזְרֶה, θεριστήριον, *vomer*, both

loosening the ground, described by Niebuhr, answers generally to our mattock or grubbing-axe, *i. e.* a single-headed pickaxe, the *sarculus simplex*, as opposed to *bicornis*, of Palladius. The ancient Egyptian hoe was of wood, and answered for hoe, spade, and pick. The blade was inserted in the centre handle, and the two were attached about the centre by a twisted rope. (Palladius, *de Re rust.* i. 43; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Ar.* p. 137; Loudon, *Encycl. of Gardening*, p. 517; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 16, 18, abridgm.; comp. Her. ii. 14; Hasselquist, *Trav.* p. 100.) [HANDICRAFT.] [H. W. P.]

Egyptian hoes. (From Wilkinson.)

MAUL (*i. e.* a hammer; a variation of mall, from *malleus*), a word employed by our translators to render the Hebrew term מַפִּיץ. The Hebrew and English alike occur in Prov. xxv. 18 only. But a derivative from the same root, and differing but slightly in form, viz. מַפֵּץ, is found in Jer. li. 20, and is there translated by "battle-ax"—how incorrectly is shown by the constant repetition of the verb derived from the same root in the next three verses, and there uniformly rendered "break in pieces." The root נפץ or פוץ, has the force of dispersing or smashing, and there is no doubt that some heavy warlike instrument, a mace or club, is alluded to. Probably such as that which is said to have suggested the name of Charles *Martel*.

The mace is frequently mentioned in the accounts of the wars of the Europeans with Saracens, Turks, and other Orientals, and several kinds are still in use among the Bedouin Arabs of remoter parts (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bedouins*, i. 55.) In their European wars the Turks were notorious for the use they made of the mace (Knollys' *Hist. of the Turks*).

A similar word is found once again in the original of Ez. ix. 2, כְּלִי מַפֵּץ = weapon of smashing (A. V. "slaughter-weapon"). The sequel shows how terrible was the destruction such weapons could effect. [G.]

MAUZ'ZIM (מָעֻזִּים: Μαωζείμ; Alex. Μαωζεί: *Maozim*). The marginal note to the A. V. of Dan. xi. 38, "the God of *forces*," gives, as the equivalent of the last word, "Mauzzim, or gods protectors, or munitions." The Geneva version renders the Hebrew as a proper name both in Dan. xi. 38 and 39, where the word occurs again (marg. A. V. "munitions"). In the Greek version of Theodotion, given above, it is treated as a proper name, as well as in the Vulgate. The LXX. as at present printed is evidently corrupt in this passage, but ἰσχυρά (ver. 37) appears to represent the word in question. In Jerome's time the reading was different, and he gives "Deum fortissimum" for the Latin translation of it, and "Deum fortitudinum" for that of Aquila. He ridicules the interpretation of Porphyry, who, ignorant of Hebrew, understood by "the god of *Mauzzim*" the statue of Jupiter set up in *Modin*, the city of Mattathias and his sons, by the generals of Antiochus, who compelled the Jews to sacrifice to it, "the god of Modin." Theodoret retains the reading of Theodotion (Μαωζείμ being evidently for Μαωζείμ), and explains it of Antichrist, "a god strong and powerful." The Peshito-Syriac has ܐܠܗ ܚܣܝܢ, "the strong god," and Junius and Tremellius render it "Deum summi roboris," considering the Hebrew plural as intensive, and interpreting it of the God of Israel. There can be little doubt that "Mauzzim" is to be taken in its literal sense of "fortresses," just as in Dan. xi. 19, 39, "the god of fortresses" being then the deity who presided over strongholds. But beyond this it is scarcely possible to connect any appellation so general with any special object of idolatrous worship. Grotius conjectured that Mauzzim was a modification of the name Ἄζιζος, the sun-god of the Phoenicians, mentioned in Julian's hymn to the sun. Calvin suggested that it denoted "money," the strongest of all powers. By others it has been supposed to be Mars, the tutelary deity of Antiochus Epiphanes, who is the subject of allusion. The only authority for this supposition exists in two coins struck at Laodicea, which are believed to have on the obverse the head of Antiochus with a radiated crown, and on the reverse the figure of Mars with a spear. But it is asserted on the contrary that all known coins of Antiochus Epiphanes bear his name, and that it is mere conjecture which attributes these to him; and further, that there is no ancient authority to show that a temple to Mars was built by Antiochus at Laodicea. The opinion of Gesenius is more probable, that "the god of fortresses" was Jupiter Capitolinus, for whom Antiochus built a temple at Antioch (Liv. xli. 20). By others it is referred to Jupiter Olympius, to whom Antiochus dedicated the Temple at Jerusalem (2 Macc. vi. 2). But all these are simply conjectures. Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.), comparing Is. xxxiii. 4, where the reference is to Tyre, "the fortress of the sea," makes מָעֻזִּים equivalent to מְעוֹז הַיָּם, or even proposes to read for the former מְעוֹז יָם, the god of the "stronghold of the sea." It would thus be Melkart, the Tyrian Hercules. A suggestion made by Mr. Layard (*Nin.* ii. 436, note) is worthy of being recorded, as being at least as well founded as any already mentioned. After describing Hera, the Assyrian Venus, as "standing erect on a lion, and crowned with a tower or mural coronet, which, we learn from Lucian, was peculiar to the Semitic figure of the goddess," he adds in a note, "May she be connected with the 'El Mauzem,' the deity presiding over bulwarks and for-

from חָרַשׁ, "carve," "engrave," 1 Sam. xiii. 20. Which of these is the ploughshare and which the mattock cannot be ascertained. See Geo. p. 530.

dresser, the 'god of forces' of Dan. xi. 38?" Pfeiffer (*Dub. Vex.* cent. 4, loc. 72) will only see in it "the idol of the *Mass!*" [W. A. W.]

MAZITI'AS (Μαζιτίας: *Mathathias*) = MATTITHIAH 3 (1 Esd. ix. 35; comp. Ezr. x. 43).

MAZ'ZAROTH (מַזָּרוֹת: Μαζουρώθ: *Lucifer*). The margin of the A. V. of Job xxxviii. 32 gives "the twelve signs" as the equivalent of "Mazzaroth," and this is in all probability its true meaning. The Peshito-Syriac renders it by ܥܓܠܬܐ, *ʿgalto*, "the wain" or "Great Bear;" and J. D. Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.* No. 1391) is followed by Ewald in applying it to the stars of "the northern crown" (Ewald adds "the southern"), deriving the word from נָזַר, *nâzer*, "a crown." Fürst (*Handw.* s. v.) understands by Mazzaroth the planet Jupiter, the same as the "star" of Amos v. 26.[a] But the interpretation given in the margin of our version is supported by the authority of Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 869). On referring to 2 K. xxiii. 5, we find the word מַזָּלוֹת, *mazzâlôth* (A. V. "the planets"), differing only from Mazzaroth in having the liquid *l* for *r*, and rendered in the margin "the twelve signs," as in the Vulgate. The LXX. there also have μαζουρώθ, which points to the same reading in both passages, and is by Suidas explained as "the Zodiac," but by Procopius of Gaza as probably "Lucifer, the morning star," following the Vulgate of Job xxxviii. 32. In later Jewish writings *mazzâlôth* are the signs of the Zodiac, and the singular, *mazzâl*, is used to denote the single signs, as well as the planets, and also the influence which they were believed to exercise upon human destiny (Selden, *De Dis Syr.* Synt. i. c. 1). In consequence of this, Jarchi, and the Hebrew commentators generally, identify *mazzâroth* and *mazzalôth*, though their interpretations vary. Aben Ezra understands "stars" generally; but R. Levi ben Gershon, "a northern constellation." Gesenius himself is in favour of regarding *mazzârôth* as the older form, signifying strictly "premonitions," and in the concrete sense, "stars that give warnings or presages," from the usage of the root נָזַר, *nâzar*, in Arabic. He deciphered, as he believed, the same word on some Cilician coins in the inscription מזרך זך על, which he renders as a prayer, "may thy pure star (shine) over (us)" (*Mon. Phoen.* p. 279, tab. 36). [W. A. W.]

MEADOW. This word, so peculiarly English, is used in the A. V. to translate two words which are entirely distinct and independent of each other.

1. Gen. xli. 2 and 18. Here the word in the original is הָאָחוּ (with the definite article), *ha-Achû*. It appears to be an Egyptian term, literally transferred into the Hebrew text, as it is also into that of the Alexandrian translators, who give it as τῷ Ἀχεί.[b] The same form is retained by the Coptic version. Its use in Job viii. 11 (A. V. "flag")—where it occurs as a parallel to *gômê* (A. V. "rush"), a word used in Ex. ii. 3 for the "bulrushes" of which Moses' ark was composed—seems to shew that it is not a "meadow," but some kind of reed or water-plant. This the LXX. support, both by rendering in the latter passage βούτομον, and also by introducing Ἄχι as the equivalent of the word rendered "paper-reeds" in Is. xix. 7. St. Jerome, in his commentary on the passage, also confirms this meaning. He states that he was informed by learned Egyptians that the word *achi* denoted in their tongue any green thing that grew in a marsh—*omne quod in palude virens nascitur*. But as during high inundations of the Nile—such inundations as are the cause of fruitful years—the whole of the land on either side is a marsh, and as the cultivation extends up to the very lip of the river, is it not possible that *Achu* may denote the herbage of the growing crops? The fact that the cows of Pharaoh's vision were feeding there would seem to be as strong a figure as could be presented to an Egyptian of the extreme fruitfulness of the season: so luxuriant was the growth on either side of the stream, that the very cows fed amongst it unmolested. The lean kine, on the other hand, merely stand on the dry brink. [NILE.] No one appears yet to have attempted to discover on the spot what the signification of the term is.

2. Judg. xx. 33 only: "the meadows of Gibeah." Here the word is מַעֲרֶה, *Maareh*, which occurs no where else with the same vowels attached to it. The sense is thus doubly uncertain. "Meadows" around Gibeah can certainly never have existed: the nearest approach to that sense would be to take *maareh* as meaning an open plain. This is the dictum of Gesenius (*Thes.* 1069), on the authority of the Targum. It is also adopted by De Wette (*die Plätze von G.*). But if an open plain, where could the ambush have concealed itself?

The LXX., according to the Alex. MS.,[c] read a different Hebrew word—מִמַּעֲרָב—"from the west of Gibeah." Tremellius, taking the root of the word in a figurative sense, reads "after Gibeah had been left open," *i. e.* by the quitting of its inhabitants—*post denudationem Gibhae*. This is adopted by Bertheau (*Kurzgef. Handb.* ad loc.) But the most plausible interpretation is that of the Peshito-Syriac, which by a slight difference in the vowel-points makes the word מְעָרָה, "the cave;" a suggestion quite in keeping with the locality, which is very suitable for caves, and also with the requirements of the ambush. The only thing that can be said against this is that the liers-in-wait were "set round about" Gibeah, as if not in one spot, but several. [G.]

ME'AH, THE TOWER OF (מִגְדַּל הַמֵּאָה: πύργος τῶν ἑκατόν: *turris centum cubitorum, turrim Emeth*), one of the towers of the wall of Jerusalem when rebuilt by Nehemiah (iii. 1, xii. 39). It stood between the tower of Hananeel and the sheep-gate, and appears to have been situated somewhere at the north-east part of the city, outside of the walls of Zion (see the diagram, vol. i. p. 1027). The name in Hebrew means "the tower of the hundred," but whether a hundred cubits of distance from some other point, or a hundred in height (Syriac of xii. 39), or a hundred heroes com-

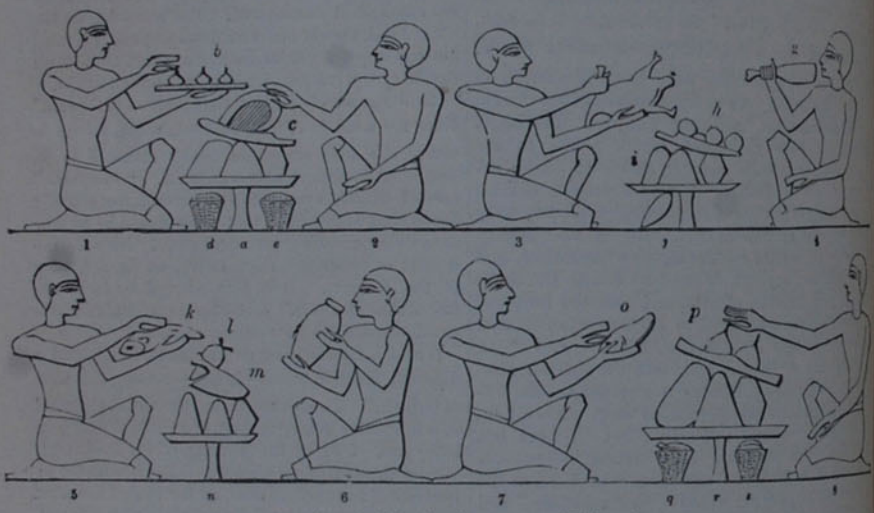
[a] A note to the Hexaplar Syriac version of Job (ed. Middeldorpf, 1835) has the following: "Some say it is the dog of the giant (Orion, *i. e.* Canis major), others that it is the Zodiac."

[b] This is the reading of Codex A. Codex B, if we may accept the edition of Mai, has ελος; so also the rendering of Aquila and Symmachus, and of Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 5, §5). Another version, quoted in the fragments of the Hexapla, attempts to reconcile sound and sense by ὀχθη. The Veneto-Greek has λειμών.

[c] The Vatican Codex transfers the word literally—Μαραγαβέ.

memorated by it, we are not told or enabled to infer. In the Arabic version it is rendered *Bab-el-bostân*, the gate of the garden, which suggests its identity with the "gate Gennath"[d] of Josephus. But the gate Gennath appears to have lain further round towards the west, nearer the spot where the ruin known as the *Kasr Jalûd* now stands. [G.]

MEALS. Our information on this subject is but scanty: the early Hebrews do not seem to have given special names to their several meals, for the terms rendered "dine" and "dinner" in the A. V. (Gen. xliii. 16; Prov. xv. 17) are in reality general expressions, which might more correctly be rendered "eat" and "portion of food." In the N. T. we have the Greek terms ἄριστον and δεῖπνον, which the A. V. renders respectively "dinner" and "supper"[a] (Luke xiv. 12; John xxi. 12), but which are more properly "breakfast" and "dinner." There is some uncertainty as to the hours at which the meals were taken: the Egyptians undoubtedly took their principal meal at noon (Gen. xlm. 16; labourers took a light meal at that time (Ruth ii. 14; comp. verse 17); and occasionally that early hour was devoted to excess and revelling (1 K. xx. 16). It has been inferred from those passages (somewhat too hastily, we think) that the principal meal generally took place at noon: the Egyptians do indeed still make a substantial meal at that time (Lane's *Mod. Egypt.* i. 189), but there are indications that the Jews rather followed the custom that prevails among the Bedouins, and made their principal meal after sunset, and a lighter meal at about 9 or 10 A.M. (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 64). For instance, Lot prepared a feast for the two angels "at even" (Gen. xix. 1-3): Boaz evidently took his meal late in the evening (Ruth iii. 7): the Israelites ate *flesh* in the evening, and *bread* only, or manna, in the morning (Ex. xvi. 12): the context seems to imply that Jethro's feast was in the evening (Ex. xviii. 12, 14). But, above all, the institution of the Paschal feast



An ancient Egyptian dinner party. (Wilkinson.)

a, *j*, *n*, *r*. Tables with various dishes. *b*, *p*. Figs. *d*, *e*, *q*, and *s*. Baskets of grapes. Fig. 3 is taking a wing from a goose. Fig. 4 holds a joint of meat. Figs. 5 and 7 are eating fish. Fig. 6 is about to drink water from an earthen vessel.

in the evening seems to imply that the principal meal was usually taken then: it appears highly improbable that the Jews would have been ordered to eat meat at an unusual time. In the later Biblical period we have clearer notices to the same effect: breakfast took place in the morning (John xxi. 4, 12), on ordinary days not before 9 o'clock, which was the first hour of prayer (Acts ii. 15), and on the Sabbath not before 12, when the service of the synagogue was completed (Joseph. *Vit.* §54): the more prolonged and substantial meal took place in the evening (Joseph. *Vit.* §44; *B. J.* i. 17, §4). The general tenour of the parable of the great supper certainly implies that the feast took place in the working hours of the day (Luke xiv. 15-24): but we may regard this perhaps as part of the imagery of the parable, rather than as a picture of real life.

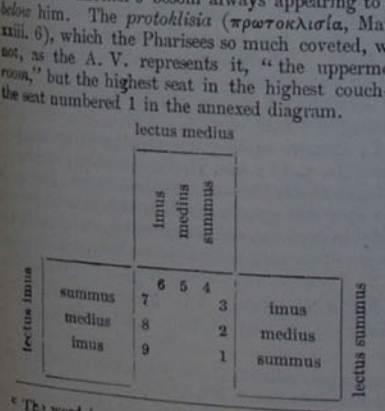
The posture at meals varied at various periods. there is sufficient evidence that the old Hebrews were in the habit of *sitting* (Gen. xxvii. 19; Judg. xix. 6; 1 Sam. xx. 5, 24; 1 K. xiii. 20), but it does not hence follow that they sat on chairs; they may have squatted on the ground, as was the occasional, though not perhaps the general, custom of the ancient Egyptians (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* i. 58, 181). The table was in this case but slightly elevated above the ground, as is still the case in Egypt. At the same time the chair[b] was not unknown to the Hebrews, but seems to have been regarded as a token of dignity. As luxury increased, the practice of sitting was exchanged for that of reclining: the first intimation of this occurs in the prophecies of Amos, who reprobates those "that lie upon beds of ivory, and stretch themselves upon their couches" (vi. 4), and it ap

[d] Possibly from גַּנּוֹת, *gannôth*, "gardens," perhaps alluding to the gardens which lay north of the city.

[a] The Greek word δεῖπνον was used indifferently in the Homeric age for the early or the late meal, its special meaning being the *principal* meal. In later times, however, the term was applied exclusively to the late meal, —the δόρπον of the Homeric age.

[b] The Hebrew term is *kisse'* (כִּסֵּא). There is only one instance of its being mentioned as an article of ordinary furniture, viz., in 2 K. iv. 10, where the A. V. incorrectly renders it "stool." Even there it seems probable that it was placed more as a mark of special honour to the prophet than for common use.

pears that the couches themselves were of a costly character—the "corners"[c] or *edges* (iii. 12) being finished with ivory, and the seat covered with silk or damask coverlets.[d] Ezekiel, again, inveighs against one who sat "on a stately bed with a table prepared before it" (xxiii. 41). The custom may have been borrowed in the first instance from the Babylonians and Syrians, among whom it prevailed at an early period (Esth. i. 6, vii. 8). A similar change took place in the habits of the Greeks, who are represented in the Heroic age as *sitting*[e] (*Il.* x. 578; *Od.* i. 145), but who afterwards adopted the habit of reclining, women and children excepted. In the time of our Saviour reclining was the universal custom, as is implied in the terms[f] used for "*sitting* at meat," as the A. V. incorrectly has it. The couch itself (κλίνη) is only once mentioned (Mark vii. 4; A. V. "tables"), but there can be little doubt that the Roman *triclinium* had been introduced, and that the arrangements of the table resembled those described by classical writers. Generally speaking, only three persons reclined on each couch, but occasionally four or even five. The couches were provided with cushions on which the left elbow rested in support of the upper part of the body, while the right arm remained free: a room provided with these was described as ἐστρωμένον, lit. "spread" (Mark xiv. 15; A. V. "furnished"). As several guests reclined on the same couch, each overlapped his neighbour, as it were, and rested his head on or near the breast of the one who lay behind him: he was then said to "lean on the bosom" of his neighbour (ἀνακεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ, John xiii. 23, xxi. 20; comp. Plin. *Epist.* iv. 22). The close proximity into which persons were thus brought rendered it more than usually agreeable that friend should be next to friend, and it gave the opportunity of making confidential communications (John xiii. 25). The ordinary arrangement of the couches was in three sides of a square, the fourth being left open for the servants to bring up the dishes. The couches were denominated respectively the highest, the middle, and the lowest couch; the three guests on each couch were also denominated highest, middle, and lowest—the terms being suggested by the circumstance of the guest who reclined on another's bosom always appearing to be *below* him. The *protoklisia* (πρωτοκλισία, Matt. xxiii. 6), which the Pharisees so much coveted, was not, as the A. V. represents it, "the uppermost room," but the highest seat in the highest couch—the seat numbered 1 in the annexed diagram.



[c] The word is *peah* (פֵּאָה), which will apply to the edge as well as to the angle of a couch. That the seats and couches of the Assyrians were handsomely ornamented, appears from the specimens given by Layard (*Nineveh*, ii. 300-2.).

[d] The A. V. has "in Damascus in a couch;" but there can be no doubt that the name of the town was transferred to the silk stuffs manufactured there, which are still known by the name of "Damask."

[e] Sitting appears to have been the posture usual among the Assyrians on the occasion of great festivals. A bas-relief on the walls of Khorsabad represents the guests seated on high chairs (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 411).

[f] Ἀνακεῖσθαι, κατακεῖσθαι, ἀνακλίνεσθαι, κατακλίνεσθαι.

Some doubt attends the question whether the females took their meals along with the males. The present state of society in the East throws no light upon this subject, as the customs of the Harem date from the time of Mahomet. The cases of Ruth amid the reapers (Ruth ii. 14), of Elkanah with his wives (1 Sam. i. 4), of Job's sons and daughters (Job i. 4), and the general intermixture of the sexes in daily life, make it more than probable that they did so join; at the same time, as the duty of attending upon the guests devolved upon them (Luke x. 40), they probably took a somewhat irregular and briefer repast.

Washing before or after a meal. (From Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.)

Before commencing the meal, the guests washed their hands. This custom was founded on natural decorum; not only was the hand the substitute for our knife and fork, but the hands of all the guests were dipped into one and the same dish; uncleanliness in such a case would be intolerable. Hence not only the Jews, but the Greeks (*Od.* i. 136), the modern Egyptians (Lane, i. 190), and many other nations, have been distinguished by this practice; the Bedouins in particular are careful to wash their hands *before*, but are indifferent about doing so *after* their meals (Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 63). The Pharisees transformed this conventional usage into a ritual observance, and overlaid it with burdensome regulations—a wilful perversion which our Lord reprobates in the strongest terms (Mark vii. 1-13). Another preliminary step was the grace or blessing, of which we have but one instance in the O. T. (1 Sam. ix. 13), and more than one pronounced by our Lord Himself in the N. T. (Matt. xv. 36; Luke ix. 16: John vi. 11); it consisted, as far as we may judge from the words applied to it, partly of a blessing upon the food, partly of thanks to the Giver of it. The Rabbinical writers have, as usual, laid down most minute regulations respecting it, which may be found in the treatise of the Mishna, entitled *Berachoth*, chaps. 6-8.

The mode of taking the food differed in no material point from the modern usages of the East generally there was a single dish into which each

guest dipped his hand (Matt. xxvi. 23); occasionally separate portions were served out to each (Gen. xliii. 34; Ruth ii. 14; 1 Sam. i. 4). A piece of bread was held between the thumb and two fingers of the right hand, and was dipped either into a bowl of melted grease (in which case it was termed ψωμίον, "a sop," John xiii. 26), or into the dish of meat, whence a piece was conveyed to the mouth between the layers of bread (Lane, i. 193, 194; Burckhardt's *Notes*, i. 63). It is esteemed an act of politeness to hand over to a friend a delicate morsel (John xiii. 26; Lane, i. 194). In allusion to the above method of eating, Solomon makes it a characteristic of the sluggard, that "he hideth his hand in his bosom and will not so much as bring it to his mouth again" (Prov. xix. 24, xxvi. 15). At the conclusion of the meal, grace was again said in conformity with Deut. viii. 10, and the hands were again washed.

A party at dinner or supper. (From Lane's *Modern Egyptians*.)

Thus far we have described the ordinary meal: on state occasions more ceremony was used, and the meal was enlivened in various ways. Such occasions were numerous, in connexion partly with public, partly with private events: in the first class we may place—the great festivals of the Jews (Deut. xvi.; Tob. ii. 1); public sacrifices (Deut. xii. 7; xxvii. 7; 1 Sam. ix. 13, 22; 1 K. i. 9, iii. 15; Zeph. i. 7); the ratification of treaties (Gen. xxvi. 30, xxxi. 54); the offering of the tithes (Deut. xiv. 26), particularly at the end of each third year (Deut. xiv. 28): in the second class—marriages (Gen. xxix. 22; Judg. xiv. 10; Esth. ii. 18; Tob. viii. 19; Matt. xxii. 2; John ii. 1), birth-days (Gen. xl. 20; Job i. 4; Matt. xiv. 6, 9), burials (2 Sam. iii. 35; Jer. xvi. 7; Hos. ix. 4; Tob. iv. 17), sheep-shearing (1 Sam. xxv. 2, 36, 2 Sam. xiii. 23), the vintage (Judg. ix. 27), laying the foundation stone of a house (Prov. ix. 1-5), the reception of visitors (Gen. xviii. 6-8, xix. 3; 2 Sam. iii. 20, xii. 4; 2 K. vi. 23; Tob. vii. 9; 1 Macc. xvi. 15; 2 Macc. ii. 27; Luke v. 29, xv. 23; John xii. 2), or any event connected with the sovereign (Hos. vii. 5).[g] On each of these occasions a sumptuous repast was prepared; the guests were previously invited (Esth. v. 8; Matt. xxii. 3), and on the day of the feast a second invitation was issued to those that were bidden (Esth. vi. 14; Prov. ix. 3; Matt. xxii. 3). The visitors were received with a kiss (Tob. vii. 6, Luke vii. 45); water was produced for them to wash their feet with (Luke vii. 44); the head, the beard, the feet, and sometimes the clothes, were perfumed with ointment (Ps. xxiii. 5; Am. vi. 6; Luke vii. 38; John xii. 3); on special occasions robes were provided (Matt. xxii. 11; comp. Trench *on Parables*, p. 230); and the head was decorated with wreaths[h] (Is. xxviii. 1; Wisd. ii. 7, 8; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, §1). The regulation of the feast was under the superintendence of a special officer, named ἀρχιτρίκλινος[i] (John ii. 8; A. V. "governor of the feast"), whose business it was to taste the food and the liquors before they were placed on the table, and to settle about the toasts and amusements; he was generally one of the guests (Ecclus. xxxii. 1, 2), and might therefore take part in the conversation. The places of the guests were settled according to their respective rank (Gen. xliii. 33; 1 Sam. ix. 22; Luke xiv. 8; Mark xii. 39; John xiii. 23); portions of food were placed before each (1 Sam. i. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 19; 1 Chr. xvi. 3), the most honoured guests receiving either larger (Gen. xliii. 34; comp. Herod. vi. 57) or more choice (1 Sam. ix. 24; comp. *Il.* vii. 321) portions than the rest. The importance of the feast was marked by the number of the guests (Gen. xxix. 22; 1 Sam. ix. 22; 1 K. i. 9, 25; Luke v. 29, xiv. 16), by the splendour of the vessels (Esth. i. 7), and by the profusion or the excellence of the viands (Gen. xviii. 8, xxvii. 9; Judg. vi. 19; 1 Sam. ix. 24; Is. xxv. 6; Am. vi. 4). The meal was enlivened with music, singing, and dancing (2 Sam. xix. 35; Ps. lxix. 12; Is. v. 12; Am. vi. 5; Ecclus. xxxii. 5-6; Matt. xiv. 6; Luke xv. 25), or with riddles (Judg. xiv. 12); and amid these entertainments the festival was prolonged for several days (Esth. i. 3, 4). Entertainments designed almost exclusively for drinking were known by the special name of *mishteh*[k]; instances of such drinking-bouts are noticed in 1 Sam. xxv. 36; 2 Sam. xiii. 28; Esth. i. 7; Dan. v. 1; they are reprobated by the prophets (Is. v. 11; Am. vi. 6). Somewhat akin to the *mishteh* of the Hebrews was the *kômos*[m] (κῶμος) of the apostolic age, in which gross licentiousness was added to drinking, and which is frequently made the subject of warning in the Epistles (Rom. xiii. 13; Gal. v. 21; Eph. v. 18; 1 Pet. iv. 3). [W. L. B.]

ME'ANI (Μαανί; Alex. Μααναί: *Manes*). The same as MEHUNIM (1 Esdr. v. 31; comp. Ezr. ii.

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[g] "The day of the king" in this passage has been variously understood as his birthday or his coronation: it may, however, be equally applied to any other event of similar importance.

[h] This custom prevailed extensively among the Greeks and Romans: not only were chaplets worn on the head, but festoons of flowers were hung over the neck and breast (Plut. *Symp.* iii. 1, §3; Mart. x. 19: Ov. *Fast* ii. 739). They were generally introduced after the first part of the entertainment was completed. They are noticed in several familiar passages of the Latin poets (Hor. *Carm.* ii. 7, 24; *Sat.* ii. 3, 256; Juv. v. 36).

[i] The classical designation of this officer among the Greeks was συμποσίαρχος, among the Romans magister or *rex convivii*. He was chosen by lot out of the guests (*Dict. of Ant.* p. 925).

[k] מִשְׁתֶּה.

[m] The κῶμος resembled the *comissatio* of the Romans. It took place after the supper, and was a mere drinking revel, with only so much food as served to whet the palate for wine (*Dict. of Ant.* p. 271).

50). In the margin of the A. V. it is given in the form "Meunim," as in Neh. vii. 52.

MEARAH (מְעָרָה: LXX. omit, both MSS.: *Maara*), a place named in Josh. xiii. 4 only, in specifying the boundaries of the land which remained to be conquered after the subjugation of the southern portion of Palestine. Its description is "Mearah which is to the Zidonians" (*i. e.* which belongs to—ל: the "beside" of the A. V. is an erroneous translation). The word *meârâh* means in Hebrew a cave, and it is commonly assumed that the reference is to some remarkable cavern in the neighbourhood of Zidon; such as that which played a memorable part many centuries afterwards in the history of the Crusades. (See William of Tyre, xix. 11, quoted by Robinson, ii. 474 *note*.) But there is, as we have often remarked, danger in interpreting these very ancient names by the significations which they bore in later Hebrew, and when pointed with the vowels of the still later Masorets. Besides, if a cave were intended, and not a place called Mearah, the name would surely have been preceded by the definite article, and would have stood as הַמְּעָרָה, "the cave."

Reland (*Pal.* 896) suggests that Mearah may be the same with Meroth, a village named by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 3, §1) as forming the limit of Galilee on the west (see also *Ant.* ii. 20, §6), and which again may possibly have been connected with the Waters of Merom. The identification is not improbable, though there is no means of ascertaining the fact.

A village called *el-Mughar* is found in the mountains of Naphtali, some ten miles W. of the northern extremity of the sea of Galilee, which may possibly represent an ancient Mearah (Rob. iii. 79, 80; Van de Velde's *map*). [G.]

MEASURES. [Weights and Measures.]

MEAT. It does not appear that the word "meat" is used in any one instance in the Authorised Version of either the O. or N. Testament, in the sense which it now almost exclusively bears of animal food. The latter is denoted uniformly by "flesh."

1. The only possible exceptions to this assertion in the O. T. are:—

(*a*.) Gen. xxvii. 4, &c., "savoury meat."

(*b*.) Ib. xlv. 23, "corn and bread and meat."

But (*a*) in the former of these two cases the Hebrew word, מַטְעַמִּים, which in this form appears in this chapter only, is derived from a root which has exactly the force of our word "taste," and is employed in reference to the manna. In the passage in question the word "dainties" would be perhaps more appropriate. (*b*) In the second case the original word is one of almost equal rarity, מָזוֹן; and if the Lexicons did not shew that this had only the general force of food in all the other Oriental tongues, that would be established in regard to Hebrew by its other occurrences, viz., 2 Chr. xi. 23, where it is rendered "victual;" and Dan. iv. 12, 21, where the "meat" spoken of is that to be furnished by a tree.

2. The only real and inconvenient ambiguity caused by the change which has taken place in the meaning of the word is in the case of the "meat-offering," the second of the three great divisions into which the sacrifices of the Law were divided —the burnt-offering, the meat-offering, and the peace-offering (Lev. ii. 1, &c.)—and which consisted solely of flour, or corn, and oil, sacrifices of flesh being confined to the other two. The word thus translated is מִנְחָה, elsewhere rendered "present" and "oblation," and derived from a root which has the force of "sending" or "offering" to a person. It is very desirable that some English term should be proposed which would avoid this ambiguity. "Food-offering" is hardly admissible, though it is perhaps preferable to "unbloody or bloodless sacrifice."

3. There are several other words, which though entirely distinct in the original, are all translated in the A. V. by "meat;" but none of them present any special interest except טֶרֶף. This word, from a root signifying "to tear," would be perhaps more accurately rendered "prey" or "booty." Its use in Ps. cxi. 5, especially when taken in connexion with the word rendered "good understanding" in ver. 10, which should rather be, as in the margin, "good success," throws a new and unexpected light over the familiar phrases of that beautiful Psalm. It seems to shew how inextinguishable was the warlike predatory spirit in the mind of the writer, good Israelite and devout worshipper of Jehovah as he was. Late as he lived in the history of his nation, he cannot forget the "power" of Jehovah's "works" by which his forefathers acquired the "heritage of the heathen;" and to him, as to his ancestors when conquering the country, it is still a firm article of belief that those who fear Jehovah shall obtain most of the spoil of His enemies—those who obey His commandments shall have the best success in the field.

4. In the N. T. the variety of the Greek words thus rendered is equally great; but dismissing such terms as ἀνακεῖσθαι or ἀναπίπτειν, which are rendered by "sit at meat"—φαγεῖν, for which we occasionally find "meat"—τράπεζα (Acts xvi. 34), the same—εἰδωλοθύτα, "meat offered to idols"—κλάσματα, generally "fragments," but twice "broken meat"—dismissing these, we have left τροφή and βρῶμα (with its kindred words, βρῶσις, &c.), both words bearing the widest possible signification, and meaning every thing that can be eaten, or can nourish the frame. The former is most used in the Gospels and Acts. The latter is found in St. John and in the Epistles of St. Paul. It is the word employed in the famous sentences, "for meat destroy not the work of God," "if meat make my brother to offend," &c. [G.]

MEAT-OFFERING (מִנְחָה: δῶρον θυσία, or θυσία: *oblatio sacrificii*, or *sacrificium*). The *word Minchâh*[a] signifies originally a gift of any kind; and appears to be used generally of a gift from an inferior to a superior, whether God or man. Thus in Gen. xxxii. 13 it is used of the present from Jacob to Esau, in Gen. xliii. 11 of the present sent to Joseph in Egypt, in 2 Sam. viii. 2, 6 of the tribute from Moab and Syria to David, &c., &c.; and in Gen. iv. 3, 4, 5 it is applied to the sacrifices to God, offered by Cain and Abel, although Abel's was a whole burnt-offering. Afterwards this general sense became attached to the word "Corban (קָרְבָּן);" and the word *Minchâh* restricted to an "unbloody offering" as opposed to זֶבַח, a "bloody" sacrifice. It is constantly spoken of in connexion

[a] מִנְחָה from the obsolete root מָנַח, "to distribute" or "to give"

with the DRINK-OFFERING (נֶסֶךְ: σπονδή; *libamen*), which generally accompanied it, and which had the same meaning. The law or ceremonial of the meat-offering is described in Lev. ii. and vi. 14-23. It was to be composed of fine flour, seasoned with salt, and mixed with oil and frankincense, but without leaven; and it was generally accompanied by a drink-offering of wine. A portion of it, including all the frankincense, was to be burnt on the altar as "a memorial;" the rest belonged to the priest; but the meat-offerings offered by the priests themselves were to be wholly burnt.

Its meaning (which is analogous to that of the offering of the tithes, the first-fruits, and the shew-bread) appears to be exactly expressed in the words of David (1 Chr. xxix. 10-14), "All that is in the heaven and in the earth is Thine . . . . . All things come of Thee, and *of Thine own have we given Thee.*" It recognised the sovereignty of the Lord, and His bounty in giving them all earthly blessings, by dedicating to Him the best of His gifts: the flour, as the main support of life; oil, as the symbol of richness; and wine as the symbol of vigour and refreshment (see Ps. civ. 15). All these were unleavened, and seasoned with salt, in order to show their purity, and hallowed by the frankincense for God's special service. This recognition, implied in all cases, is expressed clearly in the form of offering the first-fruits prescribed in Deut. xxvi. 5-11.

It will be seen that this meaning involves neither of the main ideas of sacrifice—the atonement for sin and the self-dedication to God. It takes them for granted, and is based on them. Accordingly, the meat-offering, properly so called, seems always to have been a subsidiary offering, needing to be introduced by the sin-offering, which represented the one idea, and forming an appendage to the burnt-offering which represented the other.

Thus, in the case of public sacrifices, a "meat-offering" was enjoined as a part of—

(1) *The daily morning and evening sacrifice* (Ex. xxix. 40, 41).

(2) *The Sabbath-offering* (Num. xxviii. 9, 10).

(3) *The offering at the new moon* (Num. xxviii. 11-14).

(4) *The offerings at the great festivals* (Num. xxviii. 20, 28, xxix. 3, 4, 14, 15, &c.).

(5) *The offerings on the great day of atonement* (Num. xxix. 9, 10).

The same was the case with private sacrifices, as at—

(1) *The consecration of priests* (Ex. xxix. 1, 2; Lev. vi. 20, viii. 2), *and of Levites* (Num. viii. 8).

(2) *The cleansing of the leper* (Lev. xiv. 20).

(3) *The termination of the Nazaritic vow* (Num. vi. 15).

The unbloody offerings offered alone did not properly belong to the regular meat-offering. They were usually substitutes for other offerings. Thus, for example, in Lev. v. 11, a tenth of an ephah of flour is allowed to be substituted by a poor man for the lamb or kid of a trespass-offering: in Num. v. 15 the same offering is ordained as the "offering of jealousy" for a suspected wife. The unusual character of the offering is marked in both cases by the absence of the oil, frankincense, and wine. We find also at certain times libations of water poured out before God; as by Samuel's command at Mizpeh during the fast (1 Sam. vii. 6), and by David at Bethlehem (2 Sam. xxiii. 16), and a libation of oil poured by Jacob on the pillar at Bethel (Gen. xxxv. 14). But these have clearly especial meanings, and are not to be included in the ordinary drink-offerings. The same remark will apply to the remarkable libation of water customary at the Feast of Tabernacles [TABERNACLES], but not mentioned in Scripture. [A. B.]

MEBUN'NAI (מְבֻנַּי: ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν. *Mebonnaï*). In this form appears, in one passage only (2 Sam. xxiii. 27), the name of one of David's guard, who is elsewhere called SIBBECHAI (2 Sam. xxi. 18; 1 Chr. xx. 4) or SIBBECAI (1 Chr. xi. 29, xxvii. 11) in the A. V. The reading "Sibbechai" (סִבְּכַי), is evidently the true one, of which "Mebunnai" was an easy and early corruption, for even the LXX. translators must have had the same consonants before them though they pointed thus, מְבֻנַּי. It is curious, however, that the Aldine edition has Σαβουχαΐ (Kennicott, *Diss.* i. p. 186). [W. A. W.]

MECHER'ATHITE, THE (הַמְּכֵרָתִי: Μαχόρ; Alex. φερομεχουραθι: *Mecherathites*), that is, the native or inhabitant of a place called Mecherah. Only one such is mentioned, namely HEPHER, one of David's thirty-seven warriors (1 Chr. xi. 36). In the parallel list of 2 Sam. xxiii. the name appears, with other variations, as "the Maachathite" (ver. 34). It is the opinion of Kennicott, after a long examination of the passage, that the latter is the corrector of the two; and as no place named Mecherah is known to have existed, while the Maachathites had a certain connexion with Israel, and especially with David, we may concur in his conclusion, more especially as his guard contained men of almost every nation round Palestine. [G.]

ME'DABA (Μηδαβά: *Madaba*), the Greek form of the name MEDEBA. It occurs only in 1 Macc. ix. 36. [G.]

ME'DAD. [ELDAD and MEDAD.]

ME'DAN (מָדָן, "strife, contention," Gen.: Μαδάλ, Μαδάμ: *Madan*), a son of Abraham and Keturah (Gen. xxv. 2; 1 Chr. i. 32), whose name and descendants have not been traced beyond this record. It has been supposed, from the similarity of the name, that the tribe descended from Medan was more closely allied to *Midian* than by mere blood-relation, and that it was the same as, or a portion of, the latter. There is, however, no ground for this theory beyond its plausibility.—The traditional city Medyen of the Arab geographers (the classical Modiana), situate in Arabia on the eastern shore of the gulf of Eyleh must be held to have been Midianite, not Medanite (but Bunsen, *Bibelwerk*, suggests the latter identification). It has been elsewhere remarked [KETURAH] that many of the Keturahite tribes seem to have merged in early times into the Ishmaelite tribes. The mention of "Ishmaelite" as a convertible term with "Midianite," in Gen. xxxvii. 28, 36, is remarkable: but the Midianite of the A. V. in ver 28 is *Medanite* in the Hebrew (by the LXX. rendered Μαδιανῖται) and in the Vulgate *Ismaelitae* and *Madianitae*); and we may have here a trace of the subject of this article, though Midianite appears on the whole to be more likely the correct reading in the passage referred to. [MIDIAN.] [E. S. P.]

MEDEBA (מֵידְבָא: Μαιδαβά and Μηδαβά[a]; *Mêdeba*), a town on the eastern side of Jordan. Taken as a Hebrew word, Me-deba means "waters [b] of quiet," but except the tank (see below), what waters can there ever have been on that high plain? The Arabic name, though similar in sound, has a different signification.

Medeba is first alluded to in the fragment of a popular song of the time of the conquest, preserved in Num. xxi. (see ver. 30). Here it seems to denote the limit of the territory of Heshbon. It next occurs in the enumeration of the country divided amongst the Transjordanic tribes (Josh. xiii. 9), as giving its name to a district of level downs called "the Mishor of Medeba," or "the Mishor on Medeba." This district fell within the allotment of Reuben (ver. 16). At the time of the conquest Medeba belonged to the Amorites, apparently one of the towns taken from Moab by them. When we next encounter it, four centuries later, it is again in the hands of the Moabites, or which is nearly the same thing, of the Ammonites. It was before the gate of Medeba that Joab gained his victory over the Ammonites, and the horde of Aramites of Maachah, Mesopotamia, and Zobah, which they had gathered to their assistance after the insult perpetrated by Hanun on the messengers of David (1 Chr. xix. 7, compared with 2 Sam. x. 8, 14, &c.). In the time of Ahaz Medeba was a sanctuary of Moab (Is. xv. 2), but in the denunciation of Jeremiah (xlviii.) often parallel with that of Isaiah, it is not mentioned. In the Maccabaean times it had returned into the hands of the Amorites, who seem most probably intended by the obscure word JAMBRI in 1 Macc. ix 36. (Here the name is given in the A. V. as Medaba, according to the Greek spelling.) It was the scene of the capture, and possibly the death, of John Maccabaeus, and also of the revenge subsequently taken by Jonathan and Simon (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 1, §4; the name is omitted in Macc. on the second occasion, see ver. 38). About 110 years B.C. it was taken after a long siege by John Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xiii. 9, §1; *B. J.* i. 2, §4) and then appears to have remained in the possession of the Jews for at least thirty years, till the time of Alexander Jannaeus (xiii. 15, §4); and it is mentioned as one of the twelve cities, by the promise of which Aretas, the king of Arabia, was induced to assist Hyrcanus II. to recover Jerusalem from his brother Aristobulus (*Ant.* xiv. 1, §4).

Medeba has retained its name down to our own times. To Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Medaba") it was evidently known. In Christian times it was a noted bishopric of the patriarchate of "Bezerra, or Bitira Arabiae," and is named in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) and other Ecclesiastical Lists (Reland, 217, 223, 226, 893. See also Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.*). Among modern travellers *Mâdeba* has been visited, recognised, and described by Burckhardt (*Syria*, July 13, 1812), Seetzen (i. 407, 408, iv. 223), and Irby (145); see also Porter (*Handbook*, 303). It is in the pastoral district of the *Belka*, which probably answers to the Mishor of the Hebrews, 4 miles S.E. of *Heshbân*, and like it lying on a rounded but rocky hill (Burckh., Seetzen). A large tank, columns, and extensive foundations are still to be seen; the remains of a Roman road exist near the town, which seems formerly to have connected it with Heshbon. [G.]

MEDES (מָדַי: Μῆδοι: *Medi*), one of the most powerful nations of Western Asia in the times anterior to the establishment of the kingdom of Cyrus, and one of the most important tribes composing that kingdom. Their geographical position is considered under the article MEDIA. The title by which they appear to have known themselves was *Mada*; which by the Semitic races was made into *Madai*, and by the Greeks and Romans into *Medi*, whence our "Medes."

1. *Primitive History.*—It may be gathered from the mention of the Medes, by Moses, among the races descended from Japhet [see MADAI], that they were a nation of very high antiquity; and it is in accordance with this view that we find a notice of them in the primitive Babylonian history of Berosus, who says that the Medes conquered Babylon at a very remote period (circ. B.C. 2458), and that eight Median monarchs reigned there consecutively, over a space of 224 years (Beros. ap. Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 4). Whatever difficulties may lie in the way of our accepting this statement as historical—from the silence of other authors, from the affectation of precision in respect of so remote a time, and from the subsequent disappearance of the Medes from these parts, and their reappearance, after 1300 years, in a different locality—it is too definite and precise a statement, and comes from too good an authority, to be safely set aside as unmeaning. There are independent grounds for thinking that an Arian element existed in the population of the Mesopotamian valley, side by side with the Cushite and Semitic elements, at a very early date.[c] It is therefore not at all impossible that the Medes may have been the predominant race there for a time, as Berosus states, and may afterwards have been overpowered and driven to the mountains, whence they may have spread themselves eastward, northward, and westward, so as to occupy a vast number of localities from the banks of the Indus to those of the middle Danube. The term Arians, which was by the universal consent of their neighbours applied to the Medes in the time of Herodotus (*Herod.* vii. 62), connects them with the early Vedic settlers in western Hindustan; the *Mati*-eni of Mount Zagros, the Sauro-*Matae* of the steppe-country between the Caspian and the Euxine, and the *Maetae* or *Maeotae* of the Sea of Azov, mark their progress towards the north; while the *Moedi* or *Medi* of Thrace seem to indicate their spread westward into Europe, which was directly attested by the native traditions of the Sigynnae (*Herod.* v. 9).

2. *Connexion with Assyria.*—The deepest obscurity hangs, however, over these movements, and indeed over the whole history of the Medes from the time of their bearing sway in Babylonia (B.C. 2458-2234) to their first appearance in the cuneiform inscriptions among the enemies of Assyria, about B.C. 880. They then inhabit a portion of the region which bore their name down to the Ma-

[a] It may be well to give a collation of the passages in the LXX. in which Medeba occurs in the Hebrew text, which will shew how frequently it is omitted:—Num. xxi. 30, ἕως Μωάβ; Josh. xiii. 9, Δαιδαβάν, Alex. Μαιδαβά; ib. 16, omit, both MSS.; 1 Chr. xix. 7, Μαιδαβά, Alex. Μηδεβα; Is. xv. 2, τῆς Μωαβίτιδος.

[b] To this Burckhardt seems to allude when he observes (*Syr.* 366), "this is the ancient Medeba; but there is no river near it."

[c] See the remarks of Sir H. Rawlinson in Rawlinso's *Herodotus*, i. 621 note.

hometan conquest of Persia; but whether they were recent immigrants into it, or had held it from a remote antiquity, is uncertain. On the one hand it is noted that their absence from earlier cuneiform monuments seems to suggest that their arrival was recent at the date above mentioned; on the other, that Ctesias asserts (ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 1, §9), and Herodotus distinctly implies (i. 95), that they had been settled in this part of Asia at least from the time of the first formation of the Assyrian Empire (B.C. 1273). However this was, it is certain that at first, and for a long series of years, they were very inferior in power to the great empire established upon their flank. They were under no general or centralised government, but consisted of various petty tribes, each ruled by its chief, whose dominion was over a single small town and perhaps a few villages. The Assyrian monarchs ravaged their lands at pleasure, and took tribute from their chiefs; while the Medes could in no way retaliate upon their antagonists. Between them and Assyria lay the lofty chain of Zagros, inhabited by hardy mountaineers, at least as powerful as the Medes themselves, who would not tamely have suffered their passage through their territories. Media, however, was strong enough, and stubborn enough, to maintain her nationality throughout the whole period of the Assyrian sway, and was never absorbed into the empire. An attempt made by Sargon to hold the country in permanent subjection by means of a number of military colonies planted in cities of his building failed [SARGON]; and both his son Sennacherib, and his grandson Esarhaddon, were forced to lead into the territory hostile expeditions, which however seem to have left no more impression than previous invasions. Media was reckoned by the great Assyrian monarchs of this period as a part of their dominions; but its subjection seems to have been at no time much more than nominal, and it frequently threw off the yoke altogether.

3. *Median History of Herodotus.*—Herodotus represents the decadence of Assyria as greatly accelerated by a formal revolt of the Medes, following upon a period of contented subjection, and places this revolt more than 218 years before the battle of Marathon, or a little before B.C. 708. Ctesias placed the commencement of Median independence still earlier, declaring that the Medes had destroyed Nineveh and established themselves on the ruins of the Assyrian Empire, as far back as B.C. 875. No one now defends this latter statement, which alike contradicts the Hebrew records and the native documents. It is doubtful whether even the calculation of Herodotus does not throw back the independence to too early a date: his chronology of the period is clearly artificial; and the history, as he relates it, is fabulous. According to him the Medes, when they first shook off the yoke, established no government. For a time there was neither king nor prince in the land, and each man did what was right in his own eyes. Quarrels were settled by arbitration, and a certain Deïoces, having obtained a reputation in this way, contrived after a while to get himself elected sovereign. He then built the seven-walled Ecbatana [ECBATANA], established a court after the ordinary Oriental model, and had a prosperous and peaceful reign of 53 years. Deïoces was succeeded by his son Phraortes, an ambitious prince, who directly after his accession began a career of conquest, first attacking and subduing the Persians, then reducing nation after nation, and finally perishing in an expedition against Assyria, after he had reigned 22 years. Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, then mounted the throne. Having first introduced a new military system, he proceeded to carry out his father's designs against Assyria, defeated the Assyrian army in the field, besieged their capital, and was only prevented from capturing it on this first attack by an invasion of Scythians, which recalled him to the defence of his own country. After a desperate struggle during eight-and-twenty years with these new enemies, Cyaxares succeeded in repelling them and recovering his former empire; whereupon he resumed the projects which their invasion had made him temporarily abandon, besieged and took Nineveh, conquered the Assyrians, and extended his dominion to the Halys. Nor did these successes content him. Bent on establishing his sway over the whole of Asia, he passed the Halys, and engaged in a war with Alyattes, king of Lydia, the father of Croesus, with whom he long maintained a stubborn contest. This war was terminated at length by an eclipse of the sun, which, occurring just as the two armies were engaged, furnished an occasion for negotiations, and eventually led to the conclusion of a peace and the formation of an alliance between the two powers. The independence of Lydia and the other kingdoms west of the Halys was recognised by the Medes, who withdrew within their own borders, having arranged a marriage between the eldest son of Cyaxares and a daughter of the Lydian king, which assured them of a friendly neighbour upon the frontier. Cyaxares, soon after this, died, having reigned in all 40 years. He was succeeded by his son Astyages, a pacific monarch, of whom nothing is related beyond the fact of his deposition by his own grandson Cyrus, 35 years after his accession—an event by which the Median Empire was brought to an end, and the Persian established upon its ruins.

4. *Its imperfections.*—Such is, in outline, the Median History of Herodotus. It has been accepted as authentic by most modern writers, not so much from a feeling that it is really trustworthy, as from the want of anything more satisfactory to put in its place. That the story of Deïoces is a romance has been seen and acknowledged (Grote's *Greece*, iii. 307, 308). That the chronological dates are improbable, and even contradictory, has been a frequent subject of complaint. Recently it has been shown that the whole scheme of dates is artificial (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 421, 422); and that the very names of the kings, except in a single instance, are unhistorical. Though the cuneiform records do not at present supply the actual history of the time, they enable us in a great measure to test the narrative which has come down to us from the Greeks. We can separate in that narrative the authentic portions from those which are fabulous; we can account for the names used, and in most instances for the numbers given; and we can thus rid ourselves of a great deal that is fictitious, leaving a *residuum* which has a fair right to be regarded as truth.

The records of Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon clearly show that the Median kingdom did not commence so early as Herodotus imagined. These three princes, whose reigns cover the space extending from B.C. 720 to B.C. 660, all carried their arms deep into Media, and found it, not under the dominion of a single powerful monarch, but under the rule of a vast number of petty chieftains,

it cannot have been till near the middle of the 7th century B.C. that the Median kingdom was consolidated, and became formidable to its neighbours. How this change was accomplished is uncertain: the most probable supposition would seem to be, that about this time a fresh Arian immigration took place from the countries east of the Caspian, and that the leader of the immigrants established his authority over the scattered tribes of his race, who had been settled previously in the district between the Caspian and Mount Zagros. There is good reason to believe that this leader was the great Cyaxares, whom Diodorus speaks of in one place as the first king (Diod. Sic. ii. 32), and whom Aeschylus represents as the founder of the Medo-Persic empire (*Pers.* 761). The Deioces and Phraortes of Herodotus are thus removed from the list of historical personages altogether, and must take rank with the early kings in the list of Ctesias,[b] who are now generally admitted to be inventions. In the case of Deioces the very name is fictitious, being the Arian *dahák*, "biter" or "snake," which was a title of honour assumed by all Median monarchs, but not a proper name of any individual. Phraortes, on the other hand, is a true name, but one which has been transferred to this period from a later passage of Median history, to which reference will be made in the sequel. (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 408.)

5. *Development of Median power, and formation of the Empire.*—It is evident that the development of Median power proceeded *pari passu* with the decline of Assyria, of which it was in part an effect, in part a cause. Cyaxares must have been contemporary with the later years of that Assyrian monarch who passed the greater portion of his time in hunting expeditions in Susiana. [ASSYRIA, §11.] His first conquests were probably undertaken at this time, and were suffered tamely by a prince who was destitute of all military spirit. In order to consolidate a powerful kingdom in the district east of Assyria, it was necessary to bring into subjection a number of Scythic tribes, who disputed with the Arians the possession of the mountain-country, and required to be incorporated before Media could be ready for great expeditions and distant conquests. The struggle with these tribes may be the real event represented in Herodotus by the Scythic war of Cyaxares, or possibly his narrative may contain a still larger amount of truth. The Scyths of Zagros may have called in the aid of their kindred tribes towards the north, who may have impeded for a while the progress of the Median arms, while at the same time they really prepared the way for their success by weakening the other nations of this region, especially the Assyrians. According to Herodotus, Cyaxares at last got the better of the Scyths by inviting their leaders to a banquet, and there treacherously murdering them. At any rate it is clear that at a tolerably early period of his reign they ceased to be formidable, and he was able to direct his efforts against other enemies. His capture of Nineveh and conquest of Assyria are facts which no sceptician can doubt; and the date of the capture may be fixed with tolerable certainty to the year B.C. 625. Abydenus (probably following Berosus) informs us that in his Assyrian war Cyaxares was assisted by the Babylonians under Nabopolassar, between whom and Cyaxares an intimate alliance was formed, cemented by a union of their children; and that a result of their success was the establishment of Nabopolassar as independent king on the throne of Babylon, an event which we know to belong to the above-mentioned year. It was undoubtedly after this that Cyaxares endeavoured to conquer Lydia. His conquest of Assyria had made him master of the whole country lying between Mount Zagros and the river Halys, to which he now hoped to add the tract between the Halys and the Aegean Sea. It is surprising that he failed, more especially as he seems to have been accompanied by the forces of the Babylonians, who were perhaps commanded by Nebuchadnezzar on the occasion. [NEBUCHADNEZZAR.] After a war which lasted six years he desisted from his attempt, and concluded the treaty with the Lydian monarch, of which we have already spoken. The three great Oriental monarchies, Media, Lydia, and Babylon, were now united by mutual engagements and intermarriages, and continued at peace with one another during the remainder of the reign of Cyaxares, and during that of Astyages, his son and successor.

6. *Extent of the Empire.*—The limits of the Median Empire cannot be definitely fixed; but it is not difficult to give a general idea of its size and position. From north to south its extent was in no place great, since it was certainly confined between the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates on the one side, the Black and Caspian Seas on the other. From east to west it had, however, a wide expansion, since it reached from the Halys at least as far as the Caspian Gates, and possibly further. It comprised Persia, Media Magna, Northern Media, Matiene or Media Mattiana, Assyria, Armenia, Cappadocia, the tract between Armenia and the Caucasus, the low tract along the south-west and south of the Caspian, and possibly some portion of Hyrcania, Parthia, and Sagartia. It was separated from Babylonia either by the Tigris, or more probably by a line running about half-way between that river and the Euphrates, and thus did not include Syria, Phoenicia, or Judaea, which fell to Babylon on the destruction of the Assyrian Empire. Its greatest length may be reckoned at 1500 miles from N.W. to S.E., and its average breadth at 400 or 450 miles. Its area would thus be about 600,000 square miles, or somewhat greater than that of modern Persia.

7. *Its character.*—With regard to the nature of the government established by the Medes over the conquered nations, we possess but little trustworthy evidence. Herodotus in one place compares, somewhat vaguely, the Median with the Persian system (i. 134), and Ctesias appears to have asserted the positive introduction of the satrapial organization into the empire at its first foundation by his Arbaces (Diod. Sic. ii. 28); but on the whole it is perhaps most probable that the Assyrian organization was continued by the Medes, the subject-nations retaining their native monarchs, and merely acknowledging subjection by the payment of an annual tribute. This seems certainly to have been the case in Persia, where Cyrus and his father Cambyses were monarchs, holding their crown of the Median

[b] Ctesias made the Median monarchy commence about B.C. 876, with a certain Arbaces, who headed the rebellion against Sardanapalus, the voluptuary. Arbaces reigned 28 years, and was succeeded by Mandaucas, who reigned 50 years. Then followed Sosarmus (30 years), Artias (50 years), Arbiaces (22 years), Artaeus (40 years), Artynes (22 years), Astibaras (40 years), and finally Aspadas, or Astyages, the last king (x years). This scheme appears to be a clumsy extension of the monarchy, by means of repetition, from the data furnished by Herodotus.

king, before the revolt of the former; and there is no reason to suppose that the remainder of the empire was organized in a different manner. The satrapial organization was apparently a Persian invention, begun by Cyrus, continued by Cambyses, his son, but first adopted as the regular governmental system by Darius Hystaspis.

8. *Its duration.*—Of all the ancient Oriental monarchies the Median was the shortest in duration. It commenced, as we have seen, after the middle of the 7th century B.C., and it terminated B.C. 558. The period of three-quarters of a century, which Herodotus assigns to the reigns of Cyaxares and Astyages, may be taken as fairly indicating its probable length, though we cannot feel sure that the years are correctly apportioned between the monarchs. Two kings only occupied the throne during the period; for the Cyaxares II. of Xenophon is an invention of that amusing writer.

9. *Its final overthrow.*—The conquest of the Medes by a sister-Iranic race, the Persians, under their native monarch Cyrus, is another of those indisputable facts of remote history, which make the inquirer feel that he sometimes attains to solid ground in these difficult investigations. The details of the struggle, which are given partially by Herodotus (i. 127, 128), at greater length by Nicolas of Damascus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii. 404-406), probably following Ctesias, have not the same claim to acceptance. We may gather from them, however, that the contest was short, though severe. The Medes did not readily relinquish the position of superiority which they had enjoyed for 75 years; but their vigour had been sapped by the adoption of Assyrian manners, and they were now no match for the hardy mountaineers of Persia. After many partial engagements a great battle was fought between the two armies, and the result was the complete defeat of the Medes, and the capture of their king, Astyages, by Cyrus.

10. *Position of Media under Persia.*—The treatment of the Medes by the victorious Persians was not that of an ordinary conquered nation. According to some writers (as Herodotus and Xenophon) there was a close relationship between Cyrus and the last Median monarch, who was therefore naturally treated with more than common tenderness. The fact of the relationship is, however, denied by Ctesias; and whether it existed or no, at any rate the peculiar position of the Medes under Persia was not really owing to this accident. The two nations were closely akin; they had the same Arian or Iranic origin, the same early traditions, the same language (Strab. xv. 2, §8), nearly the same religion, and ultimately the same manners and customs, dress, and general mode of life. It is not surprising therefore that they were drawn together, and that, though never actually coalescing, they still formed to some extent a single privileged people. Medes were advanced to stations of high honour and importance under Cyrus and his successors, an advantage shared by no other conquered people. The Median capital was at first the chief royal residence, and always remained one of the places at which the court spent a portion of the year; while among the provinces Media claimed and enjoyed a precedency, which appears equally in the Greek writers and in the native records. Still, it would seem that the nation, so lately sovereign, was not altogether content with its secondary position. On the first convenient opportunity Media rebelled, elevating to the throne a certain Phraortes (*Fravartish*), who called himself Xathrites, and claimed to be a descendant from Cyaxares. Darius Hystaspis, in whose reign this rebellion took place, had great difficulty in suppressing it. After vainly endeavouring to put it down by his generals, he was compelled to take the field himself. He defeated Phraortes in a pitched battle, pursued, and captured him near Rhages, mutilated him, kept him for a time "chained at his door," and finally crucified him at Ecbatana, executing at the same time his chief followers (see the *Behistun Inscription*, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 601, 602). The Medes hereupon submitted, and quietly bore the yoke for another century, when they made a second attempt to free themselves, which was suppressed by Darius Nothus (Xen. *Hell.* i. 2, §19). Henceforth they patiently acquiesced in their subordinate position, and followed through its various shifts and changes the fortune of Persia.

11. *Internal divisions.*—According to Herodotus the Median nation was divided into six tribes (Βοσυ), called the Busae, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, and the Magi. It is doubtful, however, in what sense these are to be considered as ethnic divisions. The Paretaceni appear to represent a geographical district, while the Magi were certainly a priest-caste; of the rest we know little or nothing. The Arizanti, whose name would signify "of noble descent," or "of Arian descent," must (one would think) have been the leading tribe, corresponding to the Pasargadae in Persia; but it is remarkable that they have only the fourth place in the list of Herodotus. The Budii are fairly identified with the eastern *Phut*—the *Putiya* of the Persian inscriptions—whom Scripture joins with Persia in two places (Ez. xxvii. 10, xxxviii. 5). Of the Busae and the Struchates nothing is known beyond the statement of Herodotus. We may perhaps assume, from the order of Herodotus' list, that the Busae, Paretaceni, Struchates, and Arizanti were true Medes, of genuine Arian descent, while the Budii and Magi were foreigners admitted into the nation.

12. *Religion.*—The original religion of the Medes must undoubtedly have been that simple creed which is placed before us in the earlier portions of the Zendavesta. Its peculiar characteristic was Dualism, the belief in the existence of two opposite principles of good and evil, nearly if not quite on a par with one another. Ormazd and Ahriman were both self-caused and self-existent, both indestructible, both potent to work their will—their warfare had been from all eternity, and would continue to all eternity, though on the whole the struggle was to the disadvantage of the Prince of Darkness. Ormazd was the God of the Arians, the object of their worship and trust; Ahriman was their enemy, an object of fear and abhorrence, but not of any religious rite. Besides Ormazd, the Arians worshipped the Sun and Moon, under the names of Mithra and Homa; and they believed in the existence of numerous spirits or genii, some good, some bad, the subjects and ministers respectively of the two powers of Good and Evil. Their cult was simple, consisting in processions, religious chants and hymns, and a few simple offerings, expressions of devotion and thankfulness. Such was the worship and such the belief which the whole Arian race brought with them from the region east when they migrated westward. Their migration brought them into contact with the fire-worshippers of Armenia and Mount Zagros, among

whom Magism had been established from a remote antiquity. The result was either a combination of the two religions, or in some cases an actual conversion of the conquerors to the faith and worship of the conquered. So far as can be gathered from the scanty materials in our possession, the latter was the case with the Medes. While in Persia the true Arian creed maintained itself, at least to the time of Darius Hystaspis, in tolerable purity, in the neighbouring kingdom of Media it was early swallowed up in Magism, which was probably established by Cyaxares or his successor as the religion of the state. The essence of Magism was the worship of the elements, fire, water, air, and earth, with a special preference of fire to the remainder. Temples were not allowed, but fire-altars were maintained on various sacred sites, generally mountain-tops, where sacrifices were continually offered, and the flame was never suffered to go out. A hierarchy naturally followed, to perform these constant rites, and the Magi became recognised as a sacred caste entitled to the veneration of the faithful. They claimed in many cases a power of divining the future, and practised largely those occult arts which are still called by their name in most of the languages of modern Europe. The fear of polluting the elements gave rise to a number of curious superstitions among the professors of the Magian religion (Herod. i. 138); among the rest to the strange practice of neither burying nor burning their dead, but exposing them to be devoured by beasts or birds of prey (Herod. i. 140; Strab. xv. 3, §20). This custom is still observed by their representatives, the modern Parsees.

Median Dress. (From Monuments.)

13. *Manners, customs, and national character.*—The customs of the Medes are said to have nearly resembled those of their neighbours, the Armenians and the Persians; but they were regarded as the inventors, their neighbours as the copyists (Strab. xi. 13, §9). They were brave and warlike, excellent riders, and remarkably skilful with the bow. The flowing robe, so well known from the Persepolitan sculptures, was their native dress, and was certainly among the points for which the Persians were beholden to them. Their whole costume was rich and splendid; they were fond of scarlet, and decorated themselves with a quantity of gold, in the shape of chains, collars, armlets, &c. As troops they were considered little inferior to the native Persians, next to whom they were usually ranged in the battle-field. They fought both on foot and on horseback, and carried, not bows and arrows only, but shields, short spears, and poniards. It is thought that they must have excelled in the manufacture of some kinds of stuffs.

14. *References to the Medes in Scripture.*—The references to the Medes in the canonical Scriptures are not very numerous, but they are striking. We first hear of certain "cities of the Medes," in which the captive Israelites were placed by "the king of Assyria" on the destruction of Samaria, B.C. 721 (2 K. xvii. 6, xviii. 11). This implies the subjection of Media to Assyria at the time of Shalmaneser, or of Sargon, his successor, and accords (as we have shown) very closely with the account given by the latter of certain military colonies which he planted in the Median country. Soon afterwards Isaiah prophesies the part which the Medes shall take in the destruction of Babylon (Is. xiii. 17, xxi. 2); which is again still more distinctly declared by Jeremiah (li. 11 and 28), who sufficiently indicates the independence of Media in his day (xxv. 25). Daniel relates, as a historian, the fact of the Medo-Persic conquest (v. 28, 31), giving an account of the reign of Darius the Mede, who appears to have been made viceroy by Cyrus (vi. 1-28). In Ezra we have a mention of Achmetha (Ecbatana), "the *palace* in the province of the Medes," where the decree of Cyrus was found (vi. 2-5)—a notice which accords with the known facts that the Median capital was the seat of government under Cyrus, but a royal residence only and not the seat of government under Darius Hystaspis. Finally, in Esther, the high rank of Media under the Persian kings, yet at the same time its subordinate position, are marked by the frequent combination of the two names in phrases of honour, the precedency being in every case assigned to the Persians.[c]

In the Apocryphal Scriptures the Medes occupy a more prominent place. The chief scene of one whole book (Tobit) is Media; and in another (Judith) a very striking portion of the narrative belongs to the same country. But the historical character of both these books is with reason doubted; and from neither can we derive any authentic or satisfactory information concerning the people. From the story of Tobias little could be gathered, even if we accepted it as true; while the history of Arphaxad (which seems to be merely a distorted account of the struggle between the rebel Phraortes and Darius Hystaspis) adds nothing to our knowledge of that contest. The mention of Rhages in both narratives as a Median town and region of importance is geographically correct; and it is historically true that Phraortes suffered his overthrow in the Rhagian district. But beyond these facts the narratives in question contain little that even illustrates the true history of the Median nation. (See the articles on JUDITH and TOBIAS in Winer's *Realwörterbuch*; and on the general subject compare Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 401-422; Bosanquet's *Chronology of the Medes*, read before the Royal Asiatic Society, June 5, 1858; Brandis, *Rerum Assyriarum tempora emendata*, pp. 1-14; Grote's *History of Greece*, iii. pp. 301-312; and Hupfeld's *Exercitationum Herodotearum Specimina duo*, p. 56, seq.) [G. R.]

ME'DIA (מָדַי, *i.e.* Madai: Μηδία: *Media*), a country the general situation of which is abundantly

[a] See Esth. i. 3, 14, 18, and 19. The only passage in Esther where Media takes precedence of Persia is x. 2, where we have a mention of "the book of the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia." Here the order is chronological. As the Median empire preceded the Persian, its chronicles came first in "the book." The precedency in Daniel (v. 28, and vi. 8, 12, &c.) is owing to the fact of a Median viceroy being established on the throne.

clear, though its limits may not be capable of being precisely determined. Media lay north-west of Persia Proper, south and south-west of the Caspian, east of Armenia and Assyria, west and north-west of the great salt desert of Iram. Its greatest length was from north to south, and in this direction it extended from the 32nd to the 40th parallel, a distance of 550 miles. In width it reached from about long. 45° to 53°; but its average breadth was not more than from 250 to 300 miles. Its area may be reckoned at about 150,000 square miles, or three-fourths of that of modern France. The natural boundary of Media on the north was the river *Aras;* on the west Zagros and the mountain-chain which connects Zagros with Ararat; in the south Media was probably separated from Persia by the desert which now forms the boundary between *Farsistan* and *Irak Ajemi;* on the east its natural limit was the desert and the Caspian Gates. West of the gates, it was bounded, not (as is commonly said) by the Caspian Sea, but by the mountain range south of that sea, which separates between the high and the low country. It thus comprised the modern provinces of *Irak Ajemi*, Persian *Kurdistan*, part of *Luristan*, *Azerbijan*, perhaps *Talish* and *Ghilan*, but not *Mazanderan* or *Asterabad*.

The division of Media commonly recognised by the Greeks and Romans was that into Media Magna, and Media Atropatene. (Strab. xi. 13, §1; comp. Polyb. v. 44; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 13; Ptol. vi. 2, &c.) 1. Media Atropatene, so named from the satrap Atropates, who became independent monarch of the province on the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander (Strab. *ut. sup.*; Diod. Sic. xviii. 3), corresponded nearly to the modern *Azerbijan*, being the tract situated between the Caspian and the mountains which run north from Zagros, and consisting mainly of the rich and fertile basin of Lake *Urumiyeh*, with the valleys of the *Aras* and the *Sefid Rud*. This is chiefly a high tract, varied between mountains and plains, and lying mostly three or four thousand feet above the sea level. The basin of Lake *Urumiyeh* has a still greater elevation, the surface of the lake itself, into which all the rivers run, being as much as 4200 feet above the ocean. The country is fairly fertile, well-watered in most places, and favourable to agriculture; its climate is temperate, though occasionally severe in winter; it produces rice, corn of all kinds, wine, silk, white wax, and all manner of delicious fruits. *Tabriz*, its modern capital, forms the summer residence of the Persian kings, and is a beautiful place, situated in a forest of orchards. The ancient Atropatene may have included also the countries of *Ghilan* and *Talish*, together with the plain of *Moghan* at the mouth of the combined *Kur* and *Aras* rivers. These tracts are low and flat; that of *Moghan* is sandy and sterile; *Talish* is more productive; while *Ghilan* (like *Mazanderan*) is rich and fertile in the highest degree. The climate of *Ghilan*, however, is unhealthy, and at times pestilential; the streams perpetually overflow their banks; and the waters which escape, stagnate in marshes, whose exhalations spread disease and death among the inhabitants. 2. Media Magna lay south and east of Atropatene. Its northern boundary was the range of *Elburz* from the Caspian Gates to the *Rudbar* pass, through which the *Sefid Rud* reaches the low country of *Ghilan*. It then adjoined upon Atropatene, from which it may be regarded as separated by a line running about S.W. by W. from the bridge of *Menjil* to Zagros. Here it touched Assyria, from which it was probably divided by the last line of hills towards the west, before the mountains sink down upon the plain. On the south it was bounded by Susiana and Persia Proper, the former of which it met in the modern *Luristan* probably about lat. 33° 30′, while it struck the latter on the eastern side of the Zagros range, in lat. 32° or 32° 30′. Towards the east it was closed in by the great salt desert, which Herodotus reckons to Sagartia, and later writers to Parthia and Carmania. Media Magna thus contained great part of *Kurdistan* and *Luristan*, with all *Ardelan* and *Irak Ajemi*. The character of this tract is very varied. Towards the west, in *Ardelan*, *Kurdistan* and *Luristan*, it is highly mountainous, but at the same time well-watered and richly wooded, fertile and lovely; on the north, along the flank of *Elburz*, it is less charming, but still pleasant and tolerably productive; while towards the east and south-east it is bare, arid, rocky, and sandy, supporting with difficulty a spare and wretched population. The present productions of Zagros are cotton, tobacco, hemp, Indian corn, rice, wheat, wine, and fruits of every variety; every valley is a garden; and besides valleys, extensive plains are often found, furnishing the most excellent pasturage. Here were nurtured the valuable breed of horses called Nisaean, which the Persians cultivated with such especial care, and from which the horses of the monarch were always chosen. The pasture-ground of *Khawah* and *Alishtar* between *Behistun* and *Khorram-abad*, probably represent the "Nisaean plain" of the ancients, which seems to have taken its name from a town Nisaea (*Nisaya*), mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions.

Although the division of Media into these two provinces can only be distinctly proved to have existed from the time of Alexander the Great, yet there is reason to believe that it was more ancient, dating from the settlement of the Medes in the country, which did not take place all at once, but was first in the more northern and afterwards in the southern country. It is indicative of the division, that there were two Ecbatanas — one, the northern, at *Takht-i-Suleiman:* the other, the southern, at *Hamadan*, on the flanks of Mount Orontes (*Elwand*)—respectively the capitals of the two districts. [ECBATANA.]

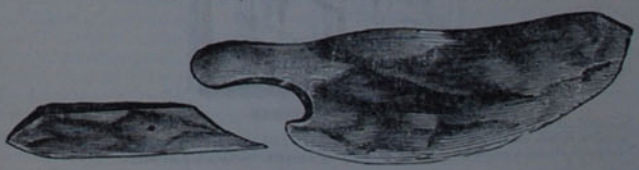
Next to the two Ecbatanas, the chief town in Media was undoubtedly Rhages—the *Raga* of the inscriptions. Hither the rebel Phraortes fled on his defeat by Darius Hystaspis, and hither too after Darius Codomannus after the battle of Arbela, on his way to the eastern provinces (Arr. *Exp. Alex.* iii. 20). The only other place of much note was Bagistana, the modern *Behistun*, which guarded the chief pass connecting Media with the Mesopotamian plain.

No doubt both parts of Media were further subdivided into provinces; but no trustworthy account of these minor divisions has come down to us. The tract about Rhages was certainly called Rhagiane, and the mountain tract adjoining Persia seems to have been known as Paraetacene, or the country of the Paraetacae. Ptolemy gives as Median districts Elymais, Choromithrene, Sigrina, Daritis, and Syromedia; but these names are little known to other writers, and suspicions attach to some of them. On the whole it would seem that we do not possess materials for a minute account of the ancient geography of the country, which is very imperfectly described by Strabo, and almost omitted by Ptol-

(See Sir H. Rawlinson's Articles in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, vol. ix. Art. 2, and vol. x. Articles 1 and 2, and compare Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, chap. xvii. and xviii.; Chesney's *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 122, &c.; Kinneir's *Persian Empire*; Ker Porter's *Travels*; and Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol i. Appendix, Essay iv.) [G. R.]

MEDIAN (מָדַי; *Keri*, מָדָאָה: ὁ Μῆδος: *Medus*). Darius "the son of Ahasuerus, of the seed of the Medes" (Dan. ix. 1) or "the Mede" (xi. 1), is thus described in Dan. v. 31.

MEDICINE. I. Next to care for food, clothing, and shelter, the curing of hurts takes precedence even amongst savage nations. At a later period comes the treatment of sickness, and recognition of states of disease; and these mark a nascent civilization. Internal diseases, and all for which an obvious cause cannot be assigned, are in the most early period viewed as the visitation of God, or as the act of some malignant power, human—as the evil eye—or else superhuman, and to be dealt with by sorcery, or some other occult supposed agency. The Indian notion is that all diseases are the work of an evil spirit (Sprengel, *Gesch. der Arzeneikunde*, pt. ii. 48). But among a civilised race the pre-eminence of the medical art is confessed in proportion to the increased value set on human life, and the vastly greater amount of comfort and enjoyment of which civilised man is capable. It would be strange if their close connexion historically with Egypt had not imbued the Israelites with a strong appreciation of the value of this art, and with some considerable degree of medical culture. From the most ancient testimonies, sacred and secular, Egypt, from whatever cause, though perhaps from necessity, was foremost among the nations in this most human of studies purely physical. Again, as the active intelligence of Greece flowed in upon her, and mingled with the immense store of pathological records which must have accumulated under the system described by Herodotus,—Egypt, especially Alexandria, became the medical repertory and museum of the world. Thither all that was best worth preserving amid earlier civilisations, whether her own or foreign, had been attracted, and medicine and surgery flourished amidst political decadence and artistic decline. The attempt has been made by a French writer (Renouard, *Histoire de Médicine depuis son Origine* &c.) to arrange in periods the growth of the medical art as follows:—1st. The Primitive or Instinctive Period, lasting from the earliest recorded treatment to the fall of Troy. 2ndly. The Sacred or Mystic Period, lasting till the dispersion of the Pythagorean Society, 500 B.C. 3rdly. The Philosophical Period, closing with the foundation of the Alexandrian Library, B.C. 320. 4thly. The Anatomical Period, which continued till the death of Galen, A.D. 200. But these artificial lines do not strictly exhibit the truth of the matter. Egypt was the earliest home of medical and other skill for the region of the Mediterranean basin, and every Egyptian mummy of the more expensive and elaborate sort, involved a process of anatomy. This gave opportunities of inspecting a vast number of bodies, varying in every possible condition. Such opportunities were sure to be turned to account (Pliny, *N. H.* xix. 5) by the more diligent among the faculty—for "the physicians" embalmed (Gen. l. 2). The intestines had a separate receptacle assigned them, or were restored to the body through the ventral incision (Wilkinson, v. 468); and every such process which we can trace in the mummies discovered shows the most minute accuracy of manipulation. Notwithstanding these laborious efforts, we have no trace of any philosophical or rational system of Egyptian origin; and medicine in Egypt was a mere art or profession. Of science the Asclepiadae of Greece were the true originators. Hippocrates, who wrote a book on "Ancient Medicine," and who seems to have had many opportunities of access to foreign sources, gives no prominence to Egypt. It was no doubt owing to the repressive influences of her fixed institutions that this country did not attain to a vast and speedy proficiency in medical science, when *post mortem* examination was so general a rule instead of being a rare exception. Still it is impossible to believe that considerable advances in physiology could have failed to be made there from time to time, and similarly, though we cannot so well determine how far, in Assyria.[a] The best guarantee for the advance of medical science is, after all, the interest which every human being has in it; and this is most strongly felt in large gregarious masses of population. Compared with the wild countries around them, at any rate, Egypt must have seemed incalculably advanced. Hence the awe, with which Homer's Greeks speak of her wealth,[b] resources, and medical skill; and even the visit of Abraham, though prior to this period, found her no doubt in advance of other countries. Representations of early Egyptian surgery apparently occur on some of the monuments of Beni-Hassan. Flint knives used for embalming have been recovered—the "Ethiopic stone" of Herodotus (ii. 86: comp. Ex. iv. 25) was probably either black flint or agate; and those who have assisted at the opening of a mummy have noticed that the teeth exhibited a

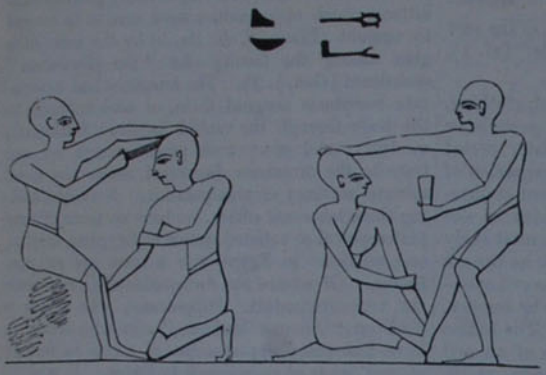


Flint Knives. (Wilkinson.)

[a] Recent researches at Kouyunjik have given proof, it is said, of the use of the microscope in minute devices, as it yielded up even specimens of magnifying lenses. A cone engraved with a table of cubes, so small as to be unintelligible without a lens, was brought home by Sir H. Rawlinson, and is now in the British Museum. As to whether the invention was brought to bear on medical science, proof is wanting. Probably such science had not yet been pushed to the point at which the microscope becomes useful. Only those who have quick keen eyes for the nature-world feel the want of such spectacles.

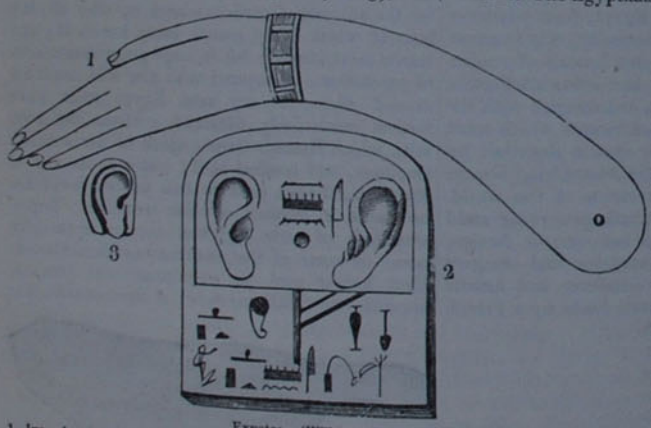
[b] *Il.* ix. 381; *Od.* iv. 229. See also Herod. ii. 84, and i. 77. The simple heroes had reverence for the healing skill which extended only to wounds. There is hardly any recognition of disease in Homer. There is sudden death, pestilence, and weary old age, but hardly any fixed morbid condition, save in a simile (*Od.* v. 395). See, however a letter *De rebus ex Homero medicis*, D. G. Wolf, Wittenberg 1791.

dentistry not inferior in execution to the work of the best modern experts. This confirms the statement of Herodotus that every part of the body was studied by a distinct practitioner. Pliny (vii. 57) asserts that the Egyptians claimed the invention of the healing art, and (xxvi. 1) thinks them subject to many diseases. Their "many medicines" are mentioned (Jer. xlvi. 11). Many valuable drugs may



Doctors (or Barbers?) and Patients. (Wilkinson.)

be derived from the plants mentioned by Wilkinson (iv. 621), and the senna of the adjacent interior of Africa still excels all other. Athothmes II., king of the country, is said to have written on the subject of anatomy. Hermes (who may perhaps be the same as Athothmes, intellect personified, only disguised as a deity instead of a legendary king), was



Exvotos. (Wilkinson.)
1. Ivory hand, in Mr. Salt's collection.
2. Stone tablet, dedicated to Amunre, for the recovery of a complaint in the ear; found at Thebes.
3. An ear, of terra cotta, from Thebes, in Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson's possession.

said to have written six books on medicine; in which an entire chapter was devoted to diseases of the eye (Rawlinson's *Herod.*, note to ii. 84), and the first half of which related to anatomy. The various recipes known to have been beneficial were recorded, with their peculiar cases, in the memorials of physic, inscribed among the laws, and deposited in the principal temples of the place (Wilkinson, ii. 396, 397). The reputation of its practitioners in historical times was such that both Cyrus and Darius sent to Egypt for physicians or surgeons (Herod. iii. 1, 129-132); and by one of the same country, no doubt, Cambyses' wound was[d] tended, though not perhaps with much zeal for his recovery.

Of midwifery we have a distinct notice (Ex. i. 15), and of women as its practitioners,[e] which fact may also be verified from the sculptures (Rawlinson's note on Herod. ii. 84). The physicians had salaries from the public treasury, and treated always according to established precedents, or deviated from these at their peril, in case of a fatal termination; if, however, the patient died under accredited treatment no blame was attached. They treated gratis patients when travelling or on military service. Most diseases were by them ascribed to indigestion and excessive eating (Diod. Sicul.[f] i. 82), and when their science failed them magic was called in. On recovery it was also customary to suspend in a temple an exvoto, which was commonly a model of the part affected; and such offerings doubtless, as in the Coan temple of Aesculapius, became valuable aids to the pathologist student. The Egyptians who lived in the corn-growing region are said by Herodotus, (ii. 77) to have been specially attentive to health. The practice of circumcision is traceable on monuments certainly anterior to the age of Joseph. Its antiquity is involved in obscurity; especially as all we know of the Egyptians makes it unlikely that they would have borrowed such a practice so late as the period of Abraham, from any mere sojourner among them. Its beneficial effects in the temperature of Egypt and Syria have often been noticed, especially as a preservative of cleanliness, &c. The scrupulous attention paid to the dead was favourable to the health of the living. Such powerful drugs as asphaltum, natron, resin, pure bitumen, and various aromatic gums suppressed or counteracted all noxious effluvia from

[c] Comp. the letter of Benhadad to Joram, 2 K. v. 6, to procure the cure of Naaman.

[d] The words of Herod. (iii. 66), ὡς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσαπῇ, appear to indicate medical treatment by the terms employed. It is not unlikely the physician may have taken the opportunity to avenge the wrongs of his nation.

[e] The sex is clear from the Heb. grammatical forms. The names of two, Shiphrah and Puah, are recorded. The treatment of newborn Hebrew infants is mentioned (Ex. xvi. 4) as consisting in washing, salting, and swaddling: this last was not used in Egypt (Wilkinson).

[f] The same author adds that the most common method of treatment was by κλυσμοῖς καὶ νηστείαις καὶ διαίτησι.

[g] Magicians and physicians both belonged to the priestly caste, and perhaps united their professions in one person.

[h] "L'Egypte moderne n'en est plus là, et, comme M. Pariset l'a si bien signalé, les tombeaux des pères, inutile par les eaux du Nil, se convertissent en autant de foyers pestilentiels pour leurs enfants" (Michel Lévy, [illegible]

the corpse; even the saw-dust of the floor, on which the body had been cleansed, was collected in small linen bags, which, to the number of twenty or thirty, were deposited in vases near the tomb (Wilkinson,[l] v. 463, 469). For the extent to which these practices were imitated among the Jews, see EMBALMING; at any rate the uncleanness imputed to contact with a corpse was a powerful preservative[k] against the inoculation of the living frame with morbid humours. But, to pursue to later times this merely general question, it appears (Pliny, *N. H.* xix. 5[m]) that the Ptolemies themselves practised dissection, and that, at a period when Jewish intercourse with Egypt was complete and reciprocal,[n] there existed in Alexandria a great zeal for anatomical study. The only influence of importance which would tend to check the Jews from sharing this was the ceremonial law, the special reverence of Jewish feeling towards human remains, and the abhorrence of "uncleanness." Yet those Jews—and there were at all times since the captivity not a few, perhaps —who tended to foreign laxity, and affected Greek philosophy and culture, would assuredly, as we shall have further occasion to notice that they in fact did, enlarge their anatomical knowledge from sources which repelled their stricter brethren, and the result would be apparent in the general elevated standard of that profession, even as practised in Jerusalem. The diffusion of Christianity in the 3rd and 4th centuries exercised a similar but more universal restraint on the dissecting-room, until anatomy as a pursuit became extinct, and the notion of profaneness quelling everywhere such researches, surgical science became stagnant to a degree to which it had never previously sunk within the memory of human records.

In comparing the growth of medicine in the rest of the ancient world, the high rank of its practitioners—princes and heroes—settles at once the question as to the esteem in which it was held in the Homeric[o] and pre-Homeric[p] period. To descend to the historical, the story of Democedes[q] at the court of Darius illustrates the practice of Greek surgery before the period of Hippocrates; anticipating in its gentler waiting upon[r] nature, as compared (Herod. iii. 130) with that of the Persians and Egyptians, the method and maxims of that Father of physic, who wrote against the theories and speculations of the so-called philosophical school, and was a true Empiricist before that sect was formularized. The Dogmatic school was founded after his time by his disciples, who departed from his eminently practical and inductive method. It recognised hidden causes of health and sickness arising from certain supposed principles or elements, out of which bodies were composed, and by virtue of which all their parts and members were attempered together and became sympathetic. He has some curious remarks on the sympathy of men with climate, seasons, &c. Hippocrates himself rejected supernatural accounts of disease, and especially demoniacal possession. He refers, but with no mystical sense, to numbers[s] as furnishing a rule for cases. It is remarkable that he extols the discernment of Orientals above Westerns, and of Asiatics above Europeans, in medical diagnosis.[t] The empirical school, which arose in the third century B.C., under the guidance of Acron of Agrigentum, Serapion of Alexandria, and Philinus of Cos,[u] waited for the symptoms of every case, disregarding the rules of practice based on dogmatic principles. Among its votaries was a Zachalias (perhaps Zacharias, and possibly a Jew) of Babylon, who (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvii. 10, comp. xxxvi. 10) dedicated a book on medicine to Mithridates the Great; its views were also supported[x] by Herodotus of Tarsus, a place which, next to Alexandria, became distinguished for its schools of philosophy and medicine; as also by a Jew named Theodas, or Theudas,[y] of Laodicea, but a student

This may perhaps be the true account of the production of the modern plague, which, however, disappears when the temperature rises above a given limit, excessive heat tending to dissipate the miasma.

[l] This author further refers to Pettigrew's *History of Egyptian Mummies*.

[k] Dr. Ferguson, in an article on pestilential infection, *Quarterly Review*, vol. xlvi., 1852, insists on actual contact with the diseased or dead as the condition of transmission of the disease. But compare a tract by Dr. Macmichael, *On the Progress of Opinion on the Subject of Contagion*. See also *Essays on State Medicine*, H. W. Rumsey, London, 1856, ess. iii. p. 130, &c. For ancient opinions on the matter, see *Paulus Aegin.* ed. Sydenham Society, i. 284 &c. Thucydides, in his description of the Athenian plague, is the first who alludes to it, and that but inferentially. It seems on the whole most likely that contagiousness is a quality of morbid condition which may be present or absent. What the conditions are no one seems able to say. As an instance, elephantiasis was said by early writers (*e. g.* Aretaeus and Rhazes) to be contagious, which some modern authorities deny. The assertion and denial are so clear and circumstantial in either case, that no other solution seems open to the question.

[m] "Regibus corpora mortuorum ad scrutandos morbos inscecanibus."

[n] Cyrene, the well-known Greek African colony, had a high repute for physicians of excellence; and some of its coins bear the impress of the ὀπός, or *assafoetida*, a medical drug to which miraculous virtues were ascribed. Now the Cyrenaica was a nome for the Jews of the dispersion (Acts ii. 10; *Paul. Aegin.* Sydenham Society, iii. 283).

[o] Galen himself wrote a book, περὶ τῆς καθ' Ὁμηρον ἰατρικῆς, quoted by Alexander of Tralles, lib. ix. cap. 4.

[p] The indistinctness with which the medical, the magical, and the poisonous were confounded under the word φάρμακα by the early Greeks will escape no one. (So Ex. xxii. 18, the Heb. word for "witch" is in the LXX. rendered by φαρμακός.) The legend of the Argonauts and Medea illustrates this; the Homeric Moly, and Nepenthes and the whole story of Circe, confirm it.

[q] The fame which he had acquired in Samos had reached Sardis before Darius discovered his presence among the captives taken from Oroetes (Herod. iii. 129).

[r] The best known name amongst the pioneers of Greek medical science is Herodicus of Selymbria, "qui totam gymnasticam medicinae adjunxit;" for which he was censured by Hippocrates (*Biblioth. Script. Med.* s. v.). The alliance, however, of the ἰατρική with the γυμναστική is familiar to us from the Dialogues of Plato.

[s] Thus the product of seven and forty gives the term of the days of gestation; in his περὶ νούσων δ, why men died, ἐν τῇσι περισσῇσι τῶν ἡμερέων, is discussed; so the 4th, 8th, 11th, and 17th, are noted as the critical days in acute diseases.

[t] Sprengel, *ub. sup.* iv. 52-5, speaks of an Alexandrian school of medicine as having carried anatomy, especially under the guidance of Hierophilus, to its highest pitch of ancient perfection. It seems not, however, to have claimed any distinctive principles, but stands chronologically between the Dogmatic and Empiric schools.

[u] The former of these wrote against Hippocrates, the latter was a commentator on him (Sprengel, *ub. sup.* iv. 81).

[x] It treats of a stone called *hematite*, to which the author ascribes great virtues, especially as regards the eyes.

[y] The authorities for these statements about Theudas are given by Wunderbar, *Biblisch-Talmudische Medicin.* 1tes Heft, p. 25. He refers among others to Talmud.

of Alexandria, and the last, or nearly so, of the Empiricists whom its schools produced. The remarks of Theudas on the right method of observing, and the value of experience, and his book on medicine, now lost, in which he arranged his subject under the heads of *indicatoria*, *curatoria*, and *salubris*, earned him high reputation as a champion of empiricism against the reproaches of the dogmatists, though they were subsequently impugned by Galen and Theodosius of Tripoli. His period was that from Titus to Hadrian. "The empiricists held that observation and the application of known remedies in one case to others presumed to be similar constitute the whole art of cultivating medicine. Though their views were narrow, and their information scanty when compared with some of the chiefs of the other sects, and although they rejected as useless and unattainable all knowledge of the causes and recondite nature of diseases, it is undeniable that, besides personal experience, they freely availed themselves of historical detail, and of a strict analogy founded upon observation and the resemblance of phenomena" (Dr. Adams, *Paul. Aegin.* ed. Sydenham Soc.).

This school, however, was opposed by another, known as the Methodic, which had arisen under the leading of Themison, also of Laodicea, about the period of Pompey the Great.[a] Asclepiades paved the way for the "method" in question, finding a theoretic[b] basis in the corpuscular or atomic theory of physics which he borrowed from Heraclides of Pontus. He had passed some early years in Alexandria, and thence came to Rome shortly before Cicero's time (comp. *quo nos medico amicoque usi sumus*, Crassus, ap. *Cic. de Orat.* i. 14). He was a transitional link between the Dogmatic and Empiric schools and this later or Methodic (Sprengel, *ub. sup.* pt. v. 16), which sought to rescue medicine from the bewildering mass of particulars in which empiricism had plunged it. He reduced diseases to two classes, chronic and acute, and endeavoured likewise to simplify remedies. In the meanwhile the most judicious of medical theorists since Hippocrates, Celsus of the Augustan period, had reviewed medicine in the light which all these schools afforded, and not professing any distinct teaching, but borrowing from all, may be viewed as eclectic. He translated Hippocrates largely *verbatim*, quoting in a less degree Asclepiades and others. Antonius Musa, whose "cold-water cure," after its successful trial on Augustus himself, became generally popular, seems to have had little of scientific basis; but by the usual method, or the usual accidents, became merely the fashionable practitioner of his day in Rome.[b] Attalia, near Tarsus, furnished also, shortly after the period of Celsus, Athenaeus, the leader of the last of the schools of medicine which divided the ancient world, under the name of the "Pneumatic," holding the tenet "of an etherial principle (πνεῦμα) residing in the microcosm, by means of which the mind performed the functions of the body." This is also traceable in Hippocrates, and was an established opinion of the Stoics. It was exemplified in the innate heat, ἔμφυτος, (Aret. *de Caus. et Sign. Morb. Chron.* ii. 13), and the *calidum innatum* of modern physiologists, especially in the 17th century (Dr. Adams, *Pref. Aretaeus*, ed. Syd. Soc.). It is clear that all these schools may easily have contributed to form the medical opinions current at the period of the N. T., that the two earlier among them may have influenced Rabbinical teaching on that subject at a much earlier period, and that, especially at the time of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, the Jewish people, whom he favoured and protected, had an opportunity of largely gathering from the medical lore of the west. It was necessary therefore to pass in brief review the growth of the latter, and especially to note the points at which it intersects the medical progress of the Jews. Greek Asiatic medicine culminated in Galen, who was, however, still but a commentator on his western predecessors, and who stands literally without rival, successor, or disciple of note, till the period when Greek learning was reawakened by the Arabian intellect. Galen himself[c] belongs to the period of the Antonines, but he appears to have been acquainted with the writings of Moses, and to have travelled in quest of medical experience over Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, as well as Greece, and a large part of the west, and, in particular, to have visited the banks of the Jordan in quest of opobalsamum, and the coasts of the Dead Sea to obtain samples of bitumen. He also mentions Palestine as producing a watery wine, suited for the drink of febrile patients.

II. Having thus described the external influences which, if any, were probably most influential in forming the medical practice of the Hebrews, we may trace next its internal growth. The cabalistic legends mix up the names of Shem and Heber in their fables about healing, and ascribe to those patriarchs a knowledge of simples and rare roots, with, of course, magic spells and occult powers, such as have clouded the history of medicine from the earliest times down to the 17th century.[d] So to Abraham is ascribed a talisman, the touch of which healed all disease. We know that such simple surgical skill as the operation for circumcision implies was Abraham's; but severer operations than this are constantly required in the flock and herd, and those who watch carefully the habits of animals can hardly fail to amass some guiding principles applicable to man and beast alike. Beyond this, there was probably nothing but such ordinary obstetrical craft as has always been traditional among the women of rude tribes, which could be classed as medical lore in the

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Nasir, 52*b*; to *Tosiphta Ohloth*, § iv.; and to *Tr. Sanhedrin*, 33*a*, 93*d*; *Bechoroth*, 28*b*.

[a] "Alia est Hippocratis secta [the Dogmatic], alia Asclepiadis, alia Themisonis" (Seneca, *Epist.* 95; comp. Juv. *Sat.* x. 221).

[b] For his remains see *Asclepiadis Bithynici Fragmenta*, ed. Christ. Gottl. Gumpert, 8°, Vinar. 1794.

[b] Female medical aid appears to have been current at Rome, whether in midwifery only (the *obstetric*), or in general practice, as the titles *medica*, *ἰατρίκη*, would seem to imply (see Martial, *Epig.* xi. 72). The Greeks were not strangers to female study of medicine; *e. g.* some fragments of the famous Aspasia on women's disorders occur in Actius.

[c] The Arabs, however, continued to build wholly upon Hippocrates and Galen, save in so far as their advance in chemical science improved their pharmacopoeia: this may be seen on reference to the works of Rhazes, A.D. 850, and Haly Abbas, A.D. 980. The first mention of smallpox is ascribed to Rhazes, who, however, quotes several earlier writers on the subject. Mahomet himself is said to have been versed in medicine, and to have compiled some aphorisms upon it; and a herbalist literature was always extensively followed in the East from the days of Solomon downwards (Freind's *History of Medicine*, ii. 5, 37).

[d] See, in evidence of this, *Royal and Practical Chymistry, in three treatises*, London, 1678

family of the patriarch, until his sojourn brought him among the more cultivated Philistines and Egyptians. The only notices which Scripture affords in connexion with the subject are the cases of difficult midwifery in the successive households of Isaac,[e] Jacob, and Judah (Gen. xxv. 26, xxxv. 17, xxxviii. 27), and so, later, in that of Phinehas (1 Sam. iv. 19). The traditional value ascribed to the mandrake, in regard to generative functions, relates to the same branch of natural medicine; but throughout this period occurs no trace of any attempt to study, digest, and systematise the subject. But, as Israel grew and multiplied in Egypt, they derived doubtless a large mental cultivation from their position until cruel policy turned it into bondage; even then Moses was rescued from the lot of his brethren, and became learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, including, of course, medicine and cognate sciences (Clem. Alex. i. p. 413), and those attainments perhaps became suggestive of future laws. Some practical skill in metallurgy is evident from Ex. xxxii. 20. But, if we admit Egyptian learning as an ingredient, we should also notice how far exalted above it is the standard of the whole Jewish legislative fabric, in its exemption from the blemishes of sorcery and juggling pretences. The priest, who had to pronounce on the cure, used no means to advance it, and the whole regulations prescribed exclude the notion of trafficking in popular superstition. We have no occult practices reserved in the hands of the sacred caste. It is God alone who doeth great things, working by the wand of Moses, or the brazen serpent; but the very mention of such instruments is such as to expel all pretence of mysterious virtues in the things themselves. Hence various allusions to God's "healing mercy," and the title "Jehovah that healeth" (Ex. xv. 26; Jer. xvii. 14, xxx. 17; Ps. ciii. 3, cxlvii. 3; Is. xxx. 26). Nor was the practice of physic a privilege of the Jewish priesthood. Any one might practise it, and this publicity must have kept it pure. Nay, there was no scriptural bar to its practice by resident aliens. We read of "physicians," "healing," &c., in Ex. xxi. 19; 2 K. viii. 29; 2 Chr. xvi. 12; Jerem. viii. 22. At the same time the greater leisure of the Levites and their other advantages would make them the students of the nation, as a rule, in all science, and their constant residence in cities would give them the opportunity, if carried out in fact, of a far wider field of observation. The reign of peace of Solomon's days must have opened, especially with renewed Egyptian intercourse, new facilities for the study. He himself seems to have included in his favourite natural history some knowledge of the medicinal uses of the creatures. His works show him conversant with the notion of remedial treatment (Prov. iii. 8, vi. 15, xii. 18, xvii. 22, xx. 30, xxix. 1; Eccles. iii. 3); and one passage (see p. 306) indicates considerable knowledge of anatomy. His repute in magic is the universal[f] theme of eastern story. It has even been thought he had recourse to the shrine of Aesculapius at Sidon, and enriched his resources by its records or relics; but there seems some doubt whether this temple was of such high antiquity. Solomon, however, we cannot doubt, would have turned to the account, not only of wealth but of knowledge, his peaceful reign, wide dominion, and wider renown, and would have sought to traffic in learning, as well as in wheat and gold. To him the Talmudists ascribe a "volume of cures" (ספר רפואות), of which they make frequent mention (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudep. V. T.* 1043,4). Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2) mentions his knowledge of medicine, and the use of spells by him to expel demons who cause sicknesses, "which is continued among us," he adds, "to this time." The dealings of various prophets with quasi-medical agency cannot be regarded as other than the mere accidental form which their miraculous gifts took (1 K. xiii. 6, xiv. 12, xvii. 17; 2 K. i. 4, xx. 7; Is. xxxviii. 21). Jewish tradition has invested Elisha, it would seem, with a function more largely medicinal than that of the other servants of God; but the Scriptural evidence on the point is scanty, save that he appears to have known at once the proper means to apply to heal the waters, and temper the noxious pottage (2 K. ii. 21, iv. 39-41). His healing the Shunammite's son has been discussed as a case of suspended animation, and of animal magnetism applied to resuscitate it; but the narrative clearly implies that the death was real. As regards the leprosy, had the Jordan commonly possessed the healing power which Naaman's faith and obedience found in it, would there have been "many lepers in Israel in the days of Eliseus the prophet," or in any other days? Further, if our Lord's words (Luke iv. 27) are to be taken literally, Elisha's reputation could not have been founded on any succession of lepers healed. The washing was a part of the enjoined lustration of the leper *after* his cure was complete; Naaman was to act as though clean, like the "ten men that were lepers," bidden to "go and show themselves to the priest"—in either case it was "as thou hast believed, so be it done unto thee."

The sickness of Benhadad is certainly so described as to imply treachery on the part of Hazael (2 K. viii. 15). Yet the observation of Bruce, upon a "cold-water cure" practised among the people near the Red Sea, has suggested a view somewhat different. The bed-clothes are soaked with cold water, and kept thoroughly wet, and the patient drinks cold water freely. But the crisis, it seems, occurs on the third day, and not till the fifth is it

[e] Doubts have been raised as to the possibility of twins being born, one holding the other's heel; but there does not seem any such limit to the operations of nature as any objection on that score would imply. After all, it was perhaps only just such a relative position of the limbs of the infants at the mere moment of birth as would suggest the "holding by the heel." The midwives, it seems, in case of twins, were called upon to distinguish the first-born, to whom important privileges appertained. The tying on a thread or ribbon was an easy way of preventing mistake, and the assistant in the case of Tamar seized the earliest possible moment for doing it. "When the hand or foot of a living child protrudes, it is to be pushed up . . and the head made to present" (*Paul. Aegin.* ed. Sydenh. Soc., i. 648, Hippocr. quoted by Dr. Adams). This probably the midwife did; at the same time marking him as first-born in virtue of being thus "presented" first. The precise meaning of the dot btful expression in Gen xxxviii. 27 and marg. is discussed by Wunderbar, *ub. sup* p. 50, in reference both to the children and to the mother. Of Rachel a Jewish commentator says, "Multis etiam ex itinere difficultatibus praegressis, viribusque post diu protractos dolores exhaustis, atonia uteri, forsan quidem haemorrhagia in pariendo mortua est" (*ibid.*).

[f] Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2) mentions a cure of one possessed with a devil by the use of some root, the knowledge of which was referred by tradition to Solomon.

there usual to apply this treatment. If the chamberlain, through carelessness, ignorance, or treachery, precipitated the application, a fatal[g] issue may have suddenly resulted. The "brazen serpent," once the means of healing, and worshipped idolatrously in Hezekiah's reign, is supposed to have acquired those honours under its Aesculapian aspect. This notion is not inconsistent with the Scripture narrative, though not therein traceable. It is supposed that something in the "volume of cures," current under the authority of Solomon, may have conduced to the establishment of these rites, and drawn away the popular homage, especially in prayers during sickness, or thanksgivings after recovery, from Jehovah. The statement that King Asa (2 Chr. xvi. 12) "sought *not* to Jehovah *but* to the physicians," may seem to countenance the notion that a rivalry of actual worship, based on some medical fancies, had been set up, and would so far support the Talmudical tradition.

The captivity at Babylon brought the Jews in contact with a new sphere of thought. Their chief men rose to the highest honours, and an improved mental culture among a large section of the captives was no doubt the result which they imported on their return.[h] We know too little of the precise state of medicine in Babylon, Susa, and the "cities of the Medes," to determine the direction in which the impulse so derived would have led the exiles; but the confluence of streams of thought from opposite sources, which impregnate each other, would surely produce a tendency to sift established practice and accepted axioms, to set up a new standard by which to try the current rules of art, and to determine new lines of inquiry for any eager spirits disposed to search for truth. Thus the visit of Democedes to the court of Darius, though it seems to be an isolated fact, points to a general opening of oriental manners to Greek influence, which was not too late to leave its traces in some perhaps of the contemporaries of Ezra. That great reformer, with the leaders of national thought gathered about him, could not fail to recognise medicine among the salutary measures which distinguished his epoch. And whatever advantages the Levites had possessed in earlier days were now speedily lost even as regards the study of the divine law, and much more therefore as regards that of medicine; into which competitors would crowd in proportion to its broader and more obvious human interest, and effectually demolish any narrowing barriers of established privilege, if such previously existed.

It may be observed that the priests in their ministrations, who performed at all seasons of the year barefoot on stone pavement, and without perhaps any variation of dress to meet that of temperature, were peculiarly liable to sickness.[i] Hence the permanent appointment of a Temple physician has been supposed by some, and a certain Ben-Abijah is mentioned by Wunderbar as occurring in the Talmud in that capacity. But it rather appears as though such an officer's appointment were precarious, and varied with the demands of the ministrants.

The book of Ecclesiasticus shows the increased regard given to the distinct study of medicine, by the repeated mention of physicians, &c., which it contains, and which, as probably belonging to the period of the Ptolemies, it might be expected to show. The wisdom of prevention is recognised in Ecclus. xviii. 19, perhaps also in x. 10. Rank and honour are said to be the portion of the physician, and his office to be from the Lord (xxviii. 1, 3, 12). The repeated allusions to sickness in vii. 35, xxx. 17, xxxi. 22, xxxvii. 30, xxxviii. 9, coupled with the former recognition of merit, have caused some to suppose that this author was himself a physician. If he was so, the power of mind and wide range of observation shown in his work would give a favourable impression of the standard of practitioners; if he was not, the great general popularity of the study and practice may be inferred from its thus becoming a common topic of general advice offered by a non-professional writer. In Wisd. xvi. 12, plaister is spoken of; anointing, as a means of healing, in Tob. vi. 8.

To bring down the subject to the period of the N. T. St. Luke,[k] "the beloved physician," who

[g] Professor Newman remarks on the manner of Benhadad's recorded death, that "when a man is so near to death that this will kill him, we need good evidence to show that the story is not a vulgar scandal" (*Hebrew Monarchy*, p. 180 *note*). The remark seems to betray ignorance of what is meant by the crisis of a fever.

[h] Wunderbar, whom the writer has followed in a large portion of this general review of Jewish medicine, and his obligations to whom are great, has here set up a view which appears untenable. He regards the Babylonian captivity as parallel in its effects to the Egyptian bondage, and seems to think that the people would return debased from its influence. On the contrary, those whom subjection had made ignoble and unpatriotic would remain. If any returned, it was a pledge that they were not so impaired; and, if not impaired, they would be certainly improved by the discipline they had undergone. He also thinks that sorcery had the largest share in any Babylonian or Persian system of medicine. This is assuming too much: there were magicians in Egypt, but physicians also (see above) of high cultivation. Human nature has so great an interest in human life, that only in the savage rudimentary societies is its economy left thus involved in phantasms. The earliest steps of civilization include something of medicine. Of course superstitions are found copiously involved in such medical tenets, but this is not equivalent to abandoning the study to a class of professed magicians. Thus in the *Ueberreste der altbabylonischen Literatur*, p. 123, by D. Chwolson, St. Petersb. 1859 (the value of which is not however yet ascertained), a writer on poisons claims to have a magic antidote, but declines stating what it is, as it is not his business to mention such things, and he only does so in cases where the charm is in connexion with medical treatment and resembles it; the magicians, adds the same writer on another occasion, use a particular means of cure, but he declines to impart it, having a repugnance to witchcraft. So (pp. 125-6) we find traces of charms introduced into Babylonish treatises on medical science, but apologetically, and as if against sounder knowledge. Similarly, the opinion of fatalism is not without its influence on medicine; but it is chiefly resorted to where, as in pestilence often happens, all known aid seems useless.

[i] Thus we find Kall, *De Morbis Sacerdotum*, Hafn. 1748 referred to by Wunderbar, 1stes Heft, p. 60.

[k] This is not the place to introduce any discussion on the language of St. Luke; it may be observed, however that it appears often tinctured by his early studies: e. g. v. 18, παραλελυμένος, the correct term, instead of the popular παραλυτικὸς of St. Matthew and St. Mark; so viii. 44, ἔστη ἡ ῥύσις, instead of the apparently Hebraistic phrase ἐξηράνθη ἡ πήγη of the latter; so vi. 19, ἤτουν πάντες, where διεσώθησαν and ἐσώζοντο are used by the others; and viii. 55, ἐπέστρεψε τὸ πνεῦμα (the breath), as though a token of animation returning; and the list might easily be enlarged. St. Luke abounds in the narratives of demoniacs, while Hippocrates repudiates such influence, as producing

practised at Antioch whilst the body was his care, could hardly have failed to be conversant with all the leading opinions current down to his own time. Situated between the great schools of Alexandria and Cilicia, within easy sea-transit of both, as well as of the western homes of science, Antioch enjoyed a more central position than any great city of the ancient world, and in it accordingly all the streams of contemporary medical learning may have probably found a point of confluence. The medicine of the N. T. is not solely, nor even chiefly, Jewish medicine; and even if it were, it is clear that the more mankind became mixed by intercourse, the more medical opinion and practice must have ceased to be exclusive. The great number of Jews resident in Rome and Greece about the Christian era, and the successive decrees by which their banishment from the former was proclaimed, must have imported, even into Palestine, whatever from the west was best worth knowing; and we may be as sure that its medicine and surgery expanded under these influences, as that, in the writings of the Talmudists, such obligations would be unacknowledged. But, beyond this, the growth of large mercantile communities such as existed in Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus, of itself involves a peculiar sanitary condition from the mass of human elements gathered to a focus under new or abnormal circumstances. Nor are the words in which an eloquent modern writer describes the course of this action less applicable to the case of an ancient than to that of a modern metropolis. "Diseases once indigenous to a section of humanity, are slowly but surely creeping up to commercial centres from whence they will be rapidly propagated. One form of Asiatic leprosy is approaching the Levant from Arabia. The history of every disease which is communicated from man to man establishes this melancholy truth, that ultimately such maladies overleap all obstacles of climate, and demonstrate a solidarity in evil as well as in good among the brotherhood of nations." [m] In proportion as this "melancholy truth" is perceived, would an intercommunication of medical science prevail also.

The medicine and surgery of St. Luke, then, was probably not inferior to that commonly in demand among educated Asiatic Greeks, and must have been, as regards its basis, Greek medicine, and not Jewish. Hence a standard Gentile medical writer, if any is to be found of that period, would best represent the profession to which the evangelist belonged. Without absolute certainty as to date,[n] we seem to have such a writer in Aretaeus, commonly called "the Cappadocian," who wrote certainly after Nero's reign began, and probably flourished shortly before and after the decade in which St. Paul reached Rome and Jerusalem fell. If he were of St. Luke's age, it is striking that he should also be perhaps the only ancient medical authority in favour of demoniacal possession as a possible account of epilepsy (see p. 298, note k). If his country be rightly indicated by his surname, we know that it gave him the means of intercourse with both the Jews and the Christians of the Apostolic period (Acts ii. 9; 1 Pet. i. 1). It is very likely that Tarsus, the nearest place of academic repute to that region, was the scene of at any rate the earlier studies of Aretaeus, nor would any chronological difficulty prevent his having been a pupil in medicine there when Paul and also, perhaps, Barnabas were, as is probable, pursuing their early studies in other subjects at the same spot. Aretaeus, then, assuming the date above indicated, may be taken as expounding the medical practice of the Asiatic Greeks in the latter half of the first century. There is, however, much of strongly marked individuality in his work, more especially in the minute verbal portraiture of disease. That of pulmonary consumption in particular is traced with the careful description of an eye-witness, and represents with a curious exactness the curved nails, shrunken fingers, slender sharpened nostrils, hollow glazy eye, cadaverous look and hue, the waste of muscle and startling prominence of bones, the scapula standing off like the wing of a bird; as also the habit of body marking youthful predisposition to the malady, the thin veneer-like frames, the limbs like pinions,[o] the prominent throat and shallow chest, with a remark that moist and cold climates are the haunts of it (Aret. περὶ φθίσεος). His work exhibits strong traits here and there of the Pneumatic school, as in his statement regarding lethargy, that it is frigidity implanted by nature; concerning elephantiasis even more emphatically, that it is a refrigeration of the innate heat, "or rather a congelation—as it were one great winter of the system." [p] The same views betray themselves in his statement regarding the blood, that it is the warming principle of all the parts; that diabetes is a sort of dropsy, both exhibiting the watery principle; and that the effect of white hellebore is as that of fire: "so that whatever fire does by burning, hellebore effects still more by penetrating inwardly." The last remark shows that he gave some scope to his imagination, which indeed we might illustrate from some of his pathological descriptions, *e. g.* that of elephantiasis, where the resemblance of the beast to the afflicted human being is wrought to a fanciful parallel. Allowing for such overstrained touches here and there, we may say that he generally avoids extravagant crotchets, and rests chiefly on wide observation, and on the common sense which sobers theory and rationalises facts. He hardly ever quotes an authority; and though much of what he states was taught before, it is dealt with as the common property of science, or as become *sui juris* through being proved

maniacal and epileptic disorders. See this subject discussed in the Notes on the "Sacred Diseases" in the Sydenh. Soc. ed. of Hippocr. Aretaeus, on the contrary, recognizes the opinion of demoniac agency in disease. His words are: ἱερὴν κικλήσκουσι τὴν πάθην· ἀτὰρ καὶ δι' ἄλλας προφασίας, ἢ μέγεθος τοῦ κακοῦ, ἱερὸν γὰρ τὸ μέγα· ἢ ὅτιος οὐκ ἀνθρωπίης ἀλλὰ θείης ἢ δαίμονος δόξης ἐς τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰσόδου, ἢ ξυμπάντων ὁμοῦ, ἱερήν. Περὶ ἐπιλήψιης. (*De Caus. et Sign. Morb. Chron.* i. 4.)

[m] Dr. Ferguson, *Pref. Essay to Gooch on Diseases of Women*, New Sydenham Society, London, 1859, p. xlvi. He adds, "Such has been the case with smallpox, measles, scarlatina, and the plague . . . The yellow fever has lately ravaged Lisbon under a temperature perfectly similar to that of London or Paris."

[n] The date here given is favoured by the introductory review of Aretaeus' life and writings prefixed to Boerhaave's edition of his works, and by Dr. Greenhill in Smith's *Dictionary of Biog. and Myth.* sub voc. *Aretaeus*. A view that he was about a century later—a contemporary, in short, of Galen—is advanced in the Syd. Soc. edition, and ably supported. Still the evidence being purely negative, is slender, and the opposite arguments are not taken into account.

[o] πτερυγάδεες.

[p] Ψύξις ἐστὶ τοῦ ἐμφύτου θερμοῦ οὐ μικρά τε, ἢ καὶ πάγος, ὡς ἐν τι μέγα χεῖμα (*De Caus. et Sign. Morb. Chron.* ii. 13).

by his own experience. The freedom with which he follows or rejects earlier opinions, has occasioned him to be classed by some amongst the eclectic school. His work is divided into—I. the causes and signs of (1) acute, and (2) chronic diseases; and, II. the curative treatment of (1) acute, and (2) chronic diseases. His boldness of treatment is exemplified in his selection of the vein to be opened in a wide range of parts, the arm, ancle, tongue, nose, &c. He first has a distinct mention of leeches, which Themison is said to have introduced; and in this respect his surgical resources appear to be in advance of Celsus. He was familiar with the operation for the stone in the bladder and prescribes, as Celsus also does, the use of the catheter, where its insertion is not prevented by inflammation, then the incision[q] into the neck of the bladder, nearly as in modern lithotomy. His views of the internal economy were a strange mixture of truth and error, and the disuse of anatomy was no doubt the reason why this was the weak point of his teaching. He held that the work of producing the blood pertained to the liver, "which is the root of the veins;" that the bile was distributed from the gall bladder to the intestines; and, if this vesica became gorged, the bile was thrown back into the veins, and by them diffused over the system. He regarded the nerves as the source of sensation and motion; and had some notion of them as branching in pairs from the spine.[r] Thus he has a curious statement as regards paralysis, that in the case of any sensational point *below* the head, *e.g.* from the membrane of the spinal marrow being affected injuriously, the parts on the right side will be paralysed if the nerve towards the right side be hurt, and similarly, conversely, of the left side; but that if the head itself be so affected, the inverse law of consequence holds concerning the parts related, since each nerve passes over to the other side from that of its origin, decussating each other in the form of the letter X. The doctrine of the Pneuma, or etherial principle existing in the microcosm by which the mind performs all the functions of the body, holds a more prominent position in the works of Aretaeus than in those of any of the other authorities (Dr. Adams' pref. to Aret. pp. x. xi.). He was aware that the nervous function of sensation was distinct from the motive power; that either might cease and the other continue. His pharmacopoeia is copious and reasonable, and the limits of the usefulness of this or that drug are laid down judiciously. He makes large use of wine,[s] and prescribing the kind and the number of *cyathi* to be taken; and some words of his on stomach disorders (περὶ καρδιαλγίης) forcibly recall those of St. Paul to Timothy (1 Tim. v. 23), and one might almost suppose them to have been suggested by the intenser spirituality of his Jewish or Christian patients. "Such disorders," he says, "are common to those who toil in teaching, whose yearning is after divine instruction, who despise delicate and varied diet, whose nourishment is fasting, and whose drink is water." And as a purge of melancholy he prescribes "a little wine, and some other more liberal sustenance." In his essay on *Causus*, or "brain" fever, he describes the powers acquired by the soul before dissolution in the following remarkable words: "Every sense is pure, the intellect acute, the gnostic powers prophetic; for they prognosticate to themselves in the first place their own departure from life; then they foretell what will afterwards take place to those present, who fancy sometimes that they are delirious; but these persons wonder at the result of what has been said. Others, also, talk to certain of the dead, perchance they alone perceiving them to be present, in virtue of their acute and pure sense, or perchance from their soul seeing beforehand, and announcing the men with whom they are about to associate. For formerly they were immersed in humours, as if in mud and darkness; but when the disease has drained these off, and taken away the mist from their eyes, they perceive those things which are in the air, and through the soul being unencumbered become true prophets."[u] To those who wish further to pursue the study of medicine at this era the edition of Aretaeus by the Sydenham Society, and in a less degree that by Boerhaave, (Lugd. Bat. 1735), to which the references have here been made, may be recommended.

As the general science of medicine and surgery at this period may be represented by Aretaeus, so we have nearly a representation of its *Materia Medica* by Dioscorides. He too was of the same general region—a Cilician Greek—and his first lessons were probably learnt at Tarsus. His period is tinged by the same uncertainty as that of Aretaeus; but he has usually been assigned to the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century (see *Dict. of Biog. and Mythol.* s. v.). He was the first author of high mark who devoted his attention to *Materia Medica*. Indeed this branch of ancient science remained as he left it till the times of the Arabians; and these, though they enlarged the supply of drugs and pharmacy, yet copy and repeat Dioscorides, as indeed Galen himself often does, on all common subject matter. Above 90 minerals, 700 plants, and 168 animal substances, are said to be described in the researches of Dioscorides, displaying an industry and skill which has remained the marvel of all subsequent commentators. Pliny, copious, rare, and curious as he is, yet for want of scientific medical knowledge, is little esteemed in this particular branch, save when he follows Dioscorides. The third volume of *Paulus Aegin.* (ed. Sydenham Soc.), contains a catalogue of medicines simple and compound, and the large proportion in which the authority of Dioscorides has contributed to form it will be manifest at the most cursory inspection. To abridge such a subject is impossible, and to transcribe it in the most meagre form would be far beyond the limits of this article.

Before proceeding to the examination of diseases in detail, it may be well to observe that the question of identity between any ancient malady known by description, and any modern one known by experience, is often doubtful. Some diseases, just as some plants and some animals, will exist almost anywhere; others can only be produced within narrow limits depending on the conditions of climate,

[q] τάμνειν τὴν τρίχαδα καὶ τὸν τῆς κύστιδος τράχηλον.

[r] Sprengel (*ub. sup.* iv. 52-5) thinks that an approximately right conception of the nervous system was attained by Hierophilus of the Alexandrian school of medicine.

[s] Galen (*Hyg.* v.) strenuously recommends the use of wine to the aged, stating the wines best adapted to them. Even Plato (*Leg.* ii.) allows old men thus to restore their youth, and correct the austerity of age.

[t] So Sir H. Halford renders it, Essay VI., in which occur some valuable comments on the subject treated by Aretaeus.

[u] Aret. *de Sign et Caus. Morb. Acut.* ii. 4.

nabit, &c.; and were only equal observation applied to the two, the *habitat* of a disease might be mapped as accurately as that of a plant. It is also possible that some diseases once extensively prevalent, may run their course and die out, or occur only sporadically; just as it seems certain that, since the middle ages, some maladies have been introduced into Europe which were previously unknown (*Bible Dict.*, *Script. Med.* Genev. 1731, *s. v.*; Hippocrates, Celsus, Galen; Leclerc's *History of Med.* Par. 1723, transl. Lond. 1699; Freind's *History of Med.*).

Eruptive diseases of the acute kind are more prevalent in the East than in colder climes. They also run their course more rapidly; *e. g.* common itch, which in Scotland remains for a longer time vesicular, becomes, in Syria, pustular as early sometimes as the third day. The origin of it is now supposed to be an acarus, but the parasite perishes when removed from the skin. Disease of various kinds is commonly regarded as a divine infliction, or denounced as a penalty for transgression; "the evil diseases of Egypt" (perhaps in reference to some of the ten plagues) are especially so characterised (Gen. xx. 18; Ex. xv. 26; Lev. xxvi. 16; Deut. vii. 15, xxviii. 60; 1 Cor. xi. 30); so the emerods (see EMERODS)[x] of the Philistines (1 Sam. v. 6); the severe dysentery[y] (2 Chr. xxi. 15, 19) of Jehoram, which was also epidemic [BLOOD, ISSUE OF; and FEVER], the peculiar symptom of which may perhaps have been *prolapsus ani* (Dr. Mason Good, i. 311-13, mentions a case of the entire colon exposed); or, perhaps, what is known as *diarrhoea tubularis*, formed by the coagulation of fibrine into a membrane discharged from the inner coat of the intestines, which takes the mould of the bowel, and is thus expelled (Kitto, *s. v.* "Diseases"); so the sudden deaths of Er, Onan (Gen. xxxviii. 7, 10), the Egyptian first-born (Ex. xi. 4, 5), Nabal, Bathsheba's son, and Jeroboam's (1 Sam. xxv. 38; 2 Sam. xii. 15; 1 K. xiv. 1, 5), are ascribed to action of Jehovah immediately, or through a prophet. Pestilence (Hab. iii. 5) attends His path (comp. 2 Sam. xxiv. 15), and is innoxious to those whom He shelters (Ps. xci. 3-10). It is by Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Amos associated (as historically in 2 Sam. xxiv. 13) with "the sword" and "famine" Jer. xiv. 12, xv. 2, xxi. 7, 9, xxiv. 10, xxvii. 8, 13, xxviii. 8, xxix. 17, 18, xxxii. 24, 36, xxxiv. 17, xxxviii. 2, xlii. 17, 22, xliv. 13; Ez. v. 12, 17, vi. 11, 12, vii. 15, xii. 16, xiv. 21, xxxiii. 27; Am. iv. 6, 10).

The sicknesses of the widow's son of Zarephath, of Ahaziah, Benhadad, the leprosy of Uzziah, the boil of Hezekiah, are also noticed as diseases sent by Jehovah, or in which He interposed, 1 K. xvii. 17, 20; 2 K. i. 3, xx. 1. In 2 Sam. iii. 29, disease is invoked as a curse, and in Solomon's prayer, 1 K. viii. 37 (comp. 2 Chr. xx. 9), anticipated as a chastisement. Job and his friends agree in ascribing his disease to divine infliction; but the latter urge his sins as the cause. So, conversely, the healing character of God is invoked or promised, Ps. vi. 2, xli. 3, ciii. 3; Jer xxx. 17. Satanic agency appears also as procuring disease, Job ii. 7; Luke xiii. 11, 16. Diseases are also mentioned as ordinary calamities, *e. g.* the sickness of old age, headache (perhaps by sunstroke), as that of the Shunammite's son, that of Elisha, and that of Benhadad, and that of Joram, Gen. xlviii. 1; 1 Sam. xxx. 13; 2 K. iv. 20, viii. 7, 29, xiii. 14; 2 Chr. xxii. 6.

Among special diseases named in the O. T. are, ophthalmia (Gen. xxix. 17, מְכֵלוֹת עֵינַיִם), which is perhaps more common in Syria and Egypt than anywhere else in the world; especially in the fig season,[z] the juice of the newly-ripe fruit having the power of giving it. It may occasion partial or total blindness (2 K. vi. 18). The eye-salve (*κολλύριον*, Rev. iii. 18; Hor. *Sat.* i.), was a remedy common to Orientals, Greeks, and Romans (see Hippocr. *κολλούριον*; Celsus, vi. 8, *de oculorum morbis*, (2) *de diversis collyriis*). Other diseases are—barrenness of women, which mandrakes were supposed to have the power of correcting (Gen. xx. 18; comp. xii. 17, xxx. 1, 2, 14-16)—"consumption,"[a] and several, the names of which are derived from various words, signifying to burn or to be hot (Lev. xxvi. 16; Deut. xxviii. 22; see FEVER); compare the kinds of fever distinguished by Hippocrates as *καῦσος* and *πῦρ*. The "burning boil," or "of a boil" (Lev. xiii. 23, צָרֶבֶת הַשְּׁחִין, LXX. *οὐλὴ τοῦ ἕλκους*) is again merely marked by the notion of an effect resembling that of fire, like the Greek *φλεγμονή*, or our "carbuncle;" it may possibly find an equivalent in the Damascus boil of the present time. The "botch (שְׁחִין) of Egypt" (Deut. xxviii. 27), is so vague a term as to yield a most uncertain sense; the plague, as known by its attendant *bubo*, has been suggested by Scheuchzer.[b] It is possible that the *Elephantiasis*

[x] To the authorities there adduced may be added some remarks by Michel Lévy (*Traité d'Hygiène*, 206-7), who ascribes them to a plethoric state producing a congestion of the veins of the rectum, and followed by piles. Blood is discharged from them periodically or continuously; thus the plethora is relieved, and hence the ancient opinion that hemorrhoids were beneficial. Sanguineous flux of the part may, however, arise from other causes than these *varices*—*e. g.* ulceration, cancer, &c., of rectum. Wunderbar (*Bib. Talm. Med.* iii. 17 *d*) mentions a blood-less kind, distinguished by the Talmudists as even more dangerous, and these he supposes meant in 1 Sam. v. To these is added (vi. 5, 11, 18) a mention of עַכְבְּרִים (A. V. "mice;") but according to Lichtenstein (in Eichhorn's *Biblioth.* vi. 407-66) a venomous solpuga is with some plausibility intended, so large, and so similar in form to a mouse, as to admit of its being denominated by the same word. It is said to destroy and live upon scorpions, and to attack in the parts alluded to. The reference given is Pliny, *H. N.* xxix. 4; but Pliny gives merely the name, "solpuga;" the rest of the statement finds no foundation in him. See below, p. 305 *b*. Wunderbar (3ttes Heft, p. 19) has another interpretation of the "mice."

[y] See a singular quotation from the Talmud *Shabbath*, 82, concerning the effect of tenesmus on the sphincter, Wunderbar, *Bib.-Tal. Med.* 3ttes Heft, p. 17. The Talmudists say that those who die of such sickness as Jehoram's die painfully, but with full consciousness.

[z] Comp. Hippocr. *περὶ ὄψιος.* α. *ὀφθαλμίης τῆς ἐπετείου καὶ ἐνδημίου ξυμφέρει κάθαρσις κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς κάτω κοιλίης.*

[a] Possibly the pulmonary tuberculation of the West, which is not unknown in Syria, and common enough in Smyrna and in Egypt. The word שַׁחֶפֶת is from a root meaning "to waste away." In Zech. xiv. 12 a plague is described answering to this meaning,—an intense emaciation or atrophy; although no link of causation is hinted at, such sometimes results from severe internal abscesses.

[b] It should be noted that Hippocrates, in his *Epidemics*, makes mention of fevers attended with buboes, which affords presumption in favour of plague being not unknown. It is at any rate as old as the 1st century, A.D. See Littré's *Hippocrates*, tom. ii. p. 585, and iii. p. 5. The

Graecorum may be intended by שְׁחִין, understood in the widest sense of a continued ulceration until the whole body, or the portion affected, may be regarded as one שְׁחִין. Of this disease some further notice will be taken below; at present it is observable that the same word is used to express the "boil" of Hezekiah. This was certainly a single locally confined eruption, and was probably a carbuncle, one of which may well be fatal, though a single "boil" in our sense of the word seldom is so. Dr. Mead supposes it to have been a fever terminating in an abscess. The diseases rendered "scab"[c] and "scurvy" in Lev. xxi. 20, xxii. 22, Deut. xxviii. 27, may be almost any skin disease, such as those known under the names of lepra, psoriaris, pityriasis, ichthyosis, favus, or common itch. Some of these may be said to approach the type of leprosy [LEPROSY] as laid down in Scripture, although they do not appear to have involved ceremonial defilement, but only a blemish disqualifying for the priestly office. The quality of being incurable is added as a special curse, for these diseases are not generally so, or at any rate are common in milder forms. The "running of the reins" (Lev. xv. 2, 3, xxii. 4, marg.) may perhaps mean *gonorrhoea*,[d] If we compare Num. xxv. 1, xxxi. 7 with Josh. xxii. 17, there is ground for thinking that some disease of this class, derived from polluting sexual intercourse, remained among the people. The "issue" of xv. 19, may be [BLOOD, ISSUE OF] the *menorrhagia*, the duration of which in the East is sometimes, when not checked by remedies, for an indefinite period (Matt. ix. 20), or uterine hemorrhage from other causes. In Deut. xxviii. 35, is mentioned a disease attacking the "knees and legs," consisting in a "sore botch which cannot be healed," but extended, in the sequel of the verse, from the "sole of the foot to the top of the head." The latter part of the quotation would certainly accord with *Elephantiasis Graecorum;* but this, if the whole verse be a mere continuation of one described malady, would be in contradiction to the fact that this disease commences in the face, not in the lower members. On the other hand, a disease which affects the knees and legs, or more commonly one of them only—its principal feature being intumescence, distorting and altering all the proportions—is by a mere accident of language known as Elephantiasis *Arabum, Bucnemia Tropica* (Rayer, vol. iii. 836-841), or "Barbadoes leg," from being well known in that island. Supposing, however, that the affection of the knees and legs is something distinct, and that the latter part of the description applies to the *Elephantiasis Graecorum*,[f] the incurable and the all-pervading character of the malady are well expressed by it. This disease is what now passes under the name of "leprosy" (Michaelis, iii. 259)—the lepers, *e. g.* of the hill near the Zion gate of modern Jerusalem are elephantisiacs.[g] It has been asserted that there are two kinds, one painful, the other painless; but as regards Syria and the East this is contradicted. There the parts affected are quite benumbed and lose sensation. It is classed as a tubercular disease, not confined to the skin, but pervading the tissues and destroying the bones. It is not confined to any age or either sex. It first appears in general, but not always, about the face, as an indurated nodule (hence it is improperly called tubercular), which gradually enlarges, inflames, and ulcerates. Sometimes it commences in the neck or arms. The ulcers will heal spontaneously, but only after a long period, and after destroying a great deal of the neighbouring parts. If a joint be attacked, the ulceration will go on till its destruction is complete, the joints of finger, toe, &c., dropping off one by one. Frightful dreams and fetid breath are symptoms mentioned by some pathologists. More nodules will develope themselves; and, if the face be the chief seat of the disease, it assumes a leonine[h] aspect, loathsome and hideous; the skin becomes

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plague is referred to by writers of the 1st century, viz. Posidonius and Rufus.

[c] Their terms in the respective versions are:—

גָּרָב, ψώρα ἀγρία, *scabies jugis.*

יַלֶּפֶת, λειχήν, *impetigo.*

[d] Or more probably *blennorrhoea* (mucous discharge). The existence of *gonorrhoea* in early times—save in the mild form—has been much disputed. Michel Lévy (*Traité d'Hygiène*, p. 7) considers the affirmative as established by the above passage, and says of syphilis, "Que pour notre part, nous n'avons jamais pu considérer comme une nouveauté du xv.e siecle." He certainly gives some strong historical evidence against the view that it was introduced into France by Spanish troops under Gonzalvo de Cordova on their return from the New World, and so into the rest of Europe, where it was known as the *morbus Gallicus.* He adds, "La syphilis est perdue confusement dans la pathologie ancienne par la diversité de ses symptômes et de ses altérations; leur interprétation collective, et leur redaction en une seule unité morbide, a fait croire à l'introduction d'une maladie nouvelle." See also Freind's *History of Med.*, Dr. Mead, Michaelis, Reinhart (*Bibelkrankheiten*), Schmidt (*Biblischer Med.*), and others. Wunderbar (*Bib.-Talm. Med.* iii. 20, commenting on Lev. xv., and comparing Mishna, *Zabim*, ii. 2, and Maimon. *ad loc.*) thinks that *gonorrhoea benigna* was in the mind of the latter writers. Dr. Adams, the editor of *Paul. Aegin.* (Sydenh. Soc., ii. 14), considers syphilis a modified form of elephantiasis. For all ancient notices of the cognate diseases see that work, i. 593 foll.

[e] The Arabs call *Elephantiasis Graecorum* جذام (*judhâm*) = mutilation, from the gradual dropping off of the joints of the extremities. They give to *E. Arabum* the name of داء الفيل, *Dâ'l-fil* = *morbus elephantis*, from the leg when swelled resembling that of the animal; but the latter disease is quite distinct from the former.

[f] For its ancient description see Celsus, iii. 25, *de Elephantiasi.* Galen (*de Arte Curatoriâ ad Glaucon*, iii. 8, *de Cancro et Eleph.*) recommends viper's flesh, gives anecdotes of cases, and adds that the disorder was common in Alexandria. In Hippocr. (*Prorrhetic.* ii. *op. fin.*) it is mentioned ἡ νοῦσος ἡ φθινικὴ καλεομένη, but in the glossary of Galen is found, ἡ Φοινικὴ νοῦσος ἡ κατὰ Φοινίκην καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη πλεονάζουσα. Δηλοῦσθαι δὲ κάνταῦθα δοκεῖ ἡ ἐλεφαντίασις.

[g] Schilling *de Leprâ, Animade. in Osiandrum* et Sprengel, § xix. says, "persuasum habeo lepram ab elephantiasi non differre nisi gradu; ad § xxiii. he illustrates Num. xii. 12, by his own experience, in dissecting a woman dead in childbed, as follows:—"Corrupti fetus dimidia pars in utero adhuc haerebat. Aperto utero tam immanis ejus putor fetor, ut non solum omnes adstantes aufugerent," &c. He thinks that the point of Moses' simile is the ill odour, which he ascribes to lepers, *i. e.* elephantiasis.

[h] Hence called also *Leontiasis.* Many have attributed to these wretched creatures a *libido inexplicabilis* (see *Proceedings of Med. and Chirurg. Soc. of London*, Jan. 1860, iii. 164, from which some of the above remarks are taken). This is denied by Dr. Robert Sim (from a close study of the disease in Jerusalem), save in so far as idleness and inactivity, with animal wants supplied, may conduce to it.