1 K. ii. 34). During this period also the practice of assassination became frequent, especially in the kingdom of Israel. Among modes of effecting this object may be mentioned the murder of Benhadad of Damascus by Hazael by means of a wet cloth (1 K. xv. 27, xvi. 9; 2 K. viii. 15; Thenius, *ad loc.*; Jahn, *Hist.* i. 137; 2 K. x. 7, xi. 1, 16, xii. 20, xiv. 5, xv. 14, 25, 30).

It was lawful to kill a burglar taken at night in the act, but unlawful to do so after sunrise (Ex. xxii. 2, 3).

The Koran forbids child-murder, and allows blood-revenge, but permits money-compensation for blood-shed (ii. 21, iv. 72, xvii. 230, ed. Sale). [BLOOD, REVENGER OF; MANSLAYER.] [H. W. P.]

MUSHI (מוּשִׁי: Ὁμουσί, Ex. vi. 19; ὁ Μουσί, 1 Chr. vi. 19, xxiii. 21, xxiv. 26, 30; Μουσί, Num. iii. 20; 1 Chr. vi. 47, xxiii. 23; Alex. Ὁμουσεί, Ex. vi. 19; Ὁμουσί, Num. iii. 20; 1 Chr. vi. 47; ὁ Μουσί, 1 Chr. vi. 19, xxiv. 30; Μουσί, 1 Chr. xxiii. 21, xxiv. 26: *Musi*). The son of Merari the son of Kohath.

MUSIC. Of music as a science among the Hebrews we have no certain knowledge, and the traces of it are so slight as to afford no ground for reasonable conjecture. But with regard to its practice there is less uncertainty. The inventor of musical instruments, like the first poet and the first forger of metals, was a Cainite. According to the narrative of Gen. iv., Jubal the son of Lamech was "the father of all such as handle the harp and organ," that is of all players upon stringed and wind instruments.[a] It has been conjectured that Jubal's discovery may have been perpetuated by the pillars of the Sethites mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 2), and that in this way it was preserved till after the Flood; but such conjectures are worse than an honest confession of ignorance. The first mention of music in the times after the Deluge is in the narrative of Laban's interview with Jacob, when he reproached his son-in-law with having stolen away unawares, without allowing him to cheer his departure "with songs, with tabret, and with harp" (Gen. xxxi. 27). So that, in whatever way it was preserved, the practice of music existed in the upland country of Syria, and of the three possible kinds of musical instruments, two were known and employed to accompany the song. The three kinds are alluded to in Job xxi. 12. On the banks of the Red Sea sang Moses and the children of Israel their triumphal song of deliverance from the hosts of Egypt; and Miriam, in celebration of the same event, exercised one of her functions as a prophetess by leading a procession of the women of the camp, chanting in chorus the burden to the song of Moses, "Sing ye to Jehovah, for He hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea." Their song was accompanied by timbrels and dances, or, as some take the latter word, by a musical instrument of which the shape is unknown but which is supposed to have resembled the modern tambourine (DANCE, vol. i. p. 389), and, like it, to have been used as an accompaniment to dancing. The expression in the A. V. of Ex. xv. 21, "and Miriam *answered* them," seems to indicate that the song was alternate, Miriam leading off with the solo while the women responded in full chorus. But it is probable that the Hebrew word, like the corresponding Arabic, has merely the sense of singing, which is retained in the A. V. of Ex. xxxii. 18; Num. xxi. 17; 1 Sam. xxix. 5; Ps. cxlvii. 7; Hos. ii. 15. The same word is used for the shouting of soldiers in battle (Jer. li. 14), and the cry of wild beasts (Is. xiii. 22), and in neither of these cases can the notion of response be appropriate. All that can be inferred is that Miriam led off the song, and this is confirmed by the rendering of the Vulg. *praecinebat*. The triumphal hymn of Moses had unquestionably a religious character about it, but the employment of music in religious service, though idolatrous, is more distinctly marked in the festivities which attended the erection of the golden calf.[b] The wild cries and shouts which reached the ears of Moses and Joshua as they came down from the mount, sounded to the latter as the din of battle, the voices of victor and vanquished blending in one harsh chorus. But the quicker sense of Moses discerned the rough music with which the people worshipped the visible representation of the God that brought them out of Egypt. Nothing could show more clearly than Joshua's mistake the rude character of the Hebrew music at this period (Ex. xxxii. 17, 18), as untrained and wild as the notes of their Syrian forefathers.[c] The silver trumpets made by the metal workers of the tabernacle, which were used to direct the movements of the camp, point to music of a very simple kind (Num. x. 1-10), and the long blast of the jubilee horns, with which the priests brought down the walls of Jericho, had probably nothing very musical about it (Josh. vi.), any more than the rough concert with which the ears of the sleeping Midianites were saluted by Gideon's three hundred warriors (Judg. vii.). The song of Deborah and Barak is cast in a distinctly metrical form, and was probably intended to be sung with a musical accompaniment as one of the people's songs, like that with which Jephthah's daughter and her companions met her father on his victorious return (Judg. xi.).

The simpler impromptu with which the women from the cities of Israel greeted David after the slaughter of the Philistine, was apparently struck off on the spur of the moment, under the influence of the wild joy with which they welcomed their national champion, "the darling of the songs of Israel." The accompaniment of timbrels and instruments of music must have been equally simple, and such that all could take part in it (1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7). Up to this time we meet with nothing like a systematic cultivation of music among the Hebrews, but the establishment of the schools of the prophets appears to have supplied this want. Whatever the students of these schools may have been taught, music was an essential part of their practice. At Bethel (1 Sam. x. 5) was a school of this kind, as well as at Naioth in Ramah

[a] From the occurrence of the name Mahalaleel, third in descent from Seth, which signifies "giving praise to God," Schneider concludes that vocal music in religious services must have been still earlier in use among the Sethites (*Bibl.-geschichtl. Darstellung der Hebr. Musik*, p. xl.).

[b] With this may be compared the musical service which accompanied the dedication of the golden image in the plains of Dura (Dan. iii.), the commencement of which was to be the signal for the multitude to prostrate themselves in worship.

[c] Compare Lam. ii. 7, where the war-cry of the enemy in the Temple is likened to the noise of the multitude on a solemn feast-day: "They have made a noise in the house of Jehovah as in the day of a solemn feast."

1 Sam. xix. 19, 20), at Jericho (2 K. ii. 5, 7, 15), Gilgal (2 K. iv. 38), and perhaps at Jerusalem (2 K. xxii. 14). Professional musicians soon became attached to the court, and though Saul, a hardy warrior, had only at intervals recourse to the soothing influence of David's harp, yet David seems to have gathered round him "singing men and singing women," who could celebrate his victories and lend a charm to his hours of peace (2 Sam. xix. 35). Solomon did the same (Eccl. ii. 8), adding to the luxury of his court by his patronage of art, and obtaining a reputation himself as no mean composer (1 K. iv. 32).

But the Temple was the great school of music, and it was consecrated to its highest service in the worship of Jehovah. Before, however, the elaborate arrangements had been made by David for the temple choir, there must have been a considerable body of musicians throughout the country (2 Sam. vi. 5), and in the procession which accompanied the ark from the house of Obededom, the Levites, with Chenaniah at their head, who had acquired skill from previous training, played on psalteries, harps, and cymbals, to the words of the psalm of thanksgiving which David had composed for the occasion (1 Chr. xv. xvi.). It is not improbable that the Levites all along had practised music and that some musical service was part of the worship of the tabernacle; for unless this supposition be made, it is inconceivable that a body of trained singers and musicians should be found ready for an occasion like that on which they make their first appearance. The position which the tribe of Levi occupied among the other tribes naturally favoured the cultivation of an art which is essentially characteristic of a leisurely and peaceful life. They were free from the hardships attending the struggle for conquest and afterwards for existence, which the Hebrews maintained with the nations of Canaan and the surrounding countries, and their subsistence was provided for by a national tax. Consequently they had ample leisure for the various ecclesiastical duties devolving upon them, and among others for the service of song, for which some of their families appear to have possessed a remarkable genius. The three great divisions of the tribe had each a representative family in the choir: Heman and his sons represented the Kohathites, Asaph the Gershonites, and Ethan (or Jeduthun) the Merarites (1 Chr. xv. 17, xxiii. 6, xxv. 1-6). Of the 38,000 who composed the tribe in the reign of David, 4000 are said to have been appointed to praise Jehovah with the instruments which David made (1 Chr. xxiii. 5) and for which he taught them a special chant. This chant for ages afterwards was known by his name, and was sung by the Levites before the army of Jehoshaphat, and on laying the foundation of the second temple (comp. 1 Chr. xvi. 34, 41; 2 Chr. vii. 6, xx. 21; Ezr. iii. 10, 11); and again by the Maccabaean army after their great victory over Gorgias (1 Macc. iv. 24). Over this great body of musicians presided the sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, twenty-four in number, as heads of the twenty-four courses of twelve into which the skilled minstrels were divided. These skilled or "cunning" (מֵבִין, 1 Chr. xxv. 6, 7) men were 288 in number, and under them appear to have been the scholars (תַּלְמִיד, 1 Chr. xxv. 8) whom, perhaps, they trained, and who made up the full number of 4000. Supposing 4000 to be merely a round number, each course would consist of a full band of 166 musicians presided over by a body of twelve skilled players, with one of the sons of Asaph, Heman, or Jeduthun as conductor. Asaph himself appears to have played on the cymbals (1 Chr. xvi. 5), and this was the case with the other leaders (1 Chr. xv. 19), perhaps to mark the time more distinctly, while the rest of the band played on psalteries and harps. The singers were distinct from both, as is evident in Ps. lxviii. 25, "the singers went before, the players on instruments followed after, in the midst of the damsels playing with timbrels;" unless the *singers* in this case were the cymbal players, like Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, who, in 1 Chr. xv. 19, are called "singers," and perhaps while giving the time with their cymbals led the choir with their voices. The "players on instruments" (נְגִנִים, *nôgĕnîm*), as the word denotes, were the performers upon stringed instruments, like the psaltery and harp, who have been alluded to. The "players on instruments" (חֲלִלִים, *chôlĕlîm*), in Ps. lxxxvii. 7, were different from these last, and were properly pipers or performers on perforated wind-instruments (see 1 K. i. 40). "The damsels playing with timbrels" (comp. 1 Chr. xiii. 8) seem to indicate that women took part in the temple choir, and among the family of Heman are specially mentioned three daughters, who, with his fourteen sons, were all "under the hands of their father for song in the house of Jehovah" (1 Chr. xxv. 5, 6). Besides, with those of the captivity who returned with Zerubbabel were "200 singing men and *singing women*" (Ezr. ii. 65). Bartenora adds that children also were included.

The trumpets, which are mentioned among the instruments played before the ark (1 Chr. xiii. 8), appear to have been reserved for the priests alone (1 Chr. xv. 24, xvi. 6). As they were also used in royal proclamations (2 K. xi. 14), they were probably intended to set forth by way of symbol the royalty of Jehovah, the theocratic king of His people, as well as to sound the alarm against His enemies (2 Chr. xiii. 12). A hundred and twenty priests blew the trumpets in harmony with the choir of Levites at the dedication of Solomon's temple (2 Chr. v. 12, 13, vii. 6), as in the restoration of the worship under Hezekiah, in the description of which we find an indication of one of the uses of the temple music. "And Hezekiah commanded to offer the burnt-offering upon the altar. And when the burnt-offering began, the song of Jehovah began also, with the trumpets and with the instruments of David king of Israel. And all the congregation worshipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded; all until the burnt-offering was finished" (2 Chr. xxix. 27, 28). The altar was the table of Jehovah (Mal. i. 7), and the sacrifices were His feasts (Ex. xxiii. 18), so the solemn music of the Levites corresponded to the melody by which the banquets of earthly monarchs were accompanied. The Temple was His palace, and as the Levite sentries watched the gates by night they chanted the songs of Zion; one of these it has been conjectured with probability is Ps. cxxxiv.

The relative numbers of the instruments in the temple band have been determined in the traditions of Jewish writers. Of psalteries there were to be not less than two nor more than six; of flutes not less than two nor more than twelve; of trumpets not less than two but as many as were

wished; of harps or citherns not less than nine but as many as were wished; while of cymbals there was only one pair (Forkel, *Allg. Gesch. der Musik*, c. iii. §28). The enormous number of instruments and dresses for the Levites provided during the magnificent reign of Solomon would seem, if Josephus be correct (*Ant.* viii. 3, §8) to have been intended for all time. A thousand dresses for the high-priest, linen garments and girdles of purple for the priests 10,000; trumpets 200,000; psalteries and harps of electrum 40,000; all these were stored up in the temple treasury. The costume of the Levite singers at the dedication of the Temple was of fine linen (2 Chr. v. 12).

In the private as well as in the religious life of the Hebrews music held a prominent place. The kings had their court musicians (Eccl. ii. 8) who bewailed their death (2 Chr. xxxv. 25), and in the luxurious times of the later monarchy the effeminate gallants of Israel, reeking with perfumes and stretched upon their couches of ivory, were wont at their banquets to accompany the song with the tinkling of the psaltery or guitar (Am. vi. 4-6), and amused themselves with devising musical instruments while their nation was perishing, as Nero fiddled when Rome was in flames. Isaiah denounces a woe against those who sat till the morning twilight over their wine, to the sound of "the harp and the viol, the tabret and pipe" (Is. v. 11, 12). But while music was thus made to minister to debauchery and excess, it was the legitimate expression of mirth and gladness, and the indication of peace and prosperity. It was only when a curse was upon the land that the prophet could say, "the mirth of tabrets ceaseth, the noise of them that rejoice endeth, the joy of the harp ceaseth, they shall not drink wine with a song" (Is. xxiv. 8, 9). In the sadness of captivity the harps hung upon the willows of Babylon and the voices of the singers refused to sing the songs of Jehovah at their foreign captors' bidding (Ps. cxxxvii.). The bridal processions as they passed through the streets were accompanied with music and song (Jer. vii. 34), and these ceased only when the land was desolate (Ez. xxvi. 13). The high value attached to music at banquets is indicated in the description given in Ecclus. xxxii. of the duties of the master of a feast. "Pour not out words where there is a musician, and show not forth wisdom out of time. A concert of music in a banquet of wine is as a signet of carbuncle set in gold. As a signet of an emerald set in a work of gold, so is the melody of music with pleasant wine." And again, the memory of the good king Josiah was "as music at a banquet of wine" (Ecclus. xlix. 1). The music of the banquets was accompanied with songs and dancing (Luke xv. 25).[d] The triumphal processions which celebrated a victory were enlivened by minstrels and singers (Ex. xv. 1, 20; Judg. v. 1, xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6, xxi. 11; 2 Chr. xx. 28; Jud. xv. 12, 13), and on extraordinary occasions they even accompanied armies to battle. Thus the Levites sang the chant of David before the army of Jehoshaphat as he went forth against the hosts of Ammon, and Moab, and Mt. Seir (2 Chr. xx. 19, 21); and the victory of Abijah over Jeroboam is attributed to the encouragement given to Judah by the priests sounding their trumpets before the ark (2 Chr. xiii. 12, 14). It is clear from the narrative of Elisha and the minstrel who by his playing calmed the prophet's spirit till the hand of Jehovah was upon him, that among the camp followers of Jehoshaphat's army on that occasion there were to be reckoned musicians who were probably Levites (2 K. iii. 15). Besides songs of triumph there were also religious songs (Is. xxx. 29; Am. v. 23; Jam. v. 13), "songs of the temple" (Am. viii. 3), and songs which were sung in idolatrous worship (Ex. xxxii. 18).[e] Love songs are alluded to in Ps. xlv. title, and Is. v. 1. There were also the doleful songs of the funeral procession, and the wailing chant of the mourners who went about the streets, the professional "keening" of those who were skilful in lamentation (2 Chr. xxxv. 25; Eccl. xii. 5; Jer. ix. 17-20; Am. v. 16). Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.* on Matt. ix. 23) quotes from the Talmudists (*Chetubh.* cap. 4, hal. 6) to the effect that every Israelite on the death of his wife, "will afford her not less than two pipers and one woman to make lamentation." The grape gatherers sang as they gathered in the vintage, and the wine-presses were trodden with the shout of a song (Is. xvi. 10; Jer. xlviii. 33); the women sang as they toiled at the mill, and on every occasion the land of the Hebrews during their national prosperity was a land of music and melody. There is one class of musicians to which allusion is casually made (Ecclus. ix. 4), and who were probably foreigners, the harlots who frequented the streets of great cities and attracted notice by singing and playing the guitar (Is. xxiii. 15, 16).

There are two aspects in which music appears, and about which little satisfactory can be said: the mysterious influence which it had in driving out the evil spirit from Saul, and its intimate connexion with prophecy and prophetical inspiration. Miriam "the prophetess" exercised her prophetical functions as the leader of the chorus of women who sang the song of triumph over the Egyptians (Ex. xv. 20). The company of prophets whom Saul met coming down from the hill of God had a psaltery, a tabret, a pipe, and a harp before them, and smitten with the same enthusiasm he "*prophesied* among them" (1 Sam. x. 5, 10). The priests of Baal, challenged by Elijah at Carmel, cried aloud, and cut themselves with knives, and *prophesied* till sunset (1 K. xviii. 29). The sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, set apart by David for the temple choir, were to "*prophesy* with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals" (1 Chr. xxv. 1); Jeduthun "*prophesied* with the harp" (1 Chr. xxv. 3), and in 2 Chr. xxxv. 15 is called "the king's *seer*," a term which is applied to Heman (1 Chr. xxv. 5) and Asaph (2 Chr.

[d] At the royal banquets of Babylon were sung hymns of praise in honour of the gods (Dan. v. 4, 23), and perhaps on some such occasion as the feast of Belshazzar the Hebrew captives might have been brought in to sing the songs of their native land (Ps. cxxxvii.).

[e] The use of music in the religious services of the Therapeutae is described by Philo (*De Vita contempl.* p. 901, ed. Frankof.). At a certain period in the service one of the worshippers rose and sang a song of praise to God, either of his own composition, or one from the older poets. He was followed by others in a regular order, the congregation remaining quiet till the concluding prayer, in which all joined. After a simple meal, the whole congregation arose and formed two choirs, one of men and one of women, with the most skilful singer of each for leader; and in this way sang hymns to God, sometimes with the full chorus, and sometimes with each choir alternately. In conclusion, both men and women joined in a single choir, in imitation of that on the shores of the Red Sea, which was led by Moses and Miriam.

xxix. 30) as musicians, as well as to Gad the prophet (2 Sam. xxiv. 11; 1 Chr. xxix. 29). The spirit of Jehovah came upon Jahaziel, a Levite of the sons of Asaph, in the reign of Jehoshaphat, and he foretold the success of the royal army (2 Chr. xx. 14). From all these instances it is evident that the same Hebrew root (נבא) is used to denote the inspiration under which the prophets spoke and the minstrels sang: Gesenius assigns the latter as a secondary meaning. In the case of Elisha, the minstrel and the prophet are distinct personages, but it is not till the minstrel has played that the hand of Jehovah comes upon the prophet (2 K. iii. 15). This influence of music has been explained as follows by a learned divine of the Platonist school: "These divine enthusiasts were commonly wont to compose their songs and hymns at the sounding of some one musical instrument or other, as we find it often suggested in the Psalms. So Plutarch . . . . describes the dictate of the oracle antiently . . . . 'how that it was uttered in verse, in pomp of words, similitudes, and metaphors, at the sound of a pipe.' Thus we have Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun set forth in this prophetical preparation, 1 Chr. xxv. 1 . . . . . Thus R. Sal. expounds the place . . . . 'when they played upon their musical instruments they prophesied after the manner of Elisha' . . . . . And this sense of this place, I think, is much more genuine than that which a late author of our own would fasten upon it, viz., that this prophesying was nothing but the singing of psalms. For it is manifest that these prophets were not mere singers but composers, and such as were truly called prophets or enthusiasts" (Smith, *Select Discourses*, vi c. 7, pp. 238, 239, ed. 1660). All that can be safely concluded is that in their external manifestations the effect of music in exciting the emotions of the sensitive Hebrews, the frenzy of Saul's madness (1 Sam. xviii. 10), and the religious enthusiasm of the prophets, whether of Baal or Jehovah, were so nearly alike as to be described by the same word. The case of Saul is more difficult still. We cannot be admitted to the secret of his dark malady. Two turning points in his history are the two interviews with Samuel, the first and the last, if we except that dread encounter which the despairing monarch challenged before the fatal day of Gilboa. On the first of these, Samuel foretold his meeting with the company of prophets with their minstrelsy, the external means by which the Spirit of Jehovah should come upon him, and he should be changed into another man (1 Sam. x. 5). The last occasion of their meeting was the disobedience of Saul in sparing the Amalekites, for which he was rejected from being king (1 Sam. xv. 26). Immediately after this we are told the Spirit of Jehovah "departed from Saul, and an "evil spirit from Jehovah troubled him" (1 Sam. xvi. 14); and his attendants, who had perhaps witnessed the strange transformation wrought upon him by the music of the prophets, suggested that the same means should be employed for his restoration. "Let our lord now command thy servants before thee, to seek out a man, a cunning player on an harp: and it shall come to pass, when the evil spirit from God is upon thee, that he shall play with his hand, and thou shalt be well. . . . . And it came to pass when the spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp and played with his hand. So Saul was refreshed, and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him" (1 Sam. xvi. 16, 23). But on two occasions, when anger and jealousy supervened, the remedy which had soothed the frenzy of insanity had lost its charm (1 Sam. xviii. 10, 11, xix. 9, 10). It seems therefore that the passage of Seneca, which has often been quoted in explanation of this phenomenon, "Pythagoras perturbationes lyra componebat" (*De Ira*, iii. 9) is scarcely applicable, and we must be content to leave the narrative as it stands. [W. A. W.]

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. In addition to the instruments of music which have been represented in our version by some modern word, and are treated under their respective titles, there are other terms which are vaguely or generally rendered. These are—

1. דַּחֲנָן, *dachăvân*, Chald., rendered "instruments of musick" in Dan. vi. 18. The margin gives "or *table*, perhaps lit. *concubines*." The last-mentioned rendering is that approved by Gesenius, and seems most probable. The translation, "instruments of musick," seems to have originated with the Jewish commentators, R. Nathan, R. Levi, and Aben Ezra, among others, who represent the word by the Hebrew *neginoth*, that is, stringed instruments which were played by being struck with the hand or the plectrum.

2. מִנִּים, *minnîm*, rendered with great probability "stringed-instruments" in Ps. cl. 4. It appears to be a general term, but beyond this nothing is known of it; and the word is chiefly interesting from its occurrence in a difficult passage in Ps. xlv. 8, which stands in the A. V. "out of the ivory palaces *whereby* (מִנִּי, *minni*) they have made thee glad," a rendering which is neither intelligible nor supported by the Hebrew idiom. Gesenius and most of the moderns follow Sebastian Schmid in translating, "out of the ivory palaces the stringed-instruments make thee glad."

3. עָשׂוֹר, *'âsôr*, "an instrument of ten strings," Ps. xcii. 3. The full phrase is נֵבֶל עָשׂוֹר, *nebel 'âsôr*, "a ten-stringed psaltery," as in Ps. xxxiii. 2, cxliv. 9; and the true rendering of the first-mentioned passage would be "upon an instrument of ten strings, even upon the psaltery." [PSALTERY.]

4. שִׁדָּה, *shiddâh*, is found only in one very obscure passage, Eccl. ii. 8, "I gat me men-singers and women-singers, and the delights of the sons of men, *musical instruments, and that of all sorts*" (שִׁדָּה וְשִׁדּוֹת, *shiddâh veshiddôth*). The words thus rendered have received a great variety of meanings. They are translated "drinking-vessels" by Aquila and the Vulgate; "cup-bearers" by the LXX., Peshito-Syriac, Jerome, and the Arabic version; "baths" by the Chaldee; and "musical instruments" by Dav. Kimchi, followed by Luther and the A. V., as well as by many commentators. By others they are supposed to refer to the women of the royal harem. But the most probable interpretation to be put upon them is that suggested by the usage of the Talmud, where שִׁידָּה, *shûlâh*, denotes a "palanquin" or "litter" for women. The whole question is discussed in Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, p. 1365.

5. שָׁלִשִׁים, *shâlishîm*, rendered "instruments of musick" in the A. V. of 1 Sam. xviii. 6, and in the margin "three-stringed instruments," from the root *shâlôsh*, "three." Roediger (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1429) translates "triangles," which are said to have been invented in Syria, from the same root. We have no means of deciding which is the more correct. The LXX. and Syriac give "cymbals" and the

Vulgate "sistra;" while others render it "noble songs" (comp. Prov. xxii. 20). [W. A. W.]

MUSTARD (σίναπι: *sinapis*) occurs in Matt. xiii. 31; Mark iv. 31; Luke xiii. 19, in which passages the kingdom of heaven is compared to a grain of mustard-seed which a man took and sowed in his garden; and in Matt. xvii. 20, Luke xvii. 6, where our Lord says to His apostles, "if ye had faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye might say to this mountain, remove hence to yonder place."

The subject of the mustard-tree of Scripture has of late years been a matter of considerable controversy, the common mustard-plant being supposed unable to fulfil the demands of the Biblical allusion. In a paper by the late Dr. Royle, read before the Royal Asiatic Society, and published in No. xv. of their Journal (1844), entitled, "On the Identification of the Mustard-tree of Scripture," the author concludes that the *Salvadora persica* is the tree in question. He supposes the *Salvadora persica* to be the same as the tree called *Khardal* (the Arabic for mustard), seeds of which are employed throughout Syria as a substitute for mustard, of which they have the taste and properties. This tree, according to the statement of Mr. Ameuny, a Syrian, quoted by Dr. Royle, is found all along the banks of the Jordan, near the lake of Tiberias, and near Damascus, and is said to be generally recognised in Syria as the mustard-tree of Scripture. It appears that Captains Irby and Mangles, who had observed this tree near the Dead Sea, were struck with the idea that it was the mustard-tree of the parable. As these travellers were advancing towards Kerek from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, after leaving its borders they entered a wooded country with high rushes and marshes. "Occasionally," they say, "we met with specimens of trees, &c., such as none of our party had seen before . . . Amongst the trees which we knew, were various species of Acacia, and in some instances we met with the dwarf Mimosa . . . There was one curious tree which we observed in great numbers, and which bore a fruit in bunches, resembling in appearance the currant, with the colour of the plum; it has a pleasant, though strong aromatic taste, resembling mustard, and if taken in any quantity, produces a similar irritability in the nose and eyes. The leaves of this tree have the same pungent flavour as the fruit, though not so strong. We think it probable that this is the tree our Saviour alluded to in the parable of the mustard-seed, and not the mustard-plant which is to be found in the north" (*Trav.* May 8). Dr. Royle thus sums up his arguments in favour of the *Salvadora persica* representing the mustard-tree of Scripture:—"The *S. persica* appears better calculated than any other tree that has yet been adduced to answer to every thing that is required, especially if we take into account its name and the opinions held respecting it in Syria. We have in it a small seed, which sown in cultivated ground grows up and abounds in foliage. This being pungent, may like the seeds have been used as a condiment, as mustard-and-cress is with us. The nature of the plant is to become arboreous, and thus it will form a large shrub or a tree, twenty-five feet high, under which a horseman may stand when the soil and climate are favourable; it produces numerous branches and leaves, under which birds may and do take shelter, as well as build their nests; it has a name in Syria which may be considered as traditional from the earliest

times, of which the Greek is a correct translation; its seeds are used for the same purposes as mustard; and in a country where trees are not plentiful, that is, the shores of the lake of Tiberias, this tree is said to abound, that is in the very locality where the parable was spoken" (*Treatise on the Mustard-tree*, &c., p. 24).

Salvadora Persica.

Notwithstanding all that has been adduced by Dr. Royle in support of his argument, we confess ourselves unable to believe that the subject of the mustard-tree of Scripture is thus finally settled. But, before the claims of the *Salvadora persica* are discussed, it will be well to consider whether some mustard-plant (*Sinapis*), may not after all be the mustard-tree of the parable: at any rate this opinion has been held by many writers, who appear never to have entertained any doubt upon the subject. Hiller, Celsius, Rosenmüller, who all studied the botany of the Bible, and older writers, such as Erasmus, Zezerus, Grotius, are content to believe that some common mustard-plant is the plant of the parable; and more recently Mr. Lambert in his "Note on the Mustard-plant of Scripture" (see *Linnean Trans.* vol. xvii. p. 449), has argued in behalf of the *Sinapis nigra*.

The objection commonly made against any *Sinapis* being the plant of the parable is, that the seed grew into "a tree" (δένδρον), or as St. Luke has it, "a great tree" (δένδρον μέγα), in the branches of which the fowls of the air are said to come and lodge. Now in answer to the above objection it is urged with great truth, that the expression is figurative and Oriental, and that in a proverbial simile no literal accuracy is to be expected; it is an error, for which the language of Scripture is not accountable, to assert, as Dr. Royle and some others have done, that the passage implies that birds "built their nests" in the tree, the Greek word κατασκηνόω has no such meaning, the word merely means "to settle or rest upon" any thing for a longer or shorter time; the birds came, "*insidendi et versandi causa*" as Hiller (*Hierophyt.* ii. 63) explains the phrase: nor is there any

occasion to suppose that the expression "fowls of the air" denotes any other than the smaller *insessorial* kinds, linnets, finches, &c., and not the "aquatic fowls by the lake side, or partridges and pigeons hovering over the rich plain of Gennesareth," which Prof. Stanley (*S. & P.* 427) recognises as "the birds that came and devoured the seed by the way side"—for the larger birds are wild and avoid the way side—or as those "which took refuge in the spreading branches of the mustard-tree." Hiller's explanation is probably the correct one; that the birds came and settled on the mustard-plant for the sake of the seed, of which they are very fond. Again, whatever the σίναπι may be, it is expressly said to be a herb, or more properly "a garden herb" (λάχανον, *olus*). As to the plant being called a "tree" or a "great tree," the expression is not only an Oriental one, but it is clearly spoken with reference to some other thing; the σίναπι with respect to the other *herbs* of the garden may, considering the size to which it grows, justly be called "*a great tree*," though of course, with respect to trees properly so named, it could not be called one at all. This, or a somewhat similar explanation is given by Celsius and Hiller,

Sinapis Nigra.

and old commentators generally, and we confess we see no reason why we should not be satisfied with it. Irby and Mangles mention the large size which the mustard-plant attains in Palestine. In their journey from Bysan to Adjeloun, in the Jordan valley, they crossed a small plain very thickly covered with herbage, particularly the mustard-plant, which reached as high as their horses' heads. ('Trav. March 12.) Dr. Kitto says this plant was probably the *Sinapis orientalis* (*nigra*), which attains under a favouring climate a stature which it will not reach in our country. Dr. Thomson also (*The Land and the Book*, p. 414), says he has seen the Wild Mustard on the *rich plain* of Akkar as tall as the horse and the rider. Now, it is clear from Scripture that the σίναπι was cultivated in our Lord's time, the seed a "man took and sowed in his field;" St. Luke says, "cast into his garden:" if then, the wild plant on the *rich plain* of Akkar grows as high as a man on horseback, it might attain to the same or a greater height when in a cultivated garden; and if, as Lady Callcott has observed, we take into account the very low plants and shrubs upon which birds often roost, it will readily be seen that some common mustard-plant is able to fulfil all the Scriptural demands. As to the story of the Rabbi Simeon Ben Calaphtha having in his garden a mustard-plant, into which he was accustomed to climb as men climb into a fig-tree, it can only be taken for what Talmudical statements generally are worth, and must be quite insufficient to afford grounds for any argument. But it may be asked, Why not accept the explanation that the *Salvadora persica* is the tree denoted?—a tree which will literally meet all the demands of the parable. Because, we answer, where the commonly received opinion can be shown to be in full accordance with the Scriptural allusions, there is no occasion to be dissatisfied with it; and again, because at present we know nothing certain of the occurrence of the *Salvadora persica* in Palestine, except that it occurs in the small tropical low valley of Engedi, near the Dead Sea, from whence Dr. Hooker saw specimens, but it is evidently of rare occurrence. Mr. Ameuny says he had seen it all along the banks of the Jordan, near the lake of Tiberias and Damascus; but this statement is certainly erroneous. We know from Pliny, Dioscorides, and other Greek and Roman writers, that mustard-seeds were much valued, and were used as a condiment; and it is more probable that the Jews of our Lord's time were in the habit of making a similar use of the seeds of some common mustard (*Sinapis*), than that they used to plant in their gardens the seed of a tree which certainly cannot fulfil the Scriptural demand of being called "a pot-herb."

The expression "which is indeed the least of all seeds," is in all probability hyperbolical, to denote a very small seed indeed, as there are many seeds which are smaller than mustard. "The Lord in his popular teaching," says Trench (*Notes on Parables*, 108), "adhered to the popular language;" and the mustard-seed was used proverbially to denote anything very minute (see the quotations from the Talmud in Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm* p. 322: also the Koran, *Sur.* 31).

The parable of the mustard-plant may be thus paraphrased:—"The Gospel dispensation is like a grain of mustard-seed which a man sowed in his garden, which indeed is one of the least of all seeds; but which, when it springs up, becomes a tall branched plant, on the branches of which the birds come and settle seeking their food."[a] [W. H.]

[a] Dr. Hooker has read the proof-sheet of this article, and returned it with the following remarks: "I quite agree with all you say about *Mustard*. My best information I laughed at the idea of the *Salvadora persica* either being the mustard, or as being sufficiently well known to have made use of in a parable at all. I am satisfied that it is a very rare plant in Syria, and is probably confined to the hot low sub-tropical Engedi valley, where various other Indian and Arabian types appear at the *Ultima Thule* of their northern wanderings. Of the mustard-plants which I saw on the banks of the Jordan, one was 10 feet high, drawn up amongst bushes, &c., and not thicker than whipcord. I was told it was a well-known condiment, and cultivated by the Arabs: it is the common wild *Sinapis nigra*."

MUTH-LAB'BEN. "To the chief musician upon Muth-labben" (עַל מוּת לַבֵּן: ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων τοῦ υἱοῦ: *pro occultis filii*), is the title of Ps. ix., which has given rise to infinite conjecture. Two difficulties in connexion with it have to be resolved; first, to determine the true reading of the Hebrew, and then to ascertain its meaning. Neither of these points has been satisfactorily explained. It is evident that the LXX. and Vulgate must have read עַל עֲלֻמוֹת, "concerning the mysteries," and so the Arabic and Ethiopic versions. The Targum, Symmachus,[a] and Jerome,[b] in his translation of the Hebrew, adhered to the received text, while Aquila,[c] retaining the consonants as they at present stand, read *al-muth* as one word, עַלְמוּת, "youth," which would be the regular form of the abstract noun, though it does not occur in Biblical Hebrew. In support of the reading עלמות as one word, we have the authority of 28 of Kennicott's MSS., and the assertion of Jarchi that he had seen it so written, as in Ps. xlviii. 14, in the Great Masorah. If the reading of the Vulgate and LXX. be correct with regard to the consonants, the words might be pointed thus, עַל עַלְמוֹת, *'al 'ălâmôth*, "upon Alamoth," as in the title of Ps. xlvi., and לבן is possibly a fragment of לִבְנֵי קֹרַח, *libnê Korach*, "for the sons of Korah," which, appears in the same title. At any rate such a reading would have the merit of being intelligible, which is more than can be said of most explanations which have been given. But if the Masoretic reading be the true one, it is hard to attach any meaning to it. The Targum renders the title of the psalm,—"on the death of the man who came forth from between (בֵּין) the camps," alluding to Goliath, the Philistine champion (אִישׁ הַבֵּינַיִם, 1 Sam. xvii. 4). That David composed the psalm as a triumphal song upon the slaughter of his gigantic adversary, was a tradition which is mentioned by Kimchi merely as an *on dit*. Others render it "on the death of the son," and apply it to Absalom; but, as Jarchi remarks, there is nothing in the character of the psalm to warrant such an application. He mentions another interpretation, which appears to have commended itself to Grotius and Hengstenberg, by which *labben* is an anagram of *nabal*, and the psalm is referred to the death of Nabal, but the Rabbinical commentator had the good sense to reject it as untenable, though there is as little to be said in favour of his own view. His words are—"but I say that this song is of the future to come, when the childhood and youth of Israel shall be made white (יתלבן), and their righteousness be revealed and their salvation draw nigh, when Esau and his seed shall be blotted out." He takes עַלְמוּת as one word, signifying "youth," and לְלַבֵּן=לְלַבֵּן, "to whiten." Menahem, a commentator quoted by Jarchi, interprets the title as addressed "to the musician upon the stringed instruments called Alamoth, to instruct," taking לַבֵּן as if it were לְהָבִין or לְבוֹנֵן. Donesh supposes that *labben* was the name of a man who warred with David in those days, and to whom reference is made as "the wicked" in verse 5. Arama (quoted by Dr. Gill in his *Exposition*) identifies him with Saul. As a last resource Kimchi suggests that the title was intended to convey instructions to the Levite minstrel Ben, whose name occurs in 1 Chr. xv. 18 among the temple choir, and whose brethren played "with psalteries on Alamoth." There is reason, however, to suspect that the reading in this verse is corrupt, as the name is not repeated with the others in verse 20. There still remain to be noticed the conjectures of Delitzsch, that Muth-labben denotes the tone or melody with the words of the song associated with it, of others that it was a musical instrument, and of Hupfeld that it was the commencement of an old song, either signifying "die for the son," or "death to the son." Hitzig and others regard it as an abbreviation containing a reference to Ps. xlviii. 14. The difficulty of the question is sufficiently indicated by the explanation which Gesenius himself (*Thes.* p. 741 *a*) was driven to adopt, that the title of the psalm signified that it was "to be chanted by boys with virgins' voices."

The renderings of the LXX. and Vulgate induced the early Christian commentators to refer the psalm to the Messiah. Augustine understands "the son" as "the only begotten son of God." The Syriac version is quoted in support of this interpretation, but the titles of the Psalms in that version are generally constructed without any reference to the Hebrew, and therefore it cannot be appealed to as an authority.

On all accounts it seems extremely probable that the title in its present form is only a fragment of the original, which may have been in full what has been suggested above. But, in the words of the Assembly's Annotations, "when all hath been said that can be said the conclusion must be the same as before; that these titles are very uncertain things, if not altogether unknown in these days." [W. A. W.]

MYN'DUS (Μύνδος), a town on the coast of CARIA, between MILETUS and HALICARNASSUS. The convenience of its position in regard to trade was probably the reason why we find in 1 Macc. xv. 23 that it was the residence of a Jewish population. Its ships were well known in very early times (Herod. v. 33), and its harbour is specially mentioned by Strabo (xiv. 658). The name still lingers in the modern *Mentesche*, though the remains of the city are probably at *Gumishlu*, where Admiral Beaufort found an ancient pier and other ruins. [J. S. H.]

MY'RA (τὰ Μύρα), an important town in LYCIA, and interesting to us as the place where St. Paul, on his voyage to Rome (Acts xxvii. 5), was removed from the Adramyttian ship which had brought him from Caesarea, and entered the Alexandrian ship in which he was wrecked on the coast of Malta. [ADRAMYTTIUM.] The travellers had availed themselves of the first of these vessels because their course to Italy necessarily took them past the coasts of the province of ASIA (ver. 2), expecting in some harbour on these coasts to find another vessel bound to the westward. This expectation was fulfilled (ver. 6).

It might be asked how it happened that an Alexandrian ship bound for Italy was so far out of her course as to be at Myra. This question is easily answered by those who have some acquaintance with the navigation of the Levant. Myra is nearly due north of Alexandria, the harbours in the neighbourhood are numerous and good, the mountains high and easily seen,

[a] περὶ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ. [b] *Super morte filii.* [c] νεανιότητος τοῦ υἱοῦ.

and the current sets along the coast to the westward (Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*). Moreover, to say nothing of the possibility of landing or taking in passengers or goods, the wind was blowing about this time continuously and violently from the N.W., and the same weather which impeded the Adramyttian ship (ver. 4) would be a hindrance to the Alexandrian (see ver. 7; *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ch. xxiii.).

Some unimportant MSS. having Λύστρα in this passage, Grotius conjectured that the true reading might be Λίμυρα (Bentleii *Critica Sacra*, ed. A. A. Ellis). This supposition, though ingenious, is quite unnecessary. Both Limyra and Myra were well known among the maritime cities of Lycia. The harbour of the latter was strictly Andriace, distant from it between two and three miles, but the river was navigable to the city (Appian, *B. C.* iv. 82).

Myra (called *Dembra* by the Greeks) is remarkable still for its remains of various periods of history. The tombs, enriched with ornament, and many of them having inscriptions in the ancient Lycian character, show that it must have been wealthy in early times. Its enormous theatre attests its considerable population in what may be called its Greek age. In the deep gorge which leads into the mountains is a large Byzantine church, a relic of the Christianity which may have begun with St. Paul's visit. It is reasonable to conjecture that this may have been a metropolitan church, inasmuch as we find that when Lycia was a province, in the later Roman empire, Myra was its capital (*Hierocl.* p. 684). In later times it was curiously called the port of the Adriatic, and visited by Anglo-Saxon travellers (*Early Travels in Palestine*, pp. 33, 138). Legend says that St. Nicholas, the patron saint of the modern Greek sailors, was born at PATARA, and buried at Myra, and his supposed relics were taken to St. Petersburgh by a Russian frigate during the Greek revolution.

The remains of Myra have had the advantage of very full description by the following travellers: Leake, Beaufort, Fellows, Texier, and Spratt and Forbes.

[J. S. H.]

MYRRH, the representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *Môr* and *Lôt*.

1. *Môr* (מֹר: σμύρνα, στακτή, μύρινος, κρόκος: *myrrha, myrrhinus, myrrha*) is mentioned in Exod. xxx. 23, as one of the ingredients of the "oil of holy ointment;" in Esth. ii. 12, as one of the substances used in the purification of women; in Ps. xlv. 8, Prov. vii. 17, and in several passages in Canticles, as a perfume. The Greek σμύρνα occurs in Matt. ii. 11 amongst the gifts brought by the wise men to the infant Jesus, and in Mark xv. 23, it is said that "wine mingled with myrrh" (οἶνον ἐσμυρισμένος) was offered to, but refused by, our Lord on the cross. Myrrh was also used for embalming (see John xix. 39, and Herod. ii. 86). Various conjectures have been made as to the real nature of the substance denoted by the Hebrew מֹר (see Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 522); and much doubt has existed as to the countries in which it is produced. According to the testimony of Herodotus (iii. 107), Dioscorides (i. 77), Theophrastus (ix. 4. §1), Diodorus Siculus (ii. 49), Strabo, Pliny, &c., the tree which produces myrrh grows in Arabia. Pliny (xii. 16) says, in different parts of Arabia, and asserts that there are several kinds of myrrh both wild and cultivated: it is probable that under the name of *myrrha* he is describing different resinous productions. Theophrastus, who is generally pretty accurate in his observations, remarks (ix. 4. §1), that myrrh is produced in the middle of Arabia, around Saba and Adramytta. Some ancient writers, as Propertius (i. 2, 3) and Oppian (*Halieut.* iii. 403), speak of myrrh as found in Syria (see also Belon, *Observ.* ii. ch. 80); others conjecture India and Aethiopia; Plutarch (*Is. et Osir.* p. 383) asserts that it is produced in Egypt, and is there called *Bal*. "The fact," observes Dr. Royle (s. v. *Môr*, Kitto's *Cycl.*), "of myrrh being called *bal* among the Egyptians is extremely curious, for *bol* is the Sanscrit *bola*, the name for myrrh throughout India."[b]

It would appear that the ancients generally are correct in what they state of the localities where myrrh is produced, for Ehrenberg and Hemprich have proved that myrrh is found in Arabia Felix, thus confirming the statements of Theophrastus and Pliny; and Mr. Johnson (*Travels in Abyssinia*, i. 249) found myrrh exuding from cracks in the back of a tree in Koran-hedulah in Adal, and Forskål mentions two myrrh-producing trees, *Amyris Kataf* and *Amyris Kafal*, as occurring near Haes in Arabia Felix. The myrrh-tree which Ehrenberg and Hemprich found in the borders of Arabia Felix, and that which Mr. Johnson saw in Abyssinia are believed to be identical; the tree is the *Balsamodendron myrrha*, "a low thorny ragged-looking tree, with bright trifoliate leaves:" it is probably the *Murr* of Abu 'l Fadli, of which he says "murr is the Arabic name of a thorny tree like an acacia, from which flows a white liquid, which thickens and becomes a gum."

Balsamodendron Myrrha.

That myrrh has been long exported from Africa we learn from Arrian, who mentions σμύρνα as one of the articles of export from the ancient district of Barbaria: the Egyptians perhaps ob-

[a] From root מָרַר, "to drop."

[b] Plutarch, however, was probably in error, and has confounded the Coptic *sal*, "myrrh," with *bal*, "an eye." See Jablonski, *Opusc.* i. 49, ed. te Water.

tained their myrrh from the country of the Troglodytes (Nubia), as the best wild myrrh-trees are said by Pliny (xii. 15) to come from that district. Pliny states also that "the Sabaei even cross the sea to procure it in the country of the Troglodytae." From what Athenaeus (xv. 689) says, it would appear that myrrh was imported into Egypt, and that the Greeks received it from thence. Dioscorides describes many kinds of myrrh under various names, for which see Sprengel's *Annotations*, i. 73, &c.

The *Balsamodendron myrrha*, which produces the myrrh of commerce, has a wood and bark which emit a strong odour; the gum which exudes from the bark is at first oily, but becomes hard by exposure to the air: it belongs to the natural order *Terebinthaceae*. There can be little doubt that this tree is identical with the *Murr* of Abu'l Fadli, the *σμύρνα* of the Greek writers, the "stillata cortice myrrha" of Ovid and the Latin writers, and the *môr* of the Hebrew Scriptures.

The "wine mingled with myrrh," which the Roman soldiers presented to our Lord on the cross, was given, according to the opinion of some commentators, in order to render him less sensitive to pain; but there are differences of opinion on this subject, for which see GALL, Appendix A.

Cistus Creticus.

2. *Lôt* (לֹט[c]: *σταχτη*: *stacte*), erroneously translated "myrrh" in the A. V. in Gen. xxxvii. 25, xliii. 11, the only two passages where the word is found, is generally considered to denote the odorous resin which exudes from the branches of the *Cistus creticus*, known by the name of *ladanum* or *labdanum*. It is clear that *lôt* cannot signify "myrrh," which is not produced in Palestine, yet the Scriptural passages in Genesis speak of this substance as being exported from Gilead into Egypt. *Ladanum* was known to the early Greeks, for Herodotus (iii. 107, 112) mentions λήδανον, or λάδανον, as a product of Arabia, and says it is found "sticking like gum to the beards of he-goats, which collect it from the wood;" similar is the testimony of Dioscorides (i. 128), who says that the best kind is "odorous, in colour inclining to green, easy to soften, fat, free from particles of sand and dirt; such is that kind which is produced in Cyprus, but that of Arabia and Libya is inferior in quality." There are several species of *Cistus*, all of which are believed to yield the gum ladanum; but the species mentioned by Dioscorides is in all probability identical with the one which is found in Palestine, viz., the *Cistus creticus* (Strand, *Flor. Palaest.* No. 289). The *C. ladaniferus*, a native of Spain and Portugal, produces the greatest quantity of the ladanum; it has a white flower, while that of the *C. creticus* is rose-coloured. Tournefort (*Voyage*, i. 79) has given an interesting account of the mode in which the gum ladanum is gathered, and has figured the instrument commonly employed by the people of Candia for the purpose of collecting it. There can be no doubt that the Hebrew *lôt*, the Arabic *ladan*, the Greek λήδανον, the Latin and English *lādanum*, are identical (see Rosenmüller, *Bib. Bot.* p. 158; Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 288). Ladanum was formerly much used as a stimulant in medicine, and is now of repute amongst the Turks as a perfume.

The Cistus belongs to the Natural order *Cistaceae*, the Rock-rose family. [W. H.]

MYRTLE (הֲדַס,[a] *hadas*: *μυρσίνη*, *ὄρος*;[b] *myrtus*, *myrtetum*). There is no doubt that the A. V. is correct in its translation of the Hebrew word, for all the old versions are agreed upon the point, and the identical noun occurs in Arabic—in the dialect of Yemen, S. Arabia—as the name of the "myrtle."[c]

Mention of the myrtle is made in Neh. viii. 15; Is. xli. 19, lv. 13; Zech. i. 8, 10, 11. When the Feast of Tabernacles was celebrated by the Jews on the return from Babylon, the people of Jerusalem were ordered to "go forth unto the mount and fetch olive-branches, and pine-branches, and myrtle-branches, and to make booths." The prophet Isaiah foretells the coming golden age of Israel, when "the Lord shall plant in the wilderness "the shittah-tree and the myrtle-tree and the oil-tree." The modern Jews still adorn with myrtle the booths and sheds at the Feast of Tabernacles. Myrtles (*Myrtus communis*) will grow either on hills or in valleys, but it is in the latter locality where they attain to their greatest perfection. Formerly, as we learn from Nehemiah (viii. 15), myrtles grew on the hills about Jerusalem. "On Olivet," says Prof. Stanley, "nothing is now to be seen but the olive and the fig tree:" on some of the hills, how-

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[c] From root לוּט, "to cover;" the gum covering the plant.

[a] The derivation of this word is uncertain; but see the Hebrew Lexicons.

[b] The LXX. reading הֶהָרִים, instead of הַהֲדַסִּים.

[c] هدس (Heb. הֲדַס). Myrtus *idiomate Arabiae Felicis*). Kamus (Freytag, *Ar. Lex.* s. v.).

ever, near Jerusalem, Hasselquist (*Trav.* 127, Lond. 1766) observed the myrtle. Dr. Hooker says it is not uncommon in Samaria and Galilee. Irby and Mangles (p. 222) describe the rivers from Tripoli towards Galilee as having their banks covered with myrtles (see also Kitto, *Phys. Hist. of Palest.* p. 268).

Myrtus communis.

The myrtle (*hadas*) gave her name to Hadassah or Esther (Esth. ii. 7): the Greek names Myrtilus, Myrtessa, &c., have a similar origin. There are several species of the genus *Myrtus*, but the *Myrtus communis* is the only kind denoted by the Hebrew *Hadas*: it belongs to the natural order *Myrtaceae*, and is too well known to need description.

[W. H.]

MYSIA (Μυσία). If we were required to fix the exact limits of this north-western district of Asia Minor, a long discussion might be necessary. But it is mentioned only once in the N. T. (Acts xvi. 7, 8), and that cursorily and in reference to a passing journey. St. Paul and his companions, on the second missionary circuit, were divinely prevented from staying to preach the Gospel either in Asia or Bithynia. They had then come κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν, and they were directed to Troas, παρελθόντες τὴν Μυσίαν; which means either that they skirted its border, or that they passed through the district without staying there. In fact the best description that can be given of Mysia at this time is that it was the region about the frontier of the provinces of Asia and Bithynia. The term is evidently used in an ethnological, not a political sense. Winer compares it, in this point of view, to such German terms as Suabia, Breisgau, &c. Illustrations nearer home might be found in such districts as Craven in Yorkshire or Appin in Argyllshire. Assos and ADRAMYTTIUM were both in Mysia. Immediately opposite was the island of Lesbos. [MITYLENE.] TROAS, though within the same range of country, had a small district of its own, which was viewed as politically separate.

[J. S. H.]

N

NA'AM (נַעַם: Νοόμ: *Naham*). One of the sons of Caleb the son of Jephunneh (1 Chr. iv. 15).

NA'AMAH (נַעֲמָה). 1. (Νοεμά: *Noema.*) One of the four women whose names are preserved in the records of the world before the Flood; all except Eve being Cainites. She was daughter of Lamech by his wife Zillah, and sister, as is expressly mentioned, to Tubalcain (Gen. iv. 22 only). No reason is given us why these women should be singled out for mention in the genealogies; and in the absence of this most of the commentators have sought a clue in the significance of the names interpreted as Hebrew terms; endeavouring, in the characteristic words of one of the latest Jewish critics, by "due energy to strike the living water of thought ever out of the rocky soil of dry names" (Kalisch, *Genesis*, 149). Thus Naamah, from *Na'am*, "sweet, pleasant," signifies, according to the same interpreter, "the lovely beautiful woman," and this and other names in the same genealogy of the Cainites are interpreted as tokens that the human race at this period was advancing in civilization and arts. But not only are such deductions at all times hazardous and unsatisfactory, but in this particular instance it is surely begging the question to assume that these early names are Hebrew; at any rate the *onus probandi* rests on those who make important deductions from such slight premises. In the Targum Pseudojonathan, Naamah is commemorated as the "mistress of lamenters and singers;" and in the Samaritan Version her name is given as Zalkipha.

2. (Μααχάμ, Ναανάν, Νοομμᾶ; Alex. Νααμα, Νοομμα; Joseph. Νοομᾶς: *Naama.*) Mother of king Rehoboam (1 K. xiv. 21, 31[a]; 2 Chr. xii. 13). On each occasion she is distinguished by the title "the (not 'an,' as in A. V.) Ammonite." She was therefore one of the foreign women whom Solomon took into his establishment (1 K. xi. 1). In the LXX. (1 K. xii. 24, answering to xiv. 31 of the Hebrew text) she is stated to have been the "daughter of Ana (*i. e.* Hanun) the son of Nahash." If this is a translation of a statement which once formed part of the Hebrew text, and may be taken as authentic history, it follows that the Ammonite war into which Hanun's insults had provoked David was terminated by a re-alliance; and, since Solomon reigned forty years, and Rehoboam was forty-one years old when he came to the throne, we can fix with tolerable certainty the date of the event. It took place before David's death, during that period of profound quiet which settled down on the nation, after the failure of Absalom's rebellion and of the subsequent attempt of Sheba the son of Bichri had strengthened more than ever the affection of the nation for the throne of David; and which was not destined to be again disturbed till put an end to by the shortsighted rashness of the son of Naamah.

G.]

NA'AMAH (נַעֲמָה: Νωμάν; Alex. Νωμα: *Neema*), one of the towns of Judah in the district of the lowland or Shefelah, belonging to the same group with Lachish, Eglon, and Makkedah (Josh. xv. 41). Nothing more is known of it, nor has

[a] The LXX. transpose this to ch. xii. after ver. 24.

any name corresponding with it been yet discovered in the proper direction. But it seems probable that Naamah should be connected with the Naamathites, who again were perhaps identical with the Mehunim or Minaeans, traces of whom are found on the south-western outskirts of Judah; one such at Minois or *el-Minyay*, a few miles below Gaza. [G.]

NA'AMAN (נַעֲמָן: Ναιμάν; N. T. Rec. Text, Νεεμάν, but Lachm. with A B D, Ναιμάν; Joseph. Ἄμανος: *Naaman*)—or to give him the title conferred on him by our Lord, "Naaman the Syrian." An Aramite warrior, a remarkable incident in whose life is preserved to us through his connexion with the prophet Elisha. The narrative is given in 2 K. v.

The name is a Hebrew one, and that of ancient date (see the next article), but it is not improbable that in the present case it may have been slightly altered in its insertion in the Israelite records. Of Naaman the Syrian there is no mention in the Bible except in this connexion. But a Jewish tradition, at least as old as the time of Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 15, §5), and which may very well be a genuine one, identifies him with the archer whose arrow, whether at random or not,[a] struck Ahab with his mortal wound, and thus "gave deliverance to Syria." The expression is remarkable—"because that by him Jehovah had given deliverance to Syria." To suppose the intention to be that Jehovah was the universal ruler, and that therefore all deliverance, whether afforded to His servants or to those who, like the Syrians, acknowledged Him not, was wrought by Him, would be thrusting a too modern idea into the expression of the writer. Taking the tradition above-mentioned into account, the most natural explanation perhaps is that Naaman, in delivering his country, had killed one who was the enemy of Jehovah not less than he was of Syria. Whatever the particular exploit referred to was, it had given Naaman a great position at the court of Benhadad. In the first rank for personal prowess and achievements, he was commander-in-chief of the army, while in civil matters he was nearest to the person of the king, whom he accompanied officially, and supported, when the king went to worship in the temple of Rimmon (ver. 18). He was afflicted with a leprosy of the white kind (ver. 27), which had hitherto defied cure. In Israel, according to the enactments of the Mosaic Law, this would have cut off even[b] Naaman from intercourse with every one; he would there have been compelled to dwell in a "several house." But not so in Syria; he maintained his access[c] to the king, and his contact with the members of his own household. The circumstances of his visit to Elisha have been drawn out under the latter head [vol. i. 538 *b*], and need not be repeated here. Naaman's appearance throughout the occurrence is most characteristic and consistent. He is every inch a soldier, ready at once to resent what he considers as a slight cast either on himself or the natural glories of his country, and blazing out in a moment into sudden "rage," but calmed as speedily by a few goodhumoured and sensible words from his dependants, and, after the cure has been effected, evincing a thankful and simple heart, whose gratitude knows no bounds and will listen to no refusal.

His request to be allowed to take away two mules' burthen of earth is not easy to understand. The natural explanation is that, with a feeling akin to that which prompted the Pisan invaders to take away the earth of Aceldama for the Campo Santo at Pisa, and in obedience to which the pilgrims to Mecca are said to bring back stones from that sacred territory, the grateful convert to Jehovah wished to take away some of the earth of His country, to form an altar for the burnt-offering and sacrifice which henceforth he intended to dedicate to Jehovah only, and which would be inappropriate if offered on the profane earth of the country of Rimmon or Hadad. But it should be remembered that in the narrative there is no mention of an altar;[d] and although Jehovah had on one occasion ordered that the altars put up for offerings to Him should be of earth (Ex. xx. 24), yet Naaman could hardly have been aware of this enactment, unless indeed it was a custom of older date and wider existence than the Mosaic law, and adopted into that law as a significant and wise precept for some reason now lost to us.

How long Naaman lived to continue a worshipper of Jehovah while assisting officially at that of Rimmon, we are not told. When next we hear of Syria, another, Hazael, apparently holds the position which Naaman formerly filled. But, as has been elsewhere noticed, the reception which Elisha met with on this later occasion in Damascus probably implies that the fame of "the man of God," and of the mighty Jehovah in whose name he wrought, had not been forgotten in the city of Naaman.

It is singular that the narrative of Naaman's cure is not found in the present text of Josephus. Its absence makes the reference to him as the slayer of Ahab, already mentioned, still more remarkable.

It is quoted by our Lord (Luke iv. 27) as an instance of mercy exercised to one who was not of Israel, and it should not escape notice that the reference to this act of healing is recorded by none of the Evangelists but St. Luke the physician. [G.]

NA'AMAN (נַעֲמָן: Νοεμάν). One of the family of Benjamin who came down to Egypt with Jacob, as we read in Gen. xlvi. 21. According to the LXX. version of that passage he was the son of Bela, which is the parentage assigned to him in Num. xxvi. 40, where, in the enumeration of the sons of Benjamin, he is said to be the son of Bela, and head of the family of the Naamites. He is also reckoned among the sons of Bela in 1 Chr. viii. 3, 4. Nothing is known of his personal history, or of that of the Naamites. For the account of the migrations, apparently compulsory, of some of the sons of Benjamin from Geba to Manahath, in 1 Chr. viii. 6, 7, is so confused, probably from the corruption of the text, that it is impossible to say whether the family of Naaman was or was not included in it. The repetition in ver. 7 of the three names Naaman, Ahiah, Gera, in a context to which they do not seem to belong, looks like the mere error of a copyist, inadvertently copying over again the same names which he had written in the same order in ver. 4, 5,—Naaman, Ahoah, Gera. If, however, the names are in their place in ver. 7, it would seem to indicate that the family of Naaman did mi-

[a] LXX. εὔστοχως, *i. e.* "with good aim," possibly a transcriber's variation from εὐτυχῶς.

[b] It did drive a king into strict seclusion (2 Chr. xxvi. 21).

[c] The A. V. of ver. 4 conveys a wrong impression. It is accurately not "one went in," but "he (*i. e.* Naaman) went in and told his master" (*i. e.* the king). The word rendered "lord" is the same as is rendered "master" in ver. 1.

[d] The LXX. (Vat. MSS) omits even the words "of earth," ver. 17

...cate with the sons of Ehud (called *Abihud* in ver. 3) from Geba to Manahath. [A. C. H.]

NAAM'ATHITE (הַנַּעֲמָתִי: Μιναίων βασιλεύς, ὁ Μιναῖος: *Naamathites*), the gentilic name of one of Job's friends, Zophar the Naamathite (Job ii. 11, xi. 1, xx. 1, xlii. 9). There is no other trace of this name in the Bible, and the town, נַעֲמָה, whence it is derived, is unknown. If we may judge from modern usage, several places so called probably existed on the Arabian borders of Syria. Thus in the Geographical Dictionary, *Marásia-el Ittilá'a*, are Noam, a castle in the Yemen, and a place on the Euphrates; Niameh a place belonging to the Arabs; and Noamee, a valley in Tihameh. The name Naamán (of unlikely derivation however) is very common. Bochart (*Phaleg*, cap. xxii.), as might be expected, seizes the LXX. reading, and in the "king of the Minaei" sees a confirmation to his theory respecting a Syrian, or northern Arabian settlement of that well-known people of classical antiquity. It will be seen, in art. DIKLA, that the present writer identifies the Minaei with the people of Ma'een, in the Yemen; and there is nothing improbable in a northern colony of the tribe, besides the presence of a place so named in the Syro-Arabian desert. But we regard this point as apart from the subject of this article, thinking the LXX. reading, unsupported as it is, to be too hypothetical for acceptance. [E. S. P.]

NA'AMITES, THE (הַנַּעֲמִי: Samar. הנעמני: ὁ Νοεμανεί; Alex. omits: *familia Naamitarum*, and *Noemanitarum*), the family descended from NAAMAH, the grandson of Benjamin (Num. xvi. 40 only). [NAAMAH, p. 452*b*.] The name is a contraction, of a kind which does not often occur in Hebrew. Accordingly the Samaritan Codex, as will be seen above, presents it at length—"the Naamanites." [G.]

NA'ARAH (נַעֲרָה: Θοαδᾶ; Alex. Νοορα: *Naara*) the second wife of Ashur, a descendant of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 5, 6). Nothing is known of the persons (or places) recorded as the children of Naarah. In the Vat. LXX. the children of the two wives are interchanged.

NAARA'I (נַעֲרַי: Νααραί: *Naaraï*). One of the valiant men of David's armies (1 Chr. xi. 37). In 1 Chr. he is called the son of Ezbai, but in 2 Sam. xxiii. 35 he appears as "Paarai the Arbite." Kennicott (*Diss.* pp. 209-211) decides that the former is correct.

NA'ARAN (נַעֲרָן: Νααρνάν; Alex. Νααραν: *Noran*), a city of Ephraim, which in a very ancient record (1 Chr. vii. 28) is mentioned as the eastern limit of the tribe. It is very probably identical with NAARATH, or more accurately Naarah, which seems to have been situated in one of the great valleys or torrent-beds which lead down from the highlands of Bethel to the depths of the Jordan valley.

In 1 Sam. vi. 21 the Peshito-Syriac and Arabic versions have respectively Naarin and Naaran for the Kirjath-jearim of the Hebrew and A. V. If this is anything more than an error, the Naaran to which it refers can hardly be that above spoken of, but must have been situated much nearer to Bethshemesh and the Philistine lowland. [G.]

* Perhaps treating נַעֲרָה, "a damsel," as equivalent to בַּת, "a daughter," the term commonly used to express the hamlets dependent on a city.

NA'ARATH (the Heb. is נַעֲרַתָה = to Naarah, נַעֲרָה, which is therefore the real form of the name: αἱ αὐλαὶ αὐτῶν; Alex. Νααραθα και αι κωμαι αυτων: *Naratha*), a place named (Josh. xvi. 7, only) as one of the landmarks on the (southern) boundary of Ephraim. It appears to have lain between Ataroth and Jericho. If Ataroth be the present *Atara*, a mile and a half south of *el-Bireh* and close to the great natural boundary of the *Wady Suweinit*, then Naarah was probably somewhere lower down the wady. Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.*) speak of it as if well known to them—"Naorath,[b] a small village of the Jews five miles from Jericho." Schwarz (147) fixes it at "Neama," also "five miles from Jericho," meaning perhaps *Na'imeh*, the name of the lower part of the great *Wady Mutyah* or *el-Asas*, which runs from the foot of the hill of *Rûmmon* into the Jordan valley above Jericho, and in a direction generally parallel to the *Wady Suweinit* (Rob. *B. R.* iii. 290). A position in this direction is in agreement with 1 Chr. vii. 28, where NAARAN is probably the same name as that we are now considering. [G.]

NAASH'ON. [NAHSHON.]

NAASS'ON (Ναασσών: *Naasson*). The Greek form of the name NAHSHON (Matt. i. 4; Luke iii. 32 only).

NA'ATHUS (Νάαθος: *Naathus*). One of the family of Addi, according to the list of 1 Esdr. ix. 31. There is no name corresponding in Ezr. x. 30.

NA'BAL (נָבָל = "fool": Ναβάλ), one of the characters introduced to us in David's wanderings, apparently to give one detailed glimpse of his whole state of life at that time (1 Sam. xxv.). Nabal himself is remarkable as one of the few examples given to us of the private life of a Jewish citizen. He ranks in this respect with BOAZ, BARZILLAI, NABOTH. He was a sheepmaster on the confines of Judaea and the desert, in that part of the country which bore from its great conqueror the name of CALEB (1 Sam. xxx. 14, xxv. 3; so Vulgate, A. V., and Ewald). He was himself, according to Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 13, §6) a Ziphite, and his residence Emmaus, a place of that name not otherwise known, on the southern Carmel, in the pasture lands of Maon. (In the LXX. of xxv. 4 he is called "the Carmelite," and the LXX. read "Maon" for "Paran" in xxv. 1). With a usage of the word, which reminds us of the like adaptation of similar words in modern times, he, like Barzillai, is styled "very great," evidently from his wealth. His wealth, as might be expected from his abode, consisted chiefly of sheep and goats, which, as in Palestine at the time of the Christian era (Matt. xxv.), and at the present day (Stanley, *S. & P.*), fed together. The tradition preserved in this case the exact number of each—3000 of the former, 1000 of the latter. It was the custom of the shepherds to drive them into the wild downs on the slopes of Carmel; and it was whilst they were on one of these pastoral excursions, that they met a band of outlaws, who showed them unexpected kindness, protecting them by day and night, and never themselves committing any depredations (xxv. 7, 15, 16). Once a year there was a grand banquet,

[b] The Ὁοράθ in the present text of Eusebius should obviously have prefixed to it the ν from the ἐστιν which precedes it. Compare NASOR.

on Carmel, when they brought back their sheep from the wilderness for shearing—with eating and drinking "like the feast of a king" (xxv. 2, 4, 36).

It was on one of these occasions that Nabal came across the path of the man to whom he owes his place in history. Ten youths were seen approaching the hill; in them the shepherds recognized the slaves or attendants of the chief of the freebooters who had defended them in the wilderness. To Nabal they were unknown. They approached him with a triple salutation—enumerated the services of their master, and ended by claiming, with a mixture of courtesy and defiance, characteristic of the East, "whatsoever cometh into thy hand for thy servants (LXX. omit this—and have only the next words), and for *thy son* David." The great sheepmaster was not disposed to recognise this unexpected parental relation. He was a man notorious for his obstinacy (such seems the meaning of the word translated "churlish") and for his general low conduct (xxv. 3, "evil in his doings;" xxv. 17, "a man of Belial"). Josephus and the LXX. taking the word *Caleb* not as a proper name, but as a quality (to which the context certainly lends itself)—add "of a disposition like a dog"—cynical—κυνικὸς. On hearing the demand of the ten petitioners, he sprang up (LXX. ἀνεπήδησε), and broke out into fury, "Who is David? and who is the son of Jesse?"—"What runaway slaves are these to interfere with my own domestic arrangements?" (xxv. 10, 11). The moment that the messengers were gone, the shepherds that stood by perceived the danger that their master and themselves would incur. To Nabal himself, they durst not speak (xxv. 17). But the sacred writer, with a tinge of the sentiment which such a contrast always suggests, proceeds to describe that this brutal ruffian was married to a wife as beautiful and as wise, as he was the reverse (xxv. 3). [ABIGAIL.] To her, as to the good angel of the household, one of the shepherds told the state of affairs. She, with the offerings usual on such occasions (xxv. 18, comp. xxx. 11, 2 Sam. xvi. 1, 1 Chr. xii. 40), loaded the asses of Nabal's large establishment—herself mounted one of them, and, with her attendants running before her, rode down the hill towards David's encampment. David had already made the fatal vow of extermination, couched in the usual terms of destroying the household of Nabal, so as not even to leave a dog behind (xxv. 22). At this moment, as it would seem, Abigail appeared, threw herself on her face before him, and poured forth her petition in language which both in form and expression almost assumes the tone of poetry:—"Let thine handmaid, I pray thee, speak in thine audience, and hear the words of thine handmaid." Her main argument rests on the description of her husband's character, which she draws with that mixture of playfulness and seriousness which above all things turns away wrath. His name here came in to his rescue. "As his name is, so is he: Nabal [*fool*] is his name, and folly is with him" (xxv. 25; see also ver. 26). She returns with the news of David's recantation of his vow. Nabal is then in at the height of his orgies. Like the revellers of Palestine in the later times of the monarchy, he had drunk to excess, and his wife dared not communicate to him either his danger or his escape (xxv. 36). At break of day she told him both. The stupid reveller was suddenly roused to a sense of that which impended over him. "His heart died within him, and *he* became as a stone." It was as if a stroke of apoplexy or paralysis had fallen upon him. Ten days he lingered, "and the Lord smote Nabal, and he died" (xxv. 37, 38). The suspicions entertained by theologians of the last century, that there was a conspiracy between David and Abigail to make away with Nabal for their own alliance (see Winer "Nabal"), have entirely given place to the better spirit of modern criticism, and it is one of the many proofs of the reverential, as well as truthful appreciation of the Sacred Narrative now inaugurated in Germany, that Ewald enters fully into the feeling of the narrator, and closes his summary of Nabal's death, with the reflection that "it was not without justice regarded as a Divine judgment." According to the (not improbable) LXX. version of 2 Sam. iii. 33, the recollection of Nabal's death lived afterwards in David's memory to point the contrast of the death of Abner: "Died Abner as Nabal died?" [A. P. S.]

NABARI'AS (Ναβαρίας: *Nabarias*). Apparently a corruption of Zechariah (1 Esdr. x. 44; comp. Neh. viii. 4).

NA'BATHITES, THE (οἱ Ναβαταῖοι, and Ναβαταῖοι; Alex. Ναβατεοι: *Nabuthaei*), 1 Macc. v. 25; ix. 35. [NEBAIOTH.]

NA'BOTH (נָבוֹת: Ναβοθαί), victim of Ahab and Jezebel. He was a Jezreelite, and the owner of a small portion of ground (2 K. ix. 25, 26), that lay on the eastern slope of the hill of Jezreel. He had also a vineyard, of which the situation is not quite certain. According to the Hebrew text (1 K. xxi. 1) it was in Jezreel, but the LXX. render the whole clause differently, omitting the words "which was in Jezreel," and reading instead of "the palace," "the *threshing-floor* of Ahab king of Samaria." This points to the view, certainly most consistent with the subsequent narrative, that Naboth's vineyard was on the hill of Samaria, close to the "threshing-floor" (the word translated in A. V. "void place") which undoubtedly existed there, hard by the gate of the city (1 K. xxiv.). The royal palace of Ahab was close upon the city wall at Jezreel. According to both texts it immediately adjoined the vineyard (1 K. xxi. 1, 2, Heb.; 1 K. xxi. 2, LXX.; 2 K. ix. 30, 36), and it thus became an object of desire to the king, who offered an equivalent in money, or another vineyard in exchange for this. Naboth, in the independent spirit of a Jewish landholder,[a] refused. Perhaps the turn of his expression implies that his objection was mingled with a religious scruple at forwarding the acquisitions of a half-heathen king: "Jehovah forbid it to me that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee." Ahab was cowed by this reply; but the proud spirit of Jezebel was roused. She and her husband were apparently in the city of Samaria (1 K. xxi. 18). She took the matter into her own hands, and sent a warrant in Ahab's name and sealed with Ahab's seal, to the elders and nobles of Jezreel, suggesting the mode of destroying the man who had insulted the royal power. A solemn fast was proclaimed as on the announcement of some great calamity. Naboth was "set on high"[b] in the public place of Samaria; two

[a] Compare the cases of David and Araunah (2 Sam. xxi.), Omri and Shemer (1 K. xvi.).

[b] The Hebrew word which is rendered, here only, "on high," is more accurately "at the head of" or

men of worthless character accused him of having "cursed God and the king." He and his children (2 K. ix. 26), who else might have succeeded to his father's inheritance, were dragged out of the city and despatched the same night.[d] The place of execution there, as at Hebron (2 Sam. iii.), was by the large tank or reservoir, which still remains on the slope of the hill of Samaria, immediately outside the walls. The usual punishment for blasphemy was enforced. Naboth and his sons were stoned; their mangled remains were devoured by the dogs (and swine, LXX.) that prowled under the walls; and the blood from their wounds ran down into the waters of the tank below, which was the common bathing-place of the prostitutes of the city (comp. 1 K. xxi. 19, xxii. 38, LXX). Josephus (*Ant.* 15, 6) makes the execution to have been at Jezreel, where he also places the washing of Ahab's chariot.

For the signal retribution taken on this judicial murder—a remarkable proof of the high regard paid in the old dispensation to the claims of justice and independence—see AHAB, JEHU, JEZEBEL, JEZREEL. [A. P. S.]

NABUCHODONO'SOR (Ναβουχοδονόσορ; *Nabuchodonosor*). Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon (1 Esdr. i. 40, 41, 45, 48; Tob. xiv. 15; Jud. i. 1, 5, 7, 11, 12, ii. 1, 4, 19, iii. 2, 8, iv. 1, vi. 2, 4, ii. 7, 23, xii. 13, xiii. 18).

NA'CHON'S THRESHING-FLOOR (גֹּרֶן נָכוֹן: ἅλως Ἀδάδ; Alex. αλωμωνος Ναχων: *Area Nachon*), the place at which the ark had arrived in its progress from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem, when Uzzah lost his life in his too hasty zeal for its safety (2 Sam. vi. 6). In the parallel narrative of Chronicles the name is given as CHIDON, which is also found in Josephus. After the catastrophe it received the name of Perez-uzzah. There is nothing in the Bible narrative to guide us to a conclusion as to the situation of this threshing-floor,—whether nearer to Jerusalem or to Kirjath-jearim. The words of Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 4, §2), however, imply that it was close to the former.[a] Neither is it certain whether the name is that of the place or of a person to whom the place belonged. The careful Aquila translates the words ἅλωνος ἑτοίμης—"to the prepared[b] threshing-floor," which is also the rendering of the Targum Jonathan. [G.]

NA'CHOR. The form (slightly the more accurate) in which on two occasions the name elsewhere given as NAHOR is presented in the A. V.

1. (נָחוֹר: Ναχώρ: *Nachor*). The brother of Abraham (Josh. xxiv. 2). [NAHOR 1.]

Ch is commonly used in the A. V. of the Old Testament to represent the Hebrew כ, and only very rarely for ח, as in Nachor. Charashim, Rachel, Marcheshvan, are further examples of the latter usage.

2. (Ναχώρ). The grandfather of Abraham (Luke iii. 34). [NAHOR 2.] [G.]

NA'DAB (נָדָב). 1. The eldest son of Aaron and Elisheba, Ex. vi. 23; Num. iii. 2. He, his father and brother, and seventy old men of Israel were led out from the midst of the assembled people (Ex. xxiv. 1), and were commanded to stay and worship God "afar off," below the lofty summit of Sinai, where Moses alone was to come near to the Lord. Subsequently (Lev. x. 1) Nadab and his brother [ABIHU] were struck dead before the sanctuary by fire from the Lord. Their offence was kindling the incense in their censers with "strange" fire, *i. e.*, not taken from that which burned perpetually (Lev. vi. 13) on the altar. From the injunction given, Lev. x. 9, 10, immediately after their death, it has been inferred (Rosenmüller, *in loco*) that the brothers were in a state of intoxication when they committed the offence. The spiritual meaning of the injunction is drawn out at great length by Origen, *Hom.* vii. *in Levitic.* On this occasion, as if to mark more decidedly the divine displeasure with the offenders, Aaron and his surviving son were forbidden to go through the ordinary outward ceremonial of mourning for the dead.

2. King Jeroboam's son, who succeeded to the throne of Israel B.C. 954, and reigned two years, 1 K. xv. 25-31. Gibbethon in the territory of Dan (Josh. xix. 44), a Levitical town (Josh. xxi. 23), was at that time occupied by the Philistines, perhaps having been deserted by its lawful possessors in the general self-exile of the Levites from the polluted territory of Jeroboam. Nadab and all Israel went up and laid siege to this frontier-town. A conspiracy broke out in the midst of the army, and the king was slain by Baasha, a man of Issachar. Ahijah's prophecy (1 K. xiv. 10) was literally fulfilled by the murderer, who proceeded to destroy the whole house of Jeroboam. So perished the first Israelitish dynasty.

We are not told what events led to the siege of Gibbethon, or how it ended, or any other incident in Nadab's short reign. It does not appear what ground Ewald and Newman have for describing the war with the Philistines as unsuccessful. It is remarkable that when a similar destruction fell upon the family of the murderer Baasha twenty-four years afterwards, the Israelitish army was again engaged in a siege of Gibbethon, 1 K. xvi. 15.

3. A son of Shammai, 1 Chr. ii. 28, of the tribe of Judah.

4. A son of Gibeon, 1 Chr. viii. 30, ix. 36, of the tribe of Benjamin. [W. T. B.]

"in the chiefest place among" (1 Sam. ix. 22). The passage is obscured by our ignorance of the nature of the ceremonial in which Naboth was made to take part; but, in default of this knowledge, we may accept the explanation of Josephus, that an assembly (ἐκκλησία) was convened, at the head of which Naboth, in virtue of his position, was placed, in order that the charge of blasphemy and the subsequent catastrophe might be more telling.

[c] By the LXX. this is given εὐλόγησε, "blessed;" possibly merely for the sake of euphemism.

[d] אֶתְמוֹל. The word rendered "yesterday" in 2 K. ix. 26 has really the meaning of yesternight, and thus bears testimony to the precipitate haste both of the execution and of Ahab's entrance on his new acquisition. [See ELIJAH, vol. i. 529*a*.]

[a] His words are, "Having brought the ark *into Jerusalem*" (εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα). In some of the Greek versions or variations of the LXX., of which fragments are preserved by Barhdt, the name is given ἡ ἅλως Ἐρνὰ (Ornan) τοῦ Ἰεβουσαίου, identifying it with the floor of Araunah.

[b] As if from כִּין, to make ready. A similar rendering, אַתַר מְזַמַּן, is employed in the Targum Joseph of 1 Chr. xiii. 9, for the floor of *Caidon*.

NADAB'ATHA (Ναβάθ; Alex. Ναδαβαθ: Syriac, נבט, Nobot: *Madaba*), a place from which the bride was being conducted by the children of Jambri, when Jonathan and Simon attacked them (1 Macc. ix. 37). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 1, §4) gives the name Γαβαθά. Jerome's conjecture (in the Vulgate) can hardly be admitted, because Medeba was the city of the Jambrites (see ver. 36) to which the bride was being brought, not that from which she came. That Nadabatha was on the east of Jordan is most probable; for though, even to the time of the Gospel narrative, by "Chanaanites"—to which the bride in this case belonged—is signified Phoenicians, yet we have the authority (such as it is) of the Book of Judith (v. 3) for attaching that name especially to the people of Moab and Ammon; and it is not probable that when the whole country was in such disorder a wedding *cortége* would travel for so great a distance as from Phoenicia to Medeba.

On the east of Jordan the only two names that occur as possible are Nebo—by Eusebius and Jerome written Nabo and Nabau—and Nabathaea. Compare the lists of places round *es-Salt*, in Robinson, 1st ed. iii. 167-70. [G.]

NAG'GE (Ναγγαί, or, as some MSS. read, Ναγαί), one of the ancestors of Christ (Luke iii. 25). It represents the Heb. נֹגַהּ, *Nogah* (Ναγαί, LXX.), which was the name of one of David's sons, as we read in 1 Chr. iii. 7. Nagge must have lived about the time of Onias I. and the commencement of the Macedonian dynasty. It is interesting to notice the evidence afforded by this name, both as a name in the family of David, and from its meaning, that, amidst the revolutions and conquests which overthrew the kingdoms of the nations, the house of David still cherished the hope, founded upon promise, of the revival of the splendour (*nogah*) of their kingdom. [A. C. H.]

NAH'ALAL (נַהֲלָל: Σελλά; Alex. Νααλωλ: *Nalal*), one of the cities of Zebulun, given with its "suburbs" to the Merarite Levites (Josh. xxi. 35). It is the same which in the list of the allotment of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 15) is inaccurately given in the A. V. as NAHALLAL, the Hebrew being in both cases identical. Elsewhere it is called NAHALOL. It occurs in the list between Kattath and Shimron, but unfortunately neither of these places has yet been recognised. The Jerusalem Talmud, however (*Megillah*, ch. i.; *Maaser Sheni*, ch. v.), as quoted by Schwarz (172), and Reland (*Pal.* 717) asserts that Nahalal (or Mahalal, as it is in some copies) was in post-biblical times called Mahlul; and this Schwarz identifies with the modern *Malul*, a village in the plain of Esdraelon under the mountains which enclose the plain on the north, 4 miles west of Nazareth, and 2 of Japhia; an identification concurred in by Van de Velde (*Memoir*). One Hebrew MS. (30 K.) lends countenance to it by reading מהלל, *i.e.* Mahalal, in Josh. xxi. 35. If the town was in the great plain we can understand why the Israelites were unable to drive out the Canaanites from it, since their chariots must have been extremely formidable as long as they remained on level or smooth ground.

NAH'ALLAL (נַהֲלַל: Ναβαάλ; Alex. Ναλαλωλ: *Nealal*), an inaccurate mode of spelling, in Josh. xix. 15, the name which in Josh. xxi. 35, is accurately given as NAHALAL. The original is precisely the same in both. [G.]

NAHA'LIEL (נַחֲלִיאֵל = "torrent of God;" Samar. נחלאל: Μαναήλ; Alex. Νααλιηλ: *Nahaliel*), one of the halting-places of Israel in the latter part of their progress to Canaan (Num. xxi. 19). It lay "beyond," that is, north of the Arnon (ver. 13), and between Mattanah and Bamoth, the next after Bamoth being Pisgah. It does not occur in the catalogue of Num. xxxiii., nor anywhere besides the passage quoted above. By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Naaliel") it is mentioned as close to the Arnon. Its name seems to imply that it was a stream or wady, and it is not impossibly preserved in that of the *Wady Encheyle*, which runs into the *Mojeb*, the ancient Arnon, a short distance to the east of the place at which the road between Rabba and Aroer crosses the ravine of the latter river. The name *Encheyle*, when written in Hebrew letters (אנחילה), is little more than נחליאל transposed. Burckhardt was perhaps the first to report this name, but he suggests the *Wady Wale* as the Nahaliel (*Syria*, July 14). This, however, seems unnecessarily far to the north, and, in addition, it retains no likeness to the original name. [G.]

NAH'ALOL (נַהֲלֹל: Δωμανᾶ; Alex. Εναμαν: *Naalol*), a variation in the mode of giving the name (both in Hebrew and A.V.) of the place elsewhere called Nahalal. It occurs only in Judg. i. 30. The variation of the LXX. is remarkable. [G.]

NA'HAM (נַחַם: Ναχαΐμ: *Naham*). The brother of Hodiah, or Jehudijah, wife of Ezra, and father of Keilah and Eshtemoa (1 Chr. iv. 19).

NAHAMA'NI (נַחְמָנִי: Ναεμανί; FA. Ναμμανεί: *Nahamani*). A chief man among those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua (Neh. vii. 7). His name is omitted in Ezr. ii. 2, and in the parallel list of 1 Esdr. v. 8, is written ENENIUS.

NAHARA'I (נַחְרַי: Ναχώρ; Alex. Νααραί: *Naarai*). The armourbearer of Joab, called in the A. V. of 2 Sam. xxiii. 37, NAHARI. He was a native of Beeroth (1 Chr. xi. 39).

NA'HARI (נַחֲרַי: Γελωρέ; Alex. Γεδωρέ: *Naharai*). The same as NAHARAI, Joab's armourbearer (2 Sam. xxiii. 37). In the A. V. of 1611 the name is printed "NAHARAI the Berothite."

NA'HASH (נָחָשׁ, "serpent"). 1. (Νάας, but in Chr. Ἀναας; Alex. in both Ναας: Naas). "Nahash the Ammonite," king of the Bene-Ammon at the foundation of the monarchy in Israel, who dictated to the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead that cruel alternative of the loss of their right eyes or slavery, which roused the swift wrath of Saul, and caused the destruction of the whole of the Ammonite force (1 Sam. xi. 1, 2-11). According to Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 5, §1) the siege of Jabesh was but the climax of a long career of similar ferocity with

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[a] The statement in 1 Sam. xii. 12 appears to be at variance with that of vv. 4, 5; but it bears a remarkable testimony to the dread entertained of this savage chief, in ascribing the adoption of monarchy by Israel to the panic caused by his approach.

which Nahash had oppressed the whole of the Hebrews on the east of Jordan, and his success in which had rendered him so self-confident that he despised the chance of relief which the men of Jabesh eagerly caught at. If, as Josephus (*Ib.* §3) also states, Nahash himself was killed in the rout of his army, then the Nahash who was the father of the foolish young king Hanun (2 Sam. x. 2; 1 Chr. xix. 1, 2) must have been his son. In this case, like Pharaoh in Egypt, and also perhaps like Benhadad, Achish, and Agag, in the kingdoms of Syria, Philistia, and Amalek, "Nahash" would seem to have been the title of the king of the Ammonites than the name of an individual.

However this was, Nahash the father of Hanun had rendered David some special and valuable service, which David was anxious for an opportunity of requiting (2 Sam. x. 2). No doubt this had been during his wanderings, and when, as the victim of Saul, the Ammonite king would naturally sympathise with and assist him. The particulars of the service are not related in the Bible, but the Jewish traditions affirm that it consisted in his having afforded protection to one of David's brothers, who escaped alone when his family were massacred by the treacherous king of Moab, to whose care they had been entrusted by David (1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4), and who found an asylum with Nahash. (See the *Midrash* of R. Tanchum, as quoted by S. Jarchi on 2 Sam. x. 2.)

The retribution exacted by David for the annoying insults of Hanun is related elsewhere. [DAVID, vol. i. 410*b*; JOAB, vol. i. 1082*b*; URIAH.] One casual notice remains which seems to imply that the ancient kindness which had existed between David and the family of Nahash had not been extinguished even by the horrors of the Ammonite war. When David was driven to Mahanaim, into the very neighbourhood of Jabesh-Gilead, we find "Shobi the son of Nahash of Rabbah of the Bene-Ammon" (2 Sam. xvii. 27) among the great chiefs who were so forward to pour at the feet of the fallen monarch the abundance of their pastoral wealth, and that not with the grudging spirit of tributaries, but rather with the sympathy of friends, "for they said, the people is hungry and weary and thirsty in the wilderness" (ver. 29).

2. (Νάας). A person mentioned once only (2 Sam. xvii. 25) in stating the parentage of Amasa, the commander-in-chief of Absalom's army. Amasa is there said to have been the son[b] of a certain Ithra, by Abigail, "daughter of Nahash, and sister[c] to Zeruiah." By the genealogy of 1 Chr. ii. 16 it appears that Zeruiah and Abigail were sisters of David and the other children of Jesse. The question then arises, How could Abigail have been at the same time daughter of Nahash and sister to the children of Jesse? To this three answers may be given:—

1. The universal tradition of the Rabbis that Nahash and Jesse were identical.[d] "Nahash," says Solomon Jarchi (in his commentary on 2 Sam. xvii. 25), "was Jesse the father of David, because he died without sin, by the counsel of the serpent" (nachash); *i. e.* by the infirmity of his fallen human nature only. It must be owned that it is easier to allow the identity of the two than to accept the reason thus assigned for it.

2. The explanation first put forth by Professor Stanley in this work (vol. i. 401*b*), that Nahash was the king of the Ammonites, and that the same woman had first been his wife or concubine—in which capacity she had given birth to Abigail and Zeruiah—and afterwards wife to Jesse, and the mother of his children. In this manner Abigail and Zeruiah would be sisters to David, without being at the same time daughters of Jesse. This has in its favour the guarded statement of 1 Chr. ii. 16, that the two women were not themselves Jesse's children, but sisters of his children; and the improbability (otherwise extreme) of so close a connexion between an Israelite and an Ammonite king is alleviated by Jesse's known descent from a Moabitess, and by the connexion which has been shown above to have existed between David and Nahash of Ammon.

3. A third possible explanation is that Nahash was the name not of Jesse, nor of a former husband of his wife, but of his wife herself. There is nothing in the name to prevent its being borne equally by either sex, and other instances may be quoted of women who are given in the genealogies as the daughters, not of their fathers, but of their mothers: *e. g.* Mehetabel, daughter of Matred, daughter of Mezahab. Still it seems very improbable that Jesse's wife would be suddenly intruded into the narrative, as she is if this hypothesis be adopted. [G.]

NA'HATH (נַחַת: Ναχόθ; Alex. Ναχόμ, Gen. xxxvi. 13; Ναχώθ; Alex. Ναχόθ, Gen. xxxvi. 17; Ναχές, 1 Chr. i. 37; *Nahath*). 1. One of the "dukes" or phylarchs in the land of Edom, eldest son of Reuel the son of Esau.

2. (Καιναάθ; Alex. Κνάθ). A Kohathite Levite, son of Zophai and ancestor of Samuel the prophet (1 Chr. vi. 26).

3. (Ναέθ). A Levite in the reign of Hezekiah, who with others was overseer of the tithes and dedicated things under Cononiah and Shimei (2 Chr. xxxi. 13).

NAH'BI (נַחְבִי: Ναβί; Alex. Ναβά: *Nahabi*). The son of Vophsi, a Naphtalite, and one of the twelve spies (Num. xiii. 14).

NA'HOR (נָחוֹר: Ναχώρ; Joseph. Ναχώρης: *Nahor*, and *Nachor*), the name of two persons in the family of Abraham.

1. His grandfather: the son of Serug and father of Terah (Gen. xi. 22-25). He is mentioned in the genealogy of our Lord, Luke iii. 34, though there the name is given in the A. V. in the Greek form of NACHOR.

2. Grandson of the preceding, son of Terah and brother of Abraham and Haran (Gen. xi. 26, 27). The members of the family are brought together in the following genealogy. (See the next page.)

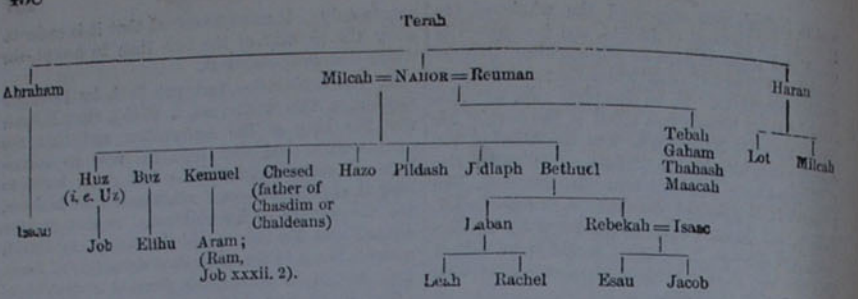
It has been already remarked, under LOT (p. 143 *note*), that the order of the ages of the family of

[a] The whole expression seems to denote that he was an illegitimate son.

[b] The Alex. LXX. regards Nahash as *brother* of Zeruiah Ἀδελφὴ Ναας ἀδελφοῦ Σαρουιας.

[c] See the extract from the Targum on Ruth iv. 22, given in the note to Jesse, vol. i. p. 1038*a*. Also the citations from the Talmud in Meyer, *Seder Olam*, 569; also Jerome, *Quaest. hebr.* ad loc.

[d] This is the form given in the Benedictine Edition of Jerome's *Bibliotheca Divina*. The other is found in the ordinary copies of the Vulgate.



Terah is not improbably inverted in the narrative; in which case Nahor, instead of being younger than Abraham, was really older. He married Milcah, the daughter of his brother Haran; and when Abraham and Lot migrated to Canaan, Nahor remained behind in the land of his birth, on the eastern side of the Euphrates—the boundary between the Old and the New World of that early age—and gathered his family around him at the sepulchre of his father.[b] (Comp. 2 Sam. xix. 37).

Like Jacob, and also like Ishmael, Nahor was the father of twelve sons, and further, as in the case of Jacob, eight of them were the children of his wife, and four of a concubine (Gen. xxii. 21-24). Special care is taken in speaking of the legitimate branch to specify its descent from Milcah—"the son of Milcah, which she bare unto Nahor." It was to this pure and unsullied race that Abraham and Rebekah in turn had recourse for wives for their sons. But with Jacob's flight from Haran the intercourse ceased. The heap of stones which he and "Laban the Syrian" erected on Mount Gilead (Gen. xxxi. 46) may be said to have formed at once the tomb of their past connexion and the barrier against its continuance. Even at that time a wide variation had taken place in their language (ver. 47), and not only in their language, but, as it would seem, in the Object of their worship. The "God of Nahor" appears as a distinct divinity from the "God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac" (ver. 53). Doubtless this was one of the "other gods" which before the Call of Abraham were worshipped by the family of Terah; whose images were in Rachel's possession during the conference on Gilead; and which had to be discarded before Jacob could go into the Presence of the "God of Bethel" (Gen. xxxv. 2; comp. xxxi. 13). Henceforward the line of distinction between the two families is most sharply drawn (as in the allusion of Josh. xxiv. 2), and the descendants of Nahor confine their communications to their own immediate kindred, or to the members of other non-Israelite tribes, as in the case of Job the man of Uz, and his friends, Elihu the Buzite of the kindred of Ram, Eliphaz the Temanite, and Bildad the Shuhite. Many centuries later David appears to have come into collision—sometimes friendly, sometimes the reverse—with one or two of the more remote Nahorite tribes. Tibhath, probably identical with Tebah and Maacah, are mentioned in the relation of his wars on the eastern frontier of Israel (1 Chr. xviii. 8, xix. 6); and the mother of Absalom either belonged to or was connected with the latter of the the above nations.

No certain traces of the name of Nahor have been recognised in Mesopotamia. Ewald (*Geschichte*, i. 359) proposes *Haditha*, a town on the Euphrates just above *Hit*, and bearing the additional name of *el-Naura*; also another place, likewise called *el-Na'ura*, mentioned by some Arabian geographers as lying further north; and *Nachrein*, which, however, seems to lie out of Mesopotamia to the east. Others have mentioned Naarda, or Nehardea, a town or district in the neighbourhood of the above, celebrated as the site of a college of the Jews (*Dict. of Geogr.* "Naarda").

May not Aram-Naharaim have originally derived its name from Nahor? The fact that in its present form it has another signification in Hebrew is no argument against such a derivation.

In Josh. xxiv. 2 the name is given in the A. V. in the form (more nearly approaching the Hebrew than the other) of NACHOR. [G.]

NAH'SHON, or NAASH'ON (נַחְשׁוֹן: Ναασσών, LXX. and N. T.: *Nahasson*, O. T.; *Naasson*, N. T.), son of Amminadab, and prince of the children of Judah (as he is styled in the genealogy of Judah, 1 Chr. ii. 10) at the time of the first numbering in the wilderness (Exod. vi. 23; Num. i. 7, &c.). His sister, Elisheba, was wife to Aaron, and his son, Salmon, was husband to Rahab after the taking of Jericho. From Elisheba being described as "sister of Naashon" we may infer that he was a person of considerable note and dignity, which his being appointed as one of the twelve princes who assisted Moses and Aaron in taking the census, and who were all "renowned of the congregation . . . . . heads of thousands in Israel," shows him to have been. No less conspicuous for high rank and position does he appear in Num. ii. 3, vii. 12, x. 14, where, in the encampment, in the offerings of the princes, and in the order of march, the first place is assigned to Nahshon the son of Amminadab as captain of the host of Judah. Indeed, on these three last-named occasions he appears as the first man in the state next to Moses and Aaron, whereas at the census he comes after the chiefs of the tribes of Reuben and Simeon.[a] Nahshon died in the wilderness according to Num. xxvi. 64, 65, but no further particulars of his life are given. In the

[b] The statements of Gen. xi. 27-32 appear to imply that Nahor did not advance from Ur to Haran at the same time with Terah, Abraham, and Lot, but remained there till a later date. Coupling this with the statement of Judith v. 8, and the universal tradition of the East, that Terah's departure from Ur was a relinquishment of false worship, an additional force is given to the mention of "the god of Nahor" (Gen. xxxi. 53) as distinct from the God of Abraham's descendants. Two generations later Nahor's family were certainly living at Haran (Gen xxviii. 10, xxix. 4).

[a] It is curious to notice that, in the second numbering (Num. xxvi.), Reuben still comes first, and Judah fourth. So also 1 Chr. ii. 1.

NAHUM

N.T. he occurs twice, viz. in Matt. i. 4 and Luke iii. 32, in the genealogy of Christ, where his lineage in the preceding and following descents are exactly the same as in Ruth iv. 18-20; 1 Chr. ii. 10-12, which makes it quite certain that he was the sixth in descent from Judah, inclusive, and that David was the fifth generation after him. [AMMINADAB.] [A. C. H.]

NAHUM (נַחוּם: Ναούμ: *Nahum*). "The book of the vision of Nahum the Elkoshite" stands seventh in order among the writings of the minor prophets in the present arrangement of the canon. Of the author himself we have no more knowledge than is afforded us by the scanty title of his book, which gives no indication whatever of his date, and leaves his origin obscure. The site of Elkosh, his native place, is disputed, some placing it in Galilee, with Jerome, who was shewn the ruins by his guide; others in Assyria, where the tomb of the prophet is still visited as a sacred spot by Jews from all parts. Benjamin of Tudela (p. 53, Heb. text, ed. Asher) thus briefly alludes to it:—"And in the city of Ashur (Mosul) is the synagogue of Obadiah, and the synagogue of Jonah the son of Amittai, and the synagogue of Nahum the Elkoshite." [ELKOSH.] Those who maintain the latter view assume that the prophet's parents were carried into captivity by Tiglath-pileser, and planted, with other exile colonists, in the province of Assyria, the modern Kurdistan, and that the prophet was born at the village of Alkush, on the east bank of the Tigris, two miles north of Mosul. Ewald is of opinion that the prophecy was written there at a time when Nineveh was threatened from without. Against this it may be urged that it does not appear that the exiles were carried into the province of Assyria Proper, but into the newly-conquered districts, such as Mesopotamia, Babylonia, or Media. The arguments in favour of an Assyrian locality for the prophet are supported by the occurrence of what are presumed to be Assyrian words: הָצַב, ii. 8; מְנֻזָּרֶיהָ, טַפְסְרֶיהָ, iii. 17, and the strange form מַלְאָכֶכָה in ii. 14, which is supposed to indicate a foreign influence. In addition to this is the internal evidence supplied by the vivid description of Nineveh, of whose splendours it is contended Nahum must have been an eye-witness; but Hitzig justly observes that these descriptions display merely a lively imagination, and such knowledge of a renowned city as might be possessed by any one in Anterior Asia. The Assyrian warriors were no strangers in Palestine, and that there was sufficient intercourse between the two countries is rendered probable by the history of the prophet Jonah. There is nothing in the prophecy of Nahum to indicate that it was written in the immediate neighbourhood of Nineveh, and in full view of the scenes which are depicted, nor is the language that of an exile in an enemy's country. No allusion is made to the captivity; while, on the other hand, the imagery is such as would be natural to an inhabitant of Palestine (i. 4), to whom the rich pastures of Bashan, the vineyards of Carmel, and the blossom of Lebanon, were emblems of all that was luxuriant and fertile. The language employed in i. 15, ii. 2, is appropriate to one who wrote for his countrymen in their native land.[a] In fact, the sole origin of the theory that Nahum flourished in Assyria is the name of the village Alkush, which contains his supposed tomb, and from its similarity to Elkosh was apparently selected by mediaeval tradition as a shrine for pilgrims, with as little probability to recommend it as exists in the case of Obadiah and Jephthah, whose burial-places are still shown in the same neighbourhood. This supposition is more reasonable than another which has been adopted in order to account for the existence of Nahum's tomb at a place, the name of which so closely resembles that of his native town. Alkush, it is suggested, was founded by the Israelitish exiles, and so named by them in memory of Elkosh in their own country. Tradition, as usual, has usurped the province of history. According to Pseudo-Epiphanius (*De Vitis Proph.* Opp. ii. p. 247), Nahum was of the tribe of Simeon, "from Elcesei beyond the Jordan at Begabar (Βηγαβάρ; Chron. Pasch. 150 B. Βηταβαρή)," or Bethabara, where he died in peace and was buried. In the Roman Martyrology the 1st of December is consecrated to his memory.

The date of Nahum's prophecy can be determined with as little precision as his birthplace. In the Seder Olam Rabba (p. 55, ed. Meyer) he is made contemporary with Joel and Habakkuk in the reign of Manasseh. Syncellus (*Chron.* p. 201 d) places him with Hosea, Amos and Jonah in the reign of Joash king of Israel, more than a century earlier; while, according to Eutychius (*Ann.* p. 252), he was contemporary with Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and prophesied in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 11, §3) mentions him as living in the latter part of the reign of Jotham; "about this time was a certain prophet, Nahum by name; who, prophesying concerning the downfall of Assyrians and of Nineveh, said thus," &c.; to which he adds, "and all that was foretold concerning Nineveh came to pass after 115 years." From this Carpzov concluded that Nahum prophesied in the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, about B.C. 742. Modern writers are divided in their suffrages. Bertholdt thinks it probable that the prophet escaped into Judah when the ten tribes were carried captive, and wrote in the reign of Hezekiah. Keil (*Lehrb. d. Einl. in d. A. T.*) places him in the latter half of Hezekiah's reign, after the invasion of Sennacherib. Vitringa (*Typ. Doctr. proph.* p. 37) was of the like opinion, and the same view is taken by De Wette (*Einl.* p. 328), who suggests that the rebellion of the Medes against the Assyrians (B.C. 710), and the election of their own king in the person of Deïoces, may have been present to the prophet's mind. But the history of Deïoces and his very existence are now generally believed to be mythical. This period also is adopted by Knobel (*Prophet.* ii. 207, &c.) as the date of the prophecy. He was guided to his conclusion by the same supposed facts, and the destruction of No Ammon, or Thebes of Upper Egypt, which he believed was effected by the Assyrian monarch Sargon (B.C. 717-715), and is referred to by Nahum (iii. 8) as a recent event. In this case the prophet would be a younger contemporary of Isaiah (comp. Is. xx. 1). Ewald, again, conceives that the siege of Nineveh by the Median king Phraortes (B.C. 630-625), may have suggested

[a] Capernaum, literally "village of Nahum," is supposed to have derived its name from the prophet. Schwarz (*Descr. of Pal.* p. 188) mentions a *Kefar Tanchum* or *Tanchuma*, close on Chinnereth, and 2½ English miles N. of Tiberias. "They point out there the graves of Nahum the prophet, of Rabbis Tanchum and Tanchuma, who all repose there, and through these the ancient position of the village is easily known."

Nahum's prophecy of its destruction. The existence of Phraortes, at the period to which he is assigned, is now believed to be an anachronism. [MEDES.] Junius and Tremellius select the last years of Josiah as the period at which Nahum prophesied, but at this time not Nineveh but Babylon was the object of alarm to the Hebrews. The arguments by which Strauss (*Nahumi de Nino Vaticinium*, prol. c. 1, §3) endeavours to prove that the prophecy belongs to the time at which Manasseh was in captivity at Babylon, that is between the years 680 and 667 B.C., are not convincing. Assuming that the position which Nahum occupies in the canon between Micah and Habakkuk supplies, as the limits of his prophetical career, the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah, he endeavours to show from certain apparent resemblances to the writings of the older prophets, Joel, Jonah, and Isaiah, that Nahum must have been familiar with their writings, and consequently later in point of time than any of them. But a careful examination of the passages by which this argument is maintained, will show that the phrases and turns of expression upon which the resemblance is supposed to rest, are in no way remarkable or characteristic, and might have been freely used by any one familiar with Oriental metaphor and imagery, without incurring the charge of plagiarism. Two exceptions are Nah. ii. 10, where a striking expression is used which only occurs besides in Joel ii. 6, and Nah. i. 15 (Heb. ii. 1), the first clause of which is nearly word for word the same as that of Is. lii. 7. But these passages, by themselves, would equally prove that Nahum was anterior both to Joel and Isaiah, and that his diction was copied by them. Other references which are supposed to indicate imitations of older writers, or, at least, familiarity with their writings, are Nah. i. 3 compared with Jon. iv. 2; Nah. i. 13 with Is. x. 27; Nah. iii. 10 with Is. xiii. 16; Nah. ii. 2 [1] with Is. xxiv. 1; Nah. iii. 5 with Is. xlvii. 2, 3; and Nah. iii. 7 with Is. li. 19. For the purpose of showing that Nahum preceded Jeremiah, Strauss quotes other passages in which the later prophet is believed to have had in his mind expressions of his predecessor with which he was familiar. The most striking of these are Jer. x. 19 compared with Nah. iii. 19; Jer. xiii. 26 with Nah. iii. 5; Jer. l. 37, li. 30 with Nah. iii. 13. Words, which are assumed by the same commentator to be peculiar to the times of Isaiah, are appealed to by him as evidences of the date of the prophecy. But the only examples which he quotes prove nothing: שֵׁטֶף, *sheteph* (Nah. i. 8, A. V. "flood"), occurs in Job, the Psalms, and in Proverbs, but not once in Isaiah; and מְצוּרָה, *mĕtsûrâh* (Nah. ii. 1 [2], A. V. "munition") is found only once in Isaiah, though it occurs frequently in the Chronicles, and is not a word likely to be uncommon or peculiar, so that nothing can be inferred from it. Besides, all this would be as appropriate to the times of Hezekiah as to those of Manasseh. That the prophecy was written before the final downfall of Nineveh, and its capture by the Medes and Chaldeans (cir. B.C. 625), will be admitted. The allusions to the Assyrian power imply that it was still unbroken (i. 12, ii. 13, 14, iii. 15-17). The glory of the kingdom was at its brightest in the reign of Esarhaddon (B.C. 680-660), who for 13 years made Babylon the seat of the empire, and this fact would incline us to fix the date of Nahum rather in the reign of his father Sennacherib, for Nineveh alone is contemplated in the destruction threatened to the Assyrian power, and no hint is given that its importance in the kingdom was diminished, as it necessarily would be, by the establishment of another capital. That Palestine was suffering from the effects of Assyrian invasion at the time of Nahum's writing seems probable from the allusions in i. 11, 12, 13, ii. 2; and the vivid description of the Assyrian armament in ii. 3, 4. At such a time the prophecy would be appropriate, and if i. 14 refers to the death of Sennacherib in the house of Nisroch, it must have been written before that event. The capture of No Ammon, or Thebes, has not been identified with anything like certainty. It is referred to as of recent occurrence, and it has been conjectured with probability that it was sacked by Sargon in the invasion of Egypt alluded to in Is. xx. 1. These circumstances seem to determine the 14th year of Hezekiah (B.C. 712) as the period before which the prophecy of Nahum could not have been written. The condition of Assyria in the reign of Sennacherib would correspond with the state of things implied in the prophecy, and it is on all accounts most probable that Nahum flourished in the latter half of the reign of Hezekiah, and wrote his prophecy soon after the date above mentioned, either in Jerusalem or its neighbourhood, where the echo still lingered of "the rattling of the wheels, and of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots" of the Assyrian host, and "the flame of the sword and lightning of the spear," still flashed in the memory of the beleaguered citizens.

The subject of the prophecy is, in accordance with the superscription, "the burden of Nineveh." The three chapters into which it is divided form a consecutive whole. The first chapter is introductory. It commences with a declaration of the character of Jehovah, "a God jealous and avenging," as exhibited in His dealings with His enemies, and the swift and terrible vengeance with which He pursues them (i. 2-6), while to those that trust in Him He is "good, a stronghold in the day of trouble" (i. 7), in contrast with the overwhelming flood which shall sweep away His foes (i. 8). The language of the prophet now becomes more special, and points to the destruction which awaited the hosts of Assyria who had just gone up out of Judah (i. 9-11). In the verses that follow the intention of Jehovah is still more fully declared, and addressed first to Judah (i. 12, 13), and then to the monarch of Assyria (i. 14). And now the vision grows more distinct. The messenger of glad tidings, the news of Nineveh's downfall, trod the mountains that were round about Jerusalem (i. 15), and proclaimed to Judah the accomplishment of her vows. But round the doomed city gathered the destroying armies; "the breaker in pieces" had gone up, and Jehovah mustered His hosts to the battle to avenge His people (ii. i. 2). The prophet's mind in vision sees the burnished bronze shields of the scarlet-clad warriors of the besieging army, the flashing steel scythes of their war-chariots as they are drawn up in battle array, and the quivering cypress-shafts of their spears (ii. 3). The Assyrians hasten to the defence: their chariots rush madly through the streets, and run to and fro like the lightning in the broad ways, which glare with their bright armour like torches. But a panic has seized their mighty ones; their ranks are broken as they march, and they hurry to the wall only to see the covered battering-rams of the besiegers ready for the attack (ii. 4, 5). The crisis hastens on with terrible

rapidity. The river-gates are broken in, and the royal palace is in the hands of the victors (ii. 6). And then comes the end; the city is taken and carried captive, and her maidens "moan as with the voice of doves," beating their breasts with sorrow (ii. 7). The flight becomes general, and the leaders in vain endeavour to stem the torrent of fugitives (ii. 8). The wealth of the city and its accumulated treasures become the spoil of the captors, and the conquered suffer all the horrors that follow the assault and storm (ii. 9, 10). Over the charred and blackened ruins the prophet, as the mouthpiece of Jehovah, exclaims in triumph, "Where is the lair of the lions, the feeding place of the young lions, where walked lion, lioness, lion's whelp, and none made (them) afraid?" (ii. 11, 12). But for all this the downfall of Nineveh was certain, for "behold! I am against thee, saith Jehovah of Hosts" (ii. 13). The vision ends, and the prophet recalled from the scenes of the future to the realities of the present, collects himself as it were, for one final outburst of withering denunciation against the Assyrian city, not now threatened by her Median and Chaldean conquerors, but in the full tide of prosperity, the oppressor and corrupter of nations. Mingled with this woe there is no touch of sadness or compassion for her fate; she will fall unpitied and unlamented, and with terrible calmness the prophet pronounces her final doom: "all that hear the bruit of thee shall clap the hands over thee: for upon whom has not thy wickedness passed continually?" (iii. 19).

As a poet, Nahum occupies a high place in the first rank of Hebrew literature. In proof of this it is only necessary to refer to the opening verses of his prophecy (i. 2-6), and to the magnificent description of the siege and destruction of Nineveh in ch. ii. His style is clear and uninvolved, though pregnant and forcible; his diction sonorous and rhythmical, the words re-echoing to the sense (comp. ii. 4, iii. 3). Some words and forms of words are almost peculiar to himself; as, for example, שְׂעָרָה for סְעָרָה, in i. 3, occurs only besides in Job ix. 17; קַנּוֹא for קַנָּא, in i. 2, is found only in Josh. xxiv. 19; תְּכוּנָה, ii. 9 [10], is found in Job xxiii. 3, and there not in the same sense; דֹּהֵר, in iii. 2, is only found in Judg. v. 22; פְּלָדוֹת and רָעַל, ii. 3 [4], נָהַג, ii. 7 [8], בּוּקָה and מְבוּקָה, ii. 10 [11], מִנְּזָרִים, iii. 17, and כֵּהָה, iii. 19, do not occur elsewhere. The unusual form of the pronominal suffix in מַלְאָכֵכֵה, ii. 13 [14], נָפֹשׁוּ for נָפֹצוּ, iii. 18, are peculiar to Nahum; מַעַר, iii. 5, is only found in 1 K. vii. 36; גּוֹבַי, iii. 17, occurs besides only in Am. vii. 1; and the foreign word טִפְסְרַיִךְ, iii. 17, in the slightly different form טִפְסָר, is found only in Jer. li. 27.

For illustrations of Nahum's prophecy, see the article NINEVEH. [W. A. W.]

NA'IDUS (Ναΐδος; Alex. Ναείδος: *Raanas*) = BENAIAH of the sons of Pahath Moab (1 Esdr. ix. 31; comp. Ezr. x. 30).

NAIL. I. (of finger).[a]—1. A nail or claw of man or animal. 2. A point or style, *e. g.* for writing; see Jer. xvii. 1. *Tzippôren* occurs in Deut. xxi. 12, in connexion with the verb עָשָׂה, *âsâh*, "to make," here rendered περιονυχίζω, *circumcido*, A. V "pare," but in marg. "dress," "suffer to grow." Gesenius explains "make neat."

Much controversy has arisen on the meaning of this passage; one set of interpreters, including Josephus and Philo, regarding the action as indicative of mourning, while others refer it to the deposition of mourning. Some, who would thus belong to the latter class, refer it to the practice of staining the nails with henneh.

The word *asah*, "make," is used both of "dressing," *i. e.* making clean the feet, and also of "trimming," *i. e.* combing and making neat the beard, in the case of Mephibosheth, 2 Sam. xix. 24. It seems, therefore, on the whole to mean "make suitable" to the particular purpose intended, whatever that may be: unless, as Gesenius thinks, the passage refers to the completion of the female captive's month of seclusion, that purpose is evidently one of mourning—a month's mourning interposed for the purpose of preventing on the one hand too hasty an approach on the part of the captor, and on the other too sudden a shock to natural feeling in the captive. Following this line of interpretation, the command will stand thus: The captive is to lay aside the "raiment of her captivity," viz. her ordinary dress in which she had been taken captive, and she is to remain in mourning retirement for a month with hair shortened and nails made suitable to the same purpose, thus presenting an appearance of woe to which the nails untrimmed and shortened hair would seem each in their way most suitable (see Job i. 20).

If, on the other hand, we suppose that the shaving the head, &c., indicate the time of retirement completed, we must suppose also a sort of Nazaritic initiation into her new condition, a supposition for which there is elsewhere no warrant in the Law, besides the fact that the "making," whether paring the nails or letting them grow, is nowhere mentioned as a Nazaritic ceremony, and also that the shaving the head at the end of the month would seem an altogether unsuitable introduction to the condition of a bride.

We conclude, therefore, that the captive's head was shaved at the commencement of the month, and that during that period her nails were to be allowed to grow in token of natural sorrow and consequent personal neglect. Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 8-23; Philo, περὶ φιλανθρ. c. 14, vol. ii. p. 394, ed. Mangey; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ii. c. 18, iii. c. 11, vol. ii. pp. 475, 543, ed. Potter; Calmet, Patrick, *Crit. Sacr.* on Deut. xxi. 12; Schleusner, *Lex. V. T.* περιονυχίζω; Selden, *de Jur. Nat.* v. xiii. p. 644; Harmer, *Obs.* iv. 104; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 345; Lane, *M. E.* i. 64; Gesenius, p. 1075; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, art. 88, vol. i. p. 464, ed. Smith; Numb. vi. 2, 18.

II.—1.[b] A nail (Is. xli. 7), a stake (Is. xxxiii. 20), also a tent-peg. Tent-pegs are usually of wood and of large size, but sometimes, as was the case with those used to fasten the curtains of the Tabernacle, of metal (Ex. xxvii. 19, xxxviii. 20; see Lightfoot, *Spicil.* in Ex. §42; Joseph. *Ant.* v. 5, 4). [JAEL, TENT.]

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[a] טְפַר, *t'phar*, a Chaldee form of the Heb. צִפֹּרֶן, *tzippóren*, from the root צָפַר, connected with סָפַר, *sâphar*, "to scrape," or "pare;" ὄνυξ; *unguis*.

[b] יָתֵד, *jathêd*; πάσσαλος; *paxillus, clavus*; akin to Arab. وتد, *watada*, "to fix a peg."

2.[c] A nail, primarily a point.[d] We are told that David prepared iron for the nails to be used in the Temple; and as the holy of holies was plated with gold, the nails also for fastening the plates were probably of gold. Their weight is said to have been 50 shekels, = 25 ounces, a weight obviously so much too small, unless mere gilding be supposed, for the total weight required, that LXX. and Vulg. render it as expressing that of each nail, which is equally excessive. To remedy this difficulty Thenius suggests reading 500 for 50 shekels (1 Chr. xxii. 3; 2 Chr. iii. 9; Bertheau, *on Chronicles*, in *Kurzgef. Handb.*).

"Nail," Vulg. palus, is the rendering of πάσσαλος in Ecclus. xxvii. 2. In N. T. we have ἧλος and προσηλόω in speaking of the nails of the Cross (John xx. 25; Col. ii. 14). [H. W. P.]

NAIN (Ναΐν). There are no materials for a long history or a detailed description of this village of Galilee, the gate of which is made illustrious by the raising of the widow's son (Luke vii. 12). But two points connected with it are of extreme interest to the Biblical student. The site of the village is certainly known; and there can be no doubt as to the approach by which our Saviour was coming when He met the funeral. The modern *Nein* is situated on the north-western edge of the "Little Hermon," or *Jebel ed-Dûhy*, where the ground falls into the plain of Esdraelon. Nor has the name ever been forgotten. The crusaders knew it, and Eusebius and Jerome mention it, in its right connexion with the neighbourhood of Endor. Again, the entrance to the place must probably always have been up the steep ascent from the plain; and here, on the west side of the village, the rock is full of sepulchral caves. It appears also that there are similar caves on the east side. (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* ii. 361; Van de Velde, *Syria and Palestine*, ii. 382; Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 357; Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 445; Porter, *Handbook to Syria*, p. 358.) [J. S. H.]

NA'IOTH (נָיוֹת, according to the *Keri* or corrected text of the Masorets, which is followed by the A. V., but in the *Cethib* or original text נָיֹת, *i. e.* Nevaioth: Αὐάθ; Alex. Ναϊὼθ: *Najoth*), or more fully,[b] "Naioth in Ramah;" a place in which Samuel and David took refuge together, after the latter had made his escape from the jealous fury of Saul (1 Sam. xix. 18, 19, 22, 23, xx. 1). It is evident from ver. 18, that Naioth was not actually in Ramah, Samuel's habitual residence, though from the affix it must have been near it (Ewald, iii. 66). In its corrected form (*Keri*) the name signifies "habitations," and from an early date has been interpreted to mean the huts or dwellings of a school or college of prophets over which Samuel presided, as Elisha did over those at Gilgal and Jericho.

This interpretation was unknown to Josephus, who gives the name Γαλβάαθ, to the translators of the LXX. and the Peshito-Syriac (*Jonath*), and to Jerome.[c] It appears first in the Targum-Jonathan, where for Naioth we find throughout בֵּית אוּלְפָנָא, "the house of instruction," the term[d] which appears in later times to have been regularly applied to the schools of the Rabbis (Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 106)—and where ver. 20 is rendered, "and they saw the company of scribes singing praises, and Samuel teaching, standing over them," thus introducing the idea of Samuel as a teacher. This interpretation of Naioth is now generally accepted by the lexicographers and commentators. [G.]

NANE'A (Ναναία: *Nanea*). The last act of Antiochus Epiphanes (vol. i. p. 75*b*) was his attempt to plunder the temple of Nanea at Elymais, which had been enriched by the gifts and trophies of Alexander the Great (1 Macc. vi. 1-4; 2 Macc. i. 13-16). The Persian goddess Nanea, called also Ἀναΐτις by Strabo (xv. p. 733), is apparently the Moon goddess, of whom the Greek Artemis was the nearest representative in Polybius (quoted by Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 9, §1). Beyer calls her the "Elymaean Venus" (*ad Joh. Seldeni, &c., addit.* p. 345), and Winer (*Realw.*) apparently identifies Nanea with Meni, and both with the planet Venus, the star of luck, called by the Syrians ܢܢܝ, *Nani*, and in Zend *Nahid* or *Anahid*.

Elphinstone in 1811 found coins of the Sassanians with the inscription NANAIA, and on the reverse a figure with nimbus and lotus-flower (Movers, *Phoen.* i. 626). It is probable that Nanea is identical with the deity named by Strabo (xi. p. 532) as the *numen patrium* of the Persians, who was also honoured by the Medes, Armenians, and in many districts of Asia Minor. Other forms of the name are Ἀνάα, given by Strabo, Ἄνη by Polybius, Ἀνεΐτις by Plutarch, and Ταναΐς by Clemens Alexandrinus, with which last the variations of some MSS. of Strabo correspond. In consequence of a confusion between the Greek and Eastern mythologies, Nanea has been identified with Artemis and Aphrodite, the probability being that she corresponds with the Tauric or Ephesian Artemis, who was invested with the attributes of Aphrodite, and represented the productive power of nature. In this case some weight may be allowed to the conjecture, that "the desire of women" mentioned in Dan. xi. 37 is the same as the goddess Nanea.

In 2 Macc. ix. 1, 2, appears to be a different account of the same sacrilegious attempt of Antiochus; but the scene of the event is there placed at Persepolis, "the city of the Persians," where there might well have been a temple to the national deity. But Grimm considers it far more probable that it was an Elymaean temple which excited the cupidity of the king. See Gesenius, *Jesaia*, iii. 337, and Grimm's *Commentar* in the *Kurzgef. Handb.* [W. A. W.]

NA'OMI (נָעֳמִי: Νωεμείν; Alex. Νοομμειν,

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[c] מַסְמֵר, *masmêr*,[1] only used in plur.; ἧλος; *clavus*.

[d] From סָמַר, "stand on end," as hair (Ges. p. 961).

[a] The plural of נָוָה. The original form (*Cethib*) would be the plural of נָוִי (Simonis, *Onom.* 30), a word which does not appear to have existed.

[1] Closely allied to Arab. مسمار, *mismâr*, "a nail."

[b] "Naioth" occurs both in Heb. and A. V. in Sam. xix. 18, only. The LXX. supply ἐν Ῥαμα in that verse. The Vulgate adheres to the Hebrew.

[c] In his notice of this name in the *Onomasticon* ("Namoth"), Jerome refers to his observations thereon in the "libri Hebraicarum quaestionum." As, however we at present possess those books, they contain no reference to Naioth.

[d] It occurs again in the Targum for the residence of Huldah the prophetess (2 K. xxii. 14).

Νεεμμεί, Νοομεί, &c.: *Noemi*), the wife of Elimelech, and mother-in-law of Ruth (Ruth i. 2, &c., ii. 1, &c., iii. 1, iv. 3, &c.). The name is derived from a root signifying sweetness, or pleasantness, and this significance contributes to the point of the paronomasia in i. 20, 21, though the passage contains also a play on the mere sound of the name:—"Call me not Naomi (pleasant), call me Mara (bitter) . . . . why call ye me Naomi when Jehovah hath testified (*anah*, עָנָה) against me?" [G.]

NAPHISH (נָפִישׁ, "according to the Syriac usage, 'refreshment,'" Ges.: Ναφές, Ναφισαιοι: *Naphis*), the last but one of the sons of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chr. i. 31). The tribe descended from Nodab was subdued by the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half of the tribe of Manasseh, when "they made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and *Nephish* (Ναφισαίων, LXX.), and Nodab" (1 Chr. v. 19). The tribe is not again found in the sacred records, nor is it mentioned by later writers. It has not been identified with any Arabian tribe; but identifications with Ishmaelite tribes are often difficult. The difficulty in question arises from intermarriages with Keturahites and Joktanites, from the influence of Mohammadan history, and from our ignorance respecting many of the tribes, and the towns and districts, of Arabia. The influence of Mohammadan history is here mentioned as the strongest instance of a class of influences very common among the Arabs, by which prominence has been given to certain tribes remarkable in the rise of the religion, or in the history of the country, its language, &c. But intermarriages exercise even a stronger influence on the names of tribes, causing in countless instances the adoption of an older name to the exclusion of the more recent, without altering the *pedigree*. Thus Mohammad claimed descent from the tribe of Mudád, although he gloried in being an Ishmaelite: Mudád took its name from the father of Ishmael's wife, and the name of Ishmael himself is merged in that of the older race. [ISHMAEL.]

If the Hagarenes went southwards, into the province of Hejer, after their defeat, Naphish may have gone with them, and traces of his name should in this case be looked for in that obscure province of Arabia. He is described in Chronicles, with the confederate tribes, as pastoral, and numerous in men and cattle. [NODAB.] [E. S. P.]

NAPHISI (Ναφεισεί; Alex. Ναφισι: *Naphisim*), 1 Esdr. v. 31. [NEPHUSIM.]

NAPHTALI (נַפְתָּלִי: Νεφθαλείμ, and so also Josephus: *Nephthali*). The fifth son of Jacob; the second child borne to him by Bilhah, Rachel's slave. His birth and the bestowal of his name are recorded in Gen. xxx. 8:—"and Rachel said 'wrestlings (or contortions—*naphtûle*) of God[a] have I wrestled (*niphtalti*) with my sister and have prevailed.' And she called his name [b]Naphtali."

By his birth Naphtali was thus allied to Dan (Gen. xxxv. 25); and he also belonged to the same portion of the family as Ephraim and Benjamin, the sons of Rachel; but, as we shall see, these connexions appear to have been only imperfectly maintained by the tribe descended from him.

At the migration to Egypt four sons are attributed to Naphtali (Gen. xlvi. 24; Ex. i. 4; 1 Chr. vii. 13). Of the individual patriarch not a single trait is given in the Bible; but in the Jewish traditions he is celebrated for his powers as a swift runner, and he is named as one of the five who were chosen by Joseph to represent the family before Pharaoh (*Targ. Pseudojon.* on Gen. l. 13 and xlvii. 2).[c]

When the census was taken at Mount Sinai the tribe numbered no less than 53,400 fighting men (Num. i. 43, ii. 30). It thus held exactly the middle position in the nation, having five above it in numbers, and six below. But when the borders of the Promised Land were reached, its numbers were reduced to 45,400, with four only below it in the scale, one of the four being Ephraim (Num. xxvi. 48-50; comp. 37). The leader of the tribe at Sinai was Ahira ben-Enan (Num. ii. 29); and at Shiloh, Pedahel ben-Ammihud (xxxiv. 28). Amongst the spies its representative was Nahbi ben-Vophsi (xiii. 14).

During the march through the wilderness Naphtali occupied a position on the north of the Sacred Tent with Dan, and also with another tribe, which though not originally so intimately connected became afterwards his immediate neighbour—Asher (Num. ii. 25-31). The three formed the "Camp of Dan," and their common standard, according to the Jewish traditions, was a serpent or basilisk, with the motto, "Return, O Jehovah, unto the many thousands of Israel!" (*Targ. Pseudojon.* on Num. ii. 25).

In the apportionment of the land, the lot of Naphtali was not drawn till the last but one. The two portions then remaining unappropriated were the noble but remote district which lay between the strip of coast-land already allotted to Asher and the upper part of the Jordan, and the little canton or corner, more central, but in every other respect far inferior, which projected from the territory of Judah into the country of the Philistines, and formed the "marches" between those two never-tiring combatants. Naphtali chose the former of these, leaving the latter to the Danites, a large number of whom shortly followed their relatives to their home in the more remote but more undisturbed north, and thus testified to the wisdom of Naphtali's selection.

The territory thus appropriated was enclosed on three sides by those of other tribes. On the west, as already remarked, lay Asher; on the south Zebulun, and on the east the trans-jordanic Manasseh.

[a] That is, according to the Hebrew idiom, "immense wrestlings," ἀμηχάνητος οἷον, "as if irresistible," is the explanation of the name given by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 19, 6).

[b] An attempt has been made by Redslob, in his singular treatise *Die Alttest. Namen*, &c. (Hamb. 1846, pp. 88, 9), to show that "Naphtali" is nothing but a synonyme for "Galilee," and that again for "Cabul," all three being appellatives appellations. But if there were no other difficulties in the way, this has the disadvantage of being in direct contradiction to the high estimation in which the tribe was held at the date of the composition of the Songs of Deborah and Jacob.

[c] In the 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Naphtali dies in his 132nd year, in the 7th month, on the 4th day of the month. He explains his name as given "because Rachel had dealt deceitfully" (ἐν πανουργίᾳ ἐποίησε). He also gives the genealogy of his mother:—Balla (Bilhah), the daughter of Routhaios, the brother of Deborah. Rebekah's nurse, was born the same day with Rachel. Routhaios was a Chaldaean of the kindred of Abraham, who, being taken captive, was bought as a slave by Laban. Laban gave him his maid Aina or Eva to wife, by whom he had Zelipha (Zilpah)—so called from the place in which he had been captive—and Balla (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. V. T.* 659, &c.).

The north terminated with the ravine of the *Litâny* or Leontes, and opened into the splendid valley which separates the two ranges of Lebanon. According to Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22) the eastern side of the tribe reached as far as Damascus; but of this—though not impossible in the early times of the nation and before the rise of the Syrian monarchy—there is no indication in the Bible. The south boundary was probably very much the same as that which at a later time separated Upper from Lower Galilee, and which ran from or about the town of *Akka* to the upper part of the Sea of Gennesaret. Thus Naphtali was cut off from the great plain of Esdraelon—the favourite resort of the hordes of plunderers from beyond the Jordan, and the great battlefield of the country—by the mass of the mountains of Nazareth; while on the east it had a communication with the Sea of Galilee, the rich district of the *Ard el-Huleh* and the *Merj Ayûn*, and all the splendidly watered country about *Banias* and *Hasbeya*, the springs of Jordan. "O Naphtali," thus accurately does the Song attributed to the dying lawgiver express itself with regard to this part of the territory of the tribe—"O Naphthali, satisfied with favour and full of Jehovah's blessing, the sea[d] and the south possess thou!" (Deut. xxxiii. 23). But the capabilities of these plains and of the access to the Lake, which at a later period raised GALILEE and GENNESARETH to so high a pitch of crowded and busy prosperity, were not destined to be developed while they were in the keeping of the tribe of Naphtali. It was the mountainous country ("Mount Naphtali," Josh. xx. 7) which formed the chief part of their inheritance, that impressed or brought out the qualities for which Naphtali was remarkable at the one remarkable period of its history. This district, the modern *Belad-Besharah*, or "land of good tidings," comprises some of the most beautiful scenery, and some of the most fertile soil in Palestine (Porter, 363), forests surpassing those of the renowned Carmel itself (Van de Velde, i. 293); as rich in noble and ever-varying prospects as any country in the world (ii. 407). As it is thus described by one of the few travellers who have crossed its mountains and descended into its ravines, so it was at the time of the Christian era:—"The soil," says Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 3, §2), "universally rich and productive; full of plantations of trees of all sorts; so fertile as to invite the most slothful to cultivate it." But, except in the permanence of these natural advantages, the contrast between the present and that earlier time is complete; for whereas, in the time of Josephus, Galilee was one of the most populous and busy districts of Syria, now the population is in an inverse proportion to the luxuriance of the natural vegetation (Van de Velde, i. 170).

Three of the towns of Naphtali were allotted to the Gershonite Levites—Kedesh (already called Kedesh-in-Galilee), Hammoth-dor, and Kartan. Of these, the first was a city of refuge (Josh. xx. 7, xxi. 32). Naphtali was one of Solomon's commissariat districts, under the charge of his son-in-law Ahimaaz; who with his wife Basmath resided in his presidency, and doubtless enlivened that remote and rural locality by a miniature of the court of his august father-in-law, held at Safed or Kedesh, or wherever his residence may have been (1 K. iv. 15). Here he doubtless watched the progress of the unpromising new district presented to Solomon by Hiram—the twenty cities of Cabul, which seem to have been within the territory of Naphtali, perhaps the nucleus of the Galilee of later date. The ruler of the tribe (נָגִיד)—a different dignity altogether from that of Ahimaaz—was, in the reign of David, Jerimoth ben-Azriel (1 Chr. xxvii. 19).

Naphtali had its share in those incursions and molestations by the surrounding heathen, which were the common lot of all the tribes (Judah perhaps alone excepted) during the first centuries after the conquest. One of these, apparently the severest struggle of all, fell with special violence on the north of the country, and the leader by whom the invasion was repelled—BARAK of Kedesh-Naphtali—was the one great hero whom Naphtali is recorded to have produced. How gigantic were the efforts by which these heroic mountaineers saved their darling highlands from the swarms of Canaanites who followed Jabin and Sisera, and how grand the position which they achieved in the eyes of the whole nation, may be gathered from the narrative of the war in Judg. iv., and still more from the expressions of the triumphal song in which Deborah, the prophetess of Ephraim, immortalised the victors, and branded their reluctant countrymen with everlasting infamy. Gilead and Reuben lingered beyond the Jordan amongst their flocks: Dan and Asher preferred the luxurious calm of their hot lowlands to the free air and fierce strife of the mountains; Issachar with characteristic sluggishness seems to have moved slowly if he moved at all; but Zebulun and Naphtali on the summits of their native highlands devoted themselves to death, even to an extravagant pitch of heroism and self-devotion (Judg. v. 18):—

"Zebulun are a people that threw[e] away their lives even unto death—
And Naphtali, on the high places of the field."

The mention of Naphtali contained in the Song attributed to Jacob—whether it is predictive, or as some writers believe, retrospective—must have reference to this event: unless indeed, which is hardly to be believed, some other heroic occasion is referred to, which has passed unrecorded in the history. The translation of this difficult passage given by Ewald (*Geschichte*, ii. 380), has the merit of being more intelligible than the ordinary version, and also more in harmony with the expressions of Deborah's Song:

"Naphtali is a towering Terebinth;
He hath a goodly crest."

The allusion, at once to the situation of the tribe at the very apex of the country, to the heroes who towered at the head of the tribe, and to the lofty mountains on whose summits their castles, then as now, were perched—is very happy, and entirely in the vein of these ancient poems.

After this burst of heroism, the Naphtalites appear to have resigned themselves to the intercourse with the[f] heathen, which was the bane of the northern tribes in general, and of which there are already indications in Judg. i. 33. The location by Jeroboam within their territory of the great sanctuary for the northern part of his kingdom must have given an impulse to their nationality, and for a time have revived the connexion with their brethren nearer the centre. But there was one circumstance

[d] *Yam*, rendered "west" in the A. V., but obviously the "Sea" of Galilee.

[e] So Ewald, *wegwerfend* (*Dichter*, I. 130).

[f] This is implied in the name of Galilee, which at an early date, is styled גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם, *gelîl hag-goyim*, Galilee of the Gentiles.

fatal to the prosperity of the tribe, namely, that it lay in the very path of the northern invaders. Syrian and Assyrian, Benhadad and Tiglath-pileser, each had their first taste of the plunder of the Israelites from the goodly land of Naphtali. At length in the reign of Pekah king of Israel (cir. B.C. 730), Tiglath-pileser overran the whole of the north of Israel, swept off the population, and bore them away to Assyria.

But though the history of the tribe of Naphtali ends here, and the name is not again mentioned except in the well-known citation of St. Matthew (iv. 15), and the mystical references of Ezekiel (xlviii. 3, 4, 34) and of the writer of the Apocalypse (Rev. vii. 6), yet under the title of GALILEE —apparently an ancient name, though not brought prominently forward till the Christian era—the district which they had formerly occupied was destined to become in every way far more important than it had ever before been. For it was the cradle of the Christian faith, the native place of most of the Apostles, and the "home" of our Lord. [GALILEE, vol. i. p. 645*b*; CAPERNAUM, 273*a*.]

It also became populous and prosperous to a degree far beyond anything of which we have any indications in the Old Testament; but this, as well as the account of its sufferings and heroic resistance during the campaign of Titus and Vespasian prior to the destruction of Jerusalem, must be given elsewhere. [GALILEE; PALESTINE.] [G.]

NAPHTALI, MOUNT (הַר נַפְתָּלִי: ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Νεφθαλεί: *Mons Nephtali*). The mountainous district which formed the main part of the inheritance of Naphtali (Josh. xx. 7), answering to "Mount Ephraim" in the centre and "Mount Judah" in the south of Palestine.

NAPHTHAR (νέφθαρ: *Nephthar*). The name given by Nehemiah to the substance[a] which after the Return from Babylon was discovered in the dry pit in which at the destruction of the Temple the sacred Fire of the altar had been hidden (2 Macc. i. 36, comp. 19). The legend is a curious one; and it is plain, from the description of the substance—"thick water,"[b] which, being poured over the sacrifice and the wood, was kindled by the great heat of the sun, and then burnt with an exceedingly bright and clear flame (ver. 32)—that it was either the same as or closely allied to the naphtha of modern commerce (*Petroleum*). The narrative is not at all extravagant in its terms, and is very probably grounded on some actual[c] occurrence. The only difficulty it presents is the explanation given of the name: "Naphthar, which is, being interpreted, cleansing" (καθαρισμός), and which has hitherto puzzled all the interpreters. It is perhaps due to some mistake in copying. A list of conjectures will be found in Grimm (*Kurzgef. Handb.* ad loc.), and another in Reland's *Diss. de Vet. Ling. Pers.* lxviii.

The place from which this combustible water was taken was enclosed by the "king of Persia" (Artaxerxes Longimanus), and converted into a sanctuary (such seems the force of ἱερὸν ποιεῖν, ver. 34.). In modern times it has been identified with the large well called by the Arabs *Bir-eyûb*, situated beneath Jerusalem, at the confluence of the valleys of Kidron and Hinnom with the *Wady en-Nar* (or "valley of the fire"), and from which the main water supply of the city is obtained.

This well, the Arab name of which may be the well of Joab or of Job, and which is usually identified with En-rogel, is also known to the Frank Christians as the "Well of Nehemiah." According to Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* i. 331, 2 *note*), the first trace of this name is in Quaresmius (*Elucidatio*, &c., ii. 270-4), who wrote in the early part of the 17th cent. (1616-25). He calls it "the well of Nehemiah and of fire," in words which seem to imply that such was at that time its recognized name: "Celebris ille et nominatus puteus, Nehemiae et ignis appellatus." The valley which runs from it to the Dead Sea is called *Wady en-Nar*, "Valley of the Fire;" but no stress can be laid on this, as the name may have originated the tradition. A description of the *Bir-eyûb* is given by Williams (*Holy City*, ii. 489-95), Barclay (*City*, &c., 513-16), and by the careful Tobler (*Umgebungen*, &c., 50). At present it would be an equally unsuitable spot either to store fire or to seek for naphtha. One thing is plain, that it cannot have been En-rogel (which was a living spring of water from the days of Joshua downwards), and a naphtha well also. [G.]

NAPHTUHIM (נַפְתֻּחִים: Νεφθαλείμ: *Nephtuim, Nephthuim*), a Mizraite nation or tribe, mentioned only in the account of the descendants of Noah (Gen. x. 13; 1 Chr. i. 11). If we may judge from their position in the list of the Mizraites, according to the Masoretic text (in the LXX. in Gen. x. they follow the Ludim and precede the Anamim, Ἐνεμετιείμ), immediately after the Lehabim, who doubtless dwelt to the west of Egypt, and before the Pathrusim, who inhabited that country, the Naphtuhim were probably settled at first, or at the time when Gen. x. was written, either in Egypt or immediately to the west of it. In Coptic the city Marea and the neighbouring territory, which probably corresponded to the older Mareotic nome, is called ⲠⲒⲪⲀⲒⲀⲦ or ⲠⲒⲪⲀⲒⲀⲖ, a name composed of the word ⲪⲀⲒⲀⲦ or ⲪⲀⲒⲀⲖ, of unknown meaning, with the plural definite article ⲠⲒ prefixed. In hieroglyphics mention is made of a nation or confederacy of tribes conquered by the Egyptians called "the Nine Bows,"[a] a name which Champollion read Naphit, or, as we should write it, NA-PETU, "the bows," though he called them "the Nine Bows."[b] It seems, however, more reasonable to suppose that we should read (ix) PETU "the Nine Bows" literally. It is also doubtful whether the Coptic name of Marea contains the word "bow," which is only found in the forms ⲠⲒⲦⲈ (S. masc.) and ⲪⲒϮ (M. fem. "a rainbow"); but it is possible that the second part of the former may have been originally the same as the latter. It is noteworthy that there should be two geographical names connected with the bow in hieroglyphics, the one of a country, MERU-PET, "the island of the bow," probably MEROË, and the other of a nation or confederacy, "the Nine Bows,"

[a] Not to the *place*, as in the Vulgate,—*hunc locum*.

[b] The word "water" is here used merely for "liquid," as in *aqua vitae*. Native naphtha is sometimes obtained without colour, and in appearance not unlike water.

[c] Grimm (p. 30) notices a passage in the "Adambook" of the Ethiopian Christians, in which Ezra is said to have discovered in the vaults of the Temple a censer full of the Sacred Fire which had formerly burnt in the Sanctuary.

[a] Dr. Brugsch reads this name "the Nine Peoples" (*Geographische Inschriften*, ii. p. 20).

[b] A bow in hieroglyphics is PET, PEET or PETEE.

and that in the list of the Hamites there should be two similar names, Phut and Naphtuhim, besides Cush, probably of like sense. No important historical notice of the Nine Bows has been found in the Egyptian inscriptions: they are only spoken of in a general manner when the kings are said, in laudatory inscriptions, to have subdued great nations, such as the Negroes, or extensive countries, such as KEESH, or Cush. Perhaps therefore this name is that of a confederacy or of a widely-spread nation, of which the members or tribes are spoken of separately in records of a more particular character, treating of special conquests of the Pharaohs or enumerating their tributaries. [R. S. P.]

NARCIS'SUS (Νάρκισσος). A dweller at Rome (Rom. xvi. 11), some members of whose household were known as Christians to St. Paul. Some persons have assumed the identity of this Narcissus with the secretary of the emperor Claudius (Suetonius, *Claudius*, §28). But that wealthy and powerful freedman satisfied the revenge of Agrippina by a miserable death in prison (Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 1), in the first year of Nero's reign (A.D. 54-55), about three years before this Epistle was written. Dio Cassius, lxiv. 3, mentions another Narcissus, who probably was living in Rome at that time; he attained to some notoriety as an associate of Nero, and was put to an ignominious death with Helius, Patrobius, Locusta, and others, on the accession of Galba, A.D. 68. His name, however (see Reimar's note, *in loco*), was at that time too common in Rome to give any probability to the guess that he was the Narcissus mentioned by St. Paul. A late and improbable tradition (Pseudo-Hippolytus) makes Narcissus one of the seventy disciples, and bishop of Athens. [W. T. B.]

NARD. [SPIKENARD.]

NAS'BAS (Νασβάς: *Nabath*). The nephew of Tobit who came with Achiacharus to the wedding of Tobias (Tob. xi. 18). Grotius considers him the same with Achiacharus the son of Anael, but according to the Vulgate they were brothers. The margin of the A. V. gives "Junius" as the equivalent of Nasbas.

NA'SITH (Νασί; Alex. Ναστθ: *Nasit*) = NEZIAH (1 Esdr. v. 32; comp. Ezr. ii. 54).

NA'SOR, THE PLAIN OF (τὸ πεδίον Νασώρ: *campus Asor*), the scene of an action between Jonathan the Maccabee and the forces of Demetrius (1 Macc. xi. 67, comp. 63). It was near Cades (Kadesh-Naphtali) on the one side, and the water of Gennesar (Lake of Gennesareth) on the other, and therefore may be safely identified with the Hazor which became so renowned in the history of the conquest for the victories of Joshua and Barak (vol. i. 765*a*). In fact the name is the same, except that through the error of a transcriber the N from the preceding Greek word has become attached to it. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5, §7) gives it correctly, Ἀσώρ. [Comp. NAARATH, p. 453 *note*.] [G.]

NA'THAN (נָתָן: Νάθαν: *Nathan*), an eminent Hebrew prophet in the reigns of David and Solomon. If the expression "first and last," in 2 Chr. ix. 29, is to be taken literally, he must have lived late into the life of Solomon, in which case he must have been considerably younger than David. At any rate he seems to have been the younger of the two prophets who accompanied him, and may be considered as the latest direct representative of the schools of Samuel.

A Jewish tradition mentioned by Jerome (*Qu. Heb.* on 1 Sam. xvii. 12) identifies him with the eighth son of Jesse. [DAVID, vol. i. p. 402*a*.] But of this there is no proof.

He first appears in the consultation with David about the building of the Temple. He begins by advising it, and then, after a vision, withdraws his advice, on the ground that the time was not yet come (2 Sam. vii. 2, 3, 17). He next comes forward as the reprover of David for the sin with Bathsheba; and his famous apologue on the rich man and the ewe lamb, which is the only direct example of his prophetic power, shows it to have been of a very high order (2 Sam. xii. 1-12).

There is an indistinct trace of his appearing also at the time of the plague which fell on Jerusalem in accordance with the warning of Gad. "An angel," says Eupolemus (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 30), "pointed him to the place where the Temple was to be, but forbade him to build it, as being stained with blood, and having fought many wars. His name was Dianathan." This was probably occasioned by some confusion of the Greek version, διὰ Νάθαν, with the parallel passage of 1 Chr. xxii. 8, where the bloodstained life of David is given as a reason against the building, but where Nathan is not named.

On the birth of Solomon he was either specially charged with giving him his name, JEDIDIAH, or else with his education, according as the words of 2 Sam. xii. 25, "He sent (or 'sent him') by (or 'into') the hand of Nathan," are understood. At any rate, in the last years of David, it is Nathan who, by taking the side of Solomon, turned the scale in his favour. He advised Bathsheba; he himself ventured to enter the royal presence with a remonstrance against the king's apathy; and at David's request he assisted in the inauguration of Solomon (1 K. i. 8, 10, 11, 22, 23, 24, 32, 34, 38, 45).

This is the last time that we hear directly of his intervention in the history. His son Zabud occupied the post of "King's Friend," perhaps succeeding Nathan (2 Sam. xv. 37; 1 Chr. xxvii. 33). His influence may be traced in the perpetuation of his manner of prophecy in the writings ascribed to Solomon (compare Eccl. ix. 14-16 with 2 Sam. xii. 1-4).

He left two works behind him—a Life of David (1 Chr. xxix. 29), and a Life of Solomon (2 Chr. ix. 29). The last of these may have been incomplete, as we cannot be sure that he outlived Solomon. But the biography of David by Nathan is, of all the losses which antiquity, sacred or profane, has sustained, the most deplorable.

The consideration in which he was held at the time is indicated by the solemn announcement of his approach—"Behold Nathan the prophet" (1 K. i. 23). The peculiar affix of "the prophet," as distinguished from "the seer," given to Samuel and Gad (1 Chr. xxix. 29), shows his identification with the later view of the prophetic office indicated in 1 Sam. ix. 9. His grave is shown at *Halhul* near Hebron (see Robinson, *B. R.* i. 216 *note*). [A. P. S.]

2. A son of David; one of the four who were borne to him by Bathsheba (1 Chr. iii. 5; comp. xiv. 4, and 2 Sam. v. 14). He was thus own brother to Solomon—if the order of the lists is to be accepted, elder brother; though this is at variance with the natural inference from the narrative of 2 Sam. xii. 24, which implies that Solomon was Bathsheba's second son. The name was not unknown in David's family; Nethan-eel was one of his brothers, and Jo-nathan, his nephew.

Nathan appears to have taken no part in the events of his father's or his brother's reigns. He is interesting to us from his appearing as one of the forefathers of Joseph in the genealogy of St. Luke (iii. 31)—"the private genealogy of Joseph, exhibiting his line as David's descendant, and thus showing how he was heir to Solomon's crown" (vol. i. 866*a*). The hypothesis of Lord Arthur Hervey is that on the failure of Solomon's line in Jehoiachin or Jeconiah, who died without issue, Salathiel of Nathan's house became heir to David's throne, and then was entered in the genealogical tables as "son of Jeconiah" (i. 666*b*). That the family of Nathan was, as this hypothesis requires, well known at the time of Jehoiachin's death, is implied by its mention in Zech. xii. 12, a prophecy the date of which is placed by Ewald (*Propheten*, i. 391) as fifteen years after Habbakuk, and shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar—that is, a few years only after Jehoiachin's death.

3. Son, or brother, of one of the members of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 36; 1 Chr. xi. 38). In the former of these two parallel passages he is stated to be "of Zobah," *i. e.* Aram-Zobah, which Kennicott in his investigation (*Dissert.* 215, 216) decides to have been the original reading, though he also decides for "brother" against "son."

4. One of the head men who returned from Babylon with Ezra on his second expedition, and whom he despatched from his encampment at the river Ahava to the colony of Jews at Casiphia, to obtain thence some Levites and Nethinim for the Temple service (Ezr. viii. 16; 1 Esdr. viii. 44). That Nathan and those mentioned with him were laymen, appears evident from the concluding words of the preceding verse, and therefore it is not impossible that he may be the same with the "son of Bani" who was obliged to relinquish his foreign wife (Ezr. x. 39), though on the other hand these marriages seem rather to have been contracted by those who had been longer in Jerusalem than he, who had so lately arrived from Babylon, could be.

[G.]

NATH'ANAEL (Ναθαναὴλ, "gift of God"), a disciple of Jesus Christ concerning whom, under that name at least, we learn from Scripture little more than his birth-place, Cana of Galilee (John xxi. 2), and his simple truthful character (John i. 47). We have no particulars of his life. Indeed the name does not occur in the first three Gospels.

We learn, however, from St. John that Jesus on the third or fourth day after His return from the scene of His temptation to that of His baptism, having been proclaimed by the Baptist as the Lamb of God, was minded to go into Galilee. He first then called Philip to follow Him, but Philip could not set forth on his journey without communicating to Nathanael the wonderful intelligence which he had received from his master the Baptist, namely, that the Messiah so long foretold by Moses and the Prophets had at last appeared. Nathanael, who seems to have heard the announcement at first with some distrust, as doubting whether anything good could come out of so small and inconsiderable a place as Nazareth—a place nowhere mentioned in the Old Testament—yet readily accepted Philip's invitation to go and satisfy himself by his own personal observation (John i. 46). What follows is a testimony to the humility, simplicity, and sincerity of his own character from One who could read his heart, such as is recorded of hardly any other person in the Bible. Nathanael, on his approach to Jesus, is saluted by Him as "an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile"—a true child of Abraham, and not simply according to the flesh. So little, however, did he expect any such distinctive praise, that he could not refrain from asking how it was that he had become known to Jesus. The answer "before that Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig-tree I saw thee," appears to have satisfied him that the speaker was more than man—that he must have read his secret thoughts, and heard his unuttered prayer at a time when he was studiously screening himself from public observation. The conclusion was inevitable. Nathanael at once confessed "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God; thou art the King of Israel" (John i. 49). The name of Nathanael occurs but once again in the Gospel narrative, and then simply as one of the small company of disciples to whom Jesus showed Himself at the sea of Tiberias after His resurrection. On that occasion we may fairly suppose that he joined his brethren in their night's venture on the lake—that, having been a sharer of their fruitless toil, he was a witness with them of the miraculous draught of fishes the next morning—and that he afterwards partook of the meal, to which, without daring to ask, the disciples felt assured in their hearts, that He who had called them was the Lord (John xxi. 12). Once therefore at the beginning of our Saviour's ministry, and once after His resurrection, does the name of Nathanael occur in the Sacred Record.

This scanty notice of one who was intimately associated with the very chiefest apostles, and was himself the object of our Lord's most emphatic commendation, has not unnaturally provoked the enquiry whether he may not be identified with another of the well-known disciples of Jesus. It is indeed very commonly believed that Nathanael and Bartholomew are the same person. The evidence for that belief is as follows: St. John, who twice mentions Nathanael, never introduces the name of Bartholomew at all. St. Matt. x. 3; St. Mark iii. 18; and St. Luke vi. 14, all speak of Bartholomew, but never of Nathanael. It may be, however, that Nathanael was the proper name, and Bartholomew (son of Tholmai) the surname of the same disciple, just as Simon was called Bar-Jona, and Joses, Barnabas.

It was Philip who first brought Nathanael to Jesus, just as Andrew had brought his brother Simon, and Bartholomew is named by each of the first three Evangelists immediately after Philip; while by St. Luke he is coupled with Philip precisely in the same way as Simon with his brother Andrew, and James with his brother John. It should be observed, too, that as all the other disciples mentioned in the first chapter of St. John became Apostles of Christ, it is difficult to suppose that one who had been so singularly commended by Jesus, and who in his turn had so promptly and so fully confessed Him to be the Son of God, should be excluded from the number. Again, that Nathanael was one of the original twelve, is inferred with much probability from his not being proposed as one of the candidates to fill the place of Judas. Still we must be careful to distinguish conjecture, however well founded, from proof.

To the argument based upon the fact, that in St. John's enumeration of the disciples to whom our Lord showed Himself at the Sea of Tiberias Nathanael stands before the sons of Zebedee, it is replied that this was to be expected, as the writer was himself a son of Zebedee: and further that Nathanael

is placed after Thomas in this list, while Bartholomew comes before Thomas in St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. But as in the Acts St. Luke reverses the order of the two names, putting Thomas first, and Bartholomew second, we cannot attach much weight to this argument.

St. Augustine not only denies the claim of Nathanael to be one of the Twelve, but assigns as a reason for his opinion, that whereas Nathanael was most likely a learned man in the law of Moses, it was, as St. Paul tells us, 1 Cor. i. 26, the wisdom of Christ to make choice of rude and unlettered men to confound the wise (*in Johan. Ev.* c. i. §17). St. Gregory adopts the same view (*on John* i. 33, c. 16. B). In a dissertation on John i. 46, to be found in *Thes. Theo. philolog.* ii. 370, the author, J. Kindler, maintains that Bartholomew and Nathanael are different persons.

There is a tradition that Nathanael was the bridegroom at the marriage of Cana (Calmet), and Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. §223, implies his belief that of the two disciples whom Jesus overtook on the road to Emmaus Nathanael was one.

2. 1 Esdr. i. 9. [NETHANEEL.]

3. (*Ναθανάηλος.*) 1Esdr. ix. 22. [NETHANEEL.]

4. (*Nathanias.*) Son of Samael; one of the ancestors of Judith (Jud. viii. 1), and therefore a Simeonite (ix. 2). [E. H. . . . s.]

NATHANI'AS (*Ναθανίας*: om. in Vulg.) = NATHAN of the sons of Bani (1 Esdr. ix. 34; comp. Ezr. x. 39).

NA'THAN-MEL'ECH (נְתַן־מֶלֶךְ: *Ναθὰν βασιλεύς*: *Nathan-melech*). A eunuch (A. V. "chamberlain") in the court of Josiah, by whose chamber at the entrance to the Temple were the horses which the kings of Judah had dedicated to the sun (2 K. xxiii. 11). The LXX. translate the latter part of the name as an appellative, "Nathan the king."

NA'UM (*Ναούμ*), son of Esli, and father of Amos, in the genealogy of Christ (Luke iii. 25), about contemporary with the high-priesthood of Jason and the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. The only point to be remarked is the circumstance of the two consecutive names, Naum and Amos, being the same as those of the prophets N. and A. But whether this is accidental or has any peculiar significance is difficult to say. Naum is also a Phoenician proper name (Gesen. *s. v.* and *Mon. Phoen.* p. 134). *Nehemiah* is formed from the same root, נָחַם, "to comfort." [A. C. H.]

NAVE. The heb. גַּב, *gav*, conveys the notion of convexity or protuberance. It is rendered in A. V. boss of a shield, Job xv. 26; the eyebrow, Lev. xiv. 9; an eminent place, Ez. xvi. 31; once only in plur. naves, *νῶτοι*, radii, 1 K. vii. 33; but in Ez. i. 18 twice, *νῶτοι*, "rings," and marg. "strakes," an old word apparently used both for the nave of a wheel from which the spokes proceed, and also more probably the felloe or the tire, as making the streak or stroke upon the ground. Halliwell, Phillips, Bailey, Ash, *Eng. Dictionaries*, "strake." Gesenius, p. 256, renders curvatura rotarum. [CHARIOT; LAVER; GABBATHA.]

[H. W. P.]

NA'VE (*Ναυή*: *Nave*). Joshua the son of Nun is always called in the LXX. "the son of Nave," and this form is retained in Ecclus. xlvi. 1.

NAZARENE (*Ναζωραῖος*, *Ναζαρηνός*), an inhabitant of Nazareth. This appellative is found in the N. T. applied to Jesus by the demons in the synagogue at Capernaum (Mark i. 24; Luke iv. 34); by the people, who so describe him to Bartimeus (Mark x. 47; Luke xviii. 37); by the soldiers who arrested Jesus (John xviii. 5, 7); by the servants at His trial (Matt. xxvi. 71; Mark xiv. 67); by Pilate in the inscription on the cross (John xix. 19); by the disciples on the way to Emmaus (Luke xxiv. 19); by Peter (Acts ii. 22, iii. 6, iv. 10); by Stephen, as reported by the false witness (Acts vi. 14); by the ascended Jesus (Acts xxii. 8); and by Paul (Acts xxvi. 9). This name, made striking in so many ways, and which, if first given in scorn, was adopted and gloried in by the disciples, we are told, in Matt. ii. 23, possesses a prophetic significance. Its application to Jesus, in consequence of the providential arrangements by which His parents were led to take up their abode in Nazareth, was the filling out of the predictions in which the promised Messiah is described as a *Nêtser* (נֵצֶר), i. e. a *shoot*, *sprout*, of Jesse, a humble and despised descendant of the decayed royal family. Whenever men spoke of Jesus as the Nazarene, they either consciously or unconsciously pronounced one of the names of the predicted Messiah, a name indicative both of his royal descent and his humble condition. This explanation, which Jerome mentions as that given by learned (Christian) Jews in his day, has been adopted by Surenhusius, Fritzsche, Gieseler, Krabbe (*Leben Jesu*), Drechsler (on Is. xi. 1), Schirlitz (*N. T. Wörterb.*), Robinson (*N. T. Lex.*), Hengstenberg (*Christol.*), De Wette, and Meyer. It is confirmed by the following considerations:—(1) *Nêtser*, as Hengstenberg, after de Dieu and others, has proved, was the proper Hebrew name of Nazareth. (2) The reference to the etymological signification of the word is entirely in keeping with Matt. ii. 21-23. (3) The Messiah is expressly called a *Nêtser* in Is. xi. 1. (4) The same thought, and under the same image, although expressed by a different word, is found in Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15; Zech. iii. 8, vi. 12, which accounts for the statement of Matthew that this prediction was uttered "by the *prophets*" in the plural.

It is unnecessary therefore to resort to the hypothesis that the passage in Matt. ii. 23 is a quotation from some prophetical book now lost (Chrysost., Theophyl., Clericus), or from some apocryphal book (Ewald), or was a traditional prophecy (Calovius; Alexander, *Connexion and Harmony of the Old and N. T.*), all which suppositions are refuted by the fact that the phrase "by the prophets," in the N. T., refers exclusively to the *canonical* books of the O. T. The explanation of others (Tert., Erasm., Calv., Bez., Grot., Wetstein), according to whom the declaration is that Jesus should be a *Nazarite* (נָזִיר), i. e. one specially *consecrated* or *devoted* to God (Judg. xiii. 5), is inconsistent, to say nothing of other objections, with the Sept. mode of spelling the word, which is generally *Ναζιραῖος*, and never *Ναζωραῖος*. Within the last century the interpretation which finds the key of the passage in the *contempt* in which Nazareth may be supposed to have been held has been widely received. So Paulus, Rosenm., Kuin., Van der Palm., Gersdorf, A. Barnes, Olsh., Davidson, Ebrard, Lange. According to this view the reference is to the *despised condition* of the Messiah, as predicted in Ps. xxii. Is. liii. That idea, however, is more surely ex

ferred in the first explanation given, which has the advantage of recognising the apparent importance attached to the signification of the *name* ("He shall be *called*"). Recently a suggestion which Witsius borrowed from Socinus has been revived by Zuschlag and Riggenbach, that the true word is נֹצְרִי or נֹצְרִי, *my Saviour*, with reference to Jesus as the Saviour of the world, but without much success. Once (Acts xxiv. 5) the term *Nazarenes* is applied to the followers of Jesus by way of contempt. The name still exists in Arabic as the ordinary designation of Christians, and the recent revolt in India was connected with a pretended ancient prophecy that the *Nazarenes*, after holding power for one hundred years, would be expelled. (Spanheim, *Dubia Evangelica*, ii. 583-648; Wolf, *Curae Philologicae*, i. 46-48; Hengstenberg, *Christology of the O. T.* ii. 106-112; Zuschlag in the *Zeitschrift für die Lutherische Theologie*, 1854, 417-446; Riggenbach in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1855, 588-612.) [G. E. D.]

NAZARETH (written **Ναζαρέτ** and **Ναζαρέθ**) is not mentioned in the Old Testament or in Josephus, but occurs first in Matt. ii. 23, though a town could hardly fail to have existed on so eligible a spot from much earlier times. It derives its celebrity almost entirely from its connexion with the history of Christ, and in that respect has a hold on the imagination and feelings of men which it shares only with Jerusalem and Bethlehem. It is situated among the hills which constitute the south ridges of Lebanon, just before they sink down into the Plain of Esdraelon. Among those hills is a valley which runs in a waving line nearly east and west, about a mile long and, on the average, a quarter of a mile broad, but which at a certain point enlarges itself considerably so as to form a sort of basin. In this basin or enclosure, along the lower edge of the hill-side, lies the quiet secluded village in which the Saviour of men spent the greater part of His earthly existence. The surrounding heights vary in altitude, some of them rise to 400 or 500 feet. They have rounded tops, are composed of the glittering limestone which is so common in that country, and, though on the whole sterile and unattractive in appearance, present not an unpleasing aspect diversified as they are with the foliage of fig-trees and wild shrubs and with the verdure of occasional fields of grain. Our familiar hollyhock is one of the gay flowers which grow wild there. The enclosed valley is peculiarly rich and well cultivated: it is filled with corn-fields, with gardens, hedges of cactus, and clusters of fruit-bearing trees. Being sheltered by hills, Nazareth enjoys a mild atmosphere and climate. Hence all the fruits of the country,—as pomegranates, oranges, figs, olives,—ripen early and attain a rare perfection.

Of the identification of the ancient site there can be no doubt. The name of the present village is *en-Náširah*, the same, therefore, as of old; it is formed on a hill or mountain (Luke iv. 29); it is within the limits of the province of Galilee (Mark i. 9); it is near Cana (whether we assume *Kana* on the east or *Kana* on the north-east as the scene of the first miracle), according to the implication in John ii. 1, 2, 11; a precipice exists in the neighbourhood (Luke iv. 29); and, finally, a series of testimonies (Reland, *Pal.*, 905) reach back to Eusebius, the father of Church history, which represent the place as having occupied an invariable position.

The modern Nazareth belongs to the better class of eastern villages. It has a population of 3000 or 4000, a few are Mohammedans, the rest Latin and Greek Christians. There is one mosque, a Franciscan convent of huge dimensions but displaying no great architectural beauty, a small Maronite church, a Greek church, and perhaps a church or chapel of some of the other confessions. Protestant missions have been attempted, but with no very marked success. Most of the houses are well built of stone, and have a neat and comfortable appearance. As streams in the rainy season are liable to pour down with violence from the hills, every "wise man," instead of building upon the loose soil on the surface, digs deep and lays his foundation upon the rock (ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν) which is found so generally in that country at a certain depth in the earth. The streets or lanes are narrow and crooked, and after rain are so full of mud and mire as to be almost impassable.

A description of Nazareth would be incomplete without mention of the remarkable view from the tomb of Neby Ismaîl on one of the hills behind the town. It must suffice to indicate merely the objects within sight. In the north are seen the ridges of Lebanon and, high above all, the white top of Hermon; in the west, Carmel, glimpses of the Mediterranean, the bay and the town of Akka; east and south-east are Gilead, Tabor, Gilboa; and south, the Plain of Esdraelon and the mountains of Samaria, with villages on every side, among which are Kana, Nein, Endor, Zerîn (Jezreel), and Tâannuk (Taanach). It is unquestionably one of the most beautiful and sublime spectacles (for it combines the two features) which earth has to show. Dr. Robinson's elaborate description of the scene (*Bib. Res.*, ii. 336, 7) conveys no exaggerated idea of its magnificence or historical interest. It is easy to believe that the Saviour, during the days of His seclusion in the adjacent valley, came often to this very spot and looked forth thence upon those glorious works of the Creator which so lift the soul upward to Him.

The passages of Scripture which refer expressly to Nazareth though not numerous are suggestive and deserve to be recalled here. It was the home of Joseph and Mary (Luke ii. 39). The angel announced to the Virgin there the birth of the Messiah (Luke i. 26-28). The holy family returned thither after the flight into Egypt (Matt. ii. 23). Nazareth is called the native country (ἡ πατρὶς αὐτοῦ) of Jesus: He grew up there from infancy to manhood (Luke iv. 16), and was known through life as "The Nazarene." He taught in the synagogue there (Matt. xiii. 54; Luke iv. 16), and was dragged by His fellow-townsmen to the precipice in order to be cast down thence and be killed (εἰς τὸ κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν). "Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews" was written over His Cross (John xix. 19), and after His ascension He revealed Himself under that appellation to the persecuting Saul (Acts xxii. 8). The place has given name to His followers in all ages and all lands, a name which will never cease to be one of honour and reproach.

The origin of the disrepute in which Nazareth stood (John i. 47) is not certainly known. All the inhabitants of Galilee were looked upon with contempt by the people of Judaea because they spoke a ruder dialect, were less cultivated, and were more exposed by their position to contact with the heathen. But Nazareth laboured under a special opprobrium, for it was a Galilean and not a south-

ern Jew who asked the reproachful question, whether "any good thing" could come from that source. The term "good" (ἀγαθόν), having more commonly an ethical sense, it has been suggested that the inhabitants of Nazareth may have had a bad name among their neighbours for irreligion or some laxity of morals. The supposition receives support from the disposition which they manifested towards the person and ministry of our Lord. They attempted to kill Him; they expelled Him twice (for Luke iv. 16-29, and Matt. xiii. 54-58, relate probably to different occurrences) from their borders; they were so wilful and unbelieving that He performed not many miracles among them (Matt. xiii. 58); and, finally, they compelled Him to turn his back upon them and reside at Capernaum (Matt. iv. 13).

It is impossible to speak of distances with much exactness. Nazareth is a moderate journey of three days from Jerusalem, seven hours, or about twenty miles, from Akka or Ptolemais (Acts xxi. 7), five or six hours, or eighteen miles, from the sea of Galilee, six miles west from Mount Tabor, two hours from Cana, and two or three from Endor and Nain. The origin of the name is uncertain. For the conjectures on the subject, see NAZARENE.

We pass over, as foreign to the proper object of this notice, any particular account of the "holy places" which the legends have sought to connect with events in the life of Christ. They are described in nearly all the books of modern tourists; but, having no sure connexion with biblical geography or exegesis, do not require attention here. Two localities, however, form an exception to this statement, inasmuch as they possess, though in different ways, a certain interest which no one will fail to recognise. One of these is the "Fountain of the Virgin," situated at the north-eastern extremity of the town, where, according to one tradition, the mother of Jesus received the angel's salutation (Luke i. 28). Though we may attach no importance to this latter belief, we must, on other accounts, regard the spring with a feeling akin to that of religious veneration. It derives its name from the fact that Mary, during her life at Nazareth, no doubt accompanied often by "the child Jesus," must have been accustomed to repair to this fountain for water, as is the practice of the women of that village at the present day. Certainly, as Dr. Clarke observes (*Travels*, ii. 427), "if there be a spot throughout the holy land that was undoubtedly honoured by her presence, we may consider this to have been the place; because the situation of a copious spring is not liable to change, and because the custom of repairing thither to draw water has been continued among the female inhabitants of Nazareth from the earliest period of its history." The well-worn path which leads thither from the town has been trodden by the feet of almost countless generations. It presents at all hours a busy scene, from the number of those, hurrying to and fro, engaged in the labour of water-carrying. See the engraving, i. 632 of this *Dictionary*.

The other place is that of the attempted Precipitation. We are directed to the true scene of this occurrence, not so much by any tradition as by internal indications in the Gospel history itself. A prevalent opinion of the country has transferred the event to a hill about two miles south-east of the town. But there is no evidence that Nazareth ever occupied a different site from the present one; and that a mob whose determination was to put to death the object of their rage, should repair to so distant a place for that purpose, is entirely incredible. The present village, as already stated, lies along the hill-side, but much nearer the base than the summit. Above the bulk of the town are several rocky ledges over which a person could not be thrown without almost certain destruction. But there is one very remarkable precipice, almost perpendicular and forty or fifty feet high, near the Maronite church, which may well be supposed to be the identical one over which His infuriated townsmen attempted to hurl Jesus.

The singular precision with which the narrative relates the transaction deserves a remark or two. Casual readers would understand from the account that Nazareth was situated on the summit, and that the people brought Jesus down thence to the brow of the hill as if it was between the town and the valley. If these inferences were correct, the narrative and the locality would then be at variance with each other. The writer is free to say that he himself had these erroneous impressions, and was led to correct them by what he observed on the spot. Even Reland (*Pal.* 905) says: "Nazαρέθ—urbs aedificata *super rupem*, unde Christum precipitare conati sunt." But the language of the Evangelist, when more closely examined, is found neither to require the inferences in question on the one hand, nor to exclude them on the other. What he asserts is, that the incensed crowd "rose up and cast Jesus out of the city, and brought him to the brow of the hill on which the city was built, that they might cast him down headlong." It will be remarked here, in the first place, that it is not said that the people either went up or descended in order to reach the precipice, but simply that they brought the Saviour to it, wherever it was; and in the second place, that it is not said that the city was built "on the brow of the hill," but equally as well that the precipice was "on the brow," without deciding whether the cliff overlooked the town (as is the fact) or was below it. It will be seen, therefore, how very nearly the terms of the history approach a mistake and yet avoid it. As Paley remarks in another case, none but a true account could advance thus to the very brink of contradiction without falling into it.

The fortunes of Nazareth have been various. Epiphanius states that no Christians dwelt there until the time of Constantine. Helena, the mother of that emperor, is related to have built the first Church of the Annunciation here. In the time of the Crusaders, the Episcopal See of Bethsean was transferred there. The birthplace of Christianity was lost to the Christians by their defeat at Hattin in 1183, and was laid utterly in ruins by Sultan Bibars in 1263. Ages passed away before it rose again from this prostration. In 1620 the Franciscans rebuilt the Church of the Annunciation and connected a cloister with it. In 1799 the Turks assaulted the French general Junot at Nazareth; and shortly after, 2100 French, under Kleber and Napoleon, defeated a Turkish army of 25,000 at the foot of Mount Tabor. Napoleon himself, after that battle, spent a few hours at Nazareth, and reached there the northern limit of his Eastern expedition. The earthquake which destroyed Safed, in 1837, injured also Nazareth. No Jews reside there at present, which may be ascribed perhaps as much to the hostility of the Christian sects as to their own hatred of the prophe who was sent "to redeem Israel."

[H. B. H.]

NAZARITE, more properly NAZIRITE (נָזִיר, and נְזִיר אֱלֹהִים: *ἡγιασμένος* and *εὐξάμενος*, Num. vi.; *ναζιραῖος*, Judg. xiii. 7, Lam. iv. 7: *Nazaraeus*), one of either sex who was bound by a vow of a peculiar kind to be set apart from others for the service of God. The obligation was either for life or for a defined time. The Mishna names the two classes resulting from this distinction, נזירי עולם, "perpetual Nazarites" (*Nazaraei naturi*), and נזירי ימים, "Nazarites of days" (*Nazaraei votivi*).

I. There is no notice in the Pentateuch of Nazarites for life; but the regulations for the vow of a Nazarite of days are given Num. vi. 1-21.

The Nazarite, during the term of his consecration, was bound to abstain from wine, grapes, with every production of the vine, even to the stones and skin of the grape, and from every kind of intoxicating drink. He was forbidden to cut the hair of his head, or to approach any dead body, even that of his nearest relation. When the period of his vow was fulfilled, he was brought to the door of the tabernacle and was required to offer a he lamb for a burnt-offering, a ewe lamb for a sin-offering, and a ram for a peace-offering, with the usual accompaniments of peace-offerings (Lev. vii. 12, 13) and of the offering made at the consecration of priests (Ex. xxix. 2) "a basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and wafers of unleavened bread anointed with oil" (Num. vi. 15). He brought also a meat-offering and a drink-offering, which appear to have been presented by themselves as a distinct act of service (ver. 17). He was to cut off the hair of "the head of his separation" (that is, the hair which had grown during the period of his consecration) at the door of the Tabernacle, and to put it into the fire under the sacrifice on the altar. The priest then placed upon his hands the sodden left shoulder of the ram, with one of the unleavened cakes and one of the wafers, and then took them again and waved them for a wave-offering. These, as well as the breast and the heave, or right shoulder (to which he was entitled in the case of ordinary peace-offerings, Lev. vii. 33-34), were the perquisite of the priest. The Nazarite also gave him a present proportioned to his circumstances (ver. 21).[a]

If a Nazarite incurred defilement by accidentally touching a dead body, he had to undergo certain rites of purification and to recommence the full period of his consecration. On the seventh day of his uncleanness he was to cut off his hair, and on the following day he had to bring two turtle-doves or two young pigeons to the priest, who offered one for a sin-offering and the other for a burnt-offering. He then hallowed his head, offered a lamb of the first year as a trespass-offering, and renewed his vow under the same conditions as it had been at first made.

It has been conjectured that the Nazarite vow was at first taken with some formality, and that it was accompanied by an offering similar to that prescribed at its renewal in the case of pollution. But if any inference may be drawn from the early sections of the Mishnical treatise *Nazir*, it seems probable that the act of self-consecration was a private matter, not accompanied by any prescribed rite.

There is nothing whatever said in the Old Testament of the duration of the period of the vow of the Nazarite of days. According to *Nazir* (cap. i. §3, p. 148) the usual time was thirty days, but double vows for sixty days, and treble vows for a hundred days, were sometimes made (cap. iii. 1-4). One instance is related of Helena, queen of Adiabene (of whom some particulars are given by Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 2), who, with the zeal of a new convert, took a vow for seven years in order to obtain the divine favour on a military expedition which her son was about to undertake. When her period of consecration had expired she visited Jerusalem, and was there informed by the doctors of the school of Hillel that a vow taken in another country must be repeated whenever the Nazarite might visit the Holy Land. She accordingly continued a Nazarite for a second seven years, and happening to touch a dead body just as the time was about to expire, she was obliged to renew her vow according to the law in Num. vi. 9, &c. She thus continued a Nazarite for twenty-one years.[b]

There are some other particulars given in the Mishna, which are curious as showing how the institution was regarded in later times. The vow was often undertaken by childless parents in the hope of obtaining children: this may, of course, have been easily suggested by the cases of Manoah's wife and Hannah.—A female Nazarite whose vow was broken might be punished with forty stripes.—The Nazarite was permitted to smooth his hair with a brush, but not to comb it, lest a single hair might be torn out.

II. Of the Nazarites for life three are mentioned in the Scriptures: Samson, Samuel, and St. John the Baptist. The only one of these actually called a Nazarite is Samson. The Rabbis raised the question whether Samuel was in reality a Nazarite.[c] In Hannah's vow, it is expressly stated that no razor should come upon her son's head (1 Sam. i. 11); but no mention is made of abstinence from wine. It is, however, worthy of notice that Philo makes a particular point of this, and seems to refer the words of Hannah, 1 Sam. i. 15, to Samuel himself.[d] In reference to St. John the Baptist, the Angel makes mention of abstinence from wine and strong drink, but not of letting the hair grow (Luke i. 15).

We are but imperfectly informed of the difference between the observances of the Nazarite for life and those of the Nazarite for days. The later Rabbis slightly notice this point.[e] We do not know whether the vow for life was ever voluntarily taken by the individual. In all the cases mentioned in the sacred history, it was made by the parents before the birth of the Nazarite himself. According to the general law of vows (Num. xxx. 8), the mother could not take the vow without the father, and this is expressly applied to the Nazarite vow in the Mishna.[f] Hannah must therefore either have presumed on her husband's concurrence, or secured it beforehand.

[a] It is said that at the south-east corner of the court of the women, in Herod's temple, there was an apartment appropriated to the Nazarites, in which they used to boil their peace-offerings and cut off their hair. Lightfoot, *Prospect of the Temple*, c. xvii; Reland, *A. S.* p. 5, §11.

[b] *Nazir*, cap. 3, §6, p. 156.

[c] *Nazir*, cap. 9, §5, with Bartenora's note, p. 178.

[d] Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ καὶ βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν μέγιστος Σαμουὴλ οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα, ὡς ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος φησὶν ἄχρι τελευτῆς οὐ πίεται.—Phil. *de Ebrietate*, vol. i. p. 379, edit. Mangey.

[e] See *Pesikta*, quoted by Druslus on Num. vi.

[f] *Nazir*, cap. 4, §6, p. 159.

The Mishna[g] makes a distinction between the ordinary Nazarite for life and the Samson-Nazarite (נזיר שמשון). The former made a strong point of his purity, and, if he was polluted, offered corban. But as regards his hair, when it became inconveniently long, he was allowed to trim it, if he was willing to offer the appointed victims (Num. vi. 14). The Samson-Nazarite, on the other hand, gave no corban if he touched a dead body, but he was not suffered to trim his hair under any conditions. This distinction, it is pretty evident, was suggested by the freedom with which Samson must have come in the way of the dead (Judg. xv. 16, &c.), and the terrible penalty which he paid for allowing his hair to be cut.

III. The consecration of the Nazarite bore a striking resemblance to that of the high-priest (Lev. xxi. 10-12). In one particular, this is brought out more plainly in the Hebrew text than it is in our version, in the LXX., or in the Vulgate. One word (נֵזֶר),[h] derived from the same root as Nazarite, is used for the long hair of the Nazarite, Num. vi. 19, where the A. V. has "hair of his separation," and for the anointed head of the high-priest, Lev. xxi. 12, where it is rendered "crown." The Mishna points out the identity of the law for both the high-priest and the Nazarite in respect to pollution, in that neither was permitted to approach the corpse of even the nearest relation, while for an ordinary priest the law allowed more freedom (Lev. xxi. 2). And Maimonides (*More Nevochim*, iii. 48) speaks of the dignity of the Nazarite, in regard to his sanctity, as being equal to that of the high-priest. The abstinence from wine enjoined upon the high-priest on behalf of all the priests when they were about to enter upon their ministrations, is an obvious, but perhaps not such an important point in the comparison. There is a passage in the account given by Hegesippus of St. James the Just (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23), which, if we may assume it to represent a genuine tradition, is worth a notice, and seems to show that Nazarites were permitted even to enter into the Holy of Holies. He says that St. James was consecrated from his birth neither to eat meat, to drink wine, to cut his hair, nor to indulge in the use of the bath, and that to him alone it was permitted (τούτῳ μόνῳ ἐξῆν) to enter the sanctuary. Perhaps it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the half sacerdotal character of Samuel might have been connected with his prerogative as a Nazarite. Many of the Fathers designate him as a priest, although St. Jerome, on the obvious ground of his descent, denies that he had any sacerdotal rank.[i]

IV. Of the two vows recorded of St. Paul, that in Acts xviii. 18,[k] certainly cannot be regarded as a regular Nazarite vow. All that we are told of it is that, on his way from Corinth to Jerusalem, he "shaved his head in Cenchreae, for he had a vow." It would seem that the cutting off the hair was at the commencement of the period over which the vow extended; at all events, the hair was not cut off at the door of the Temple when the sacrifices were offered, as was required by the law of the Nazarite. It is most likely that it was a sort of vow, modified from the proper Nazarite vow, which had come into use at this time amongst the religious Jews who had been visited by sickness, or any other calamity. In reference to a vow of this kind which was taken by Bernice, Josephus says that "they were accustomed to vow that they would refrain from wine, and that they would cut off their hair thirty days before the presentation of their offering."[l] No hint is given us of the purpose of St. Paul in this act of devotion. Spencer conjectures that it might have been performed with a view to obtain a good voyage;[m] Neander, with greater probability, that it was an expression of thanksgiving and humiliation on account of some recent illness or affliction of some kind.

The other reference to a vow taken by St. Paul is in Acts xxi. 24, where we find the brethren at Jerusalem exhorting him to take part with four Christians who had a vow on them, to sanctify (not *purify*, as in A. V.) himself with them, and to be at charges with them, that they might shave their heads. The reason alleged for this advice is that he might prove to those who misunderstood him, that he walked orderly and kept the law. Now it cannot be doubted that this was a strictly legal Nazarite vow. He joined the four men for the last seven days of their consecration, until the offering was made for each one of them, and their hair was cut off in the usual form (ver. 26, 27). It appears to have been no uncommon thing for those charitable persons who could afford it to assist in paying for the offerings of poor Nazarites. Josephus relates that Herod Agrippa I., when he desired to show his zeal for the religion of his fathers, gave direction that many Nazarites should have their heads shorn:[n] and the Gemara (quoted by Reland, *Ant. Sac.*), that Alexander Jannæus contributed towards supplying nine hundred victims for three hundred Nazarites.

V. That the institution of Nazaritism existed and had become a matter of course amongst the Hebrews before the time of Moses is beyond a doubt. The legislator appears to have done no more than ordain such regulations for the vow of the Nazarite of days as brought it under the cognizance of the priest and into harmony with the general system of religious observance. It has been assumed, not unreasonably, that the consecration of the Nazarite for life was of at least

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[g] *Nazir*, cap. 1, §2, p. 147.

[h] The primary meaning of this word is that of separation with a holy purpose. Hence it is used to express the consecration of the Nazarite (Num. vi. 4, 5, 9). But it appears to have been especially applied to a badge of consecration and distinction worn on the head, such as the crown of a king (2 Sam. i. 10; 2 K. xi. 12), the diadem (צִיץ) of the high-priest (Ex. xxix. 6, xxxix. 30), as well as his anointed hair, the long hair of the Nazarite, and, dropping the idea of consecration altogether, to long hair in a general sense (Jer. vii. 29). This may throw light on Gen. xlix. 26 and Deut. xxxiii. 16. See section VI. of this article.

J. C. Ortlob, in an essay in the *Thesaurus Novus Theologico-Philologicus*, vol. i. p. 587, entitled "Samuel Judex et Propheta, non Pontifex aut sacerdos sacrificans," has brought forward a mass of testimony on this subject.

[i] Grotius, Meyer, Howson, and a few others, refer this vow to Aquila, not to St. Paul. The best arguments in favour of this view are given by Mr. Howson (*Life of St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 453). Dean Alford, in his note on Acts xviii. 18, has satisfactorily replied to them.

[k] See Neander's *Planting and Training the Church*, i. 208 (Ryland's translation). In the passage translated from Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 15. §1, an emendation of Neander's is adopted. See also Kuinoel on Acts xviii. 18.

[l] *De Leg. Hebr.* lib. iii. c. vi. §1.

[m] *Antiq.* xix. 6, §1.

equal antiquity.[o] It may not have needed any notice or modification in the law, and hence, probably, the silence respecting it in the Pentateuch. But it is doubted in regard to Nazaritism in general, whether it was of native or foreign origin. Cyril of Alexandria considered that the letting the hair grow, the most characteristic feature in the vow, was taken from the Egyptians. This notion has been substantially adopted by Fagius,[p] Spencer,[q] Michaelis,[r] Hengstenberg,[s] and some other critics. Hengstenberg affirms that the Egyptians and the Hebrews were distinguished amongst ancient nations by cutting their hair as a matter of social propriety; and thus the marked significance of long hair must have been common to them both. The arguments of Bähr, however, to show that the wearing long hair in Egypt and all other heathen nations had a meaning opposed to the idea of the Nazarite vow, seem to be conclusive;[t] and Winer justly observes that the points of resemblance between the Nazarite vow and heathen customs are too fragmentary and indefinite to furnish a safe foundation for an argument in favour of a foreign origin for the former.

Ewald supposes that Nazarites for life were numerous in very early times, and that they multiplied in periods of great political and religious excitement. The only ones, however, expressly named in the Old Testament are Samson and Samuel. The rabbinical notion that Absalom was a Nazarite seems hardly worthy of notice, though Spencer and Lightfoot have adopted it.[u] When Amos wrote, the Nazarites, as well as the prophets, suffered from the persecution and contempt of the ungodly. The divine word respecting them was, "I raised up of your sons for prophets and of your young men for Nazarites. But ye gave the Nazarites wine to drink, and commanded the prophets, saying, Prophesy not" (Am. ii. 11, 12). In the time of Judas Maccabaeus we find the devout Jews, when they were bringing their gifts to the priests, stirring up the Nazarites of days who had completed the time of their consecration, to make the accustomed offerings (1 Macc. iii. 49). From this incident, in connexion with what has been related of the liberality of Alexander Jannaeus and Herod Agrippa, we may infer that the number of Nazarites must have been very considerable during the two centuries and a half which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. The instance of St. John the Baptist and that of St. James the Just (if we accept the traditional account) show that the Nazarite for life retained his original character till later times; and the act of St. Paul in joining himself with the four Nazarites at Jerusalem seems to prove that the vow of the Nazarite of days was as little altered in its important features.

VI. The word נָזִיר occurs in three passages of the Old Testament, in which it appears to mean one separated from others as a prince. Two of the passages refer to Joseph: one is in Jacob's benediction of his sons (Gen. xlix. 26), the other in Moses' benediction of the tribes (Deut. xxxiii. 16). As these texts stand in our version, the blessing is spoken of as falling "on the crown of the head of him who was separated from his brethren." The LXX. render the words in one place, ἐπὶ κορυφῆς ὧν ἡγήσατο ἀδελφῶν, and in the other ἐπὶ κορυφὴν δοξασθέντος ἐν ἀδελφοῖς. The Vulgate translates them in each place "in vertice Nazaraei inter fratres." The expression is strikingly like that used of the high-priest (Lev. xxi. 10-12), and seems to derive illustration from the use of the word נֵזֶר.[x]

The third passage is that in which the prophet is mourning over the departed prosperity and beauty of Sion (Lam. iv. 7, 8). In the A. V. the words are "Her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire, their visage is blacker than a coal, they are not known in the streets, their skin cleaveth to their bones, it is withered, it is become like a stick." In favour of the application of this passage to the Nazarites are the renderings of the LXX., the Vulg., and nearly all the versions. But Gesenius, de Wette, and other modern critics think that it refers to the young princes of Israel, and that the word נָזִיר is used in the same sense as it is in regard to Joseph, Gen. xlix. 26 and Deut. xxxiii. 16.

VII. The vow of the Nazarite of days must have been a self-imposed discipline, undertaken with a specific purpose. The Jewish writers mostly regarded it as a kind of penance, and hence accounted for the place which the law regulating it holds in Leviticus immediately after the law relating to adultery.[y] As the quantity of hair which grew within the ordinary period of a vow could not have been very considerable, and as a temporary abstinence from wine was probably not a more noticeable thing amongst the Hebrews than it is in modern society, the Nazarite of days might have fulfilled his vow without attracting much notice until the day came for him to make his offering in the Temple.

But the Nazarite for life, on the other hand, must have been, with his flowing hair and persistent refusal of strong drink, a marked man. Whether in any other particular his daily life was peculiar is uncertain.[z] He may have had some privileges (as we have seen) which gave him something of a priestly character, and (as it has been conjectured) he may have given up much of his time to sacred studies.[a] Though not necessarily cut off from social life, when the turn of his mind was devotional, consciousness of his peculiar dedication must have influenced his habits and manner, and in some cases probably led him to retire from the world.

But without our resting on anything that may be called in question, he must have been a public

[o] Ewald seems to think that it was the more ancient of the two (*Alterthümer*, p. 96).
[p] *Critici Sacri*, on Num. vi. 5.
[q] *De Leg. Hebr.* lib. iii. c. vi. §1.
[r] *Commentaries on the Law of Moses*, bk. iii. §145.
[s] *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 190 (English vers.).
[t] Bähr, *Symbolik*, vol. ii. p. 439.
[u] Spencer, *De Leg. Hebr.* lib. iii. c. vi. §1. Lightfoot, Schöttgen, in 1 Cor. xi. 14. Some have imagined that Jephthah's daughter was consigned to a Nazarite vow by her father. See Carpzov, p. 156.
[x] See note [b] p. 472.
[y] Maimonides, *Mor. Nev.* ii. 48.
[z] Nicolas Fuller has discussed the subject of the dress of the Nazarites (as well as of the prophets) in his *Miscellanea Sacra*. See *Critici Sacri*, vol. ix. p. 1023. Those who have imagined that the Nazarites wore a peculiar dress, doubt whether it was of royal purple, of rough hair-cloth (like St. John's), or of some white material
[a] Vatablus on Num. vi. (*Critici Sacri*).

witness for the idea of legal strictness and of whatever else Nazaritism was intended to express: and as the vow of the Nazarite for life was taken by his parents before he was conscious of it, his observance of it was a sign of filial obedience, like the peculiarities of the Rechabites.

The meaning of the Nazarite vow has been regarded in different lights. Some consider it as a symbolical expression of the Divine nature working in man, and deny that it involved anything of a strictly ascetic character; others see in it the principle of stoicism, and imagine that it was intended to cultivate, and bear witness for, the sovereignty of the will over the lower tendencies of human nature: while some regard it wholly in the light of a sacrifice of the person to God.

(*a.*) Several of the Jewish writers have taken the first view more or less completely. Abarbanel imagined that the hair represents the intellectual power, the power belonging to the head, which the wise man was not to suffer to be diminished or to be interfered with, by drinking wine or by any other indulgence; and that the Nazarite was not to approach the dead because he was appointed to bear witness to the eternity of the divine nature.[b] Of modern critics, Bähr appears to have most completely trodden in the same track.[c] While he denies that the life of the Nazarite was, in the proper sense, ascetic, he contends that his abstinence from wine,[d] and his not being allowed to approach the dead, figured the separation from other men which characterises the consecrated servant of the Lord; and that his long hair signified his holiness. The hair, according to his theory, as being the bloom of manhood, is the symbol of growth in the vegetable as well as the animal kingdom, and therefore of the operation of the Divine power.[e]

(*b.*) But the philosophical Jewish doctors, for the most part, seem to have preferred the second view. Thus Bechai speaks of the Nazarite as a conqueror who subdued his temptations, and who wore his long hair as a crown, "quod ipse rex sit cupiditatibus imperans praeter morem reliquorum hominum, qui cupiditatum sunt servi."[f] He supposed that the hair was worn rough, as a protest against foppery.[g] But others, still taking it as a regal emblem, have imagined that it was kept elaborately dressed, and fancy that they see a proof of the existence of the custom in the seven locks of Samson (Judg. xvi. 13-19).[h]

(*c.*) Philo has taken the deeper view of the subject. In his work, *On Animals fit for sacrifice*,[i] he gives an account of the Nazarite vow, and calls it ἡ εὐχὴ μεγάλη. According to him the Nazarite did not sacrifice merely his possessions but his person, and the act of sacrifice was to be performed in the completest manner. The outward observances enjoined upon him were to be the genuine expressions of his spiritual devotion. To represent spotless purity within, he was to shun defilement from the dead, at the expense even of the obligation of the closest family ties. As no spiritual state or act can be signified by any single symbol, he was to identify himself with each one of the three victims which he had to offer as often as he broke his vow by accidental pollution, or when the period of his vow came to an end. He was to realise in himself the ideas of the whole burnt-offering, the sin-offering, and the peace-offering. That no mistake might be made in regard to the three sacrifices being shadows of one and the same substance, it was ordained that the victims should be individuals of one and the same species of animal. The shorn hair was put on the fire of the altar in order that, although the divine law did not permit the offering of human blood, something might be offered up actually a portion of his own person. Ewald, following in the same line of thought, has treated the vow of the Nazarite as an act of self-sacrifice; but he looks on the preservation of the hair as signifying that the Nazarite is so set apart for God, that no change or diminution should be made in any part of his person, and as serving to himself and the world for a visible token of his peculiar consecration to Jehovah.[k]

That the Nazarite vow was essentially a sacrifice of the person to the Lord is obviously in accordance with the terms of the Law (Num. vi. 2). In the old dispensation it may have answered to that "living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God," which the believer is now called upon to make. As the Nazarite was a witness for the straitness of the law, as distinguished from the freedom of the Gospel, his sacrifice of himself was a submission to the letter of a rule. Its outward manifestations were restraints and eccentricities. The man was separated from his brethren that he might be peculiarly devoted to the Lord. This was consistent with the purpose of divine wisdom for the time for which it was ordained. Wisdom, we are told, was justified of her child in the life of the great Nazarite who preached the baptism of repentance when the Law was about to give way to the Gospel. Amongst those born of women, no greater than he had arisen, "but he that is least in the kingdom of Heaven is greater than he." The sacrifice which the believer now makes of himself is not to cut him off from his brethren, but to unite him more closely with them; not to subject him to an outward bond, but to confirm him in the liberty with which Christ has made him free. It is not without significance that wine under the Law was strictly forbidden to the priest who was engaged in the service of the sanctuary, and to the few whom the Nazarite vow bound to the special service of the Lord; while in the Church of Christ it is consecrated for the use of every believer to whom the command has come, "drink ye all of this."[m]

[b] Quoted by De Muis on Num. vi. (*Critici Sacri*).

[c] *Symbolik*, vol. ii. p. 416-430.

[d] He will not allow that this abstinence at all resembled in its meaning that of the priests, when engaged in their ministrations, which was intended only to secure strict propriety in the discharge of their duties.

[e] Bähr defends this notion by several philological arguments, which do not seem to be much to the point. The nearest to the purpose is that derived from Lev. xxv. 5, where the unpruned vines of the sabbatical year are called Nazarites. But this, of course, can be well explained as a metaphor from unshorn hair.

[f] Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 152. Abenezra uses very similar language (*Drusius*, on Num. vi. 7)

[g] This was also the opinion of Lightfoot, *Exercit.* in 1 Cor. xi. 14, and *Sermon* on Judg. xi. 39.

[h] Spencer, *De Leg. Hebr.* iii. vi. §1.

[i] *Opera*, vol. ii. p. 249 (ed. Mangey.)

[k] Lightfoot is inclined to favour certain Jewish writers who identify the vine with the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and to connect the Nazarite law with the condition of Adam before he fell (*Exercit. in Luc.* i. 15). This strange notion is made still more fanciful by Magee (*Atonement and Sacrifice*, Illustration xxxviii.).

[m] This consideration might surely have furnished St. Jerome with a better answer to the Tatianists, who alleged Amos ii. 12 in defence of their abstinence from wine, than his bitter taunt that they were bringing "Jupiter

Carpzov, *Apparatus Criticus*, p. 148; Reland, *Ant. Sacrae*, p. II. c. 10; Meinhard, *Pauli Nazirae-atus* (*Thesaurus Theologico-philologicus*, ii. 473). The notes of De Muis and Drusius on Num. vi. (*Critici Sacri*); the notes of Grotius on Luke i. 15, and Kuinoel on Acts xviii. 18; Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, lib. iii. cap. vi. §1; Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, Book iii. §145; the Mishnical treatise *Nazir*, with the notes in Surenhusius' *Mishna*, iii. 146, &c.; Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. 416-430; Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 96; also *Geschichte*, ii. 43. Carpzov mentions with praise *Naziraeus, seu Commentarius literalis et mysticus in Legem Naziraeorum*, by Cremer. The essay of Meinhard contains a large amount of information on the subject, besides what bears immediately on St. Paul's vows. Spencer gives a full account of heathen customs in dedicating the hair. The Notes of De Muis contain a valuable collection of Jewish testimonies on the meaning of the Nazarite vow in general. Those of Grotius relate especially to the Nazarites' abstinence from wine. Hengstenberg (*Egypt and the Books of Moses*, p. 190, English translation) confutes Bähr's theory. [S. C.]

NE'AH (הַנֵּעָה, with the def. article: Vat. omits; Alex. Αννουα: [a] *Anea*), a place which was one of the landmarks on the boundary of Zebulun (Josh. xix. 13 only). By Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomast.* "Anua") it is mentioned merely with a caution that there is a place of the same name, 10 miles S. of Neapolis. It has not yet been identified even by Schwarz. If *el Meshhad*, about 2½ miles E. of *Sefurieh*, be GATH-HEPHER, and *Rummaneh* about 4 miles N.E. of the same place, RIMMON, then Neah must probably be sought somewhere to the north of the last named town. [G.]

NEAP'OLIS (Νεάπολις) is the place in northern Greece where Paul and his associates first landed in Europe (Acts xvi. 11); where, no doubt, he landed also on his second visit to Macedonia (Acts xx. 1), and whence certainly he embarked on his last journey through that province to Troas and Jerusalem (Acts xx. 6). Philippi being an inland town, Neapolis was evidently the port; and hence it is accounted for, that Luke leaves the verb which describes the voyage from Troas to Neapolis (εὐθυδρομήσαμεν), to describe the continuance of the journey from Neapolis to Philippi. It has been made a question whether this harbour occupied the site of the present Kavalla, a Turkish town on the coast of Roumelia, or should be sought at some other place. Cousinéry (*Voyage dans la Macédoine*) and Tafel (*De Via Militari Romanorum Egnatia*, &c.) maintain, against the common opinion, that Luke's Neapolis was not at Kavalla, the inhabited town of that name, but at a deserted harbour ten or twelve miles further west, known as Eski or Old Kavalla. Most of those who contend for the other identification assume the point without much discussion, and the subject demands still the attention of the biblical geographer. It may be well, therefore, to mention with some fulness the reasons which support the claim of Kavalla to be regarded as the ancient Neapolis, in opposition to those which are urged in favour of the other harbour.

First, the Roman and Greek ruins at Kavalla prove that a port existed there in ancient times. Neapolis, wherever it was, formed the point of contact between Northern Greece and Asia Minor, at a period of great commercial activity, and would be expected to have left vestiges of its former importance. The antiquities found still at Kavalla fulfil entirely that presumption. One of these is a massive aqueduct, which brings water into the town from a distance of ten or twelve miles north of Kavalla, along the slopes of Symbolum. It is built on two tiers of arches, a hundred feet long and eighty feet high, and is carried over the narrow valley between the promontory and the mainland. The upper part of the work is modern, but the substructions are evidently Roman, as is seen from the composite character of the material, the cement, and the style of the masonry. Just out of the western gate are two marble sarcophagi, used as watering-troughs, with Latin inscriptions, of the age of the emperor Claudius. Columns with chaplets of elegant Ionic workmanship, blocks of marble, fragments of hewn stone, evidently antique, are numerous both in the town and the suburbs. On some of these are inscriptions, mostly in Latin, but one at least in Greek. In digging for the foundation of new houses the walls of ancient ones are often brought to light, and sometimes tablets with sculptured figures, which would be deemed curious at Athens or Corinth. For fuller details, see *Bibliotheca Sacra*, October, 1860. On the contrary, no ruins, have been found at Eski Kavalla, or Paleopoli, as it is also called, which can be pronounced unmistakeably ancient. No remains of walls, no inscriptions, and no indications of any thoroughfare leading thence to Philippi, are reported to exist there. Cousinéry, it is true, speaks of certain ruins at the place which he deems worthy of notice; but according to the testimony of others these ruins are altogether inconsiderable, and, which is still more decisive, are modern in their character.[b] Cousinéry himself, in fact, corroborates this, when he says that on the isthmus which binds the peninsula to the main land, "*on trouve les ruines de l'ancienne Néapolis ou celles d'un château reconstruit dans le moyen âge*."[c] It appears that a mediaeval or Venetian fortress existed there; but as far as is yet ascertained, nothing else has been discovered, which points to an earlier period.

Secondly, the advantages of the position render Kavalla the probable site of Neapolis. It is the first convenient harbour south of the Hellespont, on coming from the east. Thasos serves as a natural landmark. Tafel says, indeed, that Kavalla has no port, or one next to none; but that is incorrect. The fact that the place is now the seat of an active commerce proves the contrary. It lies open some-

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fabulas" into the church, and that they were bound, on their own ground, neither to cut their hair, to eat grapes or raisins, or to approach the corpse of a dead parent (in *Amos* ii. 12).

[a] This is the reading of the text of the Vulgate given in the Benedictine Edition of Jerome. The ordinary copies have *Noa*.

[b] Colonel Leake did not visit either this Kavalla or the other, and his assertion that there are "the ruins of a Greek city" there (which he supposes, however, to have been Galepsus, and not Neapolis) appears to rest on Cousinéry's statement. But as involving this claim of Eski Kavalla in still greater doubt, it may be added that the situation of Galepsus itself is quite uncertain. Dr. Arnold (note on Thucyd. iv. 107) places it near the mouth of the Strymon, and hence much further west than Leake supposes. According to Cousinéry, Galepsus is to be sought at Kavalla.

[c] On p. 119 he says again: "Les ruines de l'ancienne ville de Néapolis se composent principalement des restes d'un château du moyen âge entièrement abandonné et peu accessible."

what to the south and south-west, but is otherwise well sheltered. There is no danger in going into the harbour. Even a rock which lies off the point of the town has twelve fathoms alongside of it. The bottom affords good anchorage; and although the bay may not be so large as that of Eski Kavalla, it is ample for the accommodation of any number of vessels which the course of trade or travel between Asia Minor and Northern Greece would be likely to bring together there at any one time.

Thirdly, the facility of intercourse between this port and Philippi shows that Kavalla and Neapolis must be the same. The distance is ten miles, and hence not greater than Corinth was from Cenchreae, and Ostia from Rome. Both places are in sight at once from the top of Symbolum. The distance between Philippi and Eski Kavalla must be nearly twice as great. Nature itself has opened a passage from the one place to the other. The mountains which guard the plain of Philippi on the coast-side fall apart just behind Kavalla, and render the construction of a road there entirely easy. No other such defile exists at any other point in this line of formidable hills. It is impossible to view the configuration of the country from the sea, and not feel at once that the only natural place for crossing into the interior is this break-down in the vicinity of Kavalla.

Fourthly, the notices of the ancient writers lead us to adopt the same view. Thus Dio Cassius says (*Hist. Rom.* xlvii. 35) that Neapolis was opposite Thasos (κατ' ἀντιπέρας Θάσου), and that is the situation of Kavalla. It would be much less correct, if correct at all, to say that the other Kavalla was so situated, since no part of the island extends so far to the west. Appian says (*Bell. Civ.* iv. 106) that the camp of the Republicans near the Gangas, the river (ποταμὸς) at Philippi, was nine Roman miles from their triremes at Neapolis (it was considerably further to the other place), and that Thasos was twelve Roman miles from their naval station (so we should understand the text); the latter distance appropriate again to Kavalla, but not to the harbour further west.

Finally, the ancient Itineraries support entirely the identification in question. Both the Antonine and the Jerusalem Itineraries show that the Egnatian Way passed through Philippi. They mention Philippi and Neapolis as next to each other in the order of succession; and since the line of travel which these Itineraries sketch was the one which led from the west to Byzantium, or Constantinople, it is reasonable to suppose that the road, after leaving Philippi, would pursue the most convenient and direct course to the east which the nature of the country allows. If the road, therefore, was constructed on this obvious principle, it would follow the track of the present Turkish road, and the next station, consequently, would be Neapolis, or Kavalla, on the coast, at the termination of the only natural defile across the intervening mountains. The distance, as has been said, is about ten miles. The Jerusalem Itinerary gives the distance between Philippi and Neapolis as ten Roman miles, and the Antonine Itinerary as twelve miles. The difference in the latter case is unimportant, and not greater than in some other instances where the places in the two Itineraries are unquestionably the same. It must be several miles further than this from Philippi to Old Kavalla, and hence the Neapolis of the Itineraries could not be at that point. The theory of Tafel is, that Akontisma or Herkontrouna (the same place, without doubt), which the Itineraries mention next to Neapolis, was at the present Kavalla, and Neapolis at Leuter or Eski Kavalla. This theory, it is true, arranges the places in the order of the Itineraries; but, as Leake objects, there would be a needless detour of nearly twenty miles, and that through a region much more difficult than the direct way. The more accredited view is that Akontisma was beyond Kavalla, further east.

Neapolis, therefore, like the present Kavalla, was on a high rocky promontory which juts out into the Aegean. The harbour, a mile and a half wide at the entrance, and half a mile broad, lies on the west side. The indifferent roadstead on the east should not be called a harbour. Symbolum, 1670 feet high, with a defile which leads into the plain of Philippi, comes down near to the coast a little to the west of the town. In winter the sun sinks behind Mount Athos in the south-west as early as 4 o'clock P.M. The land along the eastern shore is low, and otherwise unmarked by any peculiarity. The island of Thasos bears a little to the S.E., twelve or fifteen miles distant. Plane-trees just beyond the walls, not less than four or five hundred years old, cast their shadow over the road which Paul followed on his way to Philippi. Kavalla has a population of five or six thousand, nine-tenths of whom are Mussulmans, and the rest Greeks. For fuller or supplementary information, see *Biblioth. Sacra*, as above, and also *Dict. of Geog.* ii. p. 411.

For Neapolis as the Greek name of Shechem, now *Nabulus*, see SHECHEM. [H. B. H.]

NEARI'AH (נְעַרְיָה: Νααδία: *Naaria*). 1. One of the six sons of Shemaiah in the line of the royal family of Judah after the captivity (1 Chr. iii. 22, 23).

2. A son of Ishi, and one of the captains of the 500 Simeonites who, in the days of Hezekiah, drove out the Amalekites from Mount Seir (1 Chr. iv. 42).

NEBA'I (נֵבָי; Keri, נִיבִי: Νωβαΐ: *Nobai*). A family of the heads of the people who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 19). The LXX. followed the written text, while the Vulgate adopted the reading of the margin.

NEBAI'OTH, NEBAJ'OTH (נְבָיוֹת: Ναβαϊώθ: *Nabajoth*), the "first-born of Ishmael" (Gen. xxv. 13; 1 Chr. i. 29), and father of a pastoral tribe named after him, the "rams of Nebaioth" being mentioned by the prophet Isaiah (lx. 7) with the flocks of Kedar. From the days of Jerome (*Comment. in Gen.* xx. 13), this people had been identified with the Nabathaeans, until M. Quatremère first investigated the origin of the latter, their language, religion, and history; and by the light he threw on a very obscure subject enabled us to form a clearer judgment respecting this assumed identification than was, in the previous state of knowledge, possible. It will be convenient to recapitulate, briefly, the results of M. Quatremère's labours, with those of the later works of M. Chwolsen and others on the same subject, before we consider the grounds for identifying the Nabathaeans with Nebaioth.

From the works of Arab authors, M. Quatremère (*Mémoire sur les Nabatéens*, Paris, 1835, reprinted from the *Nouveau Journ. Asiat.* Jan.–Mar., 1835) proved the existence of a nation called Nabat (نبط), or Nabeet (نبيط), pl. Anbât (أنباط)

NEBAIOTH

(*Sihâh* and *Kâmoos*), reputed to be of ancient origin, of whom scattered remnants existed in Arab times, after the era of the Flight. The Nabat, in the days of their early prosperity, inhabited the country chiefly between the Euphrates and the Tigris, Beyn en Nahreyn and El-Irák (the Mesopotamia and Chaldaea of the classics). That this was their chief seat and that they were Aramaeans, or more accurately Syro-Chaldaeans, seems, in the present state of the inquiry (for it will presently be seen that, by the publication of Oriental texts, our knowledge may be very greatly enlarged) to be a safe conclusion. The Arabs loosely apply the name Nabat to the Syrians, or especially the eastern Syrians, to the Syro-Chaldaeans, &c. Thus El-Mes'oodee (*ap.* Quatremère, *l. c.*) says, "The Syrians are the same as the Nabathaeans (Nabat). . . . The Nimrods were the kings of the Syrians whom the Arabs call Nabathaeans. . . . The Chaldaeans are the same as the Syrians, otherwise called Nabat (*Kitáb et-Tenbeeh*). The Nabathaeans . . . founded the city of Babylon. . . . The inhabitants of Nineveh were part of those whom we call Nabeet or Syrians, who form one nation and speak one language; that of the Nabeet differs only in a small number of letters; but the foundation of the language is identical" (*Kitáb Murooj-edh-Dhahab*). These, and many other fragmentary passages, prove sufficiently the existence of a great Aramaean people called Nabat, celebrated among the Arabs for their knowledge of agriculture, and of magic, astronomy, medicine, and science (so called) generally. But we have stronger evidence to this effect. Quatremère introduced to the notice of the learned world the most important relic of that people's literature, a treatise on Nabat agriculture. A study of an imperfect copy of that work, which unfortunately was all he could gain access to, induced him to date it about the time of Nebuchadnezzar, or *cir.* B.C. 600. M. Chwolson, professor of Oriental languages at St. Petersburg, who had shown himself fitted for the inquiry by his treatise on the Sabians and their religion (*Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*), has since made that book a subject of special study; and in his *Remains of Ancient Babylonian Literature in Arabic Translations* (*Ueber die Ueberreste der Alt-Babylonischen Literatur in Arabischen Uebersetzungen*, St. Petersburg, 1859), he has published the results of his inquiry. Those results, while they establish all M. Quatremère had advanced respecting the existence of the Nabat, go far beyond him both in the antiquity and the importance M. Chwolson claims for that people. Ewald, however, in 1857, stated some grave causes for doubting this antiquity, and again in 1859 (both papers appeared in the *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*) repeated moderately but decidedly his misgivings. M. Renan followed on the same side (*Journ. de l'Institut*, Ap.–May, 1860); and more recently, M. de Gutschmid (*Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft*, xv. 1-100) has attacked the whole theory in a lengthy essay. The limits of this Dictionary forbid us to do more than recapitulate, as shortly as possible, the bearings of this remarkable inquiry, as far as they relate to the subject of the article.

The remains of the literature of the Nabat consist of four works, one of them a fragment:—the 'Book of Nabat Agriculture' (already mentioned); the 'Book of Poisons;' the 'Book of Tenkelooshà the Babylonian;' and the 'Book of the Secrets of the Sun and Moon' (Chwolson, *Ueberreste*, p. 10, 11). They purport to have been translated, in the year 904, by Aboo-Bekr Ahmad Ibn-'Alee the Chaldean of Kisseen,[a] better known as *Ibn-Wahsheeyeh*. The 'Book of Nabat Agriculture' was, according to the Arab translator, commenced by Daghreeth, continued by Yánbusháđh, and completed by Kuthámee. Chwolson, disregarding the dates assigned to these authors by the translator, thinks that the earliest lived some 2500 years B.C., the second some 300 or 400 years later, and Kuthámee, to whom he ascribes the chief authorship (Ibn-Wahsheeyeh says he was little more than editor), at the earliest under the 6th king of a Canaanite dynasty mentioned in the book, which dynasty Chwolson—with Bunsen—makes the same as the 5th (or Arabian) dynasty of Berosus (Chwolson, *Ueberreste*, 68, &c.; Bunsen, *Egypt*, iii. 432, &c., Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, 2nd ed. p. 60), or of the 13th century B.C. It will thus be seen that he rejects most of M. Quatremère's reasons for placing the work in the time of Nebuchadnezzar. It is remarkable that that great king is not mentioned, and the author or authors were, it is argued by Chwolson, ignorant not only of the existence of Christianity, but of the kingdom and faith of Israel. While these and other reasons, if granted, strengthen M. Chwolson's case for the antiquity of the work, on the other hand it is urged that even neglecting the difficulties attending an Arab's translating so ancient a writing (and we reject altogether the supposition that it was modernised as being without a parallel, at least in *Arabic* literature), and conceding that he was of Chaldaean or Nabat race—we encounter formidable intrinsic difficulties. The book contains mentions of personages bearing names closely resembling those of Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Nimrod, and Abraham; and M. Chwolson himself is forced to confess that the particulars related of them are in some respects similar to those recorded of the Biblical patriarchs. If this difficulty proves insurmountable, it shows that the author borrowed from the Bible, or from late Jews, and destroys the claim of an extreme antiquity. Other apparent evidences of the same kind are not wanting. Such are the mentions of Ermeesà (Hermes), Agáthádeemoon (Agathodaemon), Tammuz (Adonis), and Yoonán (Ionians). It is even a question whether the work should not be dated several centuries after the commencement of our era. Anachronisms, it is asserted, abound; geographical, linguistic (the use of late words and phrases), historical, and religious (such as the traces of Hellenism, as shown in the mention of Hermes, &c., and influences to be ascribed to Neoplatonism). The whole style is said to be modern, wanting the rugged vigour of antiquity (this, however, is a delicate issue, to be tried only by the ripest scholarship). And while Chwolson dates the oldest part of the Book of Agriculture B.C. 2500, and the Book of Tenkelooshà in the 1st century, A.D. at the latest (p. 136), Renan asserts that the two are so similar as to preclude the notion of their being separated by any great interval of time (*Journal de l'Institut*).

Although Quatremère recovered the broad outlines of the religion and language of the Nabat, a more extended knowledge of these points hangs mainly on the genuineness or spuriousness of the work of Kuthámee. If M. Chwolson's theory be

[a] Or Keysee. See Chwolson, *Ueberreste*, p. 8, footnote De Lacy's 'Abd-El-Lateef, p. 484.

correct, that people present to us one of the most ancient forms of idolatry; and by their writings we can trace the origin and rise of successive phases of pantheism, and the roots of the complicated forms of idolatry, heresy, and philosophical infidelity, which abound in the old seats of the Aramaean race. At present, we may conclude that they were Sabians (صابِبوق),[b] at least in late times, as Sabeism succeeded the older religions; and their doctrines seem to have approached (how nearly a further knowledge of these obscure subjects will show) those of the Mendá'ees, Mendaites, or Gnostics. Their language presents similar difficulties; according to M. Chwolson, it is the ancient language of Babylonia. A cautious criticism would (till we know more) assign it a place as a comparatively modern dialect of Syro-Chaldee (comp. Quatremère, *Mem.* 100-3).

Thus, if M. Chwolson's results are accepted, the Book of Nabat Agriculture exhibits to us an ancient civilization, before that of the Greeks, and at least as old as that of the Egyptians, of a great and powerful nation of remote antiquity; making us acquainted with sages hitherto unknown, and with the religions and sciences they either founded or advanced; and throwing a flood of light on what has till now been one of the darkest pages of the world's history. But until the original text of Kuthámee's treatise is published, we must withhold our acceptance of facts so startling, and regard the antiquity ascribed to it even by Quatremère as extremely doubtful. It is sufficient for the present to know that the most important facts advanced by the latter—the most important when regarded by sober criticism—are supported by the results of the later inquiries of M. Chwolson and others. It remains for us to state the grounds for connecting the Nabat with the Nabathaeans.

As the Arabs speak of the Nabat as Syrians, so conversely the Greeks and Romans knew the Nabathaeans (*οἱ* **Ναβαταῖοι** and **Ναβαταῖοι**, LXX.; Alex. **Ναβαταῖοι**; Nabuthaei, Vulg.; **Ἀπαταῖοι**, or **Ναπαταῖοι**, Pt. vi. 7, §21; **Ναβάται**, Suid. *s. v.*; Nabathae) as Arabs. While the inhabitants of the peninsula were comparative strangers to the classical writers, and very little was known of the further-removed peoples of Chaldaea and Mesopotamia, the Nabathaeans bordered the well-known Egyptian and Syrian provinces. The nation was famous for its wealth and commerce. Even when, by the decline of its trade (diverted through Egypt), its prosperity waned, Petra is still mentioned as a centre of the trade both of the Sabaeans of Southern Arabia [SHEBA] and the Gerrhaeans on the Persian gulf. It is this extension across the desert that most clearly connects the Nabathaean colony with the birthplace of the nation in Chaldaea. The notorious trade of Petra across the well-trodden desert-road to the Persian gulf is sufficient to account for the presence of this colony; just as traces of Abrahamic peoples [DEDAN, &c.] are found, demonstrably, on the shores of that sea on the east, and on the borders of Palestine on the west, while along the northern limits of the Arabian peninsula remains of the caravan stations still exist. Nothing is more certain than the existence of this great stream of commerce, from remote times, until the opening of the Egyptian route gradually destroyed it. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 12, §4) speaks of Nabataea (**Ναβαταιά**, Strab.; **Ναβατηνή**, Joseph.) as embracing the country from the Euphrates to the Red Sea—*i. e.* Petraea and all the desert east of it. The Nabat of the Arabs, however, are described as famed for agriculture and science; in these respects offering a contrast to the Nabathaeans of Petra, who were found by the expedition sent by Antigonus (B.C. 312) to be dwellers in tents, pastoral, and conducting the trade of the desert; but in the Red Sea again they were piratical, and by sea-faring qualities showed a non-Semitic character.

We agree with M. Quatremère (*Mem.* p. 81), while rejecting other of his reasons, that the civilization of the Nabathaeans of Petra, far advanced on that of the surrounding Arabs, is not easily explained except by supposing them to be a different people from those Arabs. A remarkable confirmation of this supposition is found in the character of the buildings of Petra, which are unlike anything constructed by a purely Semitic race. Architecture is a characteristic of Arian or mixed races. In Southern Arabia, Nigritians and Semites (Joktanites) together built huge edifices; so in Babylonia and Assyria, and so too in Egypt, mixed races left this unmistakeable mark. [ARABIA.] Petra, while it is wanting in the colossal features of those more ancient remains, is yet unmistakeably foreign to an unmixed Semitic race. Further, the subjects of the literature of the Nabat, which are scientific and industrial, are not such as are found in the writings of pure Semites or Arians, as Renan (*Hist. des Langues Sémitiques*, 227) has well observed; and he points, as we have above, to a foreign ("Couschite," or partly Nigritian) settlement in Babylonia. It is noteworthy that 'Abd-el-Lateef (at the end of the fourth section of his first book, or treatise, see De Lacy's ed.) likens the Copts in Egypt (a mixed race) to the Nabat in El-'Iráḳ.

From most of these, and other considerations,[c] we think there is no reasonable doubt that the Nabathaeans of Arabia Petraea were the same people as the Nabat of Chaldaea; though at what ancient epoch the western settlement was formed remains unknown.[d] That it was not of any importance until after the captivity appears from the notices of the inhabitants of Edom in the canonical books, and their absolute silence respecting the Nabathaeans, except (if Nebaioth be identified with them) the passage in Isaiah (lx. 7).

The Nabathaeans were allies of the Jews after the Captivity, and Judas the Maccabee, with Jonathan, while at war with the Edomites, came on them three days south of Jordan (1 Macc. v. 3, 24, &c.; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 8, §3), and afterwards "Jonathan had sent his brother John, a captain of the

[b] Sábi-oon is commonly held by the Arabs to signify originally "Apostates."

[c] We have not entered into the subject of the language of the Nabathaeans. The little that is known of it tends to strengthen the theory of the Chaldaean origin of that people. The Duc de Luynes, in a paper on the coins of the latter in the *Revue Numismatique* (nouv. série, iii. 1858), adduces facts to show that they called themselves Nabat נבטו.

[d] It is remarkable that while remnants of the Nabat are mentioned by trustworthy Arab writers as existing in their own day, no Arab record connecting that people with Petra has been found. Caussin believes this to have arisen from the Chaldaean speech of the Nabathaeans, and their corruption of Arabic (*Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, i. 38).

people, to pray his friends the Nabathites that they might leave with them their carriage, which was much" (ix. 35, 36). Diod. Sic. gives much information regarding them, and so too Strabo, from the expedition under Aelius Gallus, the object of which was defeated by the treachery of the Nabatheans (see the *Dict. of Geography*), to which the history of Nabataea in classical times properly belongs).

Lastly, did the Nabathaeans, or Nabat, derive their name, and were they in part descended, from Nebaioth, son of Ishmael? Josephus says that Nabataea was inhabited by the twelve sons of Ishmael; and Jerome, "Nebaioth omnis regio ab Euphrate usque ad Mare Rubrum Nabathena usque hodie dicitur, quae pars Arabiae est" (*Comment. in* Gen. xxv. 13). Quatremère rejects the identification for an etymological reason—the change of ת to ט; but this change is not unusual; in words Arabicized from the Greek, the like change of τ generally occurs. Renan, on the other hand, accepts it; regarding Nebaioth, after his manner, merely as an ancient name unconnected with the Biblical history. The Arabs call Nebaioth Nâbit (نَابِت), and do not connect him with the Nabat, to whom they give a different descent; but all their Abrahamic genealogies come from late Jews, and are utterly untrustworthy. When we remember the darkness that enshrouds the early history of the "sons of the concubines" after they were sent into the east country, we hesitate to deny a relationship between peoples whose names are strikingly similar, dwelling in the same tract. It is possible that Nebaioth went to the far east, to the country of his grandfather Abraham, intermarried with the Chaldaeans, and gave birth to a mixed race, the Nabat. Instances of ancient tribes adopting the name of more modern ones, with which they have become fused, are frequent in the history of the Arabs (see MIDIAN, foot-note); but we think it is also admissible to hold that Nebaioth was so named by the sacred historian because he intermarried with the Nabat. It is, however, safest to leave unsettled the identification of Nebaioth and Nabat until another link be added to the chain that at present seems to connect them. [E. S. P.]

NEBAL'LAT (נְבַלָּט: Vat. omits, Alex. Ναβάλλατ: *Neballat*), a town of Benjamin, one of those which the Benjamites reoccupied after the captivity (Neh. xi. 34), but not mentioned in the original catalogue of allotment (comp. Josh. xviii. 11-28). It is here named with ZEBOIM, LOD, and Ono. Lod is Lydda, the modern *Lŭdd*, and Ono is not impossibly *Kefr Auna*, four miles to the north of it. East of these, and forming nearly an equilateral triangle with them,[a] is *Beit Nebâla* (Rob. ii. 232), which is possibly the *locum tenens* of the ancient village. Another place of very nearly the same name, *Bir Nebâla*, lies to the east of *el Jîb* (Gibeon), and within half a mile of it. This would also be within the territory of Benjamin, and although further removed from Lod and Ono, yet if ZEBOIM should on investigation prove (as is not impossible) to be in one of the wadys which penetrate the eastern side of this district and lead down to the Jordan valley (comp. 1 Sam. xiii. 18), then, in that case, this situation might not be unsuitable for Neballat. [G.]

[a] Schwarz (p. 134), with less than usual accuracy, places "Beth-Naballa," at "five miles south of Ramleh." It is nearly about that distance N.E. of it.

NE'BAT (נְבָט: Ναβάτ: *Nabat*, but *Nabath* in 1 K. xi.) The father of Jeroboam, whose name is only preserved in connexion with that of his distinguished son (1 K. xi. 26, xii. 2, 15, xv. 1, xvi. 3, 26, 31, xxi. 22, xxii. 52; 2 K. iii. 3, ix. 9, x. 29, xiii. 2, 11, xiv. 24, xv. 9, 18, 24, 28, xvii. 21, xxiii. 15; 2 Chr. ix. 29, x. 2, 15, xiii. 6). He is described as an Ephrathite, or Ephraimite, of Zereda in the Jordan valley, and appears to have died while his son was young. The Jewish tradition preserved in Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. in lib. Reg.*) identifies him with Shimei of Gera, who was a Benjamite. [JEROBOAM.]

NE'BO, MOUNT (הַר־נְבוֹ: Τὸ ὄρος Ναβαῦ: *mons Nebo*). The mountain from which Moses took his first and last view of the Promised Land (Deut. xxxii. 49, xxxiv. 1). It is so minutely described, that it would seem impossible not to recognise it:—in the land of Moab; facing Jericho; the head or summit of a mountain called the Pisgah, which again seems to have formed a portion of the general range of the "mountains of Abarim." Its position is further denoted by the mention of the valley (or perhaps more correctly the ravine) in which Moses was buried, and which was apparently one of the clefts of the mount itself (xxxii. 50)—"the ravine in the land of Moab facing Beth-Peor" (xxxiv. 6). And yet, notwithstanding the minuteness of this description, no one has yet succeeded in pointing out any spot which answers to Nebo. Viewed from the western side of Jordan (the nearest point at which most travellers are able to view them) the mountain of Moab present the appearance of a wall or cliff, the upper line of which is almost straight and horizontal. "There is no peak or point perceptibly higher than the rest; but all is one apparently level line of summit without peaks or gaps" (Rob. *B. R.* i. 570). "On ne distingue pas un sommet, pas la moindre cime; seulement on aperçoit, çà et là, de legères inflexions, *comme si la main du peintre qui a tracé cette ligne horizontale sur le ciel eût tremblé dans quelques endroits*" (Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*, part 3). "Possibly," continues Robinson, "on travelling among these mountains, some isolated point or summit might be found answering to the position and character of Nebo." Two such points have been named. (1.) Seetzen (March 17, 1806; *Reise*, vol. i. 408) seems to have been the first to suggest the *Dschibbal Attarûs* (between the *Wady Zerka-main* and the Arnon, 3 miles below the former, and 10 or 12 south of Heshbon) as the Nebo of Moses. In this he is followed (though probably without any communication) by Burckhardt (July 14, 1812), who mentions it as the highest point in that locality, and therefore probably "Mount *Nebo* of the Scripture." This is adopted by Irby and Mangles, though with hesitation (*Travels*, June 8, 1818).

(2.) The other elevation above the general summit level of these highlands is the *Jebel 'Osha*, or *Ausha'*, or *Jebel el-Jil'âd*, "the highest point in all the eastern mountains," "overtopping the whole of the *Belka*, and rising about 3000 feet above the *Ghôr*" (Burckhardt, July 2, 1812; Robinson, i. 527 *note*, 570).

But these eminences are alike wanting in one main essential of the Nebo of the Scripture, which

is stated to have been "facing Jericho," words which in the widest interpretation must imply that it was "some elevation immediately over the last stage of the Jordan," while *'Osha* and *Attarûs* are equally remote in opposite directions, the one 15 miles north, the other 15 miles south of a line drawn eastward from Jericho. Another requisite for the identification is, that a view should be obtainable from the summit, corresponding to that prospect over the whole land which Moses is said to have had from Mount Nebo: even though, as Professor Stanley has remarked (*S. & P.* 301), that was a view which in its full extent must have been imagined rather than actually seen.[a] The view from *Jebel Jil'ad* has been briefly described by Mr. Porter (*Handbk.* 309), though without reference to the possibility of its being Nebo. Of that from *Jebel Attarûs*, no description is extant, for, almost incredible as it seems, none of the travellers above named, although they believed it to be Nebo, appear to have made any attempt to deviate so far from their route as to ascend an eminence, which if their conjectures be correct must be the most interesting spot in the world. [G.]

NEBO (נְבוֹ). 1. (Ναβαῦ: *Nebo* and *Nabo*). A town on the eastern side of Jordan, situated in the pastoral country (Num. xxxii. 3), one of those which were taken possession of and rebuilt by the tribe of Reuben (ver. 38).[b] In these lists it is associated with Kirjathaim and Baal-meon or Beon; and in another record (1 Chr. v. 8) with Aroer, as marking one extremity, possibly the west, of a principal part of the tribe. In the remarkable prophecy adopted[c] by Isaiah (xv. 2) and Jeremiah (xlviii. 1, 22) concerning Moab, Nebo is mentioned in the same connexion as before, though no longer an Israelite town, but in the hands of Moab. It does not occur in the catalogue of the towns of Reuben in Joshua (xiii. 15-23); but whether this is an accidental omission, or whether it appears under another name, —according to the statement of Num. xxxii. 38, that the Israelites changed the names of the heathen cities they retained in this district—is uncertain. In the case of Nebo, which was doubtless called after the deity[d] of that name, there would be a double reason for such a change (see Josh. xxiii. 7).

Neither is there anything to shew whether there was a connexion between Nebo the town and Mount Nebo. The notices of Eusebius and Jerome (*Onomasticon*) are confused, but they at least denote that the two were distinct, and distant from each other.[e] The town (Ναβώρ and "Nabo") they identify with Noban or Kenath, and locate it 8 miles south[f] of Heshbon, where the ruins of *el-Habis* appear to stand at present; while the mountain (Ναβαῦ and "Naban") is stated to be 6 miles east (Jer.) or west (Eus.) from the same spot.

In the list of places south of *es-Salt* given by Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* 1st ed. vol. iii. App. 170), one occurs named *Neba*, which may possibly be identical with Nebo, but nothing is known of its situation or of the character of the spot.

2. (Ναβοῦ, *Alex.* Ναβω; in Neh. Ναβιαᾶ: *Nebo*). The children of Nebo (*Bene-Nebo*) to the number of fifty-two, are mentioned in the catalogue of the men of Judah and Benjamin, who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 29; Neh. vii. 33[g]). Seven of them had foreign wives, whom they were compelled to discard (Ezr. x. 43). The name occurs between Bethel and Ai, and Lydda, which, if we may trust the arrangement of the list, implies that it was situated in the territory of Benjamin to the N.W. of Jerusalem. This is possibly the modern *Beit-Nûbah*, about 12 miles N.W. by W. of Jerusalem, 8 from Lydda, and close to *Yalo*, which seems to be the place mentioned by Jerome (*Onom.* "Anab," and "Anob;" and *Epit. Paulae*, §8) as Nob the city of the priests (though that identification is hardly admissible), and both in his and later times known as Bethannaba or Bettenuble.[h]

It is possible that this Nebo was an offshoot of that on the east of Jordan; in which case we have another town added to those already noticed in the territory of Benjamin which retain the names of foreign and heathen settlers. [BENJAMIN, i. 188 *note;* MICHMASH; OPHNI.].

A town named Nomba, is mentioned by the LXX. (not in Heb.) amongst the places in the south of Judah frequented by David (1 Sam. xxx. 30), but its situation forbids any attempt to identify this with Nebo. [G.]

NE'BO (נְבוֹ: Ναβώ: *Nabo*), which occurs both in Isaiah (xlvi. 1) and Jeremiah (xlviii. 1) as the name of a Chaldaean god, is a well-known deity of the Babylonians and Assyrians. The original native name was, in Hamitic Babylonian, *Nabiu*, in Semitic Babylonian and Assyrian, *Nabu*. It is reasonably conjectured to be connected with the Hebrew נָבָא, "to prophesy," whence the common word נָבִיא, "prophet" (Arab. *Neby*). Nebo was the god who presided over learning and letters. He is called "the far-hearing," "he who possesses intelligence," "he who teaches or instructs." The wedge or arrow-head—the essential element of cuneiform writing—appears to have been his emblem; and hence he bore the name of *Tir*, which signifies "a shaft or arrow." His general character corresponds to that of the Egyptian Thoth, the Greek Hermes, and the Latin Mercury. Astronomically he is identified with the planet nearest the sun, called Nebo also by the Mendaeans, and *Tir* by the ancient Persians.

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[a] This view was probably identical with that seen by Balaam (Num. xxiii. 14). It is beautifully drawn out in detail by Prof. Stanley (*S. & P.* 299).

[b] The name is omitted in this passage in the Vatican LXX. The Alex. MSS. has τὴν βαμα.

[c] See MOAB, p. 395*b*.

[d] Selden (*De Dis Syr.* Synt. ii. cap. 12) assumes on the authority of Hesychius' interpretation of Is. xv. 1, that Dibon contained a temple or sanctuary of Nebo. But it would appear that Nebo the place, and not Nebo the divinity, is referred to in that passage.

[e] In another passage (*ad Esaiam* xv. 2), Jerome states that the "consecrated idol of Chemosh—that is, Beelphegor"—Baal Peor, resided in Nebo.

[f] *Kenawet*, the representative of Kenath, is 100 Roman miles N.E. of Heshbon.

[g] In Neh. the name is given as the "other Nebo," נְבוֹ אַחֵר (comp. ELAM), as if two places of that name were mentioned, but this is not the case.

[h] The words of William of Tyre (xiv. 8) are well worth quoting. They are evidently those of an eye-witness. "Nobe qui hodie vulgari appellatione dicitur Bettenuble, *in descensu montium, in primis auspiciis* (aspicilis?) *eminentium, in primis auspiciis* (aspicilis?) *eminentium, in pestrium*, via quâ itur Liddam . . . . . ibi enim in faucibus montium inter angustias inevitabiles . . . . Ascalonitis subitas irruptiones illic facere consuetis." Just as the Philistines did in the time of Saul.—Can this be Gob or Nob, where they were so frequently encountered?

Nebo was of Babylonian rather than of Assyrian origin. In the early Assyrian Pantheon he occupies a very inferior position, being either omitted from the lists altogether, or occurring as the last of the minor gods. The king supposed to be Pul first brings him prominently forward in Assyria, and then apparently in consequence of some peculiar connexion which he himself had with Babylon. A statue of Nebo was set up by this monarch at Calah (*Nimrud*), which is now in the British Museum. It has a long inscription, written across the body, and consisting chiefly of the god's various epithets. In Babylonia Nebo held a prominent place from an early time. The ancient town of Borsippa was especially under his protection, and the great temple there (the modern *Birs-Nimrud*) was dedicated to him from a very remote age. [BABEL, TOWER OF.] He was the tutelar god of the most important Babylonian kings, in whose names the word *Nabu*, or Nebo, appears as an element: *e.g.* Nabo-nassar, Nabo-polassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Nabo-nadius or Labynetus; and appears to have been honoured next to Bel-merodach by the later kings. Nebuchadnezzar completely rebuilt his temple at Borsippa, and called after him his famous seaport upon the Persian Gulf, which became known to the Greeks as Teredon or Diridotis —"given to Tir," *i. e.* to Nebo. The worship of Nebo appears to have continued at Borsippa to the 3rd or 4th century after Christ, and the Sabaeans of Harran may have preserved it even to a later date. (See the Essay *On the Religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, by Sir H. Rawlinson, in the 1st vol. of Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, pp. 637-640; and compare Norberg's *Onomasticon*, s. v. Nebo, pp. 98, 9.) [G. R.]

NEBUCHADNEZ'ZAR, or NEBUCHADREZ'ZAR (נְבוּכַדְנֶאצַּר, or נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר: *Nabουχοδονόσορ*: *Nabuchodonosor*), was the greatest and most powerful of the Babylonian kings. His name, according to the native orthography, is read as *Nabu-kuduri-utsur*, and is explained to mean "Nebo is the protector against misfortune," *kuduri* being connected with the Hebrew כִּידוֹר, "trouble" or "attack," and *utsur* being a participle from the root נָצַר, "to protect." The rarer Hebrew form, used by Jeremiah and Ezekiel,—Nebuchadrezzar, is thus very close indeed to the original. The Persian form, *Nabukudrachara* (*Beh. Inscr.* col. i. par. 16), is less correct; while the Greek equivalents are sometimes very wide of the mark. Ναβουκοδρόσορ, which was used by Abydenus and Megasthenes, is the best of them; Ναβοκολάσαρος, which appears in the Canon of Ptolemy, the worst. Strabo's Ναβοκοδρόσορος (xv. 1, §6) and Berosus's Ναβουχοδονόσορος lie between these extremes.

Nebuchadnezzar was the son and successor of Nabopolassar, the founder of the Babylonian Empire. He appears to have been of marriageable age at the time of his father's rebellion against Assyria, B.C. 625; for, according to Abydenus (ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. i. 9), the alliance between this prince and the Median king was cemented by the betrothal of Amuhia, the daughter of the latter, to Nebuchadnezzar, Nabopolassar's son. Little further is known of him during his father's lifetime. It is suspected, rather than proved, that he was the leader of a Babylonian contingent which accompanied Cyaxares in his Lydian war [MEDES], by whose interposition, on the occasion of an eclipse that war was brought to a close,[a] B.C. 610. At any rate, a few years later, he was placed at the head of a Babylonian army, and sent by his father who was now old and infirm, to chastise the insolence of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt. This prince had recently invaded Syria, defeated Josiah, king of Judah, at Megiddo, and reduced the whole tract, from Egypt to Carchemish on the upper Euphrates [CARCHEMISH], which in the partition of the Assyrian territories on the destruction of Nineveh had been assigned to Babylon (2 K. xxiii. 29, 30; Beros. ap. Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 19). Necho had held possession of these countries for about three years, when (B.C. 605) Nebuchadnezzar led an army against him, defeated him at Carchemish in a great battle (Jer. xlvi. 2-12), recovered Coelesyria, Phoenicia, and Palestine, took Jerusalem (Dan. i. 1, 2), pressed forward to Egypt, and was engaged in that country or upon its borders when intelligence arrived which recalled him hastily to Babylon. Nabopolassar, after reigning 21 years, had died, and the throne was vacant; for there is no reason to think that Nebuchadnezzar, though he appeared to be the "king of Babylon" to the Jews, had really been associated by his father. In some alarm about the succession he hurried back to the capital, accompanied only by his light troops; and crossing the desert, probably by way of Tadmor or Palmyra, reached Babylon before any disturbance had arisen, and entered peaceably on his kingdom (B.C. 604). The bulk of the army, with the captives—Phoenicians, Syrians, Egyptians, and Jews—returned by the ordinary route, which skirted instead of crossing the desert. It was at this time that Daniel and his companions were brought to Babylon, where they presently grew into favour with Nebuchadnezzar, and became persons of very considerable influence (Dan. i. 3-20).

Within three years of Nebuchadnezzar's first expedition into Syria and Palestine, disaffection again showed itself in those countries. Jehoiakim—who, although threatened at first with captivity (2 Chr. xxxvi. 6) had been finally maintained on the throne as a Babylonian vassal—after three years of service "turned and rebelled" against his suzerain, probably trusting to be supported by Egypt (2 K. xxiv. 1). Not long afterwards Phoenicia seems to have broken into revolt; and the Chaldaean monarch, who had previously endeavoured to subdue the disaffected by his generals (ib. ver. 2), once more took the field in person, and marched first of all against Tyre. Having invested that city in the seventh year of his reign (Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 21), and left a portion of his army there to continue the siege, he proceeded against Jerusalem, which submitted without a struggle. According to Josephus, who is here our chief authority, Nebuchadnezzar punished Jehoiakim with death (*Ant.* x. 6, §3; comp. Jer. xxii. 18, 19, and xxxvi. 30), but placed his son Jehoiachin upon the throne. Jehoiachin reigned only three months; for, on his showing symptoms of disaffection, Nebuchadnezzar came up against Jerusalem for the third time, deposed the young prince (whom he carried to Babylon, together with

[a] Herodotus terms this leader Labynetus (i. 74); a word which does not rightly render the Babylonian *Nabu-kudurusur* but does render another Babylonian name, *Nabu-nahit*. Nabopolassar *may* have had a son of this name; or the Labynetus of Herod. i. 74 may be Nabopolassar himself.

a large portion of the population of the city, and the chief of the Temple treasures), and made his uncle, Zedekiah, king in his room. Tyre still held out; and it was not till the thirteenth year from the time of its first investment that the city of merchants fell (B.C. 585). Ere this happened, Jerusalem had been totally destroyed. This consummation was owing to the folly of Zedekiah, who, despite the warnings of Jeremiah, made a treaty with Apries (Hophra), king of Egypt (Ez. xvii. 15), and on the strength of this alliance renounced his allegiance to the king of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar commenced the final siege of Jerusalem in the ninth year of Zedekiah, — his own seventeenth year (B.C. 588), and took it two years later (B.C. 586). One effort to carry out the treaty seems to have been made by Apries. An Egyptian army crossed the frontier, and began its march towards Jerusalem; upon which Nebuchadnezzar raised the siege, and set off to meet the new foe. According to Josephus (*Ant.* x. 7, §3) a battle was fought, in which Apries was completely defeated; but the Scriptural account seems rather to imply that the Egyptians retired on the advance of Nebuchadnezzar, and recrossed the frontier without risking an engagement (Jer. xxxvii. 5-8). At any rate the attempt failed, and was not repeated; the "broken reed, Egypt," proved a treacherous support, and after an eighteen months' siege Jerusalem fell. Zedekiah escaped from the city, but was captured near Jericho (ib. xxxix. 5) and brought to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah in the territory of Hamath, where his eyes were put out by the king's order, while his sons and his chief nobles were slain. Nebuchadnezzar then returned to Babylon with Zedekiah, whom he imprisoned for the remainder of his life; leaving Nebuzar-adan, the captain of his guard, to complete the destruction of the city and the pacification of Judaea. Gedaliah, a Jew, was appointed governor, but he was shortly murdered, and the rest of the Jews either fled to Egypt, or were carried by Nebuzar-adan to Babylon.

The military successes of Nebuchadnezzar cannot be traced minutely beyond this point. His own annals have not come down to us; and the historical allusions which we find in his extant inscriptions are of the most vague and general character. It may be gathered from the prophetical Scriptures and from Josephus, that the conquest of Jerusalem was rapidly followed by the fall of Tyre and the complete submission of Phoenicia (Ez. xxvi.–xxviii.; Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 21); after which the Babylonians carried their arms into Egypt, and inflicted severe injuries on that fertile country (Jer. xlvi. 13-26; Ez. xxix. 2-20; Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, §7). But we have no account, on which we can depend, of these campaigns. Our remaining notices of Nebuchadnezzar present him to us as a magnificent prince and beneficent ruler, rather than a warrior; and the great fame which has always attached to his name among the Eastern nations depends rather on his buildings and other grand constructions than on any victories or conquests ascribed to him.

We are told by Berosus that the first care of Nebuchadnezzar, on obtaining quiet possession of his kingdom after the first Syrian expedition, was to rebuild the temple of Bel (*Bel-Merodach*) at Babylon out of the spoils of the Syrian war (ap. Joseph. *Ant.* x. 11, §1). He next proceeded to strengthen and beautify the city, which he renovated throughout, and surrounded with several lines of fortification, himself adding one entirely new quarter. Having finished the walls and adorned the gates magnificently, he constructed a new palace, adjoining the old residence of his father—a superb edifice, which he completed in fifteen days! In the grounds of this palace he formed the celebrated "hanging garden," which was a pleasaunce, built up with huge stones to imitate the varied surface of mountains, and planted with trees and shrubs of every kind. Diodorus, probably following Ctesias, describes this marvel as a square, four *plethra* (400 feet) each way, and 50 cubits (75 feet) high, approached by sloping paths, and supported on a series of arched galleries increasing in height from the base to the summit. In these galleries were various pleasant chambers; and one of them contained the engines by which water was raised from the river to the surface of the mound. This curious construction, which the Greek writers reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, was said to have been built by Nebuchadnezzar for the gratification of his wife, Amuhia, who, having been brought up among the Median mountains, desired something to remind her of them. Possibly, however, one object was to obtain a pleasure-ground at a height above that to which the musquitoes are accustomed to rise.

This complete renovation of Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, which Berosus asserts, is confirmed to us in every possible way. The Standard Inscription of the king relates at length the construction of the whole series of works, and appears to have been the authority from which Berosus drew. The ruins confirm this in the most positive way, for nine-tenths of the bricks *in situ* are stamped with Nebuchadnezzar's name. Scripture, also, adds an indirect but important testimony, in the exclamation of Nebuchadnezzar recorded by Daniel, "Is not this great Babylon *which I have built?*" (Dan. iv. 30).

But Nebuchadnezzar did not confine his efforts to the ornamentation and improvement of his capital. Throughout the empire, at Borsippa, Sippara, Cutha, Chilmad, Duraba, Teredon, and a multitude of other places, he built or rebuilt cities, repaired temples, constructed quays, reservoirs, canals, and aqueducts, on a scale of grandeur and magnificence surpassing everything of the kind recorded in history, unless it be the constructions of one or two of the greatest Egyptian monarchs. "I have examined," says Sir H. Rawlinson, "the bricks *in situ*, belonging perhaps to a hundred different towns and cities in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, and I never found any other legend than that of Nebuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon" (*Comm. on the Inscr. of Assyria and Babylonia*, 76, 77). "Nebuchadnezzar," says Abydenus, "on succeeding to the throne, fortified Babylon with three lines of walls. He dug the *Nahr Malcha*, or Royal River, which was a branch stream derived from the Euphrates, and also the Acracanus. He likewise made the great reservoir above the city of Sippara, which was thirty parasangs (90 miles) in circumference, and twenty fathoms (120 feet) deep. Here he placed sluices or flood-gates, which enabled him to irrigate the low country. He also built a quay along the shore of the Red Sea (Persian Gulf), and founded the city of Teredon on the borders of Arabia." It is reasonably concluded from these statements, that an extensive system of irrigation was devised by this monarch, to whom the Babylonians were probably indebted for the greater portion of that vast net-work of canals which covered the whole alluvial tract be-

tween the two rivers, and extended on the right bank of the Euphrates to the extreme verge of the stony desert. On that side the principal work was a canal of the largest dimensions, still to be traced, which left the Euphrates at *Hit*, and skirting the desert ran south-east a distance of above 400 miles to the Persian Gulf, where it emptied itself into the Bay of *Grane*.

The wealth, greatness, and general prosperity of Nebuchadnezzar are strikingly placed before us in the book of Daniel. "The God of Heaven" gave him, not a kingdom only, but "power, strength, and glory" (Dan. ii. 37). His wealth is evidenced by the image of gold, 60 cubits in height, which he set up in the plain of Dura (ib. iii. 1). The grandeur and careful organization of his kingdom appears from the long list of his officers, "princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, councillors, sheriffs, and rulers of provinces," of whom we have repeated mention (ib. verses 2, 3 and 27). We see the existence of a species of hierarchy in the "magicians, astrologers, sorcerers," over whom Daniel was set (ib. ii. 48). The "tree, whose height was great, which grew and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto the heavens, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth; the leaves whereof were fair, and the fruit much, and in which was food for all; under which the beasts of the field had shadow, and the fowls of heaven dwelt in the branches thereof, and all flesh was fed of it" (ib. iv. 10-12), is the fitting type of a kingdom at once so flourishing and so extensive.

It has been thought by some (De Wette, Th. Parker, &c.), that the book of Daniel represents the satrapial system of government (*Satrapen-Einrichtung*) as established throughout the whole empire; but this conclusion is not justified by a close examination of that document. Nebuchadnezzar, like his Assyrian predecessors (Is. x. 8), is represented as a "king of kings" (Dan. ii. 37); and the officers enumerated in ch. ii. are probably the authorities of Babylonia proper, rather than the governors of remoter regions, who could not be all spared at once from their employments. The instance of Gedaliah (Jer. xl. 5; 2 K. xxv. 22) is not that of a satrap. He was a Jew; and it may be doubted whether he stood really in any different relation to the Babylonians from Zedekiah or Jehoiachin; although as he was not of the seed of David, the Jews considered him to be "governor" rather than king.

Towards the close of his reign the glory of Nebuchadnezzar suffered a temporary eclipse. As a punishment for his pride and vanity, that strange form of madness was sent upon him which the Greeks called Lycanthropy (λυκανθρωπία); wherein the sufferer imagines himself a beast, and quitting the haunts of men, insists on leading the life of a beast (Dan. iv. 33). Berosus, with the pardonable tenderness of a native, anxious for the good fame of his country's greatest king, suppressed this fact; and it may be doubted whether Herodotus in his Babylonian travels, which fell only about a century after the time, obtained any knowledge of it. Nebuchadnezzar himself, however, in his great inscription appears to allude to it, although in a studied ambiguity of phrase which renders the passage very difficult of translation. After describing the construction of the most important of his great works, he appears to say—"For four years (?) . . . the rest of my kingdom . . . did not rejoice my heart. In all my dominions I did not build a high place of power, the precious treasures of my kingdom I did not lay up. In Babylon, buildings for myself and for the honour of my kingdom I did not lay out In the worship of Merodach, my lord, the joy of my heart, in Babylon the city of his sovereignty, and the seat of my empire, I did not sing his praises, I did not furnish his altars with victims, nor did I clear out the canals" (Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. 586). Other negative clauses follow. It is plain that we have here narrated a suspension—apparently for four years—of all those works and occupations on which the king especially prided himself—his temples, palaces, worship, offerings, and works of irrigation; and though the cause of the suspension is not stated, we can scarcely imagine anything that would account for it but some such extraordinary malady as that recorded in Daniel.

It has often been remarked that Herodotus ascribes to a queen, Nitocris, several of the important works, which other writers (Berosus, Abydenus) assign to Nebuchadnezzar. The conjecture naturally arises that Nitocris was Nebuchadnezzar's queen, and that, as she carried on his constructions during his incapacity, they were by some considered to be hers. It is no disproof of this to urge that Nebuchadnezzar's wife was a Median princess, not an Egyptian (as Nitocris must have been from her name), and that she was called, not Nitocris, but Amyitis or Amyhia; for Nebuchadnezzar, who married Amyitis in B.C. 625, and who lived after this marriage more than sixty years, may easily have married again after the decease of his first wife, and his second queen may have been an Egyptian. His later relations with Egypt appear to have been friendly; and it is remarkable that the name Nitocris, which belonged to very primitive Egyptian history, had in fact been resuscitated about this time, and is found in the Egyptian monuments to have been borne by a princess belonging to the family of the Psammetiks.

After an interval of four, or perhaps[b] seven years (Dan. iv. 16), Nebuchadnezzar's malady left him. As we are told in Scripture that "his reason returned, and for the glory of his kingdom his honour and brightness returned;" and he "was established in his kingdom, and excellent majesty was added to him" (Dan. iv. 36), so we find in the Standard Inscription that he resumed his great works after a period of suspension, and added fresh "wonders" in his old age to the marvellous constructions of his manhood. He died in the year B.C. 561, at an advanced age (83 or 84), having reigned 43 years. A son, EVIL-MERODACH, succeeded him.

The character of Nebuchadnezzar must be gathered principally from Scripture. There is a conventional formality in the cuneiform inscriptions, which deprives them of almost all value for the illustration of individual mind and temper. Ostentation and vainglory are characteristics of the entire series, each king seeking to magnify above all others his own exploits. We can only observe as peculiar to Nebuchadnezzar a disposition to rest his fame on his great works rather than on his military achievements, and a strong religious spirit, manifesting itself especially in a devotion, which is almost exclusive, to one particular god. Though his own tutelary deity and that of his father was Nebo (Mercury), yet his worship, his ascriptions of praise,

[b] Daniel's expression is "seven *times*." We cannot be sure that by a "time" is meant a year.

his thanksivings, have in almost every case for their object the god Merodach. Under his protection he placed his son, Evil-Merodach. Merodach is "his lord," "his great lord," "the joy of his heart," "the great lord who has appointed him to the empire of the world, and has confided to his care the far-spread people of the earth," "the great lord who has established him in strength," &c. One of the first of his own titles is, "he who pays homage to Merodach." Even when restoring the temples of other deities, he ascribes the work to the suggestions of Merodach, and places it under his protection. We may hence explain the appearance of a sort of monotheism (Dan. i. 2; iv. 21, 32, 34, 37), mixed with polytheism (ib. ii. 47; iii. 12, 18, 29; v. 9), in the Scriptural notices of him. While admitting a qualified divinity in Nebo, Nana, and other deities of his country, Nebuchadnezzar maintained the real *monarchy* of Bel-Merodach. He was to him "the supreme chief of the gods," "the most ancient," "the king of the heavens and the earth."[c] It was *his* image, or symbol, undoubtedly, which was "set up" to be worshipped in the "plain of Dura" (ib. iii. 1), and *his* "house" in which the sacred vessels from the Temple were treasured (ib. i. 2). Nebuchadnezzar seems at some times to have identified this, his supreme god, with the God of the Jews (ib. ch. iv.); at others, to have regarded the Jewish God as one of the local and inferior deities (ch. iii.) over whom Merodach ruled.

The genius and grandeur which characterised Nebuchadnezzar, and which have handed down his name among the few ancient personages known generally throughout the East, are very apparent in Scripture, and indeed in all the accounts of his reign and actions. Without perhaps any strong military turn, he must have possessed a fair amount of such talent to have held his own in the east against the ambitious Medes, and in the west against the Egyptians. Necho and Apries were both princes of good warlike capacity, whom it is some credit to have defeated. The prolonged siege of Tyre is a proof of the determination with which he prosecuted his military enterprises. But his greatness lay especially in the arts of peace. He saw in the natural fertility of Babylonia, and its ample wealth of waters, the foundation of national prosperity, and so of power. Hence his vast canals and elaborate system of irrigation, which made the whole country a garden; and must have been a main cause of the full treasury, from which alone his palaces and temples can have received their magnificence. The forced labour of captives may have raised the fabrics; but the statues, the enamelled bricks, the fine woodwork, the gold and silver plating, the hangings and curtains, had to be bought; and the enormous expenditure of this monarch, which does not appear to have exhausted the country, and which cannot have been very largely supported by tribute, must have been really supplied in the main from that agricultural wealth which he took so much pains to develop. We may gather from the productiveness of Babylonia under the Persians (Herod. i. 192, 193, iii. 92), after a conquest and two (three?) revolts, some idea of its flourishing condition in the period of independence, for which (according to the consentient testimony of the monuments and the best authors) it was indebted to this king.

The moral character of Nebuchadnezzar is not such as entitles him to our approval. Besides the overweening pride which brought upon him so terrible a chastisement, we note a violence and fury (Dan. ii. 12, iii. 19) common enough among Oriental monarchs of the weaker kind, but from which the greatest of them have usually been free; while at the same time we observe a cold and relentless cruelty which is particularly revolting. The blinding of Zedekiah may perhaps be justified as an ordinary eastern practice, though it is the earliest case of the kind on record; but the refinement of cruelty by which he was made to witness his sons' execution before his eyes were put out (2 K. xxv. 7) is worthier of a Dionysius or a Domitian than of a really great king. Again, the detention of Jehoiachin in prison for 36 years for an offence committed at the age of eighteen (2 K. xxiv. 8), is a severity surpassing Oriental harshness. Against these grave faults we have nothing to set, unless it be a feeble trait of magnanimity in the pardon accorded to Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, when he found that he was without power to punish them (Dan. iii. 26).

It has been thought remarkable that to a man of this character, God should have vouchsafed a revelation of the future by means of visions (Dan. ii. 29, iv. 2). But the circumstance, however it may disturb our preconceived notions, is not really at variance with the general laws of God's providence as revealed to us in Scripture. As with His natural, so with His supernatural gifts, they are not confined to the worthy. Even under Christianity, miraculous powers were sometimes possessed by those who made an ill use of them (1 Cor. xiv. 2-33). And God, it is plain, did not leave the old heathen world without some supernatural aid, but made His presence felt from time to time in visions, through prophets, or even by a voice from Heaven. It is only necessary to refer to the histories of Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 1-7, and 28), Abimelech (ib. xx. 3), Job (Job iv. 13, xxxviii. 1, xl. 6; comp. Dan. iv. 31), and Balaam (Num. xxii.-xxiv.), in order to establish the parity of Nebuchadnezzar's visions with other facts recorded in the Bible. He was warned, and the nations over which he ruled were warned through him, God leaving not Himself "without witness" even in those dark times. In conclusion, we may notice that a heathen writer (Abydenus), who generally draws his inspirations from Berosus, ascribes to Nebuchadnezzar a miraculous speech just before his death, announcing to the Babylonians the speedy coming of "a Persian mule," who with the help of the Medes would enslave Babylon (Abyd. ap. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 41). [G. R.]

NEBUSHAS'BAN (נְבוּשַׁזְבָּן[a], *i. e.* Nebushazban: LXX. omits: *Nabusezban*), one of the officers of Nebuchadnezzar at the time of the capture of Jerusalem. He was Rab-saris, *i. e.* chief of the eunuchs (Jer. xxxix. 13), as Nebuzaradan was Rab-tabbachim (chief of the body-guard), and Nergal-sharezer, Rab-Mag (chief of the magicians), the three being the most important officers then present, probably the highest dignitaries of the Babylonian court.[b] Nebu-shasban's office and title were the same as those of Ashpenaz (Dan. i. 3), whom he probably succeeded. In the list given (ver. 3) of

[c] These expressions are all applied to Merodach by Nebuchadnezzar in his Inscriptions.

[a] In the usual copies of the Hebrew Bible this final n is written small, and noted in the Masora accordingly. In several of Kennicott's MSS. z (ז) is found instead of n (נ), making the name Nebushazbaz, with perhaps an intentional play of sound, *baz* meaning prey or spoil.

[b] So at the Assyrian invasion in the time of Hezekiah

those who took possession of the city in the dead of the night of the 11th Tammuz, Nebu-shasban is not mentioned by name, but merely by his title Rab-saris. His name, like that of Nebu-chadnezzar and Nebo-zaradan, is a compound of Nebo, the Babylonian deity, with some word which though not quite ascertained, probably signified adherence or attachment (see Gesen. *Thes.* 840*b*; Fürst, *Handwb.* ii. 76). [G.]

NEBUZAR'ADAN (נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן: Ναβουζαρδάν; in Jer. Ναβουζαρδᾶν; Joseph. Ναβουζαρδάνης: *Nebuzardan*), the Rab-tabbachim, *i. e.* chief of the slaughterers (A. V. "captain of the guard"), a high officer in the court of Nebuchadnezzar, apparently (like the Tartan in the Assyrian army) the next to the person of the monarch. He appears not to have been present during the siege of Jerusalem; probably he was occupied at the more important operations at Tyre, but as soon as the city was actually in the hands of the Babylonians he arrived, and from that moment everything was completely directed by him. It was he who decided, even to the minutest details of fire-pans and bowls (2 K. xxv. 15), what should be carried off and what burnt, which persons should be taken away to Babylon, and which left behind in the country. One act only is referred directly to Nebuchadnezzar, the appointment of the governor or superintendent of the conquered district. All this Nebuzaradan seems to have carried out with wisdom and moderation. His conduct to Jeremiah, to whom his attention had been directed by his master (Jer. xxix. 11), is marked by even higher qualities than these, and the prophet has preserved (xl. 2-5) a speech of Nebuzaradan's to him on liberating him from his chains at Ramah, which contains expressions truly remarkable in a heathen. He seems to have left Judea for this time when he took down the chief people of Jerusalem to his master at Riblah (2 K. xxv. 18-20). In four years he again appeared (Jer. lii. 30). Nebuchadnezzar in his twenty-third year made a descent on the regions east of Jordan, including the Ammonites and Moabites (Joseph. *Ant.* x. 9, §7), who escaped when Jerusalem was destroyed. [MOAB, p. 397, 8]. Thence he proceeded to Egypt (Joseph. *ibid.*), and, either on the way thither or on the return, Nebuzaradan again passed through the country and carried off seven hundred and forty-five more captives (Jer. lii. 30).

The name, like Nebu-chadnezzar and Nebu-shasban, contains that of Nebo the Babylonian deity. The other portion of the word is less certain. Gesenius (*Thes.* 839*b*) translates it by "Mercurii dux dominus," taking the זַר as = שַׂר, "prince," and אַדָן as = אָדוֹן, "lord." Fürst, on the other hand (*Handwb.* ii. 6), treats it as equivalent in meaning to the Hebrew *rab-tabbachim*, which usually follows it, and sometimes occurs by itself (2 K. xxv. 18; Jer. xl. 2, 5). To obtain this meaning he compares the last member of the name to the Sanscr. *dâna*, from *dô*, "to cut off." Gesenius also takes zaradan as identical with the first element in the name of Sardan-apalus. But this latter name is now explained by Sir H. Rawlinson as Assur-dan-i-pal (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 460). [G.]

Tartan, Rab-saris, and Rab-shakeh, as the three highest dignitaries, addressed the Jews from the head of their army (2 K. xviii. 17). Possibly these three officers in the Assyrian court answered to the three named above in the Babylonian.

NE'CHO (נְכוֹ: Νεχαώ), 2 Chr. xxxv. 20, 22; xxxvi. 4. [PHARAOH-NECHO.]

NEC'ODAN (Νεκωδάν: *Nechodaēus*) = NEKODA (1 Esdr. v. 37; comp. Ezr. ii. 60).

NEDABI'AH (נְדַבְיָה: Ναβαδίας: *Nadabia*). Apparently one of the sons of Jeconiah, or Jehoiachin, king of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 18). Lord A. Hervey, however, contends that this list contains the order of succession and not of lineal descent, and that Nedabiah and his brothers were sons of Neri.

NEEMI'AS (Νεεμίας: *Nehemias*) = NEHEMIAH the son of Hachaliah (Ecclus. xlix. 13; 2 Macc. i. 18, 20, 21, 23, 31, 36, ii. 13).

NEG'INAH (נְגִינַת), properly *Neginath*, as the text now stands, occurs in the title of Ps. lxi., "to the chief musician upon Neginath." If the present reading be correct, the form of the word may be compared with that of Mahalath (Ps. liii.). But the LXX. (ἐν ὕμνοις), and Vulg. (*in hymnis*), evidently read "Neginoth" in the plural, which occurs in the titles of five Psalms, and is perhaps the true reading. Whether the word be singular or plural, it is the general term by which all stringed instruments are described. In the singular it has the derived sense of "a song sung to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument," and generally of a taunting character (Job xxx. 9; Ps. lxix. 12; Lam. iii. 14). [NEGINOTH.] [W. A. W.]

NEG'INOTH (נְגִינוֹת). This word is found in the titles of Ps. iv. vi. liv. lv. lxvii. lxxvi., and the margin of Hab. iii. 19, and there seems but little doubt that it is the general term denoting all stringed instruments whatsoever, whether played with the hand, like the harp and guitar, or with a plectrum.[a] It thus includes all those instruments which in the A. V. are denoted by the special terms "harp," "psaltery" or "viol," "sackbut," as well as by the general descriptions "stringed instruments" (Ps. cl. 4), "instruments of music" (1 Sam. xviii. 6), or, as the margin gives it, "three-stringed instruments," and the "instrument of ten strings" (Ps. xxxiii. 2, xcii. 3, cxliv. 9). "The chief musician on *Neginoth*" was therefore the conductor of that portion of the Temple-choir who played upon the stringed instruments, and who are mentioned in Ps. lxviii. 25 (נַגָּנִים, *nôgĕnîm*). The root (נָגַן = κρούειν) from which the word is derived occurs in 1 Sam. xvi. 16, 17, 18, 23, xviii. 10, xix. 9, Is. xxxviii. 20, and a comparison of these passages confirms what has been said with regard to its meaning. The author of the *Shilte Haggibborim* quoted by Kircher (*Musurgia*, i. 4, p. 48), describes the Neginoth as instruments of wood, long and round, pierced with several apertures, and having three strings of gut stretched across them, which were played with a bow of horsehair. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether the Hebrews were acquainted with anything so closely resembling the modern violin. [W. A. W.]

NEHELAMITE, THE (הַנֶּחֱלָמִי: ὁ Αἱλαμείτης: *Nehelamites*). The designation of a man named Shemaiah, a false prophet, who went with

[a] Hence Symmachus renders διὰ ψαλτηρίων.

the captivity to Babylon (Jer. xxix. 24, 31, 32). The name is no doubt formed from that either of Shemaiah's native place, or the progenitor of his family; which of the two is uncertain. No place called Nehelam is mentioned in the Bible, or known to have existed in Palestine,[a] nor does it occur in any of the genealogical lists of families. It resembles the name which the LXX. have attached to Ahijah the Prophet, namely the Eulamite — ὁ Ευλαμεί; but by what authority they substitute that name for "the Shilonite" of the Hebrew text is doubtful. The word "Nehelamite" also probably contains a play on the "dreams" (*halam*) and "dreamers," whom Jeremiah is never wearied of denouncing (see chaps. xxiii. xxvii. xxix.). This is hinted in the margin of the A. V.—from what source the writer has not been able to discover. [G.]

NEHEMI'AH (נְחֶמְיָה: Νεεμίας). 1. Son of Hachaliah, and apparently of the tribe of Judah, since his fathers were buried at Jerusalem, and Hanani his kinsman seems to have been of that tribe (i. 2, ii. 3, vii. 2). He is called indeed "Nehemiah the Priest" (Neh. sacerdos) in the Vulgate of 2 Macc. i. 21; but the Greek has it, that "Nehemiah ordered *the priests* (ἱερεῖς) to pour the water," &c. Nor does the expression in ver. 18, that Nehemiah "offered sacrifice," imply any more than that he provided the sacrifices. Others again have inferred that he was a priest from Neh. x. 1-8; but the words "these were the priests," naturally apply to the names which follow Nehemiah's, who signed first as the head of the whole nation. The opinion that he was connected with the house of David is more feasible, though it cannot be proved. The name of Hanani his kinsman, as well as his own name, are found slightly varied in the house of David, in the case of Hananiah the son of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 19), and Naum (Luke iii. 25).[b] If he were of the house of David, there would be peculiar point in his allusion to his "fathers' sepulchres" at Jerusalem. Malalas of Antioch (*Chronogr.* vi. p. 160), as cited by Grimm, on 2 Macc. i. 21, singularly combines the two views, and calls him "Nehemiah the priest, of the seed of David."

All that we know certainly concerning this eminent man is contained in the book which bears his name. His autobiography first finds him at Shushan, the winter[c] residence of the kings of Persia, in high office as the cupbearer of king Artaxerxes Longimanus. In the 20th year of the king's reign, *i. e.* B.C. 445, certain Jews, one of whom was a near kinsman of Nehemiah's, arrived from Judea, and gave Nehemiah a deplorable account of the state of Jerusalem, and of the residents in Judea. He immediately conceived the idea of going to Jerusalem to endeavour to better their state. After three or four months (from Chisleu to Nisan), in which he earnestly sought God's blessing upon his undertaking by frequent prayer and fasting, an opportunity presented itself of obtaining the king's consent to his mission. Having received his appointment as governor[d] of Judea, a troop of cavalry, and letters from the king to the different satraps through whose provinces he was to pass, as well as to Asaph the keeper of the king's forests, to supply him with timber, he started upon his journey: being under promise to return to Persia within a given time. Josephus says that he went in the first instance to Babylon, and gathered round him a band of exiled Jews, who returned with him. This is important as possibly indicating that the book which Josephus followed, understood the Nehemiah mentioned in Ezr. ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7, to be the son of Hachaliah.

Nehemiah's great work was rebuilding, for the first time since their destruction by Nebuzaradan, the walls of Jerusalem, and restoring that city to its former state and dignity, as a fortified town. It is impossible to over estimate the importance to the future political and ecclesiastical prosperity of the Jewish nation of this great achievement of their patriotic governor. How low the community of the Palestine Jews had fallen, is apparent from the fact that from the 6th of Darius to the 7th of Artaxerxes, there is no history of them whatever; and that even after Ezra's commission, and the ample grants made by Artaxerxes in his 7th year, and the considerable reinforcements, both in wealth and numbers, which Ezra's government brought to them, they were in a state of abject "affliction and reproach" in the 20th of Artaxerxes; their country pillaged, their citizens kidnapped and made slaves of by their heathen neighbours, robbery and murder rife in their very capital, Jerusalem almost deserted, and the Temple falling again into decay. The one step which could resuscitate the nation, preserve the Mosaic institutions, and lay the foundation of future independence, was the restoration of the city walls. Jerusalem being once again secure from the attacks of the marauding heathen, civil government would become possible, the spirit of the people, and their attachment to the ancient capital of the monarchy would revive, the priests and Levites would be encouraged to come into residence, the tithes and first-fruits and other stores would be safe, and Judah, if not actually independent, would preserve the essentials of national and religious life. To this great object therefore Nehemiah directed his whole energies without an hour's unnecessary delay.[e] By word and example he induced the whole population, with the single exception of the Tekoite nobles, to commence building with the utmost vigour, even the lukewarm high-priest Eliashib performing his part. In a wonderfully short time the walls seemed to emerge from the heaps of burnt rubbish, and to encircle the city as in the days of old. The gateways also were rebuilt, and ready for the doors to be hung upon them. But it soon became apparent how wisely Nehemiah had acted in hastening on the work. On his very first arrival, as governor, Sanballat and Tobiah had

[a] The Targum gives the name as *Helam*, חֵלָם. A place of this name lay somewhere between the Jordan and the Euphrates. See vol. i. 780 *a*.

[b] See *Genealog. of our Lord J. C.*, p. 145. [NEHEMIAH, SON OF AZBUK.]

[c] Ecbatana was the summer, Babylon the spring, and Persepolis the autumn residence of the kings of Persia (Pilkington). Susa was the principal palace (Strab. lib. xv. sp. iii. §3).

[d] פַּחַת the term applied to himself and other satraps by Nehemiah. The meaning and etymology of *Tirshatha*, which is applied only to Nehemiah, are doubtful. It is by most modern scholars thought to mean governor (Gesen. s. v.); but the sense *cupbearer*, given by older commentators, seems more probable.

[e] The three days, mentioned Neh. ii. 11, and Ezr. viii. 32, seems to point to some customary interval, perhaps for purification after a journey. See in Cruden's *Concordance* "Third Day" and "Three Days."

given unequivocal proof of their mortification at his appointment; and, before the work was even commenced, had scornfully asked whether he intended to rebel against the king of Persia. But when the restoration was seen to be rapidly progressing, their indignation knew no bounds. They not only poured out a torrent of abuse and contempt upon all engaged in the work, but actually made a great conspiracy to fall upon the builders with an armed force and put a stop to the undertaking. The project was defeated by the vigilance and prudence of Nehemiah, who armed all the people after their families, and showed such a strong front that their enemies dared not attack them. This armed attitude was continued from that day forward. Various stratagems were then resorted to to get Nehemiah away from Jerusalem, and if possible to take his life. But that which most nearly succeeded was the attempt to bring him into suspicion with the king of Persia, as if he intended to set himself up for an independent king, as soon as the walls were completed. It was thought that the accusation of rebellion would also frighten the Jews themselves, and make them cease from building. Accordingly a double line of action was taken. On the one hand Sanballat wrote a letter to Nehemiah, in an apparently friendly tone, telling him, on the authority of Geshem, that it was reported among the heathen (*i. e.* the heathen nations settled in Samaria, and Galilee of the nations), that he was about to head a rebellion of the Jews, and that he had appointed prophets to aid in the design by prophesying of him, "thou art the king of Judah;" and that he was building the walls for this purpose. This was sure, he added, to come to the ears of the king of Persia, and he invited Nehemiah to confer with him as to what should be done. At the same time he had also bribed Noadiah the prophetess, and other prophets, to induce Nehemiah by representations of his being in danger, to take refuge in the fortress of the Temple, with a view to cause delay, and also to give an appearance of conscious guilt. While this portion of the plot was conducted by Sanballat and Tobiah, a yet more important line of action was pursued in concert with them by the chief officers of the king of Persia in Samaria. In a letter addressed to Artaxerxes they represented that the Jews had rebuilt the walls of Jerusalem, with the intent of rebelling against the king's authority and recovering their dominion on "this side the river." Referring to former instances of the seditious spirit of the Jewish people, they urged that if the king wished to maintain his power in the province he must immediately put a stop to the fortification. This artful letter so far wrought upon Artaxerxes, that he issued a decree stopping the work till further orders.[1] It is probable that at the same time he recalled Nehemiah, or perhaps Nehemiah's leave of absence had previously expired; in either case had the Tirshatha been less upright and less wise, and had he fallen into the trap laid for him, his life might have been in great danger. The sequel, however, shows that his perfect integrity was apparent to the king. For after a delay, perhaps of several years, he was permitted to return to Jerusalem, and to crown his work by repairing the temple, and dedicating the walls. What, however, we have here to notice is, that owing to Nehemiah's wise haste, and his refusal to pause for a day in his work, in spite of threats, plots, and insinuations, the designs of his enemies were frustrated. The wall was actually finished and ready to receive the gates, before the king's decree for suspending the work arrived. A little delay therefore was all they were able to effect. Nehemiah does not indeed mention this adverse decree, which may have arrived during his absence, nor give us any clue to the time of his return; nor should we have suspected his absence at all from Jerusalem, but for the incidental allusion in ch. ii. 6, xiii. 6, coupled with the long interval of years between the earlier and later chapters of the book. But the interval between the close of ch. vi. and the beginning of ch. vii. is the only place where we can suppose a considerable gap in time, either from the appearance of the text, or the nature of the events narrated. It seems to suit both well to suppose that Nehemiah returned to Persia, and the work stopped immediately after the events narrated in vi. 16-19, and that chapter vii. goes on to relate the measures adopted by him upon his return with fresh powers. These were, the setting up the doors in the various gates of the city, giving a special charge to Hanani and Hananiah, as to the time of opening and shutting the gates, and above all providing for the due peopling of the city, the numbers of which were miserably small, and the rebuilding of the numerous decayed houses within the walls. Then followed a census of the returned captives, a large collection of funds for the repair of the Temple, the public reading of the law to the people by Ezra (who now appears again on the scene, perhaps having returned from Persia with Nehemiah), a celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles, such as had not been held since the days of Joshua; a no less solemn keeping of the Day of Atonement, when the opportunity was taken to enter into solemn covenant with God, to walk in the law of Moses and to keep God's commandments.

It may have been after another considerable interval of time, and not improbably after another absence of the Tirshatha from his government, that the next event of interest in Nehemiah's life occurred, viz., the dedication of the walls of Jerusalem, including, if we may believe the author of 2 Macc. supported by several indications in the Book of Nehemiah, that of the Temple after its repair by means of the funds collected from the whole population. This dedication was conducted with great solemnity, and appears to have been the model of the dedication by Judas Maccabeus, when the Temple was purified and the worship restored at the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, as related 1 Macc. iv. The author of 2 Macc. says that on this occasion Nehemiah obtained the sacred fire which had been hid in a pit by certain priests at the time of the captivity, and was recovered by their descendants, who knew were it was concealed When, however, these priests went to the place, they found only muddy water. By Nehemiah's command they drew this water, and sprinkled it upon the wood of the altar and upon the victims, and when the sun, which had been overclouded, presently shone out, a great fire was immediately kindled, which consumed the sacrifices, to the great wonder

[1] The reader must remember that this application of Ezr. iv. 7-23 to this time is novel, and must exercise his own judgment as to its admissibility.

[2] Such as the collection of money and priests' garments mentioned in Neh. vii., 70, Ezr. ii. 68; the allusion to the pollution of the Temple, xiii. 7-9; and the nature of the ceremonies described in ch. xii. 27-43.

of all present. The author also inserts the prayer, a simple and beautiful one, said to have been uttered by the priests, and responded to by Nehemiah, during the sacrifice; and adds, that the king of Persia enclosed the place where the fire was found, and that Nehemiah gave it the name of Naphthar, or cleansing. [NAPHTHAR.] He tells us further that an account of this dedication was contained in the "writings and commentaries of Nehemiah" (2 Macc. ii. 13), and that Nehemiah founded "a library, and gathered together the acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the epistles of the kings (of Persia) concerning the holy gifts." How much of this has any historical foundation is difficult to determine. It should be added, however, that the son of Sirach, in celebrating Nehemiah's good deeds, mentions only that he "raised up for us the walls that were fallen, and set up the gates and the bars, and raised up our ruins again," Ecclus. xlix. 13. Returning to the sure ground of the sacred narrative, the other principal achievements of this great and good governor may be thus signalised. He firmly repressed the exactions of the nobles, and the usury of the rich, and rescued the poor Jews from spoliation and slavery. He refused to receive his lawful allowance as governor from the people, in consideration of their poverty, during the whole twelve years that he was in office, but kept at his own charge a table for 150 Jews, at which any who returned from captivity were welcome. He made most careful provision for the maintenance of the ministering priests and Levites, and for the due and constant celebration of Divine worship. He insisted upon the sanctity of the precincts of the Temple being preserved inviolable, and peremptorily ejected the powerful Tobias from one of the chambers which Eliashib had assigned to him. He then replaced the stores and vessels which had been removed to make room for him, and appointed proper Levitical officers to superintend and distribute them. With no less firmness and impartiality he expelled from all sacred functions those of the high-priest's family who had contracted heathen marriages, and rebuked and punished those of the common people, who had likewise intermarried with foreigners; and lastly, he provided for keeping holy the Sabbath day, which was shamefully profaned by many, both Jews and foreign merchants, and by his resolute conduct succeeded in repressing the lawless traffic on the day of rest.

Beyond the 32nd year of Artaxerxes, to which Nehemiah's own narrative leads us, we have no account of him whatever. Neither had Josephus. For when he tells us that "when Nehemiah had done many other excellent things . . . he came to a great age and then died," he sufficiently indicates that he knew nothing more about him. The most probable inference from the close of his own memoir, and the absence of any further tradition concerning him is, that he returned to Persia and died there. On reviewing the character of Nehemiah, we seem unable to find a single fault to counterbalance his many and great virtues. For pure and disinterested patriotism he stands unrivalled. The man whom the account of the misery and ruin of his native country, and the perils with which his countrymen were beset, prompted to leave his splendid banishment, and a post of wealth, power, and influence, in the first court in the world, that he might share and alleviate the sorrows of his native land, must have been pre-eminently a patriot. Every act of his during his government bespeaks one who had no selfishness in his nature. All he did was noble, generous, high-minded, courageous, and to the highest degree upright. But to stern integrity he united great humility and kindness, and a princely hospitality. As a statesman he combined forethought, prudence, and sagacity in counsel, with vigour, promptitude, and decision in action. In dealing with the enemies of his country he was wary, penetrating and bold. In directing the internal economy of the state, he took a comprehensive view of the real welfare of the people, and adopted the measures best calculated to promote it. In dealing whether with friend or foe, he was utterly free from favour or fear, conspicuous for the simplicity with which he aimed only at doing what was right, without respect of persons. But in nothing was he more remarkable than for his piety, and the singleness of eye with which he walked before God. He seems to have undertaken everything in dependence upon God, with prayer for His blessing and guidance, and to have sought his reward only from God.

The principal authorities for the events of Nehemiah's life, after Josephus, are Carpzov's *Introduct. ad N. T.*; Eichhorn, *Einleitung*; Hävernick's *Einleit.*; Rambach *in Lib. Nehem.*; Leclerc *in Lib. histor. N. T.*, besides those referred to in the following article. Those who wish to see the questions discussed of the 20th Artaxerxes, as the terminus a quo Daniel's seventy weeks commence, and also the general chronology of the times, may refer to *Genealogy of our Lord Jesus Christ*, ch. xi.; and for a different view to Prideaux, *Connect.* i. 251, &c. The view of Scaliger, Hottinger, &c., adopted by Dr. Mill, *Vindic. of our Lord's Genealogy*, p. 165 *note*; that Artaxerxes Mnemon was Nehemiah's patron, is almost universally abandoned. The proof from the parallel genealogies of the kings of Persia and the high-priests, that he was Longimanus, is stated in a paper printed for the Chronolog. Institute by the writer of this article.

2. One of the leaders of the first expedition from Babylon to Jerusalem under Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7).

3. Son of Azbuk, and ruler of the half part of Beth-zur, who helped to repair the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 16). Beth-zur was a city of Judah (Josh. xv. 58; 1 Chr. ii. 45), belonging to a branch of Caleb's descendants, whence it follows that this Nehemiah was also of the tribe of Judah. [A. C. H.]

NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF. The latest of all the historical books of Scripture, both as to the time of its composition and the scope of its narrative in general, and as to the supplementary matter of ch. xii. in particular, which reaches down to the time of Alexander the Great. This book, like the preceding one of Ezra [EZRA, BOOK OF], is clearly and certainly not all by the same hand. By far the principal portion, indeed, is the work of Nehemiah, who gives, in the first person, a simple narrative of the events in which he himself was concerned; but other portions are either extracts from various chronicles and registers, or supplementary narratives and reflections, some apparently by Ezra, others, perhaps, the work of the same person who inserted the latest genealogical extracts from the public chronicles.

1. The main history contained in the book of Nehemiah covers about 12 years, viz., from the

20th to the 32nd year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, *i.e.* from B.C. 445 to 433. For so we seem to learn distinctly from v. 14 compared with xiii. 6; nor does there seem to be *any historical ground whatever* for asserting with Prideaux and many others that the government of Nehemiah, after his return in the 32nd of Artaxerxes, extended to the 15th year of Darius Nothus, and that the events of ch. xiii. belong to this later period (Prid. *Connect.* A.C. 409). The argument attempted to be derived from Neh. xiii. 28, that Eliashib was then dead and Joiada his son high-priest, is utterly without weight. There is a precisely parallel phrase in 2 Chr. xxxv. 3, where we read "the house which Solomon the son of David king of Israel did build." But the doubt whether the title "king of Israel" applies to David or Solomon is removed by the following verse, where we read, "according to the writing of David king of Israel, and according to the writing of Solomon his son." The LXX. also in that passage have *βασιλέως* agreeing with David. There is, therefore, not the slightest pretence for asserting that Nehemiah was governor after the 32nd of Artaxerxes (see below).

The whole narrative gives us a graphic and interesting account of the state of Jerusalem and the returned captives in the writer's times, and, incidentally, of the nature of the Persian government and the condition of its remote provinces. The documents appended to it also give some further information as to the times of Zerubbabel on the one hand, and as to the continuation of the genealogical registers and the succession of the high-priesthood to the close of the Persian empire on the other. The view given of the rise of two factions among the Jews—the one the strict religious party, adhering with uncompromising faithfulness to the Mosaic institutions, headed by Nehemiah; the other, the gentilizing party, ever imitating heathen customs, and making heathen connexions, headed, or at least encouraged by the high-priest Eliashib and his family—sets before us the germ of much that we meet with in a more developed state in later Jewish history from the commencement of the Macedonian dynasty till the final destruction of Jerusalem.

Again, in this history as well as in the book of Ezra, we see the bitter enmity between the Jews and Samaritans acquiring strength and definitive form on both religious and political grounds. It would seem from iv. 1, 2, 8 (A. V.), and vi. 2, 8, &c., that the depression of Jerusalem was a fixed part of the policy of Sanballat, and that he had the design of raising Samaria as the head of Palestine, upon the ruin of Jerusalem, a design which seems to have been entertained by the Samaritans in later times.

The book also throws much light upon the domestic institutions of the Jews. We learn incidentally the prevalence of usury and of slavery as its consequence, the frequent and burdensome oppressions of the governors (v. 15), the judicial use of corporal punishment (xiii. 25), the continuance of false prophets as an engine of policy, as in the days of the kings of Judah (vi. 7, 12, 14), the restitution of the Mosaic provision for the maintenance of the Priests and Levites and the due performance of the Temple service (xiii. 10-3), the much freer promulgation of the Holy Scriptures by the public reading of them (viii. 1, ix. 3, xiii. 1), and the more general acquaintance[a] with them arising from their collection into one volume and the multiplication of copies of them by the care of Ezra the scribe and Nehemiah himself (2 Macc. ii. 13), as well as from the stimulus given to the art of reading among the Jewish people during their residence in Babylon [HILKIAH]; the mixed form of political government still surviving the ruin of their independence (v. 7, 13, x.), the reviving trade with Tyre (xiii. 16), the agricultural pursuits and wealth of the Jews (v. 11, xiii. 15), the tendency to take heathen wives, indicating, possibly, a disproportion in the number of Jewish males and females among the returned captives (x. 30, xiii. 3, 23), the danger the Jewish language was in of being corrupted[b] (xiii. 24), with other details which only the narrative of an eye-witness would have preserved to us.

Some of these details give us incidentally information of great historical importance.

(*a.*) The account of the building and dedication of the wall, iii., xii., contains the most valuable materials for settling the topography of Jerusalem to be found in Scripture. [JERUSALEM, vol. i. pp. 1026-27.] (Thrupp's *Ancient Jerusalem.*)

(*b.*) The list of returned captives who came under different leaders from the time of Zerubbabel to that of Nehemiah (amounting in all to only 42,360 adult males, and 7337 servants), which is given in ch. vii., conveys a faithful picture of the political weakness of the Jewish nation as compared with the times when Judah alone numbered 470,000 fighting men (1 Chr. xxi. 5). It justifies the description of the Palestine Jews as "the remnant that are left of the captivity" (Neh. i. 3), and as "these feeble Jews" (iv. 2), and explains the great difficulty felt by Nehemiah in peopling Jerusalem itself with a sufficient number of inhabitants to preserve it from assault (vii. 3, 4, xi. 1, 2). It is an important aid, too, in understanding the subsequent history, and in appreciating the patriotism and valour by which they attained their independence under the Maccabees.

(*c.*) The lists of leaders, priests, Levites, and of those who signed the covenant, reveal incidentally much of the national spirit as well as of the social habits of the captives, derived from older times. Thus the fact that *twelve* leaders are named in Neh. vii. 7, indicates the feeling of the captives that they represented the *twelve* tribes, a feeling further evidenced in the expression "the men of the people of Israel." The enumeration of 21 and 22, or, if Zidkijah stands for the head of the house of Zadok, 23 chief priests in x. 1-8, xii. 1-7, of whom 9 bear the names of those who were heads of courses in David's name (1 Chr. xxiv.) [JEHOIARIB], shows how, even in their wasted and reduced numbers, they struggled to preserve these ancient institutions, and also supplies the reason of the mention of these particular 22 or 23 names. But it does more than this. Taken in conjunction with the list of those who sealed (x. 1-27), it proves the existence of a social custom, the knowledge of which is of absolute necessity to keep us from gross chronological error, that, viz., of calling

[a] This lately acquired acquaintance with the Scriptures appears incidentally in the large quotations in the prayers of Nehemiah and the Levites, chaps. i., ix., xiii. 26, &c.

[b] The evidence of Hebrew having ceased to be the vernacular language of the Jews, which some find in Neh. viii. 8, is very doubtful, and dependent on the meaning of מְפֹרָשׁ.

chiefs by the name of the clan or house of which they were chiefs. One of the causes of the absurd confusion which has prevailed, as to the times of Zerubbabel and Nehemiah respectively, has been the mention, *e. g.* of Jeshua and Kadmiel (Ezr. iii. 9) as taking part with Zerubbabel in building the Temple, while the very same Levites take an active part in the reformation of Nehemiah (Neh. ix. 4, 5, x. 9, 10); and the statement that some 21 or 22 priests came up with Zerubbabel (xii. 1-7), coupled with the fact that these very same names were the names of those who sealed the covenant under Nehemiah (x. 1-8). But immediately we perceive that these were the names of the courses, and of great Levitical houses (as a comparison of 1 Chr. xxiv.; Ezr. ii. 40; Neh. vii. 43; and of Neh. x. 14-27 with vii. 8-38, proves that they were), the difficulty vanishes, and we have a useful piece of knowledge to apply to many other passages of Scripture. It would be very desirable, if possible, to ascertain accurately the rules, if any, under which this use of proper names was confined.

(*d.*) Other miscellaneous information contained in this book, embraces the hereditary crafts practised by certain priestly families, *e. g.* the apothecaries, or makers of the sacred ointments and incense (iii. 8), and the goldsmiths, whose business it probably was to repair the sacred vessels (iii. 8), and who may have been the ancestors, so to speak, of the money-changers in the Temple (John ii. 14, 15); the situation of the garden of the kings of Judah by which Zedekiah escaped (2 K. xxv. 4), as seen iii. 15; and statistics, reminding one of Domesday-Book, concerning not only the cities and families of the returned captives, but the number of their horses, mules, camels, and asses (ch. vii.): to which more might be added.

The chief, indeed the only real historical difficulty in the narrative, is to determine the time of the dedication of the wall, whether in the 32nd year of Artaxerxes or before. The expression in Neh. xiii. 1, "On that day," seems to fix the reading of the law to the same day as the dedication (see xii. 43). But if so the dedication must have been after Nehemiah's return from Babylon (mentioned xiii. 7); for Eliashib's misconduct, which occurred "before" the reading of the law, happened in Nehemiah's absence. But then, if the wall only took 52 days to complete (Neh. vi. 15), and was begun immediately Nehemiah entered upon his government, how came the dedication to be deferred till 12 years afterwards? The answer to this probably is that, in the first place, the 52 days are not to be reckoned from the commencement of the building, seeing that it is incredible that it should be completed in so short a time by so feeble a community and with such frequent hindrances and interruptions; seeing, too, that the narrative itself indicates a much longer time. Such passages as Nehemiah iv. 7, 8, 12, v., and v. 16 in particular, vi. 4, 5, coupled with the indications of temporary cessation from the work which appear at iv. 6, 10, 15, seem quite irreconcileable with the notion of less than two months for the whole. The 52 days, therefore, if the text is sound, may be reckoned from the resumption of the work after iv. 15, and a time exceeding two years may have elapsed from the commencement of the building. But even then it would not be ready for dedication. There were the gates to be hung, perhaps much rubbish to be removed, and the ruined houses in the immediate vicinity of the walls to be repaired. Then, too, as we shall see below, there were repairs to be done to the Temple, and it is likely that the dedication of the walls would not take place till those repairs were completed. Still, even these causes would not be adequate to account for a delay of 12 years. Josephus, who is seldom in harmony with the book of Nehemiah, though he justifies our suspicion that a longer time must have elapsed, by assuming two years and four months o the rebuilding, and placing the completion in the 28th year of the king's reign whom he calls Xerxes (thus interposing an interval of 8 years between Nehemiah's arrival at Jerusalem as governor and the completion), yet gives us no real help. He does not attempt to account for the length of time, he makes no allusion to the dedication, except as far as his statement that the wall was completed in the ninth month, Chisleu (instead of Elul, the sixth, as Neh. vi. 15), may seem to point to the dedication (1 Macc. iv. 59), and takes not the slightest notice of Nehemiah's return to the king of Persia. We are left, therefore, to inquire for ourselves whether the book itself suggests any further causes of delay. One cause immediately presents itself, viz., that Nehemiah's leave of absence from the Persian court, mentioned ii. 6, may have drawn to a close shortly after the completion of the wall, and before the other above-named works were complete. And this is rendered yet more probable by the circumstance, incidentally brought to light, that, in the 32nd year of Artaxerxes, we know he was with the king (xiii. 6).

Other circumstances, too, may have concurred to make it imperative for him to return to Persia without delay. The last words of ch. vi. point to some new effort of Tobiah to interrupt his work, and the expression used seems to indicate that it was the threat of being considered as a rebel by the king. If he could make it appear that Artaxerxes was suspicious of his fidelity, then Nehemiah might feel it matter of necessity to go to the Persian court to clear himself of the charge. And this view both receives a remarkable confirmation from, and throws quite a new light upon, the obscure passage in Ezr. iv. 7-23. We have there a detailed account of the opposition made by the Samaritan nations to the building of the WALLS of Jerusalem, in the reign of ARTAXERXES, and a copy of the letter they wrote to the king, accusing the Jews of an intention to rebel as soon as the wall should be finished; by which means they obtained a decree stopping the building till the king's further orders should be received. Now, if we compare Neh. vi. 6, 7, where mention is made of the report "among the heathen" as to the intended rebellion of Nehemiah, with the letter of the heathen nations mentioned in Ezr. iv., and also recollect that the only time when, as far as we know, the WALLS of Jerusalem were attempted to be rebuilt, was when Nehemiah was governor, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that Ezra iv. 7-23 relates to the time of Nehemiah's government, and explains the otherwise unaccountable circumstance that 12 years elapsed before the dedication of the walls was completed. Nehemiah may have started on his journey on receiving the letters from Persia (if such they were) sent him by Tobiah, leaving his lieutenants to carry on the works, and after his departure Rehum and Shimshai and their companions may have come up to Jerusalem with

the king's decree and obliged them to desist. It should seem, however, that at Nehemiah's arrival in Persia, he was able to satisfy the king of his perfect integrity, and that he was permitted to return to his government in Judaea. His leave of absence may again have been of limited duration, and the business of the census, of repeopling Jerusalem, setting up the city gates, rebuilding the ruined houses, and repairing the Temple, may have occupied his whole time till his second return to the king. During this second absence another evil arose — the gentilizing party recovered strength, and the intrigues with Tobiah (vi. 17), which had already begun before his first departure, were more actively carried on, and led so far that Eliashib the high-priest actually assigned one of the store-chambers in the Temple to Tobiah's use. This we are not told of till xiii. 4-7, when Nehemiah relates the steps he took on his return. But this very circumstance suggests that Nehemiah does not relate the events which happened in his absence, and would account for his silence in regard to Rehum and Shimshai. We may thus, then, account for 10 or 11 years having elapsed before the dedication of the walls took place. In fact it did not take place till the last year of his government; and this leads to the right interpretation of ch. xiii. 6 and brings it into perfect harmony with v. 14, a passage which obviously imports that Nehemiah's government of Judaea lasted only 12 years, viz., from the 20th to the 32nd of Artaxerxes. For the literal and grammatical rendering of xiii. 6 is, "And in all this *time* was not I at Jerusalem: BUT in the two-and-thirtieth year of Artaxerxes king of Babylon, came I unto the king, and after certain days obtained I leave of the king, and I came to Jerusalem" — the force of וְ after a negative being *but* rather than *for* (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 680); the meaning of the passage being, therefore, not that he left Jerusalem to go to Persia in the 32nd of Artaxerxes, but, on the contrary, that in that year he returned from Persia to Jerusalem. The dedication of the walls and the other reforms named in ch. xiii. were the closing acts of his administration.

It has been already mentioned that Josephus does not follow the authority of the Book of Nehemiah. He detaches Nehem. viii. from its context, and appends the narratives contained in it to the times of Ezra. He makes Ezra die before Nehemiah came to Jerusalem as Governor, and consequently ignores any part taken by him in conjunction with Nehemiah. He makes no mention either whatever of Sanballat in the events of Nehemiah's government, but places him in the time of Jaddua and Alexander the Great. He also makes the daughter of Sanballat marry a son, not of Joiada, as Neh. xiii. 28, but of Jonathan, viz. Manasseh the brother of the High Priest Jaddua, thus entirely shifting the age of Sanballat from the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to that of Darius Codomanus, and Alexander the Great. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that as Artaxerxes Longimanus died B.C. 424, and Alexander the Great was not master of Syria and Palestine till B.C. 332, all attempts to reconcile Josephus with Nehemiah must be lost labour. It is equally clear that on every ground the authority of Josephus must yield to that of Nehemiah. The only question therefore is what was the cause of Josephus's variations. Now, as regards the appending the history in Neh. viii. to the times of Ezra, we know that he was guided by the authority of the Apocryphal 1 Esdr. as he had been in the whole story of Zerubbabel and Darius. From the florid additions to his narrative of Nehemiah's first application to Artaxerxes, as well as from the passage below referred to in 2 Macc. i. 23, we may be sure that there were apocryphal versions of the story of Nehemiah.[c] The account of Jaddua's interview with Alexander the Great savours strongly of the same origin. There can be little doubt, therefore, that in all the points in which Josephus differs from Nehemiah, he followed apocryphal Jewish writings, some of which have since perished. The causes which led to this were various. One doubtless was the mere desire for matter with which to fill up his pages where the narrative of the canonical Scriptures is meagre. In making Nehemiah succeed to the government after Ezra's death, he was probably influenced partly by the wish to give an orderly, dignified appearance to the succession of Jewish governors, approximating as nearly as possible to the old monarchy, and partly by the desire to spin out his matter into a *continuous* history. Then the difficulties of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which the compiler of 1 Esdr. had tried to get over by his arrangement of the order of events, coupled with Josephus's gross ignorance of the real order of the Persian Kings, and his utter misconception as to what monarchs are spoken of in the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, had also a large influence. The writer, however, who makes Darius Codomanus succeed Artaxerxes Longimanus, and confounds this last-named king with Artaxerxes Mnemon; who also thinks that Xerxes reigned above 32 years, and who falsifies his best authority, altering the names, as in the case of the substitution of Xerxes for Artaxerxes throughout the book of Nehemiah, and suppressing the facts, as in the case of the omission of all mention of Ezra, Tobias, and Sanballat during the government of Nehemiah, is not entitled to much deference on our parts. What has been said shows clearly how little Josephus's unsupported authority is worth; and how entirely the authenticity and credibility of Nehemiah remains unshaken by his blunders and confusions, and that there is no occasion to resort to the improbable hypothesis of two Sanballats, or to attribute to Nehemiah a patriarchal longevity, in order to bring his narrative into harmony with that of the Jewish historian.

2. As regards the authorship of the book, it is admitted by all critics that it is, as to its main parts, the genuine work of Nehemiah. But it is no less certain that interpolations and additions have been made in it since his time;[d] and there is considerable diversity of opinion as to what are the portions which have been so added. From i. 1 to vii. 6, no doubt or difficulty occurs. The writer speaks throughout in the first person singular, and in his character of governor, פֶּחָה. Again, from xii. 31, to the end of the book (except xii. 44-47), the narrative is continuous, and the use of the first person singular constant (xii. 30, 38, 40, xiii. 6, 7, &c.). It is therefore only in the intermediate chapters, vii. 6 to xii. 26, and xii. 44-47), that we

[c] It is worth remarking, that the apocryphal book quoted in 2 Macc. i. 23 seems to have made Nehemiah contemporary with Jonathan, or Johanan, the high-priest.

[d] K. F. Keil, in his *Einleitung*, endeavours indeed to vindicate Nehemiah's authorship for the whole book, but without success.

have to enquire into the question of authorship, and this we will do by sections:—

(*a.*) The first section begins at Neh. vii. 6, and ends in the first half of viii. 1, at the words "one man." It has already been asserted [EZRA, BOOK OF, vol. i. p. 607*a*] that this section is identical with the paragraph beginning Ezr. ii. 1, and ending iii. 1; and it was there also asserted that the paragraph originally belonged to the book of Nehemiah, and was afterwards inserted in the place it occupies in Ezra.* Both these assertions must now be made good: and first as to the identity of the two passages. They *are* actually identical word for word, and letter for letter, except in two points. One that the numbers repeatedly vary. The other that there is a difference in the account of the offerings made by the governor, the nobles, and the people. But it can be proved that these are merely variations (whether accidental or designed) of the same text. In the first place the two passages are one and the same. The heading, the contents, the narrative about the sons of Barzillai, the fact of the offerings, the dwelling in their cities, the coming of the seventh month, the gathering of all the people to Jerusalem as one man, are in words and in sense the very self-same passage. The idea that the very same words, extending to 70 verses, describe different events, is simply absurd and irrational. The numbers therefore must originally have been the same in both books. But next, when we examine the varying numbers, we see the following particular proofs that the variations are corruptions of the original text. Though the items vary, the sum total, 42,360, is the same (Ezr. ii. 64; Neh. vii. 66.) In like manner the totals of the servants, the singing men and women, the horses, mules, and asses are all the same, except that Ezra has two hundred, instead of two hundred and forty-five, singing men and women. The numbers of the Priests and of the Levites are the same in both, except that the singers, the sons of Asaph, are 128 in Ezra against 148 in Nehemiah, and the porters 139 against 138. Then in each particular case when the numbers differ, we see plainly how the difference might arise. In the statement of the number of the sons of Arah (the first case in which the lists differ), Ezr. ii. 5, we read, שִׁבְעַ מֵאוֹת חֲמִשָּׁה וְשִׁבְעִים, "seven hundred five and seventy," whereas in Neh. vii. 10, we read, שֵׁשׁ מֵאוֹת חֲמִשִּׁים וּשְׁנַיִם. But the order of the numerals in Ezr. ii. 5, where the units precede the tens, is the only case in which this order is found. Obviously, therefore, we ought to read חֲמִשִּׁים, instead of חֲמִשָּׁה, *fifty* instead of *five*. No less obviously שִׁבְעִים may be a corruption of the almost identical שְׁנַיִם, and probably caused the preceding change of חֲמִשָּׁה into חֲמִשִּׁים.† But the tens and units being identical, it is evident that the variation in the hundreds is an error, arising from both *six* and *seven* beginning with the same letter שׁ. The very same interchange of six and seven takes place in the number of Adonikam, and Bigvai, only in the units (Neh. vii. 18, 19; Ezr. ii. 13, 14); in Pahath-Moab, the variation from 2812, Ezr. ii. 6, to 2818 Neh. vii. 11; in Zattu, from 945 Ezr. ii. 8, to 845 Neh. vii. 13; in Binnui, from 642 to 648; in Bebai, from 623 to 628; in Hashum, from 223 to 328; in Senaah, from 3630 to 3930; the same cause has operated, viz. that in the numbers two and eight, three and eight, nine and six, the same initial שׁ is found; and the resemblance in these numbers may probably have been greatly increased by abbreviations. In Azgad (1222 and 2322) as in Senaah, the mere circumstance of the tens and units being the same in both passages, while the thousands differ by the mere addition or omission of a final ם, is sufficient proof that the variation is a clerical one only. In Adin, Neh. vii. 20, *six* for *four*, in the hundreds, is probably caused by the *six hundred* of the just preceding Adonikans. In the four remaining cases the variations are equally easy of explanation, and the result is to leave not the slightest doubt that the enumeration was identical in the first instance in both passages. It may, however, be added as completing the proof that these variations do not arise from Ezra giving the census in Zerubbabel's time, and Nehemiah that in his own time (as Ceillier, Prideaux, and other learned men have thought), that in the cases of Parosh, Pahath-Moab, Elam, Shephatiah, Bebai, Azgad, and Adonikam, of which we are told in Ezr. viii. 3-14, that considerable numbers came up to Judæa in the reign of Artaxerxes—long subsequent therefore to the time of Zerubbabel—the numbers are either *exactly the same* in Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii., or exhibit such variations as have no relation whatever to the numbers of those families respectively who were added to the Jewish residents in Palestine under Artaxerxes.

To turn next to the offerings. The Book of Ezra (ii. 68, 69) merely gives the sum total, as follows: 61,000 ‡ drachms of gold, 5,000 pounds of silver, and 100 priests' garments. The Book of Nehemiah gives no sum total, but gives the following items (vii. 72):

The Tirshatha gave 1000 ‡ drachms of gold, 50 basons, 530 priests' garments.

The chief of the fathers gave 20,000 drachms of gold, and 2,200 pounds of silver.

The rest of the people gave 20,000 drachms of gold, 2000 pounds of silver, and 67 priests' garments.

Here then we learn that these offerings were made in three shares, by three distinct parties: the governor, the chief fathers, the people. The sum total of drachms of gold we learn from Ezra, was 61,000. The shares, we learn from Nehemiah, were 20,000 in two out of the three donors, but 1000 in the case of the third and chief donor! Is it not quite evident that in the case of Nehemiah the 20 has slipped out of the text (as in 1 Esdr. v. 45, 60,000 has), and that his real contribution was 21,000? his generosity prompting him to give in excess of his fair third. Next, as regards the pounds of silver. The sum total was, according to Ezra, 5000. The shares were, according to Nehemiah, 2200 pounds from the chiefs, and 2000 from the people. But the LXX. give 2300 for the chiefs, and 2200 for the people, making 4500 in all. and so leaving a deficiency of 500 pounds as

* So also Grotius (notes on Ezr. ii. Neh. vii.), with his usual clear sense and sound judgment. See especially his note on Ezr. ii. 1. where he says that many Greek copies of Ezra omit ch. ...

† Or if שִׁבְעַ is the right reading in Ezr. ii. 5 (instead of שְׁנַיִם), then the שְׁנַיִם of Neh. vii. 10 is easily accounted for by the fact that the two preceding numbers of Parosh and Shephatiah both end with the same number two.

‡ Observe the odd thousand in both cases.

compared with Ezra's total of 5000, and ascribing no silver offering to the Tirshatha. As regards the priests' garments. The sum total as given in both the Hebrew and Greek text of Ezra, and in 1 Esdr. is 100. The items as given in Neh. vii. 70, are 530 + 67 = 597. But the LXX. give 30 + 67 = 97, and that this is nearly correct is apparent from the numbers themselves. For the total being 100, 33 is the nearest whole number to $\frac{100}{3}$, and 67 is the nearest whole number to $\frac{2}{3} \times 100$. So that we cannot doubt that the Tirshatha gave 33 priests' garments, and the rest of the people gave 67, probably in two gifts of 34 and 33, making in all 100. But how came the 500 to be added on to the Tirshatha's tale of garments? Clearly it is a fragment of the missing 500 pounds of silver, which, with the 50 bowls, made up the Tirshatha's donation of silver. So that Neh. vii. 70 ought to be read thus, "The Tirshatha gave to the treasure 21,000 drachms of gold, 50 basons, 500 pounds of silver, and 33 priests' garments." The offerings then, as well as the numbers in the lists, were once identical in both books, and we learn from Ezr. ii. 68, what the book of Nehemiah does not expressly tell us (though the *priests' garments* strongly indicate it), what was the purpose of this liberal contribution, viz. "to set up the House of God in his place" (לְהַעֲמִידוֹ עַל מְכוֹנוֹ). From this phrase occurring in Ezr. ii. just before the account of the building of the Temple by Zerubbabel, it has usually been understood as referring to the rebuilding. But it really means no such thing. The phrase properly implies restoration and preservation, as may be seen in the exactly similar case of the restoration of the Temple by Jehoiada, 2 Chr. xxiv. 13, after the injuries and neglect under Athaliah, where we read, וַיְעַמִּידוּ אֶת־בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים עַל מַתְכֻנְתּוֹ, "they set the House of God in its state" (comp. also 1. K. xv. 4). The fact then was that, when all the rulers and nobles and people were gathered together at Jerusalem to be registered in the seventh month, advantage was taken of the opportunity to collect their contributions to restore the Temple also (2 Macc. i. 18), which had naturally partaken of the general misery and affliction of Jerusalem, but which it would not have been wise to restore till the rebuilding of the wall placed the city in a state of safety. At the same time, and in the same spirit, they formed the resolutions recorded in Neh. x. 32-39, to keep up the Temple ritual.

It already follows, from what has been said, that the section under consideration is in its right place in the book of Nehemiah, and was inserted subsequently in the book of Ezra out of its chronological order. But one or two additional proofs of this must be mentioned. The most convincing and palpable of these is perhaps the mention of the Tirshatha in Ezr. ii. 63, Neh. vii. 65. That the Tirshatha, here and at Neh. vii. 70, means Nehemiah, we are expressly told Neh. viii. 9, x. 1,[h] and therefore it is perfectly certain that what is related Ezr. ii. 62, Neh. vii. 64, happened in Nehemiah's time, and not in Zerubbabel's. Consequently the sibling of the census, which gave rise to that incident, belongs to the same time. In other words, the section we are considering is in its original and right place in the book of Nehemiah, and was transferred from thence to the book of Ezra, where it stands out of its chronological order. And this is still further evident from the circumstance that the closing portion of this section is an abbreviation of the same portion as it stands in Nehemiah, proving that the passage existed in Nehemiah before it was inserted in Ezra. Another proof is the mention of Ezra as taking part in that assembly of the people at Jerusalem which is described in Ezr. iii. 1, Neh. viii. 1; for Ezra did not come to Jerusalem till the reign of Artaxerxes (Ezr. vii.). Another is the mention of Nehemiah as one of the leaders under whom the captives enumerated in the census came up, Ezr. ii. 2, Neh. vii. 7: in both which passages the juxtaposition of Nehemiah with Seraiah, when compared with Neh. x. 1, 2, greatly strengthens the conclusion that Nehemiah the Tirshatha is meant. Then again, that Nehemiah should summon all the families of Israel to Jerusalem to take their census, and that, having done so at great cost of time and trouble, he, or whoever was employed by him, should merely transcribe an old census taken nearly 100 years before, instead of recording the result of his own labours, is so improbable that nothing but the plainest necessity could make one believe it. The only difficulty in the way is that the words in Neh. vii. 5, 6, seem to describe the register which follows as "the register of the genealogy of them which came up at the first," and that the expression "and found written therein" requires that the words which follow should be a quotation from that register (comp. vi. 6). To this difficulty (and it is a difficulty at first sight) it is a sufficient answer to say that the words quoted are only those (in Neh. vii. 6) which contain the title of the register found by Nehemiah. His own new register begins with the words at ver. 7: הַבָּאִים, &c., "The men who came with Zerubbabel," &c., which form the descriptive title of the following catalogue.[i] Nehemiah, or those employed by him to take the new census, doubtless made use of the old register (sanctioned as it had been by Haggai and Zechariah) as an authority by which to decide the genealogies of the present generation. And hence it was that when the sons of Barzillai claimed to be entered into the register of priestly families, but could not produce the entry of their house in that old register, Nehemiah refused to admit them to the priestly office (39-42), but made a note of their claim, that it might be decided whenever a competent authority should arise. From all which it is abundantly clear that the section under consideration belongs properly to the book of Nehemiah. It does not follow, however, that it was written in its present form by Nehemiah himself. Indeed the sudden change to the third person, in speaking of the Tirshatha, in ver. 65, 70 (a change which continues regularly till the section beginning xii. 31), is a strong indication of a change in the writer, as is also the use of the term Tirshatha instead of Pechah, which last is the official designation by which Nehemiah speaks of himself and other governors (v. 14, 18, ii. 7, 9, iii. 7). It seems probable, therefore, that ch. vii., from ver. 7, contains the *substance* of what was found in this part of Nehemiah's narrative, but abridged, and in the form of an abstract, which may account for the difficulty of separating Nehemiah's register from

[h] It is worth noticing that Nehemiah's name is mentioned as the Tirshatha in 1 Esdr. v. 40.

[i] Were it not for the mention of Nehemiah and Mordecai in ver. 7, one might have thought Nehemiah's register began with the words, "The number of the men," in ver. 7.

Zerubbabel's, and also for the very abrupt mention of the gifts of the Tirshatha and the people at the end of the chapter. This abstract formed a transition from Nehemiah's narrative in the preceding chapters to the entirely new matter inserted in the following sections.

(*b.*) The next section commences Neh. viii., latter part of ver. 1, and ends Neh. xi. 3. Now throughout this section several things are observable. (1.) Nehemiah does not once speak in the first person (viii. 9, x. 1). (2.) Nehemiah is no longer the principal actor in what is done, but almost disappears from the scene, instead of being, as in the first six chapters, the centre of the whole action. (3.) Ezra for the first time is introduced, and throughout the whole section the most prominent place is assigned either to him personally, or to strictly ecclesiastical affairs. (4.) The prayer in ch. ix. is very different in its construction from Nehemiah's prayer in ch. i., and in its frequent references to the various books of the O. T. singularly suited to the character and acquirements of Ezra, "the ready scribe in the law of Moses." (5.) The section was written by an eye-witness and actor in the events described. This appears by the minute details, *e. g.* viii. 4, 5, 6, &c., and the use of the first person plural (x. 30-39). (6.) There is a strong resemblance to the style and manner of Ezra's narrative, and also an identity in the use of particular phrases (comp. Ezr. iv. 18, Neh. viii. 8; Ezr. vi. 22, Neh. viii. 17). This resemblance is admitted by critics of the most opposite opinions (see Keil's *Einleitung*, p. 461). Hence, as Ezra's manner is to speak of himself in the third as well as in the first person, there is great probability in the opinion advocated by Hävernick and Kleinert,[k] that this section is the work of Ezra. The fact too that 1 Esdr. ix. 38 sqq. annexes Neh. viii. 1-13 to Ezr. x., in which it is followed by Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 5, §5), is perhaps an indication that it was known to be the work of Ezra. It is not necessary to suppose that Ezra himself inserted this or any other part of the present book of Nehemiah in the midst of the Tirshatha's history. But if there was extant an account of these transactions by Ezra, it may have been thus incorporated with Nehemiah's history by the last editor of Scripture. Nor is it impossible that the union of Ezra and Nehemiah as one book in the ancient Hebrew arrangement (as Jerome testifies), under the title of the Book of Ezra, may have had its origin in this circumstance.

(*c.*) The third section consists of ch. xi. 3-36. It contains a list of the families of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi (priests and Levites), who took up their abode at Jerusalem, in accordance with the resolution of the volunteers, and the decision of the lot, mentioned in xi. 1, 2. This list forms a kind of supplement to that in vii. 8-60, as appears by the allusion in xi. 3 to that previous document. For ver. 3 distinguishes the following list of the "dwellers at Jerusalem" from the foregoing one of "Israel, priests, Levites, Nethinim, and children of Solomon's servants," who dwelt in the cities of Israel, as set forth in ch. vii. This list is an extract from the official roll preserved in the national archives, only somewhat abbreviated, as appears by a comparison with 1 Chr. ix., where an abstract of the same roll is also preserved in a fuller form, and in the latter part especially with considerable variations and additions: it seems also to be quite out of its place in Chronicles, and its insertion there probably caused the repetition of 1 Chr. viii. 29-40 which is found in duplicate ix. 35-44: in the latter place wholly unconnected with ix. 1-34, but connected with what follows (ch. x. sqq.) as well as with what precedes ch. ix. Whence it appears clearly that 1 Chr. ix. 2-34 is a later insertion made after Nehemiah's census,[m] but proving by its very incoherence that the book of Chronicles existed previous to its insertion. But this by the way. The nature of the information in this section, and the parallel passage in 1 Chr., would rather indicate a Levitical hand. It might or might not have been the same which inserted the preceding section. If written later, it is perhaps the work of the same person who inserted xii. 1-30, 44-47. In conjunction with 1 Chr. ix. it gives us minute and interesting information concerning the families residing at Jerusalem,[n] and their genealogies, and especially concerning the provision for the Temple-service. The grant made by Artaxerxes (ver. 23) for the maintenance of the singers is exactly parallel to that made by Darius as set forth in Ezr. vi. 8, 9, 10. The statement in ver. 24 concerning Pethahiah the Zarhite, as "at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people," is somewhat obscure, unless perchance it alludes to the time of Nehemiah's absence in Babylon, when Pethahiah may have been a kind of deputy-governor *ad interim*.

(*d.*) From xii. 1 to 26 is clearly and certainly an abstract from the official lists made and inserted here long after Nehemiah's time, and after the destruction of the Persian dynasty by Alexander the Great, as is plainly indicated by the expression Darius the Persian, as well as by the mention of Jaddua. The allusion to Jeshua, and to Nehemiah and Ezra, in ver. 26, is also such as would be made long posterior to their lifetime, and contains a remarkable reference to the two censuses taken and written down, the one in Jeshua and Zerubbabel's time, the other in the time of Nehemiah; for it is evidently from these two censuses, the existence of which is borne witness to in Neh. vii. 5, that the writer of xii. 26 drew his information concerning the priestly families at those two epochs (compare also xii. 47).

The juxtaposition of the list of priests in Zerubbabel's time, with that of those who sealed the covenant in Nehemiah's time, as given below, both illustrates the use of proper names above referred to, and also the clerical fluctuations to which proper names are subject.

Neh. x. 1-8.	Neh. xii. 1-7.
Seraiah	Seraiah
Azariah	Ezra
Jeremiah	Jeremiah
Pashur	—
Amariah	Amariah
Malchijah	Malluch
Hattush	Hattush
Shebaniah	Shecaniah
Malluch	*Malluch* (above)
Harim	Rehum
Meremoth	Meremoth
Obadiah	Iddo
Daniel	—

[k] Kleinert ascribes ch. viii. to an assistant, ix. and x. to Ezra himself. See De Wette, Parker's transl. ii. 332.

[m] Comp. 1 Chr. ix. 2 with Neh. vii. 73.

[n] That these families were objects of especial interest appears from Neh. xi. 2.

Neh. x. 1-8.			Neh. xii. 1-7.
Ginnethon	..	..	Ginnetho
Baruch ..	..	..	——
Meshullam	..	..	——
Abijah ..	..	..	Abijah
Mijamin ..	..	..	Miamin
Maaziah ..	..	..	Maadiah
Bilgai ..	..	..	Bilgah
Shemaiah	..	..	Shemaiah
			Joiarib
			Jedaiah
			Sallu
			Amok
			Hilkiah
			Jedaiah.

(1.) xii. 44-47 is an explanatory interpolation, made in later times, probably by the last reviser of the book, whoever he was. That it is so is evident not only from the sudden change from the first person to the third, and the dropping of the personal narrative (though the matter is one in which Nehemiah necessarily took the lead), but from the fact that it describes the identical transaction described in xiii. 10-13 by Nehemiah himself, where he speaks as we should expect him to speak: "And I made treasurers over the treasuries," &c. The language too of ver. 47 is manifestly that of one looking back upon the times of Zerubbabel and those of Nehemiah as alike past. In like manner xii. 27-30 is the account by the same annotator of what Nehemiah himself relates, xiii. 10-12.

Though, however, it is not difficult thus to point out those passages of the book which were not part of Nehemiah's own work, it is not easy, by cutting them out, to restore that work to its integrity. For Neh. xii. 31 does not fit on well to any part of ch. vii., or, in other words, the latter portion of Nehemiah's work does not join on to the former. Had the former part been merely a kind of diary entered day by day, one might have supposed that it was abruptly interrupted and as abruptly resumed. But as Neh. v. 14 distinctly shows that the whole history was either written or revised by the author after he had been governor twelve years, such a supposition cannot stand. It should seem, therefore, that we have only the first and last parts of Nehemiah's work, and that for some reason the intermediate portion has been displaced to make room for the narrative and documents from Neh. vii. 7 to xii. 27.

And we are greatly confirmed in this supposition by observing that in the very chapter where we first notice this abrupt change of person, we have another evidence that we have not the whole of what Nehemiah wrote. For at the close of chap. vii. we have an account of the offerings made by the governor, the chiefs, and the people; but we are not even told for what purpose these offerings were made. Only we are led to guess that it must have been for the Temple, as the parallel passage in Ezr. ii. tells us it was, by the mention of the priests' garments which formed a part of the offerings. Obviously, therefore, the original work must have contained an account of some transactions connected with repairing or beautifying the Temple, which led to these contributions being made. Now, it so happens that there is a passage in 2 Macc. ii. 13, in which "the writings and commentaries of Nehemiah" are referred to in a way which shows that they contained matter relative to the sacred fire having consumed the sacrifices offered by Nehemiah on some solemn occasion when he repaired and dedicated the Temple, which is not found in the present book of Nehemiah; and if any dependance can be placed upon the account there given, and in i. 18-36, we seem to have exactly the two facts that we want to justify our hypothesis. The one, that Nehemiah's narrative at this part contained some things which were not suited to form part of the Bible;[o] the other, that it formerly contained some account which would be the natural occasion for mentioning the offerings which come in so abruptly at present. If this were so, and the exceptional matter was consequently omitted, and an abridged notice of the offerings retained, we should have exactly the appearance which we actually have in chap. vii.

Nor is such an explanation less suited to connect the latter portion of Nehemiah's narrative with the former. Chap. xii. 31, goes on to describe the dedication of the wall and its ceremonial. How naturally this would be the sequel of that dedication of the restored Temple spoken of by the author of 2 Macc. it is needless to observe. So that if we suppose the missing portions of Nehemiah's history which described the dedication service of the Temple to have followed his description of the census in ch. vii., and to have been followed by the account of the offerings, and then to have been succeeded by the dedication of the wall, we have a perfectly natural and consistent narrative. In erasing what was irrelevant, and inserting the intervening matter, of course no pains were taken, because no desire existed, to disguise the operation, or to make the joints smooth; the object being simply to preserve an authentic record without reference to authorship or literary perfection.

Another circumstance which lends much probability to the statement in 2 Macc., is that the writer closely connects what Nehemiah did with what Solomon had done before him, in this, one may guess, following Nehemiah's narrative. But in the extant portion of our book, Neh. i. 6, we have a distinct allusion to Solomon's prayer (1 K. viii. 28, 29), as also in Neh. xiii. 26, we have to another part of Solomon's life. So that on the whole the passage in 2 Macc. lends considerable support to the theory that the middle portion of Nehemiah's work was cut out, and that there was substituted for it partly an abridged abstract, and partly Ezra's narrative and other appended documents.[p]

We may then affirm with tolerable certainty that all the middle part of the Book of Nehemiah has been supplied by other hands, and that the first six chapters and part of the seventh, and the last chapter and half, were alone written by him, the intermediate portion being inserted by those who had authority to do so, in order to complete the history of the transactions of those times. The difference of authorship being marked especially by this, that, in the first and last portions, Nehemiah *invariably* speaks in the first person singular (except in the inserted verses xii. 44-47), but in the middle portion *never*. It is in this middle portion alone that

[o] It is not necessary to believe that Nehemiah wrote all that is attributed to him in 2 Macc. It is very probable that there was an apocryphal version of his book, with additions and embellishments. Still even the original work may have contained matter either not strictly authentic, or for some other reason not suited to have a place in the canon.

[p] Ceillier also supposes that part of Nehemiah's work may be now lost.

matter unsuited to Nehemiah's times (as *e.g.* Neh. xii. 11, 22), is found, that obscurity of connection exists, and that the variety of style (as almost all critics admit) suggests a different authorship. But when it is remembered that the book of Nehemiah is in fact a continuation of the Chronicles,[q] being reckoned by the Hebrews, as Jerome testifies, as one with Ezra, which was confessedly so, and that, as we have seen under EZRA, CHRONICLES, and KINGS, the customary method of composing the national Chronicles was to make use of contemporary writings, and work them up according to the requirements of the case, it will cease to surprise us in the least that Nehemiah's diary should have been so used: nor will the admixture of other contemporary documents with it, or the addition of any reflections by the latest editor of it, in any way detract from its authenticity or authority.

As regards the time when the Book of Nehemiah was put into its present form, we have only the following data to guide us. The latest high-priest mentioned, Jaddua, was doubtless still alive when his name was added. The descriptive addition to the name of Darius (xii. 22) "the Persian," indicates that the Persian rule had ceased, and the Greek rule had begun. Jaddua's name, therefore, and the clause at the end of ver. 22, were inserted early in the reign of Alexander the Great. But it appears that the registers of the Levites, entered into the Chronicles, did not come down lower than the time of Johanan (ver. 23); and it even seems from the distribution of the conjunction "and" in ver. 21, that the name of Jaddua was not included when the sentence was first written, but stopped at *Johanan*, and that Jaddua and the clause about the priests were added later. So that the close of the Persian dominion, and the beginning of the Greek, is the time clearly indicated when the latest additions were made. But whether this addition was anything more than the insertion of the documents contained from ch. xi. 3 to xii. 26, or even much less; or whether at the same time, or at an earlier one, the great alteration was made of substituting the abridgment in ch. vii. in the contemporary narratives in ch. viii. ix. x., for what Nehemiah had written, there seems to be no means of deciding.[r] Nor is the decision of much consequence, except that it would be interesting to know exactly when the volume of Holy Scripture definitively assumed its present shape, and who were the persons who put the finishing hand to it.

3. In respect to language and style, this book is very similar to the Chronicles and Ezra. Nehemiah has, it is true, quite his own manner, and, as De Wette has observed, certain phrases and modes of expression peculiar to himself. He has also some few words and forms not found elsewhere in Scripture; but the general Hebrew style is exactly that of the books purporting to be of the same age. Some words, as מְצִלְתַּיִם, "cymbals," occur in Chron., Ezr., and Neh., but nowhere else. הִתְנַדֵּב occurs frequently in the same three books, but only twice (in Judg. v.) besides. אִגֶּרֶת or אִגַּרְתָּא, "a letter," is common only to Neh., Esth., Ezr., and Chron. בִּירָה, and its Chaldee equivalent, בִּירָא, whether spoken of the palace at Susa, or of the Temple at Jerusalem, are common only to Neh., Ezr., Esth., Dan., and Chron. שֵׁגָל to Neh., and Dan., and Ps. xlv. The phrase אֱלָהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם, and its Chaldee equivalent, "the God of Heavens," are common to Ezr., Neh., and Dan. מְפֹרָשׁ, "distinctly," is common to Ezr. and Neh. Such words as סָגָן, מְדִינָה, פַּרְדֵּס, and such Aramaisms as the use of חָבַל, i. 7, יִמָּלֵךְ, v. 7, מִדָּה, v. 4, &c., are also evidences of the age when Nehemiah wrote. As examples of peculiar words or meanings, used in this book alone, the following may be mentioned:—שָׂבַר בְּ, "to inspect," ii. 13, 15; מֵאָה, in the sense of "interest," v. 11; גּוּף (in Hiph.), "to shut," vii. 3; מוֹעַל, "a lifting up," viii. 6; הֻיְּדוֹת, "praises," or "choirs," xii. 8; תַּהֲלוּכָה, "a procession," xii. 32; מִקְרָא in sense of "reading," viii. 8; אָצְרָה, for אַאֲצִירָה, xiii. 3, where both form and sense are alike unusual.

The Aramean form, יְהוֹדֶה, Hiph. of יָדָה for יוֹדֶה, is very rare, only five* other analogous examples occurring in the Heb. Scriptures, though it is very common in Biblical Chaldee.

The phrase אִישׁ שִׁלְחוֹ הַמַּיִם, iv. 17 (which is omitted by the LXX.) is incapable of explanation. One would have expected, instead of הַמַּיִם, בְּיָדוֹ, as in 2 Chr. xxiii. 10.

הַתִּרְשָׁתָא, "the Tirshatha," which only occurs in Ezr. ii. 63, Neh. vii. 65, 70, viii. 9, x. 1, is of uncertain etymology and meaning. It is a term applied only to Nehemiah, and seems to be more likely to mean "cupbearer" than "governor," though the latter interpretation is adopted by Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.).

The text of Nehemiah is generally pure and free from corruption, except in the proper names, in which there is considerable fluctuation in the orthography, both as compared with other parts of the same book and with the same names in other parts of Scripture; and also in numerals. Of the latter we have seen several examples in the parallel passages Ezr. ii. and Neh. vii.; and the same lists will give variations in names of men. So will xii. 1-7, compared with xii. 12, and with x. 1-8.

A comparison of Neh. xi. 3, &c., with 1 Chr. ix. 2, &c., exhibits the following fluctuations:— Neh. xi. 4, *Athaiah* of the children of Perez =1 Chr. ix. 4, *Uthai* of the children of Perez; v. 5, *Maaseiah* the son of Shiloni = v. 5, of the Shilonites, *Asaiah*; v. 9, *Judah* the son of Senuah (Heb. Hasenuah) = v. 7, *Hodaviah* the son of Hasenuah; v. 10, Jedaiah the son of Joiarib, Jachin = v. 10, Jedaiah, Jehoiarib, Jachin; v. 13, *Amashai* son of Azareel = v. 12, *Maasai* son of Jahzerah; v. 17, Micah the son of *Zabdi* = v. 15, Micah the son of *Zichri* (comp. Neh. xii. 35). To which many others might be added.

Many various readings are also indicated by the LXX. version. For example, at ii. 13, for הַתַּנִּים

q So Ewald also.

r If we knew the real history of the title Tirshatha, it might assist us in determining the date of the passage where it appears.

* Ps. xlv. 18, cxvi. 6; 1 Sam. xvii. 47; Is. lii. 5; Ez. xlvi. 22 (*Journ. of Sac. Lit.* Jan. 1852, p. 352).

"dragon," they read תַּאֲנִים, "figs," and render it ὑῶν συκῶν. At ii. 20, for נָקוּם, "we will arise," they read נְקִיִּם, "pure," and render it καθαροί. At iii. 2, for בָּנוּ, "they built," they read twice בְּנֵי, υἱῶν; and so at ver. 14. At iii. 15, for בְּרֵכַת הַשֶּׁלַח לְגַן הַמֶּלֶךְ, "the pool of Siloah by the king's garden," they read ב" ה" לְגִזֵּי ה", "the king's fleece," and render it κολυμβήθρας τῶν κωδίων τῇ κουρᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως· κουρὰ being the word by which גֵּז is rendered in Deut. xviii. 4. הַשֶּׂלַח is rendered by κωδίων, "sheep-skins," in the Chaldee sense of שְׂלַח or שַׂלְחָא, a fleece recently stripped from the animal (Castell. *Lex.*). At iii. 16, for נֶגֶד, "over against," they read גַּן, "the garden;" comp. ver. 26: in iii. 34, 35 (iv. 2, 3), they seem to have had a corrupt and unintelligible text. At v. 5, for אֲחֵרִים, "others," they read הַחֹרִים, "the nobles:" v. 11, for מְאַת, "the hundredth," they read מְעַט, "some of," rendering ἀπό: vi. 1, for בָּהּ פֶּרֶץ, there was left no "breach in it," viz., the wall, they read בָּם רוּחַ, "spirit in them," viz., Sanballat, &c., rendering ἐν αὐτοῖς πνοή· vi. 3, for אֶרְפֶּה, "I leave it," they read אַרְפְּאֶה, "I complete it," τελειώσω· which gives a better sense. At vii. 68, sqq., the number of asses is 2700 instead of 6720; of priests' garments, 30 instead of 530; of pounds of silver, 2300 and 2200, instead of 2200 and 2000, as has been noticed above; and ver. 70, τῷ Νεεμίᾳ, for "the Tirshatha." At xi. 11, for נָגִיד, "ruler," they read נֶגֶד, "over against," ἀπέναντι. At xii. 8, for הַיְדוּת, "thanksgiving," הַיְדוֹת, ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν: xii. 25, for אֲסֻפֵּי, "the treasuries," אֲסֻפַּי, "my gathering together," ἐν τῷ συναγαγεῖν με: and at xii. 44, for שְׂדֵי, "the fields," they read שָׂרֵי, "the princes," ἄρχουσι τῶν πόλεων: with other minor variations. The principal additions are at viii. 8, 15, and ix. 6, where the name of Ezra is introduced, and in the first passage also the words ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ κυρίου. The omissions of words and whole verses are numerous: as at iii. 37, 38; iv. 17 (23, A. V. and LXX.); vi. 4, 5, 6, 10, 11; vii. 68, 69; viii. 4, 7, 9, 10; ix. 3, 5, 23; xi. 13, 16-21, 23-26, 28-35; xii. 3-7, 9, 25, 28, 29, the whole of 38, 40, 41, and half 42; xiii. 13, 14, 16, 20, 24, 25.

The following discrepancies seem to have their origin in the Greek text itself:—viii. 16, πλατείαις τῆς πύλης, instead of πυλῆς, Heb. שַׁעַר הַמַּיִם: ΤΙΟΣ ΑΡΑΙΑ for ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΑΙΑ: xi. 4, Ζαμάρι for Ἀμαρία, the final Σ of the preceding word having stuck to the beginning of the name: xii. 31, ἀνήγαγον, instead of —κα· "I brought up:" xii. 39, ἰχθυράν, instead of ἰχθυηράν, as in ver. 3. It is also worthy of remark that a number of Hebrew words are left untranslated in the Greek version of the LXX., which probably indicates a want of learning in the translator. The following are the chief instances:—Chaps. i. 1, and vii. 2 ἀδρί, and τῆς βιρά, for הַבִּירָה; ii. 13, ταῦ γωδὰ for הַנִּיא לְלָה; ib. 14, ταῦ ἀὶν for הָעַיִן; iii. 5, οἱ Θεκωΐμ for הַתְּקוֹעִים; ib. δδωρίμ for אֲדִירֵיהֶם; ib. 6, ἰασαναὶ for יְשָׁנָה; ib. 8, ῥωκεῖμ for הָרַקָּחִים; ib. 11, τῶν θανουρίμ for הַתַּנּוּרִים iii. 16, βηθαγγαρίμ for בֵּית הַגִּבֹּרִים; ib. 20, 21, βηθελιασούβ for בֵּית אֶלְיָשִׁיב, cf. 24; ib. 22, Ἐκχεχάρ for הַכִּכָּר; ib. 31, ταῦ σαρεφὶ for הַצֹּרְפִי, and βηθὰν Ναθινίμ for בֵּית הַנְּתִינִים; vii. 34, Ἠλαμαάρ for עֵילָם אַחֵר; ib. 65, ἀθερσασθά, and x. 1, ἀρτασασθά, for הַתִּרְשָׁתָא; vii. 70, 72, χωθωνώθ for כִּתָּנוֹת; xii. 27, θωδαθά for תּוֹדוֹת; xiii. 5, 9, τὴν μανεά for הַמְּנָחָה.

4. The Book of Nehemiah has always had an undisputed place in the Canon, being included by the Hebrews under the general head of the Book of Ezra, and as Jerome tells us in the *Prolog. Gal.* by the Greeks and Latins under the name of the second Book of Ezra. [ESDRAS, FIRST BOOK OF.] There is no quotation from it in the N. T., and it has been comparatively neglected by both the Greek and Latin fathers, perhaps on account of its simple character, and the absence of anything supernatural, prophetical, or mystical in its contents. St. Jerome (*ad Paulinam*) does indeed suggest that the account of the building of the walls, and the return of the people, the description of the Priests, Lêvites, Israelites, and proselytes, and the division of the labour among the different families, have a hidden meaning: and also hints that Nehemiah's name, which he interprets *consolator a Domino*, points to a mystical sense. But the book does not easily lend itself to such applications, which are so manifestly forced and strained, that even Augustine says of the whole Book of Ezra that it is simply historical rather than prophetical (*De Civit. Dei*, xviii. 36). Those however who wish to see St. Jerome's hint elaborately carried out, may refer to the Ven. Bede's *Allegorica Expositio in Librum Nehemiæ, qui et Ezræ Secundus*, as well as to the preface to his exposition of Ezra; and, in another sense, to Bp. Pilkington's Exposition upon Nehemiah, and John Fox's Preface (*Park. Soc.*). It may be added that Bede describes both Ezra and Nehemiah as *prophets*, which is the head under which Josephus includes them in his description of the sacred books (*C. Ap.* i. 8).

Keil's *Einleitung*; Winer's *Realwort.*; De Wette's *Einleitung*, by Th. Parker; Prideaux's *Connection*; Ceillier's *Auteurs Ecclésiast.*; Wolf, *Bibl. Hebraic.*; Ewald, *Geschichte*, i. 225, iv. 144; Thrupp's *Ancient Jerusalem*; Bosanquet's *Times of Ezra and Nehemiah*. [A. C. H.]

NEHEMI'AS (Νεεμίας: *Nehemias*). 1. Nehemiah, the contemporary of Zerubbabel and Jeshua (1 Esdr. v. 8).

2. Nehemiah the Tirshatha, son of Hachaliah (1 Esdr. v. 40).

NE'HILOTH. The title of Ps. v. in the A. V. is rendered "to the chief musician upon Nehiloth" (אֶל־הַנְּחִילוֹת); LXX., Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion translate the last two words ὑπὲρ τῆς κληρονομούσης, and the Vulgate, "pro ea quae haereditatem consequitur," by which Augustine understands the Church. The origin of their error was a mistaken etymology, by which Nehiloth is derived from נָחַל, *nâchal*, to inherit. Other etymologies have been proposed which are equally unsound. In

Chaldee נְחִיל, *nĕchîl*, signifies "a swarm of bees," and hence Jarchi attributes to Nehiloth the notion of multitude, the Psalm being sung by the whole people of Israel. R. Hai, quoted by Kimchi, adopting the same origin for the word, explains it as an instrument, the sound of which was like the hum of bees, a wind instrument, according to Sonntag (*de tit. Psal.* p. 430), which had a rough tone. Michaelis (*Suppl. ad Lex. Heb.* p. 1629) suggests, with not unreasonable timidity, that the root is to be found in the Arab. نخل, *nachala*, to winnow, and hence to separate and select the better part, indicating that the Psalm, in the title of which Nehiloth occurs, was "an ode to be chanted by the purified and better portion of the people." It is most likely, as Gesenius and others explain, that it is derived from the root חָלַל, *châlal*, to bore, perforate, whence חָלִיל, *châlîl*, a flute or pipe (1 Sam. x. 5; 1 K. i. 40), so that Nehiloth is the general term for perforated wind-instruments of all kinds, as Neginoth denotes all manner of stringed instruments. The title of Ps. v. is therefore addressed to the conductor of that portion of the Temple-choir who played upon flutes and the like, and are directly alluded to in Ps. lxxxvii. 7, where (חֹלְלִים, *chôlĕlîm*) "the players upon instruments" who are associated with the singers, are properly "pipers" or "flute-players." [W. A. W.]

NE'HUM (נְחוּם: Ἰναούμ: *Nahum*). One of those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 7). In Ezr. ii. 2 he is called REHUM, and in 1 Esdr. v. 8 ROIMUS.

NEHUSH'TA (נְחֻשְׁתָא: Νέσθα; Alex. Νάισθα: *Nohesta*). The daughter of Elnathan of Jerusalem, wife of Jehoiakim, and mother of Jehoiachin, kings of Judah (2 K. xxiv. 8).

NEHUSH'TAN (נְחֻשְׁתָן: Νεεσθάν, but Mai's ed. Νεσθαλεί; Alex. Νεσθάν: *Nohestan*). One of the first acts of Hezekiah, upon coming to the throne of Judah, was to destroy all traces of the idolatrous rites which had gained such a fast hold upon the people during the reign of his father Ahaz. Among other objects of superstitious reverence and worship was the brazen serpent, made by Moses in the wilderness (Num. xxi. 9), which was preserved throughout the wanderings of the Israelites, probably as a memorial of their deliverance, and according to a late tradition was placed in the Temple. The lapse of nearly a thousand years had invested this ancient relic with a mysterious sanctity which easily degenerated into idolatrous reverence, and at the time of Hezekiah's accession it had evidently been long an object of worship, "for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it," or as the Hebrew more fully implies, "had been in the habit of burning incense to it." The expression points to a settled practice. The name by which the brazen serpent was known at this time, and by which it had been worshipped, was Nehushtan (2 K. xviii. 4). It is evident that our translators by their rendering, "and he called it Nehushtan," understood with many commentators that the subject of the sentence is Hezekiah, and that when he destroyed the brazen serpent he gave it the name Nehushtan, "a brazen thing," in token of his utter contempt, and to impress upon the people the idea of its worthlessness. This rendering has the support of the LXX. and Vulgate, Junius and Tremellius, Munster, Clericus, and others; but it is better to understand the Hebrew as referring to the name by which the serpent was generally known, the subject of the verb being indefinite—"and one called it 'Nehushtan.'" Such a construction is common, and instances of it may be found in Gen. xxv. 26, xxxviii. 29, 30, where our translators correctly render "his name was called," and in Gen. xlviii. 1, 2. This was the view taken in the Targ. Jon. and in the Peshito-Syriac, "and they called it Nehushtan," which Buxtorf approves (*Hist. Serp. Aen.* cap. vi.). It has the support of Luther, Pfeiffer (*Dub. Vex.* cent. 3, loc. 5), J. D. Michaelis (*Bibel für Ungel.*), and Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*), as well as of Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 622), Keil, Thenius, and most modern commentators. [SERPENT.] [W. A. W.]

NE'IEL (נְעִיאֵל: Ἰναήλ; Alex. Ανιηλ: *Nehiel*), a place which formed one of the landmarks of the boundary of the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 27 only). It occurs between JIPHTHAH-EL and CABUL. If the former of these be identified with *Jefât*, and the latter with *Kabûl*, 8 or 9 miles E.S.E. of *Akka*, then Neiel may possibly be represented by *Mi'ar*, a village conspicuously placed on a lofty mountain brow, just half-way between the two (Rob. iii. 87, 103; also Van de Velde's *Map*, 1858). The change of N into M, and L into R, is frequent, and Miar retains the *Ain* of Neiel. [G.]

NEK'EB (הַנֶּקֶב, with the def. article: καὶ Νεβώκ; Alex. Νακεβ: *quae est Neceb*), one of the towns on the boundary of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33 only). It lay between ADAMI and JABNEEL.

A great number of commentators, from Jonathan the Targumist and Jerome (*Vulgate* as above) to Keil (*Josua*, ad loc.), have taken this name as being connected with the preceding—Adami-han-Nekeb (Junius and Tremellius, "Adamaei fossa"); and indeed this is the force of the accentuation of the present Hebrew text. But on the other hand the LXX. give the two as distinct, and in the Talmud the post-biblical names of each are given, that of han-Nekeb being *Tsiadathah* (*Gemara Hieros.* Col. Megilla, in Reland, *Pal.* 545, 717, 817; also Schwarz, 181).

Of this more modern name Schwarz suggests that a trace is to be found in "*Hazedhi*," 3 English miles N. from *al Chatti*. [G.]

NEK'ODA (נְקוֹדָא: Νεκωδά; Alex. in Ezr. ii. 48, Νεκωδάν: *Necoda*). 1. The descendants of Nekoda returned among the Nethinim after the captivity (Ezr. ii. 48; Neh. vii. 50).

2. The sons of Nekoda were among those who went up after the captivity from Tel-melah, Tel-harsa and other places, but were unable to prove their descent from Israel (Ezr. ii. 60; Neh. vii. 62).

NEM'UEL (נְמוּאֵל: Ναμουήλ: *Namuel*). 1. A Reubenite, son of Eliab, and eldest brother of Dathan and Abiram (Num. xxvi. 9).

2. The eldest son of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 12; 1 Chr. iv. 24), from whom were descended the family of the Nemuelites. In Gen. xlvi. 10 he is called JEMUEL.

NEMU'ELITES, THE (הַנְּמוּאֵלִי: ὁ Ναμουηλί; Alex. Ναμουηλεί, and so Mai: *Namuelitae*). The descendants of Nemuel the first-born of Simeon (Num. xxvi. 12).

NE'PHEG (נֶפֶג: Ναφέκ: *Nepheg*). 1. (Ex

of the sons of Izhar the son of Kohath, and therefore brother of Korah (Ex. vi. 21).

2. (Ναφάθ in 1 Chr. xiv. 6; Alex. Ναφέγ in 1 Chr. iii. 7). One of David's sons born to him in Jerusalem after he was come from Hebron (2 Sam. v. 15; 1 Chr. iii. 7, xiv. 6).

NE'PHI (Νεφθαεί; Alex. Νεφθαρ: *Nephi*). The name by which the NAPHTHAR of Nehemiah was usually (παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς) called (2 Macc. i. 36). The A. V. has here followed the Vulgate.

NE'PHIS (Νιφίς: *Liptis*). In the corrupt list of 1 Esdr. v. 21, "the sons of Nephis," apparently correspond with "the children of Nebo" in Ezr. ii. 29, or else the name is a corruption of MAGBISH.

NE'PHISH (נְפִישׁ: Ναφισαδαιοί; Alex. Ναφισαι: *Naphis*). An inaccurate variation (found in 1 Chr. v. 19 only) of the name elsewhere correctly given in the A.V. NAPHISH, the form always preserved in the original.

NEPHISH'ESIM (נְפוּשְׁסִים; Keri, נְפִישְׁסִים: Νεφωσαεί; Alex. Νεφωσαείμ: *Nephussim*). The children of Nephishesim were among the Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Neh. vii. 52). The name elsewhere appears as NEPHUSIM and NAPHISH. Gesenius decides that it is a corruption of the former (*Thes.* p. 899).

NEPH'THALI (Νεφθαλείμ; Alex. Νεφθαλι: *Nephthali*). The Vulgate form of the name NAPHTALI (Tob. i. 1, 2, 4, 5).

NEPHTHALIM (Νεφθαλεί; Alex. Νεφθαλιμ, and so N. T.: *Nephthali, Nephthalim*). Another form of the same name as the preceding (Tob. vii. 3; Matt. iv. 13, 15; Rev. vii. 6).

NEPHTO'AH, THE WATER OF (מֵי נֶפְתּוֹחַ: Ὕδωρ Μαφθώ, and Ναφθώ: *aqua*, and *aquae, Nephthoa*). The spring or source (עַיִן, A. V. "fountain" and "well") of the water or (inaccurately) waters of Nephtoah, was one of the landmarks in the boundary-line which separated Judah from Benjamin (Josh. xv. 9, xviii. 15). It was situated between the "head," or the "end," of the mountain which faced the valley of Hinnom on the west, and the cities of Ephron, the next point beyond which was Kirjath-jearim. It lay therefore N.W. of Jerusalem, in which direction it seems to have been satisfactorily identified in *Ain Lifta*, a spring situated a little distance above the village of the same name, in a short valley which runs into the east side of the great *Wady Beit Hanina*, about 2¼ miles from Jerusalem and 6 from *Kuriet el Enab* (K.-jearim). The spring—of which a view is given by Dr. Barclay (*City*, &c., 544)—is very abundant, and the water escapes in a considerable stream into the valley below.

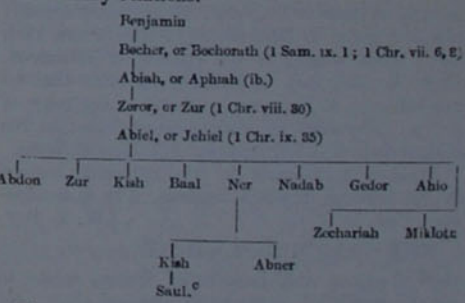
Nephtoah was formerly identified with various springs—the spring of St. Philip (*Ain Hanigeh*) in the *Wady el Werd*; the *Ain Yalo* in the same valley, but nearer Jerusalem; the *Ain Karim*, or Fountain of the Virgin of mediaeval times (Doubdan, *Voyage*, 187; see also the citations of Tobler, *Topographie*, 351; and Sandys, lib. iii. p. 184); and even the so-called Well of Job at the western end of the *Wady Aly*[a] (*Mislin*, ii. 155), but these, especially the last, are unsuitable in their situation as respects Jerusalem and Kirjath-jearim, and have the additional drawback that the features of the country there are not such as to permit a boundary-line to be traced along it, while the line through *Ain Lifta* would, in Barclay's words, "pursue a course indicated by nature."

The name of *Lifta* is not less suitable to this identification than its situation, since N and L frequently take the place of each other, and the rest of the word is almost entirely unchanged. The earliest notice of it appears to be by Stewart[b] (*Tent and Khan*, 349), who speaks of it as at that time (Feb. 1854) "recognised." [G.]

NEPH'USIM (נְפִיסִים; Keri, נְפוּסִים: Νεφουσίμ; Alex. Νεφουσείμ: *Nephusim*). The same as NEPHISHESIM, of which name according to Gesenius it is the proper form (Ezr. ii. 50).

NER (נֵר: Νήρ: *Ner*), son of Jehiel, according to 1 Chr. viii. 33, father of Kish and Abner, and grandfather of king Saul. Abner was, therefore, uncle to Saul, as is expressly stated 1 Sam. xiv. 50. But some confusion has arisen from the statement in 1 Chr. ix. 36, that Kish and Ner were both sons of Jehiel, whence it has been concluded that they were brothers, and consequently that Abner and Saul were first cousins. But, unless there was an elder Kish, uncle of Saul's father, which is not at all probable, it is obvious to explain the insertion of Kish's name (as that of the numerous names by the side of it) in 1 Chr. ix. 36, by the common practice in the Chronicles of calling all the heads of houses of fathers, *sons* of the phylarch or demarch from whom they sprung, or under whom they were reckoned in the genealogies, whether they were sons or grandsons, or later descendants, or even descendants of collateral branches. [BECHER.]

The name Ner, combined with that of his son Abner, may be compared with Nadab in ver. 36, and Abinadab ver. 39; with Jesse, 1 Chr. ii. 13, and Abishai, ver. 16; and with Juda, Luke iii. 26, and Abiud, Matt. i. 13. The subjoined table shows Ner's family relations.



The family seat of Ner was Gibeon, where his father Jehiel was probably the first to settle (1 Chr. ix. 35). From the pointed mention of his mother, Maachah, as the wife of Jehiel, she was perhaps the heiress of the estate in Gibeon. This inference receives some confirmation from the fact that "Maachah, Caleb's concubine," is said, in 1 Chr. ii. 49, to have borne "Sheva the father of

[a] This must arise from a confusion between *Yalo* (Aijalon), near which the "well of Job" is situated, and the *Aly* Valley.

[b] Stewart, while accusing Dr. Robinson of inaccuracy (p. 349) has himself fallen into a curious confusion between Nephtoah and Netophah. Dr. Robinson is in this instance perfectly right.

[c] There are doubtless some links missing in this genealogy, as at all events the head of the family of Matri.

Machbenah and the father of Gibea," where, though the text is in ruins, yet a connexion of some sort between Maachah (whoever she was) and Gibeah, often called Gibeah of Saul, and the same as Gibeon 1 Chr. xiv. 16, is apparent. It is a curious circumstance that, while the name (Jehiel) of the "father of Gibeon" is not given in the text of 1 Chr. viii. 29, the same is the case with "the father of Gibea" in 1 Chr. ii. 49, naturally suggesting, therefore, that in the latter passage the same name *Jehiel* ought to be supplied which is supplied for the former by the duplicate passage 1 Chr. ix. 35. If this inference is correct it would place the time of the settlement of Jehiel at Gibeon —where one would naturally expect to find it—near the time of the settlement of the tribes in their respective inheritances under Joshua. Maachah, his wife, would seem to be a daughter or descendant of Caleb by Ephah his concubine. That she was not "Caleb's concubine" seems pretty certain, both because Ephah is so described in ii. 46 and because the recurrence of the name Ephah in ver. 47, separated from the words פִּילֶגֶשׁ כָּלֵב only by the name Shaaph,[d] creates a strong presumption that Ephah, and not Maachah, is the name to which this description belongs in ver. 47 as in ver. 46. Moreover, *Maachah* cannot be the nom. case to the masculine verb יָלַד. Supposing, then, Maachah, the ancestress of Saul, to have been thus a daughter or granddaughter of Caleb, we have a curious coincidence in the occurrence of the name SAUL, as one of the Edomitish kings, 1 Chr. i. 48, and as the name of a descendant of the Edomitish Caleb. [CALEB.] The element *Baal* (1 Chr. ix. 36, &c.) in the names *Esh-baal*, *Meribbaal*, the descendants of Saul the son of Kish, may also, then, be compared with *Baal-hanan*, the successor of Saul of Rehoboth (1 Chr. i. 49), as also the name *Matred*, (ib. 50) with *Matri* (1 Sam. x. 21). [A. C. H.]

NE'REUS (Νηρεύς: *Nereus*). A Christian at Rome, saluted by St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 15. Origen conjectures that he belonged to the household of Philologus and Julia. Estius suggests that he may be identified with a Nereus, who is said to have been baptized at Rome by St. Peter. A legendary account of him is given in Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum*, 12th May; from which, in the opinion of Tillemont, *H. E.* ii. 139, may be gathered the fact that he was beheaded at Terracina, probably in the reign of Nerva. His ashes are said to be deposited in the ancient church of SS. Nereo ed Archilleo at Rome.

There is a reference to his legendary history in Bp. Jeremy Taylor's Sermon, *The Marriage-ring*, Part. i. [W. T. B.]

NER'GAL (נֵרְגַל: Ἐργέλ: *Nergel*), one of the chief Assyrian and Babylonian deities, seems to have corresponded closely to the classical Mars. He was of Babylonian origin, and his name signifies, in the early Cushite dialect of that country, "the great man," or "the great hero." His monumental titles are—"the storm-ruler," "the king of battle," "the champion of the gods," "the male principle" (or "the strong begetter"), "the tutelar god of Babylonia," and "the god of the chace." Of this last he is the god pre-eminently; another deity, *Nin*, disputing with him the presidency over war and battles. It is conjectured that he may represent the deified Nimrod—"the mighty hunter before the Lord"—from whom the kings both of Babylon and Nineveh were likely to claim descent. The city peculiarly dedicated to his worship is found in the inscriptions to be Cutha or Tiggaba, which is in Arabian tradition the special city of Nimrod. The only express mention of Nergal contained in sacred Scripture is in 2 K. xvii. 30, where "the men of Cutha," placed in the cities of Samaria by a king of Assyria (Esar-haddon?), are said to have "made Nergal their god" when transplanted to their new country—a fact in close accordance with the frequent notices in the inscriptions, which mark him as the tutelar god of that city. Nergal's name occurs as the initial element in *Nergal*-shar-ezer (Jer. xxxix. 3 and 13); and is also found, under a contracted form, in the name of a comparatively late king—the Abennerigus of Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 2, §1).

Nergal appears to have been worshipped under the symbol of the "Man-Lion." The Semitic name for the god of Cutha was *Aria*, a word which signifies "lion" both in Hebrew and Syriac. *Ner*, the first element of the god's name, is capable of the same signification. Perhaps the habits of the lion as a hunter of beasts were known, and he was thus regarded as the most fitting symbol of the god who presided over the chace.

It is in connexion with their hunting excursions that the Assyrian kings make most frequent mention of this deity. As early as B.C. 1150, Tiglath-pileser I. speaks of him as furnishing the arrows with which he slaughtered the wild animals. *Assur-dani-pal* (Sardanapalus), the son and successor of Esar-haddon, never fails to invoke his aid, and ascribes all his hunting achievements to his influence. Pul sacrificed to him in Cutha, and Sennacherib built him a temple in the city of Tarbisa near Nineveh; but in general he was not much worshipped either by the earlier or the later kings (see the *Essay* of Sir H. Rawlinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 631-634). [G. R.]

NER'GAL-SHARE'ZER (נֵרְגַל-שַׂר-אֶצֶר Νηργὲλ-Σαρασάρ: *Nergel-Sereser*) occurs only in Jeremiah xxxix. 3 and 13. There appear to have been two persons of the name among the "princes of the king of Babylon," who accompanied Nebuchadnezzar on his last expedition against Jerusalem. One of these is not marked by any additional title; but the other has the honourable distinction of Rab-mag (רַב־מָג), and it is to him alone that any particular interest attaches. In sacred Scripture he appears among the persons, who, by command of Nebuchadnezzar, released Jeremiah from prison; profane history gives us reason to believe that he was a personage of great importance, who not long afterwards mounted the Babylonian throne. This identification depends in part upon the exact resemblance of name, which is found on Babylonian bricks in the form of *Nergal-shar-uzur*; but *mainly* it rests upon the title of *Rubu-emga*, or Rab-Mag, which this king bears in his inscriptions, and on the improbability of there having been, towards the close of the Babylonian period—when the monumental monarch must have lived—two persons of exactly the same name holding this office. [RAB-MAG.]

Assuming on these grounds the identity of the Scriptural "Nergal-sharezer, Rab-Mag," with the monumental "*Nergal-shar-uzur, Rubu-emga*," we may learn something of the history of the prince in question from profane authors. There cannot be a doubt that he was the monarch called Neriglissar or Nerigliswor by Berosus (Joseph. c. *Ap.* i. 20),

[d] *Shaaph* has nearly the same letters as *Ephah*.

who murdered Evil-Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and succeeded him upon the throne. This prince was married to a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, and was thus the brother-in-law of his predecessor, whom he put to death. His reign lasted between three and four years. He appears to have died a natural death, and certainly left his crown to a young son, Laborosoarchod, who was murdered after a reign of nine months. In the canon of Ptolemy he appears, under the designation of Nerigassolassar, as reigning four years between Illoarudamus (Evil-Merodach) and Nabonadius, his son's reign not obtaining any mention, because it fell short of a year.

A palace, built by Neriglissar, has been discovered at Babylon. It is the only building of any extent on the right bank of the Euphrates. (See plan of BABYLON.) The bricks bear the name of Nergal-shar-uzur, the title of Rab-mag, and also a statement—which is somewhat surprising—that Nergal-shar-uzur was the son of a certain "Bel-zikkar-iskum, *king of Babylon*." The only explanation which has been offered of this statement, is a conjecture (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 518), that Bel-zikkar-iskun may possibly have been the "chief Chaldaean," who (according to Berosus) kept the royal authority for Nebuchadnezzar during the interval between his father's death and his own arrival at Babylon. [NEBUCHADNEZZAR.] Neriglissar could scarcely have given his father the title of king without some ground; and this is at any rate a possible ground, and one compatible with the non-appearance of the name in any extant list of the later Babylonian monarchs. Neriglissar's office of Rab-Mag will be further considered under that word. It is evident that he was a personage of importance before he mounted the throne. Some (as Larcher) have sought to identify him with Darius the Mede. But this view is quite untenable. There is abundant reason to believe from his name and his office that he was a native Babylonian—a grandee of high rank under Nebuchadnezzar, who regarded him as a fitting match for one of his daughters. He did not, like Darius Medus, gain Babylon by conquest, but acquired his dominion by an internal revolution. His reign preceded that of the Median Darius by 17 years. It lasted from B.C. 559 to B.C. 556, whereas Darius the Mede cannot have ascended the throne till B.C. 538, on the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. [G. R.]

NERI (Νηρί, representing the Heb. נֵרִי, which would be a short form for נֵרִיָּה, Neriah, "Jehovah is my lamp:" *Neri*),[a] son of Melchi, and father of Salathiel, in the genealogy of Christ, Luke iii. 27. Nothing is known of him, but his name is very important as indicating the principle on which the genealogies of our Lord are framed. He was of the line of Nathan; but his son Salathiel became Solomon's heir on the failure of Solomon's line in king Jeconiah, and was therefore reckoned in the royal genealogy among the sons of Jeconiah; to whose status and prerogative he succeeded, 1 Chr. iii. 17; Matt. i. 12. The supposition that the son and heir of David and Solomon would be called the son of Neri, an obscure individual, because he had married Neri's daughter, as many pretend, is too absurd to need refutation. The information given us by St. Luke—that Neri, of the line of Nathan, was Salathiel's father—does,

[a] See *Gen. of Our Lord*, C, p. 159.

in point of fact, clear up and settle the whole question of the genealogies. [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.]

[A. C. H.]

NERI'AH (נֵרִיָּה): Νηρίας, but Νηρείας in Jer. li. 59: *Nerias*, but *Neri* in xxxii. 12. The son of Maaseiah, and father of Baruch (Jer. xxxii. 12, xxxvi. 4, xliii. 3), and Seraiah (Jer. li. 59).

NERI'AS (Νηρίας: *Nerias*). The father of Baruch and Seraiah (Bar. i. 1).

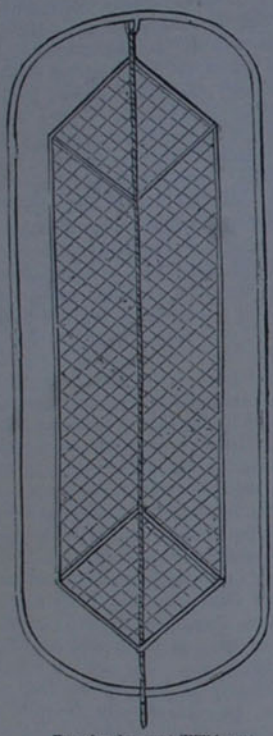
NET. The various terms applied by the Hebrews to nets had reference either to the construction of the article, or to its use and objects. To the first of these we may assign the following terms:—*Macmôr*,[a] and its cognates, *micmâr*[b] and *micmôreth*,[c] all of which are derived from a root signifying "to weave;" and, again, *sĕbâcâh*[d] and *sĕbâc*,[e] derived from another root of similar signification. To the second head we may assign *chêrem*,[f] from a root signifying "to enclose;" *mâtzôd*,[g] with its cognates, *mĕtzôdâh*[h] and *mĕtzûdâh*,[i] from a root signifying "to lie in wait;" and *resheth*,[k] from a root signifying "to catch." Great uncertainty prevails in the equivalent terms in the A. V.: *mâtzôd* is rendered "snare" in Eccl. vii. 26, and "net" in Job xix. 6 and Prov. xii. 12, in the latter of which passages the true sense is "prey;" *sĕbâcâh* is rendered "snare" in Job xviii. 8; *metzâdâh* "snare" in Ez. xii. 13, xvii. 20, and "net" in Ps. lxvi. 11; *micmôreth*, "drag" or "flue-net" in Hab. i. 15, 16. What distinction there may have been between the various nets described by the Hebrew terms we are unable to decide. The etymology tells us nothing, and the equivalents in the LXX. vary. In the New Testament we meet with three terms,—σαγήνη (from σάττω, "to load"), whence our word *seine*, a large hauling or draw-net; it is the term used in the parable of the draw-net (Matt. xiii. 47): ἀμφίβληστρον (from ἀμφιβάλλω, "to cast around"), a casting-net (Matt. iv. 18; Mark i. 16): and δίκτυον (from δίκω, "to throw"), of the same description as the one just mentioned (Matt. iv. 20; John xxi. 6, *al.*). The net was used for the purposes of fishing and hunting: the mode in which it was used has been already described in the articles on those subjects. [FISHING; HUNTING.] The Egyptians constructed their nets of flax-string: the netting-needle was made of wood, and in shape closely resembled our own (Wilkinson, ii. 95).

Egyptian landing-net. (Wilkinson.)

The nets varied in form according to their use; the landing-net has been already represented; we here give a sketch of the draw-net from the same source.

[a] מִכְמֹר. [b] מִכְמֶר. [c] מִכְמֶרֶת. [d] שְׂבָכָה. [e] שֶׂבֶךְ. [f] חֵרֶם. [g] מָצוֹד. [h] מְצוֹדָה. [i] מְצוּדָה. [k] רֶשֶׁת.

As the nets of Egypt were well known to the early Jews (Is. xix. 8), it is not improbable that the material and form was the same in each country. The nets used for birds in Egypt were of two kinds, clap-nets and traps. The latter consisted of network strained over a frame of wood, which was so constructed that the sides would collapse by pulling a string and catch any birds that may have alighted on them while open. The former was made on the same principle, consisting of a double frame with the network strained over it, which might be caused to collapse by pulling a string.[n]



Egyptian draw-net (Wilkinson).

The metaphorical references to the net are very numerous: it was selected as an appropriate image of the subtle devices of the enemies of God on the one hand (*e. g.* Ps. ix. 15, xxv. 15, xxxi. 4), and of the unavertable vengeance of God on the other hand (Lam. i. 13; Ez. xii. 13; Hos. vii. 12).

We must still notice the use of the term *sēbâc*, in an architectural sense, applied to the open ornamental work about the capital of a pillar (1 K. vii. 17), and described in similar terms by Josephus, *δίκτυον ἐλάτῃ χαλκείᾳ περιπεπλεγμένον* (*Ant.* viii. 3, §4). [W. L. B.]

NETH'ANEEL (נְתַנְאֵל: Ναθαναήλ: *Nathanael*). **1.** The son of Zuar, and prince of the tribe of Issachar at the time of the Exodus. With his 54,400 men his post in the camp was on the east, next to the camp of Judah, which they followed in the march. The same order was observed in the offerings at the dedication of the tabernacle, when Nethaneel followed Nahshon the prince of the tribe of Judah (Num. i. 8, ii. 5, vii. 18, 23, x. 15).

2. The fourth son of Jesse and brother of David (1 Chr. ii. 14).

3. A priest in the reign of David who blew the trumpet before the ark, when it was brought from the house of Obed-edom (1 Chr. xv. 24).

4. A Levite, father of Shemaiah the scribe in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 6).

5. The fifth son of Obed-edom the doorkeeper of the ark (1 Chr. xxvi. 4).

6. One of the princes of Judah, whom Jehoshaphat in the third year of his reign sent to teach in the cities of his kingdom (2 Chr. xvii. 7).

7. A chief of the Levites in the reign of Josiah, who took part in the solemn passover kept by that king (2 Chr. xxxv. 9).

8. A priest of the family of Pashur in the time of Ezra who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 22). He is called NATHANAEL in 1 Esdr. ix. 22.

9. The representative of the priestly family of Jedaiah in the time of Joiakim the son of Jeshua (Neh. xii. 21).

10. A Levite, of the sons of Asaph, who with his brethren played upon the musical instruments of David, in the solemn procession which accompanied the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem under Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 36). [W. A. W.]

NETHANI'AH (נְתַנְיָה, and in the lengthened form נְתַנְיָהוּ, Jer. xl. 8, xli. 9: Ναθανίας, exc. 2 K. xxv. 23, where the Alex. MS. has Μαθθανίας: *Nathania*). **1.** The son of Elishama, and father of Ishmael who murdered Gedaliah (2 K. xxv. 23, 25; Jer. xl. 8, 14, 15, xli. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18). He was of the royal family of Judah.

2. (נְתַנְיָהוּ, in 1 Chr. xxv. 12). One of the four sons of Asaph the minstrel, and chief of the 5th of the 24 courses into which the Temple choir was divided (1 Chr. xxv. 2, 12).

3. (נְתַנְיָהוּ). A Levite in the reign of Jehoshaphat, who with eight others of his tribe and two priests accompanied the princes of Judah who were sent by the king through the country to teach the law of Jehovah (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

4. The father of Jehudi (Jer. xxxvi. 14).

NETH'INIM (נְתִינִים: Ναθιναῖοι, Neh. xi. 21 Ναθινίμ, Ezr. ii. 43; *οἱ δεδομένοι*, 1 Chr. ix. 2; *Nathinaei*). As applied specifically to a distinct body of men connected with the services of the Temple, this name first meets us in the later books of the O. T.; in 1 Chron., Ezra, and Nehemiah. The word, and the ideas embodied in it may, however, be traced to a much earlier period. As derived from the verb נָתַן, *nâthan* (= give, set apart, dedicate), it was applied to those who were specially appointed to the liturgical offices of the Tabernacle.[a] Like many other official titles it appears to have had at first a much higher value than that afterwards

[n] Prov. i. 17, is accurately as follows:—"Surely in the eyes of any bird the net is spread for nothing." As it stands in the A. V. it is simply contrary to fact. This is one of the admirable emendations of the late Mr. Bernard. (See Mason and Bernard's *Hebrew Grammar*.)

[a] This is the received interpretation. Bochart (*Phaleg*, ii. 1) gives a more active meaning to the words. "Those who have devoted themselves." So Theodoret (*Qu. in 1 Paralip.*), who explains the name as=δόσις Ἰσὶ, τουτέστι, τοῦ ὄντος Θεοῦ, and looks on them as Israelites of other tribes voluntarily giving themselves to the service of the Sanctuary. This is, however, without adequate grounds, and at variance with facts. Comp. Pfeiffingen *De Nathinaeis*, in Ugolini's *Thesaurus*, vol. xiii.

assigned to it. We must not forget that the Levites were *given* to Aaron and his sons, *i.e.* to the priests as an order, and were accordingly the first Nethinim (נְתִינִם, Num. iii. 9, viii. 19). At first they were the only attendants, and their work must have been laborious enough. The first conquests, however, brought them their share of the captive slaves of the Midianites, and 320 were *given* to them as having charge of the Tabernacle (Num. xxxi. 47), while 32 only were assigned specially to the priests. This disposition to devolve the more laborious offices of their ritual upon slaves of another race showed itself again in the treatment of the Gibeonites. They, too, were "given" (A. V. "made") to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the house of God (Josh. ix. 27), and the addition of so large a number (the population of five cities) must have relieved the Levites from much that had before been burdensome. We know little or nothing as to their treatment. It was a matter of necessity that they should be circumcised (Exod. xii. 48), and conform to the religion of their conquerors, and this might at first seem hard enough. On the other hand it must be remembered that they presented themselves as recognizing the supremacy of Jehovah (Josh. ix. 9), and that for many generations the remembrance of the solemn covenant entered into with them made men look with horror on the shedding of Gibeonite blood (2 Sam. xxi. 9), and protected them from much outrage. No addition to the number thus employed appears to have been made during the period of the Judges, and they continued to be known by their old name as the Gibeonites. The want of a further supply was however felt when the reorganization of worship commenced under David. Either the massacre at Nob had involved the Gibeonites as well as the priests (1 Sam. xxii. 19), or else they had fallen victims to some other outburst of Saul's fury, and, though there were survivors (2 Sam. xxi. 2), the number was likely to be quite inadequate for the greater stateliness of the new worship at Jerusalem. It is to this period accordingly that the origin of the class bearing this name may be traced. The Nethinim were those "whom David and the princes appointed (Heb. *gave*) for the service of the Levites" (Ezr. viii. 20). Analogy would lead us to conclude that, in this as in the former instances, these were either prisoners taken in war, or else some of the remnant of the Canaanites;[b] but the new name in which the old seems to have been merged leaves it uncertain. The foreign character of the names in Ezr. ii. 43-54 is unmistakeable, but was equally natural on either hypothesis.

From this time the Nethinim probably lived within the precincts of the Temple, doing its rougher work, and so enabling the Levites to take a higher position as the religious representatives and instructors of the people. [LEVITES.] They answered in some degree to the male ἱερόδουλοι, who were attached to Greek and Asiatic temples (Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 5, §1, uses this word of them in his paraphrase of the decree of Darius), to the grave-diggers, gate-keepers, bell-ringers of the Christian Church. Ewald (*Alterthüm.* p. 299) refers to the custom of the more wealthy Arabs dedicating slaves to the special service of the Kaaba at Mecca, or the Sepulchre of the Prophet at Medina.

The example set by David was followed by his successor. In close union with the Nethinim in the statistics of the return from the captivity, attached like them to the Priests and Levites, we find a body of men described as "Solomon's servants" (Ezr. ii. 55; Nehem. vii. 60, xi. 3), and these we may identify, without much risk of error, with some of the "people that were left" of the earlier inhabitants whom he made "to pay tribute of bond-service" (1 K. ix. 20; 2 Chron. viii. 7). The order in which they are placed might even seem to indicate that they stood to the Nethinim in the same relation that the Nethinim did to the Levites. Assuming, as is probable, that the later Rabbinic teaching represents the traditions of an earlier period, the Nethinim appear never to have lost the stigma of their Canaanite origin. They had no *jus connubii* (Gemar. Babyl. *Jebam.* ii. 4; *Kiddusch.* iv. 1, in Carpzov, *App. Crit. de Neth.*), and illicit intercourse with a woman of Israel was punished with scourging (Carpzov, l. c.): but their quasi-sacred position raised them in some measure above the level of their race, and in the Jewish order of precedence, while they stood below the Mamzerim (bastards, or children of mixed marriages), they were one step above the Proselytes fresh come from heathenism and emancipated slaves (Gemar. Hieros. *Horajoth*, fol. 48 2; in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb. ad Matt.* xxiii. 14). They were thus all along a servile and subject caste. The only period at which they rise into anything like prominence is that of the return from the captivity. In that return the priests were conspicuous and numerous, but the Levites, for some reason unknown to us, hung back. [LEVITES.] Under Zerubbabel there were but 341 to 4289 priests (Ezr. ii. 36-42). Under Ezra none came up at all till after a special and solemn call (Ezr. viii. 15). The services of the Nethinim were consequently of more importance (Ezr. viii. 17), but in their case also, the small number of those that joined (392 under Zerubbabel, 220 under Ezra, including "Solomon's servants") indicates that many preferred remaining in the land of their exile to returning to their old service. Those that did come were consequently thought worthy of special mention. The names of their families were registered with as much care as those of the priests (Ezr. ii. 43-58). They were admitted, in strict conformity to the letter of the rule of Deut. xxix. 11, to join in the great covenant with which the restored people inaugurated its new life (Neh. x. 28). They, like the Priests and Levites, were exempted from taxation by the Persian Satraps (Ezr. vii. 24). They were under the control of a chief of their own body (Ezr. ii. 43; Nehem. vii. 46). They took an active part in the work of rebuilding the city (Nehem. iii. 26), and the tower of Ophel, convenient from its proximity to the Temple, was assigned to some of them as a residence (Neh. xi. 21), while others dwelt with the Levites in their cities (Ezr. ii. 70). They took their place in the chronicles of the time as next in order to the Levites (1 Chr. ix. 2).

Neither in the Apocrypha, nor in the N. T., nor yet in the works of the Jewish historian, do we find any additional information about the Nethinim. The latter, however, mentions incidentally a festival, that of the Xylophoria, or wood carrying, of which we may perhaps recognize the beginning in Neh. x. 34, and in which it was the custom for all the people to bring large supplies of firewood for the sacrifices of the year. This may have been designed to relieve them. They were at any rate likely to

[b] The identity of the Gibeonites and Nethinim, excluding the idea of any addition, is, however, maintained by Fürst.

bear a conspicuous part in it (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 17, § 6).

Two hypotheses connected with the Nethinim are mentioned by Pfeffinger in the exhaustive monograph already cited: (1), that of Förster (*Dict. Hebr.*, Basil, 1564), that the first so called were sons of David, *i. e.*, younger branches of the royal house to whom was *given* the defence of the city and the sanctuary; (2), that of Boulduc (referred to also by Selden, *De Jure Nat. et Gent.*), connected apparently with (1), that Joseph the husband of the Virgin was one of this class.[c] [E. H. P.]

NET'OPHAH (נְטֹפָה: Νετωφά, Ἀτωφά; Alex. Νεφωτα: *Netupha*), a town the name of which occurs only in the catalogue of those who returned with Zerubbabel from the Captivity (Ezr. ii. 22; Neh. vii. 26; 1 Esdr. v. 18). But, though not directly mentioned till so late a period, Netophah was really a much older place. Two of David's guard, MAHARAI and HELEB or HELDAI, leaders also of two of the monthly courses (1 Chr. xxvii. 13, 15), were Netophathites, and it was the native place of at least one[a] of the captains who remained under arms near Jerusalem after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar. The "villages of the Netophathites" were the residence of the Levites (1 Chr. ix. 16), a fact which shows that they did not confine themselves to the places named in the catalogues of Josh. xxi. and 1 Chr. vi. From another notice we learn that the particular Levites who inhabited these villages were singers (Neh. xii. 28).

That Netophah belonged to Judah appears from the fact that the two heroes above mentioned belonged, the one to the Zarhites—that is, the great family of Zerah, one of the chief houses of the tribe—and the other to Othniel, the son-in-law of Caleb. To judge from Neh. vii. 26 it was in the neighbourhood of, or closely connected with, Bethlehem, which is also implied by 1 Chr. ii. 54, though the precise force of the latter statement cannot now be made out. The number of Netophathites who returned from Captivity is not exactly ascertainable, but it seems not to have been more than sixty—so that it was probably only a small village, which indeed may account for its having escaped mention in the lists of Joshua.

A remarkable tradition, of which there is no trace in the Bible, but which nevertheless is not improbably authentic, is preserved by the Jewish authors, to the effect that the Netophathites slew the guards which had been placed by Jeroboam on the roads leading to Jerusalem to stop the passage of the firstfruits from the country villages to the Temple (Targum on 1 Chr. ii. 54; on Ruth iv. 20, and Eccl. iii. 11). Jeroboam's obstruction, which is said to have remained in force till the reign of Hoshea (see the notes of Beck to Targum on 1 Chr. ii. 54), was commemorated by a fast on the 23rd Sivan, which is still retained in the Jewish calendar (see the calendar given by Basnage, *Hist. des Juifs*, vi. ch. 29).

It is not mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, and although in the Mishna reference is made to the "oil of Netophah" (*Peah* 7, §1, 2), and to the "valley of Beth Netophah," in which artichokes flourished, whose growth determined the date of some ceremonial observance (*Sheviith* 9, § 7), nothing is said as to the situation of the place. The latter may well be the present village of *Beit Nettîf*, which stands on the edge of the great valley of the *Wady es Sumt* (Rob. *Bib. Res.* ii. 16, 17; Porter, *Handbk.* 248); but can hardly be the Netophah of the Bible, since it is not near Bethlehem, but in quite another direction. The only name in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem suggestive of Netophah is that which appears in Van de Velde's map (1858) as *Antûbeh*, and in Tobler (*3tte Wand.* 80) as *Om Tûba* (ام طوبا), attached to a village about 2 miles N.E. of Bethlehem and a wady which falls therefrom into the *Wady en-Nar*, or Kidron. [G.]

NETO'PHATHI (נְטֹפָתִי: Vat. omits; Alex. Νετωφαθι: *Nethuphati*), Neh. xii. 28. The same word which in other passages is accurately rendered "the Netophathite," except that here it is not accompanied by the article.

NETO'PHATHITE, THE (הַנְּטֹפָתִי, in Chron. הַנְּטוֹפָתִי: ὁ Ενταφατείτης, Νεφφαθιείτης, Νεθωφατεί, ὁ ἐκ Νετουφάτ: *Netophathites*), 2 Sam. xxiii. 28, 29; 2 K. xxv. 23; 1 Chr. xi. 30, xxvii. 13, 15; Jer. xl. 8. The plural form, THE NETOPHATHITES (the Hebrew word being the same as the above) occurs in 1 Chr. ii. 54, ix. 16. [G.]

NETTLE. The representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *châr̂ûl* and *kîmmôsh* or *kimôsh*.

1. *Châr̂ûl* (חָרוּל: φρύγανα ἄγρια:[b] *sentis, urtica, spina*) occurs in Job xxx. 7—the patriarch complains of the contempt in which he was held by the lowest of the people, who, from poverty, were obliged to live on the wild shrubs of the desert: "Among the bushes they brayed, under the *châr̂ûl* they were gathered together," and in Prov. xxiv. 31, where of "the field of the slothful," it is said, "it was all grown over with thorns (*kimmeshônîm*), and *charullîm* had covered the face thereof;" see also Zeph. ii. 9: the curse of Moab and Ammon is that they shall be "the breeding of *châr̂ûl* and salt-pits."

There is very great uncertainty as to the meaning of the word *châr̂ûl*, and numerous are the plants which commentators have sought to identify with it: brambles, sea-orache, butchers' broom, thistles, have all been proposed (see Celsius, *Hierob.* ii. 165). The generality of critics and some modern versions are in favour of the *nettle*. Some have objected to the nettle as not being of a sufficient size to suit the passage in Job (*l. c.*); but in our own country nettles grow to the height of six or even seven feet when drawn up under trees or hedges; and it is worthy of remark that, in the passage of Job quoted above, bushes and *châr̂ûl* are associated. Not much better founded is Dr. Royle's objection (Kitto's *Cyc.* art. *Charul*) that both thorny plants and nettles must be excluded, "as no one would voluntarily resort to such a situation;" for the people of whom Job is speaking might readily be supposed to resort to such a shade, as in a sandy desert the thorn-bushes and tall nettles growing by their side would afford; or we may suppose that those who "for want and famine" were driven into the wilderness were

[c] The only trace of any tradition corresponding to this theory is the description in the Arabian History of Joseph (c. 2), according to which he is of the city of David and the tribe of Judah, and yet, on account of his wisdom and piety, "sacerdos factus est in Templo Domini" (Tischendorf, *Evang. Apoc.*, p. 116).

[a] Comp. 2 K. xxv. 23, with Jer. xl. 8.

[b] φρύγανα (from φρύγω, "to burn," "to roast," with reference to the derivation of the Hebrew word) properly signifies "dry sticks," "fagots."

gathered together under the nettles for the purpose of gathering them for food, together with the sea-orache and juniper-roots (ver. 4). Celsius believes the *chârûl* is identical with the Christ-thorn (*Zizyphus Paliurus*)—the *Paliurus aculeatus* of modern botanists—but his opinion is by no means well founded. The passage in Proverbs (*l. c.*) appears to forbid us identifying the *chârûl* with the *Paliurus aculeatus*; for the context, "I went by, and lo it was all grown over with *kimshôn* and *charullim*," seems to point to some weed of quicker growth than the plant proposed by Celsius. Dr. Royle has argued in favour of some species of wild mustard, and refers the Hebrew word to one of somewhat similar form in Arabic, viz. *Khardul*, to which he traces the English *charlock* or *kedlock*, the well-known troublesome weed. The Scriptural passages would suit this interpretation, and it is quite possible that wild mustard may be intended by *chârûl*. The etymology [c] too, we may add, is as much in favour of the wild mustard as of the nettle, one or other of which plants appears to be denoted by the Hebrew word. We are inclined to adopt Dr. Royle's opinion, as the following word probably denotes the *nettle*.

2. *Kimmôsh* or *kîmôsh* (קִמּוֹשׁ, קִימוֹשׁ: ἀκάνθινα ξύλα, ἄκανθα, ὄλεθρος: *urticae*). "Very many interpreters," says Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 207), "understand the *nettle* by this word. Of the older Jewish doctors, R. Ben Melech, on Prov. xxiv. 31, asserts that *kimmôsh* is a kind of thorn (*spina*) commonly called a nettle." The Vulgate, Arias Montanus, Luther, Deodatius,[d] the Spanish and English versions, are all in favour of the nettle.

The word occurs in Is. xxxiv. 13: of Edom it is said that "there shall come up nettles and brambles in the fortresses thereof:" and in Hos. ix. 6. Another form of the same word, *kimmĕshônîm* [e] ("thorns," A. V.), occurs in Prov. xxiv. 31: the "field of the slothful was all grown over with *kimmĕshônîm*." Modern commentators are generally agreed upon the signification of this term, which, as it is admirably suited to all the Scriptural passages, may well be understood to denote some species of nettle (*Urtica*).

[W. H.]

NEW MOON (חֹדֶשׁ, רֹאשׁ הַחֹדֶשׁ: νεομηνία, νουμηνία: *calendae, neomenia*). The first day of the lunar month was observed as a holy day. In addition to the daily sacrifice there were offered two young bullocks, a ram and seven lambs of the first year as a burnt-offering, with the proper meat-offerings and drink-offerings, and a kid as a sin-offering (Num. xxviii. 11-15).[a] It was not a day of holy convocation [FESTIVALS], and was not therefore of the same dignity as the Sabbath. But, as on the Sabbath, trade and handicraft-work were stopped (Am. viii. 5), the Temple was opened for public worship (Ez. xlvi. 3; Is. lxvi. 23), and, in the kingdom of Israel at least, the people seem to have resorted to the prophets for religious instruction.[b] The trumpets were blown at the offering of the special sacrifices for the day, as on the solemn festivals (Num. x. 10; Ps. lxxxi. 3). That it was an occasion for state-banquets may be inferred from David's regarding himself as especially bound to sit at the king's table at the new moon (1 Sam. xx. 5-24). In later, if not in earlier times, fasting was intermitted at the new moons, as it was on the Sabbaths and the great feasts and their eves (Jud. viii. 6). [FASTS.]

The new moons are generally mentioned so as to show that they were regarded as a peculiar class of holy days, to be distinguished from the solemn feasts and the Sabbaths (Ez. xlv. 17; 1 Chr. xxiii. 31; 2 Chr. ii. 4, viii. 13, xxxi. 3; Ezr. iii. 5; Neh. x. 33).

The seventh new moon of the religious year, being that of Tisri, commenced the civil year, and had a significance and rites of its own. It was a day of holy convocation. [TRUMPETS, FEAST OF.]

By what method the commencement of the month was ascertained in the time of Moses is uncertain. The Mishna [c] describes the manner in which it was determined seven times in the year by observing the first appearance of the moon, which, according to Maimonides, derived its origin, by tradition, from Moses, and continued in use as long as the Sanhedrim existed. On the 30th day of the month watchmen were placed on commanding heights round Jerusalem to watch the sky. As soon as each of them detected the moon he hastened to a house in the city, which was kept for the purpose, and was there examined by the president of the Sanhedrim. When the evidence of the appearance was deemed satisfactory, the president rose up and formally announced it, uttering the words, "It is consecrated" (מקודש). The information was immediately sent throughout the land from the Mount of Olives, by beacon-fires on the tops of the hills. At one period the Samaritans are said to have deceived the Jews by false fires, and swift messengers were afterwards employed. When the moon was not visible on account of clouds, and in the five months when the watchmen were not sent out, the month was considered to commence on the morning of the day which followed the 30th. According to Maimonides the Rabbinists altered their method when the Sanhedrim ceased to exist, and have ever since determined the month by astronomical calculation, while the Caraites have retained the old custom of depending on the appearance of the moon.

The religious observance of the day of the new moon may plainly be regarded as the consecration of a natural division of time. Such a usage would so readily suggest itself to the human mind that it is not wonderful that we find traces of it amongst other nations. There seems to be but little ground for founding on these traces the notion that the Hebrews derived it from the Gentiles, as Spencer and Michaelis have done;[d] and still less for attaching

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c חָרוּל, from חַר (חָרַר, "to burn"), "addita terminatione hypochoristica ûl." See Fürst, *Heb. Conc.*; cf. [illegible]

d I.e. the Italian version of Diodati. We have often retained the Latin forms of writers, as being familiar to the readers of Celsius and Bochart.

e קִמְּשֹׁנִים, plur. from קִמָּשׁוֹן.

a The day of the new moon is not mentioned in Exodus, Leviticus, or Deuteronomy.

b 2 K. iv. 23. When the Shunammite is going to the prophet, her husband asks her, "Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither new moon nor sabbath.' See the notes of Vatablus, Grotius, and Keil.

c *Rosh Hashanah*, Surenhusius, ii. 338, sq.

d The three passages from ancient writers which seem most to the point of those which are quoted are in Macrobius, Horace, and Tacitus. The first says, "Priscis temporibus pontifici minori haec provincia delegata fuit, ut novae lunae primum observaret aspectum visamque regi sacrificulo nuntiaret" (*Sat.* i. 15). In the second the day is referred to as a social festival (*Od.* iii. 23, 9); and in Tacitus we are informed that the ancient Germans assembled on the days of new and full moon, considering

to it any of those symbolical meanings which have been imagined by some other writers (see Carpzov, *App. Crit.* p. 425). Ewald thinks that it was at first a simple household festival, and that on this account the law does not take much notice of it. He also considers that there is some reason to suppose that the day of the full moon was similarly observed by the Hebrews in very remote times. (Carpzov, *Apparat. Hist. Crit.* p. 423; Spencer, *De Leg. Heb.* lib. iii. dissert. iv.; Selden, *De Anu. Civ. Heb.* iv. xi.; Mishna, *Rosh Hashanah*, vol. ii. p. 338, ed. Surenhus.; Buxtorf, *Synagoga Judaica*, cap. xxii.; Ewald, *Alterthümer*, p. 394; Cudworth *on the Lord's Supper*, c. iii.; Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, cap. xi.) [S. C.]

NEW TESTAMENT. The origin, history, and characteristics of the constituent books and of the great versions of the N. T., the mutual relations of the Gospels, and the formation of the Canon, are discussed in other articles. It is proposed now to consider the Text of the N. T. The subject naturally divides itself into the following heads, which will be examined in succession:—

I. The History of the Written Text.
- §§1–11. The earliest history of the text. Autographs. Corruptions. The text of Clement and Origen.
- §§12–15. Theories of recensions of the text.
- §§16–25. External characteristics of MSS.
- §§26–29. Enumeration of MSS. §28. Uncial. §29. Cursive.
- §§30–40. Classification of various readings.

II. The History of the Printed Text.
- §1. The great periods.
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- §§6–10. §6. Walton; Curcellaeus; Mill. §7. Bentley. §8. G. v. Maestricht; Wetstein. §9. Griesbach; Matthaei. §10. Scholz.
- §§11–13. §11. Lachmann. §12. Tischendorf. §13. Tregelles; Alford.

III. Principles of Textual Criticism.
- §§1–9. External evidence.
- §§10–13. Internal evidence.

IV. The Language of the New Testament.

I. The History of the Written Text.

1. The early history of the Apostolic writings offers no points of distinguishing literary interest. Externally, as far as it can be traced, it is the same as that of other contemporary books. St. Paul, like Cicero or Pliny, often employed the services of an amanuensis, to whom he dictated his letters, affixing the salutation "with his own hand" (1 Cor. xvi. 21; 2 Thess. iii. 17; Col. iv. 18). In one case the scribe has added a clause in his own name (Rom. xvi. 22). Once, in writing to the Galatians, the Apostle appears to apologise for the rudeness of the autograph which he addressed to them, as if from defective sight (Gal. vi. 11). If we pass onwards one step, it does not appear that any special care was taken in the first age to preserve the books of the N. T. from the various injuries of time, or to insure perfect accuracy of transcription. They were given as a heritage to man, and it was some time before men felt the full value of the gift. The original copies seem to have soon perished; and we may perhaps see in this a providential provision against that spirit of superstition which in earlier times converted the symbols of God's redemption into objects of idolatry (2 K. xviii. 4). It is certainly remarkable that in the controversies at the close of the second century, which often turned upon disputed readings of Scripture, no appeal was made to the Apostolic originals. The few passages in which it has been supposed that they are referred to will not bear examination. Ignatius, so far from appealing to Christian archives, distinctly turns, as the whole context shows, to the examples of the Jewish Church (τὰ ἀρχαῖα—*ad Philad.* 8). Tertullian again, when he speaks of "the *authentic* epistles" of the Apostles (*De Praescr. Haer.* xxxvi., "apud quas ipsae *authenticae* litterae eorum recitantur"), uses the term of the pure Greek text as contrasted with the current Latin version (comp. *De Monog.* xi., "sciamus plane non sic esse in Graeco *authentico*"[a]). The silence of the sub-Apostolic age is made more striking by the legends which were circulated after. It was said that when the grave of Barnabas in Cyprus was opened, in the fifth century, in obedience to a vision, the saint was found holding a (Greek) copy of St. Matthew written with his own hand. The copy was taken to Constantinople, and used as the standard of the sacred text (Credner, *Einl.* §39; Assem. *Bibl. Or.* ii. 81). The autograph copy of St. John's Gospel (αὐτὸ τὸ ἰδιόχειρον τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ) was said to be preserved at Ephesus "by the grace of God, and worshipped (προσκυνεῖται) by the faithful there," in the fourth century (?), ([Petr. Alex.] p. 518, ed. Migne, quoted from *Chron. Pasch.* p. 5); though according to another account it was found in the ruins of the Temple when Julian attempted to rebuild it (Philostorg. vii. 14). A similar belief was current even in the last century. It was said that parts of the (Latin) autograph of St. Mark were preserved at Venice and Prague; but on examination these were shown to be fragments of a MS. of the Vulgate of the sixth century (Dobrowsky, *Fragmentum Pragense Ev. S. Marci*, 1778).

2. In the natural course of things the Apostolic autographs would be likely to perish soon. The material which was commonly used for letters, the papyrus-paper to which St. John incidentally alludes (2 John 12, διὰ χάρτου καὶ μέλανος; comp. 3 John 13, διὰ μέλανος καὶ καλάμου), was singularly fragile, and even the stouter kinds, likely to be used for the historical books, were not fitted to bear constant use. The papyrus fragments which have come down to the present time have been preserved under peculiar circumstances, as at Herculaneum or in Egyptian tombs; and Jerome notices that the library of Pamphilus at Caesarea was already in part destroyed (ex parte corruptam) when, in less than a century after its formation, two presbyters of the Church endeavoured to restore the papyrus MSS. (as the context implies) on parchment ("in membranis," Hieron. *Ep.* xxxiv. (141), quoted by Tischdf. in Herzog's *Encycl. Bibeltext des N. T.* p. 159). Parchment (2 Tim. iv. 13, μεμβράνας), which was more durable, was proportionately rare and more costly. And yet more than this. In the

them to be auspicious for new undertakings (*Germ.* c. xi).

[a] Griesbach (*Opuscula*, ii. 69-76) endeavours to show that the word simply means *pure, uncorrupted*.

first age the written word of the Apostles occupied the authoritative position above their spoken word, and the vivid memory of their personal teaching. And when the true value of the Apostolic writings was afterwards revealed by the progress of the Church, then collections of "the divine oracles" would be chiefly sought for among Christians. On all accounts it seems reasonable to conclude that the autographs perished during that solemn pause which followed the Apostolic age, in which the idea of a Christian Canon, parallel and supplementary to the Jewish Canon, was first distinctly realized.

3. In the time of the Diocletian persecution (A.D. 303) copies of the Christian Scriptures were sufficiently numerous to furnish a special object for persecutors, and a characteristic name to renegades who saved themselves by surrendering the sacred books (*traditores*, August. *Ep.* lxxvi. 2). Partly, perhaps, owing to the destruction thus caused, but still more from the natural effects of time, no MS. of the N. T. of the first three centuries remains.[b] Some of the oldest extant were certainly copied from others which dated from within this period, but as yet no one can be placed further back than the time of Constantine. It is recorded of this monarch that one of his first acts after the foundation of Constantinople was to order the preparation of fifty MSS. of the Holy Scriptures, required for the use of the Church, "on fair skins (ἐν διφθέραις εὐκατασκεύοις) by skilful caligraphists" (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 36); and to the general use of this better material we probably owe our most venerable copies, which are written on vellum of singular excellence and fineness. But though no fragment of the N. T. of the first century still remains, the Italian and Egyptian papyri, which are of that date, give a clear notion of the caligraphy of the period. In these the text is written in columns, rudely divided, in somewhat awkward capital letters (*uncials*), without any punctuation or division of words. The *iota*, which was afterwards *subscribed*, is commonly, but not always, *adscribed*; and there is no trace of accents or breathings. The earliest MSS. of the N. T. bear a general resemblance to this primitive type, and we may reasonably believe that the Apostolic originals were thus written. (Plate i. fig. 1.)

4. In addition to the later MSS., the earliest versions and patristic quotations give very important testimony to the character and history of the ante-Nicene text. Express statements of readings which are found in some of the most ancient Christian writers are, indeed, the first direct evidence which we have, and are consequently of the highest importance. But till the last quarter of the second century this source of information fails us. Not only are the remains of Christian literature up to that time extremely scanty, but the practice of verbal quotation from the N. T. was not yet prevalent. The evangelic citations in the Apostolic Fathers and in Justin Martyr show that the oral tradition was still as widely current as the written Gospels (Comp. Westcott's *Canon of the N. T.* pp. 125-195), and there is not in those writers one express verbal citation from the other Apostolic books.[c] This latter phenomenon is in a great measure to be explained by the nature of their writings. As soon as definite controversies arose among Christians, the text of the N. T. assumed its true importance. The earliest monuments of these remain in the works of Irenaeus, Hippolytus (Pseudo-Origen), and Tertullian, who quote many of the arguments of the leading adversaries of the Church. Charges of corrupting the sacred text are urged on both sides with great acrimony. Dionysius of Corinth († cir. A.D. 176, ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 23), Irenaeus (cir. A.D. 177; iv. 6, 1), Tertullian (cir. A.D. 210; *De Carne Christi*, 19, p. 385; *Adv. Marc.* iv. v. *passim*), Clement of Alexandria (cir. A.D. 200; *Strom.* iv. 6, §41), and at a later time Ambrose (cir. A.D. 375; *De Spir. S.* iii. 10), accuse their opponents of this offence; but with one great exception the instances which are brought forward in support of the accusation generally resolve themselves into various readings, in which the decision cannot always be given in favour of the catholic disputant; and even where the unorthodox reading is certainly wrong it can be shown that it was widely spread among writers of different opinions (*e. g.* Matt. xi. 27, "nec Filium nisi Pater et cui voluerit Filius revelare:" John i. 13, ὃς —ἐγεννήθη). Wilful interpolations or changes are extremely rare, if they exist at all (comp. Valent. ap. Iren. i. 4, 5, *add.* θεότητες, Col. i. 16), except in the case of Marcion. His mode of dealing with the writings of the N. T., in which he was followed by his school, was, as Tertullian says, to use the knife rather than subtlety of interpretation. There can be no reasonable doubt that he dealt in the most arbitrary manner with whole books, and that he removed from the Gospel of St. Luke many passages which were opposed to his peculiar views. But when these fundamental changes were once made he seems to have adhered scrupulously to the text which he found. In the isolated readings which he is said to have altered, it happens not unfrequently that he has retained the right reading, and that his opponents are in error (Luke v. 14 om. τὸ δῶρον; Gal. ii. 5, οἷς οὐδέ; 2 Cor. iv. 5?). In very many cases the alleged corruption is a various reading, more or less supported by other authorities (Luke xii. 38, ἐσπερινῇ; 1 Cor. x. 9, Χριστόν; 1 Thess. ii. 15, add. ἰδίους). And where the changes seem most arbitrary there is evidence to show that the interpolations were not wholly due to his school: Luke xviii. 19, ὁ πατήρ; xxiii. 2; 1 Cor. x. 19 (28), add. ἱερόθυτον. (Comp. Hahn, *Evangelium Marcionis*; Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* i. 403-486; Ritschl, *Das Evang. Marc.* 1846; Volckmar, *Das Evang Marc.*, Leipsic, 1852: but no examination of Marcion's text is completely satisfactory).

5. Several very important conclusions follow from this earliest appearance of textual criticism. It is in the first place evident that various readings existed in the books of the N. T. at a time prior to all extant authorities. History affords no trace of the pure Apostolic originals. Again, from the preservation of the first variations noticed, which are often extremely minute, in one or more of the primary documents still left, we may be certain that no important changes have been made in the sacred text which we cannot now detect. The materials for ascertaining the true reading are found to be

[b] Papyrus fragments of part of St. Matthew, dating from the first century (??), are announced (1861) for publication by Dr. Simonides.

[c] In the epistle of Polycarp some interesting various readings occur, which are found also in later copies. Acts ii. 24, τοῦ ᾅδου for τοῦ θανάτου; 1 Tim. vi. 7, ἀλλ' οὐδέ for δῆλον ὅτι οὐδέ; 1 John iv. 3, εἰς σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι. Comp. 1 Pet. i. 8 (Polyc. *ad Phil.* i. 4).

complete when tested by the earliest witnesses. And yet further: from the minuteness of some of the variations which are urged in controversy, it is obvious that the words of the N. T. were watched with the most jealous care, and that the least differences of phrase were guarded with scrupulous and faithful piety, to be used in after-time by that wide-reaching criticism which was foreign to the spirit of the first ages.[d]

6. Passing from these isolated quotations we find the first great witnesses to the apostolic text in the early Syriac and Latin versions, and in the rich quotations of Clement of Alexandria (†cir. A.D. 220) and Origen (A.D. 184-254). The versions will be treated of elsewhere, and with them the Latin quotations of the translator of Irenaeus and of Tertullian. The Greek quotations in the remains of the original text of Irenaeus and in Hippolytus are of great value, but yield in extent and importance to those of the two Alexandrine fathers. From the extant works of Origen alone no inconsiderable portion of the whole N. T., with the exception of St. James, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and the Apocalypse, might be transcribed, and the recurrence of small variations in long passages proves that the quotations were accurately made and not simply from memory.

7. The evangelic text of Clement is far from pure. Two chief causes contributed especially to corrupt the text of the Gospels, the attempts to harmonize parallel narratives, and the influence of tradition. The former assumed a special importance from the *Diatessaron* of Tatian (cir. A.D. 170. Comp. *Hist. of N.T. Canon*, 358-362; Tischdf. on Matt. xxvii. 49)[e] and the latter, which was, as has been remarked, very great in the time of Justin M., still lingered.[f] The quotations of Clement suffer from both these disturbing forces (Matt. viii. 22, x. 30, xi. 27, xix. 24, xxiii. 27, xxv. 41, x. 26, omitted by Tischdf. Luke iii. 22), and he seems to have derived from his copies of the Gospels two sayings of the Lord which form no part of the canonical text. (Comp. Tischdf. on Matt. vi. 33; Luke xvi. 11). Elsewhere his quotations are free, or a confused mixture of two narratives (Matt. v. 45, vi. 26, 32 f., xxii. 37; Mark xii. 43), but in innumerable places he has preserved the true reading (Matt. v. 4, 5, 42, 48, viii. 22, xi. 17, xiii. 25, xxiii. 26; Acts ii. 41, xvii. 26). His quotations from the Epistles are of the very highest value. In these tradition had no prevailing power, though Tatian is said to have altered in parts the language of the Epistles (Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 29); and the text was left comparatively free from corruptions. Against the few false readings which he supports (*e. g.* 1 Pet. ii. 3, Χριστός; Rom. iii. 26, Ἰησοῦν; viii. 11, διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικ. πν.) may be brought forward a long list of passages in which he combines with a few of the best authorities in upholding the true text (*e. g.* 1 Pet. ii. 2; Rom. ii. 17, x. 3, xv. 29; 1 Cor. ii. 13, vii. 3, 5, 35, 39, viii. 2, x. 24).

8. But Origen stands as far first of all the ante-Nicene fathers in critical authority as he does in commanding genius, and his writings are an almost inexhaustible storehouse for the history of the text. In many places it seems that the printed text of his works has been modernized; and till a new and thorough collation of the MSS. has been made, a doubt must remain whether his quotations have not suffered by the hands of scribes, as the MSS. of the N. T. have suffered, though in a less degree. The testimony which Origen bears as to the corruption of the text of the Gospels in his time differs from the general statements which have been already noticed as being the deliberate judgment of a scholar and not the plea of a controversialist. "As the case stands," he says, "it is obvious that the difference between the copies is considerable, partly from the carelessness of individual scribes, partly from the wicked daring of some in correcting what is written, partly also from [the changes made by] those who add or remove what seems good to them in the process of correction"[g] (Orig. *In Matt.* t. xv. §14). In the case of the LXX., he adds, he removed or at least indicated those corruptions by a comparison of "editions" (ἐκδόσεις), and we may believe that he took equal care to ascertain, at least for his own use, the true text of the N. T., though he did not venture to arouse the prejudice of his contemporaries by openly revising it, as the old translation adds (*In Matt.* xv. *vet. int.* "in exemplaribus autem Novi Testamenti hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi"). Even in the form in which they have come down to us, the writings of Origen, as a whole, contain the noblest early memorial of the apostolic text. And, though there is no evidence that he published any recension of the text, yet it is not unlikely that he wrote out copies of the N. T. with his own hand (Redepenning, *Origenes*, ii. 184), which were spread widely in after time. Thus Jerome appeals to "the copies of Adamantius," *i. e.* Origen (*In Mat.* xxiv. 36; *Gal.* iii. 1), and the copy of Pamphilus can hardly have been other than a copy of Origen's text (Cod. H_3 Subscription, Inf. §26). From Pamphilus the text passed to Eusebius and Euthalius, and it is scarcely rash to believe that it can be traced, though imperfectly, in existing MSS. as C L. (Comp. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* i. lxxvi. ff.; cxxx. ff.)

9. In thirteen cases (Norton, *Genuineness of the Gospels*, i. 234-236) Origen has expressly noticed varieties of reading in the Gospels (Matt. viii. 28, xvi. 20, xviii. 1, xxi. 5, xxi. 9, 15, xxvii. 17; Mark iii. 18; Luke i. 46, ix. 48, xiv. 19, xxiii. 45; John i. 3, 4; 28).[h] In three of these passages the variations which he notices are no longer found in our Greek copies (Matt. xxi. 9 or 15 οἴκῳ for υἱῷ; Tregelles, *ad loc.*; Mark iii. 18 (ii. 14) Λεβὴν τὸν τοῦ Ἀλφ. (?); Luke i. 46, Ἐλισάβετ for Μαριάμ; so in some Latin copies); in seven our copies are still divided; in two (Matt. viii. 28, Γαδαρηνῶν; John i. 28, Βηθαβαρᾷ) the reading which was only found in a few MSS. is now widely spread: in the remaining place (Matt.

[d] Irenaeus notices two various readings of importance, in which he maintains the true text, Matt. i. 18, τοῦ δὲ χριστοῦ (iii. 16, 2), Apoc. xiii. 18 (v. 30, 1).

The letter of Ptolemaeus (cir. A.D. 150) to Flora (Epiph. i. 216) contains some important early variations in the evangelic text.

[e] Jerome notices the result of this in his time in strong terms, *Praef. in Evang.*

[f] To what extent tradition might modify the current text is still clearly seen from the *Codex Bezae* and some Latin copies, which probably give a text dating in essence from the close of the 2nd century.

[g] These words seem to refer to the professional corrector (διορθωτής).

[h] To these Mr. Hort (to whom the writer owes many suggestions and corrections in this article) adds Matt. 22, from Cramer, *Cat. in* Eph. iv. 31, where Origen blames the insertion of εἰκῇ.

xvii. 17, Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν) a few copies of no great age retain the interpolation which was found in his time "in very ancient copies." It is more remarkable that Origen asserts, in answer to Celsus, that our Lord is nowhere called "the carpenter" in the Gospels circulated in the churches, though this is undoubtedly the true reading in Mark vi. 3 (Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 36).

10. The evangelic quotations of Origen are not wholly free from the admixture of traditional glosses which have been noticed in Clement, and often present a confusion of parallel passages (Matt. v. 44, vi. (33), vii. 21 ff., xiii. 11, xxvi. 27 f.; 1 Tim. iv. 1); but there is little difficulty in separating his genuine text from these natural corruptions, and a few references are sufficient to indicate its extreme importance (Matt. iv. 10, vi. 13, xv. 8, 35; Mark i. 2, x. 29; Luke xxi. 19; John vii. 39; Acts x. 10; Rom. viii. 28).

11. In the Epistles Origen once notices a striking variation in Heb. ii. 9, χωρὶς θεοῦ for χάριτι θεοῦ, which is still attested; but, apart from the specific reference to variations, it is evident that he himself used MSS. at different times which varied in many details (Mill, *Prolegg.* §687). Griesbach, who has investigated this fact with the greatest care (*Meletema* i. appended to *Comm. Crit.* ii. ix.-xl.), seems to have exaggerated the extent of these differences while he establishes their existence satisfactorily. There can be no doubt that in Origen's time the variations in the N. T. MSS., which we have seen to have existed from the earliest attainable date, and which Origen describes as considerable and widespread, were beginning to lead to the formation of specific groups of copies.

Though the materials for the history of the text during the first three centuries are abundant, nothing has been written in detail on the subject since the time of Mill (*Prolegg.* 240 ff.) and R. Simon (*Histoire Critique* . . . . . 1685-93). What is wanted is nothing less than a complete collection at full length, from MS. authority, of all the ante-Nicene *Greek* quotations. These would form a centre round which the variations of the versions and Latin quotations might be grouped. A first step towards this has been made by Anger in his *Synopsis Evv. Matt. Marc., Luc.* . . . . . 1851. The *Latin* quotations are well given by Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, 1751.

12. The most ancient MSS. and versions now extant exhibit the characteristic differences which have been found to exist in different parts of the works of Origen. These cannot have had their source later than the beginning of the third century, and probably were much earlier. In classical criticism, where the MSS. are sufficiently numerous, it is generally possible to determine a very few primary sources, standing in definite relations to one another, from which the other copies can be shown to flow; and from these the scholar is able to discover one source of all. In the case of the N. T. the authorities for the text are infinitely more varied and extensive than elsewhere, and the question has been raised whether it may not be possible to distribute them in like manner and divine from later documents the earliest history of the text. Various answers have been made which are quite valueless as far as they profess to rest on historical evidence; and yet are all more or less interesting as explaining the true conditions of the problem. The chief facts, it must be noticed, are derived from later documents, but the question itself belongs to the last half of the second century.

Bengel was the first (1734) who pointed out the affinity of certain groups of MSS., which, as he remarks, must have arisen before the first versions were made (*Apparatus Criticus*, ed. Burk, p. 425). Originally he distinguished three families, of which the *Cod. Alex.* (A) the Graeco-Latin MSS., and the mass of the more recent MSS. were respectively the types. At a later time (1737) he adopted the simpler division of "two nations," the Asiatic and the African. In the latter he included *Cod. Alex.*, the Graeco-Latin MSS., the Aethiopic, Coptic [Memphitic], and Latin versions: the mass of the remaining authorities formed the Asiatic class. So far no attempt was made to trace the history of the groups, but the general agreement of the most ancient witnesses against the more recent, a fact which Bentley announced, was distinctly asserted, though Bengel was not prepared to accept the ancient reading as necessarily true. Semler contributed nothing of value to Bengel's theory, but made it more widely known (*Spicilegium Observationum, &c.*, added to his edition of Wetstein's *Libelli ad Crisin atque Int. N. T.* 1766; *Apparatus, &c.* 1767). The honour of carefully determining the relations of critical authorities for the N. T. text belongs to Griesbach. This great scholar gave a summary of his theory in his *Historia Text. Gr. Epist. Paul.* (1777, *Opusc.* ii. 1-135) and in the preface to his first edition of the Greek Test. His earlier essay, *Dissert. Crit. de Codd. quat. Evang. Origenianis* (1771, *Opusc.* i.), is incomplete. According to Griesbach (*Nov. Test.* Praef. pp. lxx. ff.) two distinct recensions of the Gospels existed at the beginning of the third century: the *Alexandrine*, represented by B C L, 1, 13, 33, 69, 106, the Coptic, Aethiop., Arm., and later Syrian versions, and the quotations of Clem. Alex., Origen, Eusebius, Cyril. Alex., Isid. Pelus.; and the *Western*, represented by D, and in part by 1, 13, 69, the ancient Latin version and Fathers, and sometimes by the Syriac and Arabic versions. *Cod. Alex.* was to be regarded as giving a more recent (Constantinopolitan) text in the Gospels. As to the origin of the variations in the text, Griesbach supposed that copies were at first derived from the separate autographs or imperfect collections of the apostolic books. These were gradually interpolated, especially as they were intended for private use, by glosses of various kinds, till at length authoritative editions of the collection of the Gospels and the letters (εὐαγγέλιον, ὁ ἀπόστολος, τὸ ἀποστολικόν) were made. These gave in the main a pure text, and thus two classes of MSS. were afterwards current, those derived from the interpolated copies (*Western*), and those derived from the εὐαγγέλιον and ἀποστολικόν (Alexandrine, *Eastern*; *Opusc.* ii. 77-99; *Meletemata*, xliv.). At a later time Griesbach rejected these historical conjectures (*Nov. Test.* ed. 2, 1796; yet comp. *Meletem.* l. c.), and repeated with greater care and fulness, from his enlarged knowledge of the authorities, the threefold division which he had originally made (*N. T.* i. *Praef.* lxx.-lxxvii. ed. Schulz). At the same time he recognized the existence of mixed and transitional texts; and when he characterized by a happy epigram (*grammaticum egit Alexandrinus censor, interpretem occidentalis*) the difference of the two ancient families, he frankly admitted that no exist-

ing document exhibited either "recension" in a pure form. His great merit was independent of the details of his system: he established the existence of a group of ancient MSS. distinct from those which could be accused of Latinizing (Tregelles, *Horne*, p. 105).

13. The chief object of Griesbach in propounding his theory of recensions was to destroy the weight of mere numbers.[1] The critical result with him had far more interest than the historical process; and, apart from all consideration as to the origin of the variations, the facts which he pointed out are of permanent value. Others carried on the investigation from the point where he left it. Hug endeavoured, with much ingenuity, to place the theory on a historical basis (*Einleitung in N. T.* 1st ed. 1808; 3rd, 1826). According to him, the text of the N. T. fell into a state of considerable corruption during the second century. To this form he applied the term κοινὴ ἔκδοσις (*common edition*), which had been applied by Alexandrine critics to the unrevised text of Homer, and in later times to the unrevised text of the LXX. (i. 144). In the course of the third century this text, he supposed, underwent a threefold revision, by Hesychius in Egypt, by Lucian at Antioch, and by Origen in Palestine. So that our existing documents represent four classes: (1) The *unrevised*, D. 1, 13, 69 in the Gospels; D E_2 in the Acts; D_2 F_2 G_2 in the Pauline Epistles: the old Latin and Thebaic, and in part the Peshito Syriac; and the quotations of Clement and Origen. (2) The Egyptian recension of Hesychius; B C L in Gospels; A B C 17 in the Pauline Epistles; A B C Acts and Catholic Epistles; A C in the Apocalypse: the Memphitic version; and the quotations of Cyril. Alex. and Athanasius. (3) The Asiatic (Antioch-Constantinople) recension of Lucian; E F G H S V and the recent MSS. generally; the Gothic and Slavonic versions and the quotations of Theophylact. (4) The Palestinian recension of Origen (of the Gospels); A K M; the Philoxenian Syriac; the quotations of Theodoret and Chrysostom. But the slender external proof which Hug adduced in support of this system was, in the main, a mere misconception of what Jerome said of the labours of Hesychius and Lucian on the LXX. (*Praef. in Paralip.*; c. Ruff. ii. 27; and Ep. cvi. (135) §2. The only other passages are *De Viris illustr.* cap. lxxvii. Lucianus; *Praef. in quat. Ev.*); the assumed recension of Origen rests on no historical evidence whatever. Yet the new analysis of the internal character of the documents was not without a valuable result. Hug showed that the line of demarcation between the Alexandrine and Western families of Griesbach was practically an imaginary one. Not only are the extreme types of the two classes connected by a series of intermediate links, but many of the quotations of Clement and Origen belong to the so-called Western text. Griesbach in examining Hug's hypothesis, explained this phenomenon by showing that at various times Origen used MSS. of different types, and admitted that many Western readings are found in Alexandrine copies (*Meletem.* xlviii. comp. Lawrence, *Remarks on the Systematic Classification of MSS.* . . . . . 1814).

14. Little remains to be said of later theories. Eichhorn accepted the classification of Hug (*Einleitung*, 1818-27). Matthaei, the bitter adversary of Griesbach, contented himself with asserting the paramount claims of the later copies against the more ancient, allowing so far their general difference (*Ueber die sog. Recensionen* . . . . 1804; *N. T.* 1782-88). Scholz returning to a simpler arrangement divided the authorities into two classes, Alexandrine and Constantinopolitan (*N. T.* i. pp. xv. ff.), and maintained the superior purity of the latter on the ground of their assumed unanimity. In practice he failed to carry out his principles; and the unanimity of the later copies has now been shown to be quite imaginary. Since the time of Scholz theories of recensions have found little favour. Lachmann, who accepted only ancient authorities, simply divided them into Eastern (Alexandrine) and Western. Tischendorf, with some reserve, proposes two great classes, each consisting of two pairs, the Alexandrine and Latin, the Asiatic and Byzantine. Tregelles, discarding all theories of recension as historic facts, insists on the general accordance of ancient authorities as giving an ancient text in contrast with the recent text of the more modern copies. At the same time he points out what we may suppose to be the "genealogy of the text." This he exhibits in the following form:

D	ℵ B Z	
	C L Ξ 1 33	
	P Q T R	A
	X (Δ) 69	K M H
		E F G S U, &c.[k]

15. The fundamental error of the recension theories is the assumption either of an actual recension or of a pure text of one type, which was variously modified in later times, while the fact seems to be exactly the converse. Groups of copies spring not from the imperfect reproduction of the character of one typical exemplar, but from the multiplication of characteristic variations. They are the results of a tendency, and not of a fact. They advance *towards* and do not lead *from* that form of text which we regard as their standard. Individuals, as Origen, may have exercised an important influence at a particular time and place, but the silent and continual influence of circumstances was greater. A pure Alexandrine or Western text is simply a fiction. The tendency at Alexandria or Carthage was in a certain direction, and necessarily influenced the character of the current texts with accumulative force as far as it was unchecked by other influences. This is a general law, and the history of the apostolic books is no exception to it. The history of their text differs from that of other books chiefly in this, that, owing to the great multiplicity of testimony, typical copies are here represented by typical groups of copies, and the intermediate stages are occupied by mixed texts. But if we look beneath this complication general

[1] This he states distinctly (*Symb. Crit.* I. cxxii.):—'Praecipuus vero recensionum in criseos sacrae exercitio usus hic est, ut eorum auctoritate lectiones bonas, sed in paucis libris superstites defendamus adversus juniorum et vulgarium codicum innumerabilem poene turbam." Comp. id. ii. 624, n. The necessity of destroying this grand source of error was supreme, as may be seen not only from such canons as G. v. Maestricht (ii. §8, n.) but also from Wetstein's Rule xviii.. "Lectio plurium codicum caeteris paribus praeferenda est."

[k] "Those codices are placed together which appear to demand such an arrangement; and those which stand below others are such as show still more and more of the intermixture of modernized readings" (Tregelles, *Horne*, p. 106).

lines of change may be detected. All experience shows that certain types of variation propagate and perpetuate themselves, and existing documents prove that it was so with the copies of the N. T. Many of the links in the genealogical table of our MSS. may be wanting, but the specific relations between the groups, and their comparative antiquity of origin, are clear. This antiquity is determined, not by the demonstration of the immediate dependence of particular copies upon one another, but by reference to a common standard. The secondary uncials (E S U, &c.) are not derived from the earlier (B C A) by direct descent, but rather both are derived by different processes from one original. And here various considerations will assist the judgment of the critic. The accumulation of variations may be more or less rapid in certain directions. A disturbing force may act for a shorter time with greater intensity, or its effects may be slow and protracted. Corruptions may be obvious or subtle, the work of the ignorant copyist or of the rash scholar; they may lie upon the surface or they may penetrate into the fabric of the text. But on such points no general rules can be laid down. Here as elsewhere, there is an instinct or tact which discerns likenesses or relationships and refuses to be measured mechanically. It is enough to insist on the truth that the varieties in our documents are the result of slow and natural growth and not of violent change. They are due to the action of intelligible laws and rarely, if ever, to the caprice or imperfect judgment of individuals. They contain in themselves their history and their explanation.

16. From the consideration of the earliest history of the N. T. text we now pass to the aera of MSS. The quotations of DIONYSIUS ALEX. (†A.D. 264), PETRUS ALEX. (†c. A.D. 312), METHODIUS (†A.D. 311), and EUSEBIUS (†A.D. 340), confirm the prevalence of the ancient type of text; but the public establishment of Christianity in the Roman empire necessarily led to important changes. Not only were more copies of the N. T. required for public use (Comp. §3), but the nominal or real adherence of the higher ranks to the Christian faith must have largely increased the demand for costly MSS. As a natural consequence the rude Hellenistic forms gave way before the current Greek, and at the same time it is reasonable to believe that smoother and fuller constructions were substituted for the rougher turns of the apostolic language. In this way the foundation of the Byzantine text was laid, and the same influence which thus began to work, continued uninterruptedly till the fall of the Eastern empire. Meanwhile the multiplication of copies in Africa and Syria was checked by Mohammedan conquests. The Greek language ceased to be current in the West. The progress of the Alexandrine and Occidental families of MSS. was thus checked; and the mass of recent copies necessarily represent the accumulated results of one tendency.

17. The appearance of the oldest MSS. has been already described (§3). The MSS. of the 4th century, of which *Cod. Vatican.* (B) may be taken as a type, present a close resemblance to these. The writing is in elegant continuous (capitals) uncials,[m] in three columns,[n] without initial letters or *iota subscript*, or *ascript*. A small interval serves as a simple punctuation; and there are no accents or breathings by the hand of the first writer, though these have been added subsequently. *Uncial* writing continued in general use till the middle of the 10th century.[o] One uncial MS. (S), the earliest dated copy, bears the date 949; and for service books the same style was retained a century later. From the 11th century downwards *cursive* writing prevailed, but this passed through several forms sufficiently distinct to fix the date of a MS. with tolerable certainty. The earliest cursive Biblical MS. is dated 964 A.D. (Gosp. 14, Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 36 *note*), though cursive writing was used a century before (A.D. 888, Scrivener, *l. c.*). The MSS. of the 14th and 15th centuries abound in the contractions which afterwards passed into the early printed books. The material as well as the writing of MSS. underwent successive changes. The oldest MSS. are written on the thinnest and finest vellum: in later copies the parchment is thick and coarse. Sometimes, as in *Cod. Cotton.* (N = J), the vellum is stained. Papyrus was very rarely used after the 9th century. In the 10th century cotton paper (*charta bombycina*, or *Damascena*) was generally employed in Europe; and one example at least occurs of its use in the 9th century (Tischdf. *Not. Cod. Sin.* p. 54, quoted by Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 21). In the 12th century the common linen or rag paper came into use; but paper was "seldom used for Biblical MSS. earlier than the 13th century, and had not entirely displaced parchment at the aera of the invention of printing, c. A.D. 1450" (Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 21). One other kind of material requires notice, redressed parchment (παλίμψηστος, *charta deleticia*). Even at a very early period the original text of a parchment MS. was often erased, that the material might be used afresh (Cic. *ad Fam.* vii. 18; Catull. xxii.).[p] In lapse of time the original writing frequently reappears in faint lines below the later text, and in this way many precious fragments of Biblical MSS. which had been once obliterated for the transcription of other works have been recovered. Of these palimpsest MSS. the most famous are those noticed below under the letters C. R. Z. Ξ. The earliest Biblical palimpsest is not older than the 5th century (Plate i. fig. 3).

18. In uncial MSS. the contractions are usually limited to a few very common forms (ΘC, IC, ΠΗΡ, ΔΑΔ, &c., *i. e.* θεός, Ἰησοῦς, πατήρ, Δαυείδ; comp. Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 43). A few more occur in later uncial copies, in which there are also some examples of the ascript *iota*,

[a] Jerome describes the false taste of many in his time (c. A.D. 403) with regard to MSS. of the Bible: "Habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque descriptos, vel *uncialibus*, ut vulgo aiunt literis onera magis exarata, quam codices; dummodo mihi meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas, et non tam pulcros codices quam emendatos" (*Præf. in Esdram*, ix. 1044, ed. Migne).

[b] The Codex Sinaiticus (Cod. Frid. Aug.) has *four* columns; Cod. Alex. (A) *two*. Cf. Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 22, n., for other examples.

[o] A full and interesting account of the various changes in the uncial alphabet at different times is given by Scrivener, *Introduction*, pp. 27-36.

[p] This practice was condemned at the Quinisextine Council (A.D. 692), Can. 68; but the Commentary of Balsamon shows that in his time (†A.D. 1204) the practice had not ceased: σημείωσαι ταῦτα διὰ τοὺς βιβλιοκαπήλους τοὺς ἀπαλείφοντας τὰς μεμβράνας τῶν θείων γραφῶν. A Biblical fragment in the British Museum has been erased, and used *twice* afterwards for Syrian writing (Add. 17, 136. Cod. Nb Tischdf.).

which occurs rarely in the Codex Sinaiticus.[q] Accents are not found in MSS. older than the 8th century.[r] Breathings and the apostrophus (Tischdf. *Proleg.* cxxxi.) occur somewhat earlier. The oldest punctuation after the simple interval, is a stop like the modern Greek colon (in A C D), which is accompanied by an interval, proportioned in some cases to the length of the pause.[s] In E (Gospp.) and B_2 (Apoc.), which are MSS. of the 8th century, this point marks a full stop, a colon, or a comma, according as it is placed at the top, the middle, or the base of the letter (Scrivener. p. 42).[t] The present note of interrogation (;) came into use in the 9th century.

19. A very ingenious attempt was made to supply an effectual system of punctuation for public reading, by Euthalius, who published an arrangement of St. Paul's Epistles in clauses (*στίχοι*) in 458, and another of the Acts and Catholic Epistles in 490. The same arrangement was applied to the Gospels by some unknown hand, and probably at an earlier date. The method of subdivision was doubtless suggested by the mode in which the poetic books of the O. T. were written in the MSS. of the LXX. The great examples of this method of writing are D (Gospels), H_3 (Epp.), D_2 (Epp.). The *Cod. Laud.* (E_2 Acts) is not strictly stichometrical, but the parallel texts seem to be arranged to establish a verbal connexion between the Latin and Greek (Tregelles, *Horne*, 187). The *στίχοι* vary considerably in length, and thus the amount of vellum consumed was far more than in an ordinary MS., so that the fashion of writing in "clauses" soon passed away; but the numeration of the *στίχοι* in the several books was still preserved, and many MSS. (*e.g.* Δ Ep., K Gosp.) bear traces of having been copied from older texts thus arranged.[u]

20. The earliest extant division of the N. T. into sections occurs in Cod. B. This division is elsewhere found only in the palimpsest fragment of St. Luke, Ξ. In the Acts and the Epistles there is a double division in B, one of which is by a later hand. The Epistles of St. Paul are treated as one unbroken book divided into 93 sections, in which the Epistle to the Hebrews originally stood between the Epistles to the Galatians and the Ephesians. This appears from the numbering of the sections, which the writer of the MS. preserved, though he transposed the book to the place before the pastoral epistles.[v]

21. Two other divisions of the Gospels must be noticed. The first of these was a division into "chapters" (*κεφάλαια, τίτλοι, breves*), which correspond with distinct sections of the narrative, and are on an average a little more than twice as long as the sections in B. This division is found in A, C, R, Z, and must therefore have come into general use some time before the 5th century.[w] The other division was constructed with a view to a harmony of the Gospels. It owes its origin to Ammonius of Alexandria, a scholar of the 3rd century, who constructed a Harmony of the Evangelists, taking St. Matthew as the basis round which he grouped the parallel passages from the other Gospels. Eusebius of Caesarea completed his labour with great ingenuity, and constructed a notation and a series of tables, which indicate at a glance the parallels which exist to any passage in one or more of the other Gospels, and the passages which are peculiar to each. There seems every reason to believe that the sections as they stand at present, as well as the ten "Canons," which give a summary of the Harmony, are due to Eusebius, though the sections sometimes occur in MSS. without the corresponding Canons.[x] The Cod. Alex. (A), and the Cottonian fragments (N), are the oldest MSS. which contain both in the original hand. The sections occur in the palimpsests C, R, Z, P, Q, and it is possible that the Canons may have been there originally, for the vermilion (*κιννάβαρις*, Euseb. *Ep. ad Carp.*), or paint with which they were marked would entirely disappear in the process of preparing the parchment afresh.[y]

22. The division of the Acts and Epistles into chapters came into use at a later time. It does not occur in A or C, which give the Ammonian sections, and is commonly referred to Euthalius (Comp. §19), who, however, says that he borrowed the divisions of the Pauline Epistles from an earlier father; and there is reason to believe that the division of the Acts and Catholic Epistles which he published was originally the work of Pamphilus the Martyr (Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coislin.* p. 78). The Apocalypse was divided into sections by Andreas of Caesarea about A.D. 500. This division consisted of 24 *λόγοι*, each of which was subdivided into three "chapters" (*κεφάλαια*).[z]

23. The titles of the sacred books are from their nature additions to the original text. The distinct names of the Gospels imply a collection, and the titles of the Epistles are notes by the possessors and not addresses by the writers (*Ἰωάννου α*,

[q] As to the use of cursive MSS. in this respect of *iota ascript* or *subscript*, Mr. Scrivener found that "of forty-three MSS. now in England, twelve have no vestige of either fashion, fifteen represent the *ascript* use, nine the *subscript* exclusively, while the few that remain have both indifferently" (*Introduction*, p. 39). The earliest use of the subscript is in a MS. (71) dated 1160 (Scrivener, *l. c.*).

[r] Mr. Scrivener makes an exception in the case of "the first four lines of each column of the book of Genesis" in Cod. A, which, he says, is furnished with accents and breathings by the *first* hand (*Introduction*, p. 40). Dr. Tregelles, to whose kindness I am indebted for several remarks on this article, expressed to me his strong doubts as to the correctness of this assertion; and a very careful examination of the MS. leaves no question but that the accents and breathings were the work of the later scribe who accentuated the whole of the first three columns. There is a perceptible difference in the shade of the red pigment, which is decisively shown in the initial E.

[s] The division in John i. 3, 4, ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν (cf. Tregelles, *ad loc.*), Rom. viii. 20 (Origen), ix. 5, shows the attention given to this question in the earliest times

[t] Dr. Tregelles, whose acquaintance with ancient MSS. is not inferior to that of any scholar, expresses a doubt "whether this is at all uniformly the case."

[u] Comp. Tischdf. *N. T.* ed. 1859, under the subscriptions to the several books. Wetstein, *Prolegg.* pp. 100-102.

[v] The oldest division is not found in 2 Pet. (ed. Vercell. p. 125.) (Mr. Hort). It is found in Jude; 2, 3 John.

[w] The *κεφάλαια* do not begin with the beginning of the books (Griesbach, *Comm. Crit.* ii. 49). This is important in reference to the objections raised against Matt. i.

[x] These very useful canons and sections are printed in the Oxford Text (Lloyd) in Tischendorf (1859), and the notation is very easily mastered. A more complete arrangement of the canons, giving the order of the sections in each Evangelist, originally drawn up by Dr. Tregelles is found in Dr. Wordsworth's *Gk. Test.* vol. i.

[y] A comparative table of the ancient and modern divisions of the N. T. is given by Scrivener (*Introduction* p. 58).

[z] For the later division of the Bible into our present chapters and verses, see BIBLE, i. 214.

&c., &c.). In their earliest form they are quite simple, *According to Matthew*, &c. (κατὰ Μαθθαῖον κ.τ.λ.); *To the Romans*, &c. (πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κ.τ.λ.); *First of Peter*, &c. (Πέτρου α'); *Acts of Apostles* (πράξεις ἀποστόλων); *Apocalypse*. These headings were gradually amplified till they assumed such forms as *The holy Gospel according to John*; *The first Catholic Epistle of the holy and all-praiseworthy Peter*; *The Apocalypse of the holy and most glorious Apostle and Evangelist, the beloved virgin who rested on the bosom of Jesus, John the Divine*. In the same way the original subscriptions (ὑπογραφαί), which were merely repetitions of the titles, gave way to vague traditions as to the dates, &c., of the books. Those appended to the Epistles, which have been translated in the A. V., are attributed to Euthalius, and their singular inaccuracy (Paley, *Horae Paulinae*, ch. xv.) is a valuable proof of the utter absence of historical criticism at the time when they could find currency.

24. Very few MSS. contain the whole N. T., "twenty-seven in all out of the vast mass of extant documents" (Scrivener, *Introduction*, 61). The MSS. of the Apocalypse are rarest; and Chrysostom complained that in his time the Acts was very little known. Besides the MSS. of the N. T., or of parts of it, there are also Lectionaries, which contain extracts arranged for the Church-services. These were taken from the Gospels (εὐαγγελιστάρια), or from the Gospels and Acts (πραξαπόστολα), or rarely from the Gospels and Epistles (ἀποστολοευαγγέλια). The calendars of the lessons (συναξάρια), are appended to very many MSS. of the N. T.: those for the saints'-day lessons, which varied very considerably in different times and places, were called Μηνολόγια (Scholz, *N. T.*, 453-493; Scrivener, 68-75).

25. When a MS. was completed it was commonly submitted, at least in early times, to a careful revision. Two terms occur in describing this process, ὁ ἀντιβάλλων and διορθωτής. It has been suggested that the work of the former answered to that of "the corrector of the press," while that of the latter was more critical (Tregelles, *Horne*, 85, 86). Possibly, however, the words only describe two parts of the same work. Several MSS. still preserve a subscription which attests a revision by comparison with famous copies, though this attestation must have referred to the earlier exemplar.[1] (Comp. Tischdf. Jude *subscript.*); but the Coislinian fragment (H_3) may have been itself copied, according to the subscription, "with the copy in the library at Caesarea, written by the hand of the holy Pamphilus." (Comp. Scrivener, *Introduction*, p. 47). Besides this official correction at the time of transcription, MSS. were often corrected by different hands in later times. Thus Tischendorf distinguishes the work of two correctors in C, and of three chief correctors in D_2. In later MSS. the corrections are often much more valuable than the original text, as in 67 (Epp.); and in the *Cod. Sinait.* the readings of one corrector (2 b) are frequently as valuable as those of the original text.[2]

(The work of Montfaucon still remains the classical authority on Greek Palaeography (*Palaeographia Graeca*, Paris, 1708), though much has been discovered since his time which modifies some of his statements. The plates in the magnificent work of Silvestre and Champollion (*Paléographie Universelle*, Paris, 1841, *Eng. Trans.* by Sir F. Madden, London, 1850) give a splendid and fairly accurate series of facsimiles of Greek MSS. (Plates, liv.-xciv.). Tischendorf announces a new work on Palaeography (*N. T. Praef.* cxxxiii.), and this, if published, will probably leave nothing to be desired in the Biblical branch of the study.

26. The number of uncial MSS. remaining, though great when compared with the ancient MSS. extant of other writings, is inconsiderable. Tischendorf (*N. T. Praef.* cxxx.) reckons 40 in the Gospels, of which 5 are entire, B K M S U; 3 nearly entire, E L Δ; 10 contain very considerable portions, A C D F G H V X Γ Λ; of the remainder 14 contain very small fragments, 8 fragments more (I P Q R Z) or less considerable (N T Y). To these must be added ℵ (*Cod. Sinait.*), which is entire; Σ (?) a new MS. of Tischendorf (*Not. Cod Sin.* pp. 51-52), which is nearly entire; and Ξ (*Cod. Zacynth.*), which contains considerable fragments of St. Luke. Tischendorf has likewise obtained 6 additional fragments (*l. c.*). In the Acts there are 9 (10 with ℵ), of which 4 contain the text entire (ℵ A B), or nearly (E_2) so; 4 have large fragments, ($C\ D\ H_2\ G_2 = L_2$); 2 small fragments. In the Catholic Epistles 5, of which 4, $A\ B\ K_2\ G_2 = L_2$ are entire; 1 (C) nearly entire. In the Pauline Epistles there are 14, 2 nearly entire, $D_2\ L_2$; 7 have very considerable portions, $A\ B\ C\ E_2\ F_2\ G_2\ K_2$ (but E_3 should not be reckoned); the remaining 5 some fragments. In the Apocalypse 3, two entire ($A\ B_2$), one nearly entire (C). To these three last classes must be added ℵ, which is entire.

27. According to date these MSS. are classed as follows:—

Fourth century. ℵ B.
Fifth century. A C, and some fragments including Q T.
Sixth century. D P R Z, E_2, D_2 H_3, and 4 smaller fragments.
Seventh century. Some fragments including Θ.
Eighth century. E L Λ Ξ, B_2 and some fragments.
Ninth century. F K M X T Δ, H_2 $G_2 = L_2$, F_2 G_2 K_2 M_2 and fragments.
Tenth century. G H S U, (E_3).

28. A complete description of these MSS. is given in the great critical editions of the N. T.: here those only can be briefly noticed which are of primary importance, the first place being given to the latest discovered and most complete *Codex Sinaiticus*.

A (i). Primary Uncials of the Gospels.

ℵ (*Codex Sinaiticus* = *Cod. Frid. Aug.* of LXX.) at St. Petersburgh, obtained by Tischendorf from the convent of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai, in 1859. The fragments of LXX. published as *Cod. Frid. Aug.* (1846), were obtained at the same place by Tischendorf in 1844. The N. T. is entire, and the Epistle of Barnabas and parts of the Shepherd of

[1] Examples of the attestation and signature of MSS., with a list of the names of scribes, are given by Montfaucon (*Palaeographia*, pp. 39-108).

[2] Since the time of Wetstein the uncial MSS. have been marked by capital letters, the cursives by numbers (and later by small letters). In consequence of the confusion which arises from applying the same letter to different MSS., I have distinguished the different MSS. by the notation M, M_2, M_3, retaining the asterisk (as originally used) to mark the first, &c., hands.

Hermas are added. The whole MS. is to be published in 1862 by Tischendorf at the expense of the Emperor of Russia. It is probably the oldest of the MSS. of the N. T., and of the 4th century (Tischdf. *Not. Cod. Sin.* 1860).

A (*Codex Alexandrinus*, Brit. Mus.), a MS. of the entire Greek Bible, with the Epistles of Clement added. It was given by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, to Charles I. in 1628, and is now in the British Museum. It contains the whole of the N. T. with some chasms: Matt. i.–xxv. 6, ἐξέρχεσθε; John vi. 50, ἵνα–viii. 52, λέγει; 2 Cor. iv. 13, ἐπίστευσα–xii. 6, ἐξ ἐμοῦ. It was probably written in the first half of the 5th century. The N. T. has been published by Woide (fol. 1786), and with some corrections by Cowper (8vo. 1860).[c] Comp. Wetstein, *Prolegg.* pp. 13-30 (ed. Lotze). (Plate i. fig. 2.)

B (*Codex Vaticanus*, 1209), a MS. of the entire Greek Bible, which seems to have been in the Vatican Library almost from its commencement (c. A.D. 1450). It contains the N. T. entire to Heb. ix. 14, καθα: the rest of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Pastoral Epistles, and the Apocalypse were added in the 15th century. Various collations of the N. T. were made by Bartolocci (1669), by Mico for Bentley (c. 1720), whose collation was in part revised by Rulotta (1726), and by Birch (1788). An edition of the whole MS., on which Mai had been engaged for many years, was published three years after his death in 1858 (V voll. 4to. ed. Vercellone; N. T. reprinted Lond. and Leipsic). Mai had himself kept back the edition (printed 1828-1838), being fully conscious of its imperfections, and had prepared another edition of the N. T., which was published also by Vercellone in 1859 (8vo.). The errors in this are less numerous than in the former collation; but the literal text of B is still required by scholars. The MS. is assigned to the 4th century (Tischdf. *N. T.* cxxxvi.-cxlix.).

C (*Codex Ephraemi rescriptus*. Paris, *Bibl. Imp.* 9), a palimpsest MS. which contains fragments of the LXX. and of every part of the N. T. In the 12th century the original writing was effaced and some Greek writings of Ephraem Syrus were written over it. The MS. was brought to Florence from the East at the beginning of the 16th century, and came thence to Paris with Catherine de' Medici. Wetstein was engaged to collate it for Bentley (1716), but it was first fully examined by Tischendorf, who published the N. T. in 1843: the O. T. fragments in 1845. The only entire books which have perished are 2 Thess. and 2 John, but lacunae of greater or less extent occur constantly. It is of about the same date as *Cod. Alex.*

D (*Codex Bezae*. Univ. Libr. Cambridge), a Graeco-Latin MS. of the Gospels and Acts, with a small fragment of 3 John, presented to the University of Cambridge by Beza in 1581. Some readings from it were obtained in Italy for Stephens' edition; but afterwards Beza found it at the sack of Lyons in 1562 in the monastery of St. Irenaeus. The text is very remarkable, and, especially in the Acts, abounds in singular interpolations. The MS. has many lacunae. It was edited in a splendid form by Kipling (1793, 2 vols. fol.), and no complete collation has been since made; but arrangements have lately been (1861) made for a new edition under the care of the Rev. F. H. Scrivener. The MS. is referred to the 6th century. Cf. Credner, *Beiträge*, i. 452-518; Bornemann, *Acta Apostolorum*, 1848; Schulz, *De Codice D, Cantab.* 1827.[d]

L (*Paris. Cod. Imp.* 62), one of the most important of the late uncial MSS. It contains the four Gospels, with the exception of Matt. iv. 22–v. 14, xxviii. 17-20; Mark x. 16-20, xv. 2-20; John xxi. 15-25. The text agrees in a remarkable manner with B and Origen. It has been published by Tischendorf, *Monumenta Sacra Inedita*, 1846. Cf. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* i. lxvi.-cxli. It is of the 8th century.

R (*Brit. Mus. Add.* 17,211), a very valuable palimpsest, brought to England in 1847 from the convent of St. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert. The original text is covered by Syrian writing of the 9th or 10th century. About 585 verses of St. Luke were deciphered by Tregelles in 1854, and by Tischendorf in 1855. The latter has published them in his *Mon. Sacra Inedita*, ii. 1855. It is assigned to the 6th century. (Plate i. fig. 3.)

X (*Codex Monacensis*), in the University Library at Munich. Collated by Tischendorf and Tregelles. Of the 10th century.

Z (*Cod. Dublinensis rescriptus*, in the Library of Trin. Coll. Dublin), a palimpsest containing large portions of St. Matthew. It was edited by Barrett (1801); and Tregelles has since (1853) re-examined the MS. and deciphered all that was left undetermined before (*History of Printed Text*, pp. 166-9). It is assigned to the 6th century.

Δ (*Codex Sangallensis*), a MS. of the Gospels, with an interlinear Latin translation, in the Library of St. Gall. It once formed part of the same volume with G_3. Published in lithographed fac-simile by Rettig (Zurich, 1836).

Ξ (*Codex Zacynthius*), a palimpsest in possession of the Bible Society, London, containing important fragments of St. Luke. It is probably of the 8th century, and is accompanied by a *Catena*. The later writing is a Greek Lectionary of the 13th century. It has been transcribed and published by Tregelles (London, 1861).

The following are important fragments:—

I (Tischendorf), various fragments of the Gospels (Acts, Pauline Epistles), some of great value, published by Tischendorf, *Monumenta Sacra*, ii. 1855.

N (*Cod. Cotton.*), (formerly J N), twelve leaves of purple vellum, the writing being in silver. Four leaves are in Brit. Mus. (Cotton. C. xv). Published by Tischendorf, *Mon. Sacr. ined.*, 1846. Saec. vi.

N^b (Brit. Mus. *Add.* 17, 136), a palimpsest. Deciphered by Tregelles and Tischendorf, and published by the latter: *Mon. Sacr. ined.* ii. Saec. iv., v.

[c] It is much to be regretted that the editor has followed the bad example of Card. Mai in introducing modern punctuation, breathings, and accents, which are by no means always indifferent (*e. g.* Luke vii. 12, αὐτῇ χήρᾳ is given without note, where probably the MS. represents αὕτη (or αὐτή) χήρα). It is scarcely less unfortunate that he has not always given the original punctuation, however absurd it may appear, and the few contractions which occur in the MS. With these drawbacks, the text seems to be given on the whole accurately.

[d] An edition of four great texts of the Gospels (A, B, C, D) is at present (1861) in preparation at Oxford by the Rev. E. H. Hansell. The Greek text of D has been influenced in orthography by the Latin; *e. g.* Σαμαρεῖτάνων, λέπρωσος, φλαγελλώσας (Wetstein, *Prolegg.* 40); but the charge of more serious alterations from this source cannot be maintained.

P Q (*Codd. Guelpherbytani*, Wolfenbüttel), two palimpsests, respectively of the 6th and 5th centuries. Published by Knittel, 1762 and P again, more completely, by Tischendorf, *Mon. Sacr. ined.* iii. 1860, who has Q ready for publication.

T (*Cod. Borgianus*: Propaganda at Rome), of the 5th century. The fragments of St. John, edited by Giorgi (1789); those of St. Luke, collated by B. H. Alford (1859). Other fragments were published by Woide. (Tischdf. *N. T. Proleg.* clxvii.).

Υ (*Cod. Barberini*, 225, Rome). Saec. viii. Edited by Tischendorf, *Mon. Sacr. ined.* 1846.

Θ (*Cod. Tischendorf*, i., Leipsic). Saec. vii. Edited by Tischendorf, in *Mon. Sacr. ined.* 1846.

(ii.) The Secondary Uncials are in the Gospels:—

E (Basileensis, K. iv. 35, Basle). Collated by Tischendorf, Mueller, Tregelles. Saec. viii.

F (Rheno-trajectinus. Utrecht, formerly Bormeli). Coll. by Heringa, Traj. 1843. Saec. ix.

G (Brit. Mus. Harl. 5684). Coll. by Tregelles and Tischendorf. Saec. ix. x.

H (Hamburgensis. Seidelii). Coll. by Tregelles, 1850. Saec. ix.

K (Col. Cyprius. Paris, Bibl. Imp. 63). Coll. by Tregelles and Tischendorf. Saec. ix.

M (Col. Campianus. Paris, Bibl. Imp. 48). Coll. by Tregelles, and transcribed by Tischendorf. Saec. x.

S (Vaticanus, 354). Coll. by Birch. Saec. x.

U (Cod. Navianus. Venice). Coll. by Tregelles and Tischendorf. Saec. x.

V (Mosquensis). Coll. by Matthaei. Saec. ix.

Γ (Bodleianus). Saec. ix. Cf. Tischdf., *N. T.* p. clxiii. Coll. by Tischendorf and Tregelles. Fresh portions of this MS. have lately been taken by Tischendorf to St. Petersburgh.

Λ (Bodleianus). Saec. viii. (?). Cod. Tischendorf iii. (Bodleian). Saec. viii. ix. Coll. by Tischendorf and Tregelles.

Σ (St. Petersburgh). Saec. viii. ix. (?). A new MS. as yet uncollated.

B (i.). Primary Uncials of the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

א A B C D.

E_2 (*Codex Laudianus*, 35), a Graeco-Latin MS. of the Acts, probably brought to England by Theodore of Tarsus, 668, and used by Bede. It was given to the University of Oxford by Archbishop Laud in 1636. Published by Hearne, 1715; but a new edition has been lately undertaken (1861) by Scrivener, and is certainly required. Saec. vi. vii.

(ii.) The Secondary Uncials are—

$G_2 = L_2$ (Cod. Angelicus (Passionei) Rome). Coll. by Tischdf. and Treg. Saec. ix.

H_2 (*Cod. Mutinensis*, Modena), of the Acts. Coll. by Tischdf. and Treg. Saec. ix.

K_2 (Mosquensis), of the Catholic Epistles. Coll. by Matthaei. Saec. ix.

C (i.). Primary Uncials of the Pauline Epistles:

א A B C.

D_2 (Codex Claromontanus, *i. e.* from Clermont, near Beauvais, Paris, Bibl. Imp. 107), a Graeco-Latin MS. of the Pauline Epistles, once (like D) in the possession of Beza. It passed to the Royal Library at Paris in 1707, where it has since remained. Wetstein collated it carefully, and, in 1852, it was published by Tischendorf, who had been engaged on it as early as 1840. The MS. was independently examined by Tregelles, who communicated the results of his collation to Tischendorf, and by their combined labours the original text, which has been altered by numerous correctors, has been completely ascertained. The MS. is entire except Rom. i. 1-7. The passages Rom. i. 27-30 (in Latin, i. 24-27) were added at the close of the 6th century, and 1 Cor. xiv. 13-22 by another ancient hand. The MS. is of the middle of the 6th century. Cf Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* ii. 31-77.

F_2 (*Codex Augiensis*. Coll. SS. Trin. Cant. B, 17, 1), a Graeco-Latin MS. of St. Paul's Epistles, bought by Bentley from the Monastery of Reichenau (Augia Major) in 1718, and left to Trin. Coll. by his nephew in 1786. This and the *Cod. Boernerianus* (G_3) were certainly derived from the same Greek original. The Greek of the Ep. to the Hebrews is wanting in both, and they have four common lacunae in the Greek text: 1 Cor. iii. 8-16, vi. 7-14; Col. ii. 1-8; Philem. 21-25. Both likewise have a vacant space between 2 Tim. ii. 4 and 5. The Latin version is complete from the beginning of the MS. Rom. iii. 19, *μω λεγει, dicit*. The MS. has been admirably edited by F. H. Scrivener, Cambr. 1859. It is assigned to the 9th century. The Latin version is of singular interest; it is closer to the best Hieronymian text than that in G_3, especially when the Greek text is wanting (Scrivener, *Cod. Aug.* xxviii.), but has many peculiar readings and many in common with G_3.

G_3 (*Codex Boernerianus*. Dresden), a Graeco-Latin MS., which originally formed a part of the same volume with Δ. It was derived from the same Greek original as F_2, which was written continuously, but the Latin version in the two MSS. is widely different.[e] Δ and G_2 seem to have been written by an Irish scribe in Switzerland (St. Gall) in the 9th century. The Greek with the *interlinear* Latin version was carefully edited by Matthaei, 1791. Scrivener has given the variations from F_2 in his edition of that MS.

The following fragments are of great value:—

H_3 (Codex Coislinianus. Paris, Bibl. Imp. 202), part of a stichometrical MS. of the 6th century, consisting of twelve leaves: two more are at St. Petersburgh. Edited by Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coislin.* 251-61; and again transcribed and prepared for the press by Tischendorf. It was compared, according to the subscription (Tischdf. *N. T.* p. clxxxix.), with the autograph of Pamphilus at Caesarea.

M_2 (Hamburg; London), containing Heb. i. 1-iv. 3; xii. 20-end, and 1 Cor. xv. 52-2 Cor. i. 15 2 Cor. x. 13-xii. 5, written in bright red ink in the 10th century. The Hamburg fragments were collated by Tregelles: all were published by Tischendorf, *Anecdot. Sacr. et Prof.* 1855.

(ii.). The Secondary Uncials are:—

K_2, L_2.

E_2 (*Cod. Sangermanensis*, St. Petersburgh), a Graeco-Latin MS., of which the Greek text was badly copied from D_2 after it had been thrice corrected, and is of no value. The Latin text is of some slight value, but has not been well examined. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* ii. 77-85.

[a] At the end of the lacuna after Philemon 20 G_2 adds, ad laudicenses incipit epistola προς λαοδικησας αρχεται επιστολη; but the form of the Greek name shows almost conclusively that the Greek words are only a translation of the Latin title which the scribe found in his Latin MS., in which, as in many others, the apocryphal epistle to the Laodiceans was found.

D (i.). The Primary Uncials of the Apocalypse. ℵ A C.

(ii.). The Secondary Uncial is—

B_g (*Codex Vaticanus* (Basilianus), 2066). Edited (rather imperfectly) by Tischendorf, *Mon. Sacr.* 1846, and by Mai in his edition of B. Tischendorf gives a collation of the differences, *N. T.* Praef. cxlii-iii.

29. The number of the cursive MSS. (*minuscules*) in existence cannot be accurately calculated. Tischendorf catalogues about 500 of the Gospels, 200 of the Acts and Catholic Epistles, 250 of the Pauline Epistles, and a little less than 100 of the Apocalypse (exclusive of lectionaries); but this enumeration can only be accepted as a rough approximation. Many of the MSS. quoted are only known by old references; still more have been "inspected" most cursorily; few only have been thoroughly collated. In this last work the Rev. F. H. Scrivener (*Collation of about 20 MSS. of the Holy Gospels*, Camb. 1853; *Cod. Aug., &c.*, Camb. 1859) has laboured with the greatest success, and removed many common errors as to the character of the later text.[f] Among the MSS. which are well known and of great value the following are the most important:—

A. Primary Cursives of the Gospels.

1 (Act. i.; Paul. i.; *Basilecnsis*, K. iii. 3). Saec. x. Very valuable in the Gospels. Coll. by Roth and Tregelles.

33 (Act. 13; Paul. 17; Paris, Bibl. Imp. 14). Saec. xi. Coll. by Tregelles.

59 (Coll. Gonv. et Cai. Cambr.). Saec. xii. Coll. by Scrivener, 1860, but as yet unpublished.

69 (Act. 31: Paul. 37; Apoc. 14; *Cod. Leicestrensis*). Saec. xiv. The text of the Gospels is especially valuable. Coll. by Treg. 1852, and by Scriv. 1855, who published his collation in *Cod. Aug. &c.*, 1859.

118 (Bodleian. Miscell. 13; Marsh 24). Saec. xiii. Coll. by Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* i. ccii. ff.

124 (Caesar. Vindob. Nessel. 188). Saec. xii. Coll. by Treschow, Alter, Birch.

127 (Cod. Vaticanus, 349). Saec. xi. Coll. by Birch.

131 (Act. 70; Paul. 77; Apoc. 66; Cod. Vaticanus, 360). Saec. xi. Formerly belonged to Aldus Manutius, and was probably used by him in his edition. Coll. by Birch.

157 (Cod. Urbino-Vat. 2). Saec. xii. Coll. by Birch.

218 (Act. 65; Paul. 57; Apoc. 33; Caesar-Vindob. 23). Saec. xiii. Coll. by Alter.

238, 259 (Moscow, S. Synod. 42, 45). Saec. xi. Coll. by Matthaei.

[f] Mr. Scrivener has kindly furnished me with the following summary of his catalogue of N. T. MSS., which is by far the most complete and trustworthy enumeration yet made (*Plain Introduction*, p. 225):—

	Uncial.	Cursive.	Duplicates already deducted.
Gospels	34	601	32
Act. Cath. Epp.	10	229	12
Paul	14	283	14
Apoc.	4	102	..
Evangelistaria	58	183	6
Apostolos	7	65	..
Total	127	1463	64

262, 300 (Paris, *Bibl. Imp.* 53, 186). Saec. x. xi. Coll. (?) by Scholz.

346 (Milan. *Ambros.* 23). Saec. xii. Coll. (?) by Scholz.

2^{pe} (St. Petersburgh. *Petropol.* vi. 470). Saec. ix. Coll. by Muralt. (Transition cursive.)

c^{ccr}, g^{rer} (Lambeth, 1177, 528, Wetstein. 71). Saec. xii. Coll. by Scrivener.

p^{scr} (Brit. Mus. Burney 20). Saec. xiii. Coll. by Scrivener.

w^{scr} (Cambr. Coll. SS. Trin. B. x. 16). Saec. xiv. Coll. by Scrivener.

To these must be added the Evangelistarium (B. M. Burney, 22), marked y^{scr}, collated by Scrivener.[g] (Plate ii. fig. 4.)

The following are valuable, but need careful collation:[h]

13 (Paris, Bibl. Imp. 50). Coll. 1797. Saec. xii. (Cf. Griesbach, *Symb. Crit.* i. clix.-clxvi.).

22 (Paris, Bibl. Imp. 72). Saec. xi.

28 (Paris, Bibl. Imp. 379). Coll. Scholz.

72 (Brit. Mus. Harl. 5647). Saec. xi.

106 (Cod. Winchelsea). Saec. x. Coll. Jackson (used by Wetstein), 1748.

113, 114 (B. M. Harl. 1810, 5540).

126 (Cod. Guelpherbytanus, xvi. 16). Saec. xi.

130 (Cod. Vaticanus, 359). Saec. xiii.

209 (Act. 95; Paul. 138; Apoc. 46; Venice, Bibl. S. Marci 10). Saec. xv. The text of the Gospels is especially valuable.

225 (Vienna, *Bibl. Imp.* Kollar. 9, Forlos. 31). Saec. xii.

372, 382 (Rome, Vatican. 1161, 2070). Saec. xv. xiii.

405, 408, 409 (Venice, S. Marci, i. 10, 14, 15). Saec. xi., xii.

B. Primary Cursives of the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

13 = Gosp. 33, Paul. 17.

31 = Gosp. 69 (*Codex Leicestrensis*).

65 = Gosp. 218.

73 (Paul. 80. Vatican. 367). Saec. xi. Coll. by Birch.

95, 96 (Venet. 10, 11). Saec. xiv. xi. Coll. by Rinck.

180 (Argentor. Bibl. Sem. M.). Coll. by Arendt.

lo^{tl} = p^{scr} 61 (Tregelles), (Brit. Mus. *Add.* 20,003). Saec. xi. Coll. by Scrivener.

a^{scr} (Lambeth, 1182). Saec. xii. Coll. by Scrivener.

c^{ccr} (Lambeth, 1184). Coll. Sanderson ap. Scrivener.

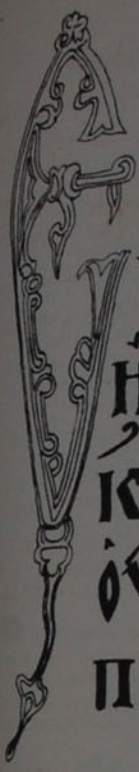
The following are valuable, but require more careful collation.

5 (Paris, *Bibl. Imp.* 106).

25, 27 (Paul. 31, Apoc. 7; Paul. 33. Brit. Mus.

[g] The readings marked 102 (Matt. xxiv.–Mark viii. 11) which were taken by Wetstein from the margin of a printed copy, and said to have been derived from a Mediocean MS., cannot have been derived from any other source than an imperfect collation of B. I have noticed 85 places in which it is quoted in St. Mark, and in every one, except ii. 22, it agrees with B. In St. Matthew it is noticed as agreeing with B 70 times, while it differs from it 5 times. These few variations are not difficult of explanation.

[h] It is to be hoped that scholars may combine to accomplish complete collations of the MSS. given in these lists. One or two summer vacations, with proper co-operation, might accomplish the work.



ΤΑΓΙΑΚΥΜΚΥΤΠΑΣ ∴
ΝΑΡΧΗΝΗΝΟΛΟ
ΓΟΣΚΑΙΟΛΟΓΟΣ
ΗΝΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΘΝ
ΚΑΙΘΣΗΝΟΛΟΓΟΣ
ΟΥΤΟΣΗΝΕΝΑΡΧΗ
ΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΘΝΠΑΝ

2. Brit. Mus.—Add. 20,003.—(Acts xiii. 18-20.)

καὶ ὡς τεσσαρακον
τα ἐτη χρόνων ἐτροποφόρησεν
αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ· καὶ καθελὼν
ἔθνη ἑπτὰ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν· κατὰ
κληρονόμησιν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν·
ὡς ἐτέσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ πεντη κοντα.

3. Brit. Mus.—Harl. 5540.—(St. John i. 1-3.)

ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος· καὶ ὁ λόγος
ἦν πρὸς τὸν θν· καὶ θς ἦν ὁ λόγος·
οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θν· πάν
τα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ

4. Brit. Mus.—Burney 22.—(St. John i. 1-3.)

καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸ
τὸν θν· καὶ θς ἦν ὁ
λόγος· οὗτος ἦν ἐν
ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν

τοῦ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ σώματος.[a] Rom. xii. 13, χρείαις, χρείαις. Hebr. ii. 9, χάριτι (?). And the remarkable substitution of καιρῷ for κυρίῳ in Rom. xii. 11 seems to have been caused by a false rendering of an unusual contraction. The same explanation may also apply to the variants in 1 Cor. ii. 1, μαρτύριον, μυστήριον. 1 Tim. i. 4, οἰκονομίαν, οἰκοδομίαν, οἰκοδομήν.

33. Other variations may be described as errors of *impression* or *memory*. The copyist after reading a sentence from the text before him often failed to reproduce it exactly. He transposed the words, or substituted a synonym for some very common term, or gave a direct personal turn to what was objective before. Variations of order are the most frequent, and very commonly the most puzzling questions of textual criticism. Examples occur in every page, almost in every verse of the N. T. The exchange of synonyms is chiefly confined to a few words of constant use, to variations between simple and compound words, or to changes of tense or number: λέγειν, εἰπεῖν, φάναι, λαλεῖν Matt. xii. 48, xv. 12, xix. 21; Mark xiv. 31; John xiv. 10, &c. ἐγείρω, διεγείρω Matt. i. 24. ἐγερθῆναι, ἀναστῆναι Matt. xvii. 9; Luke ix. 22. ἐλθεῖν, ἐπελθεῖν, ἐξελθεῖν Matt. xiv. 25; Luke xxiii. 33; Acts xvi. 39. Ἰ. Χ., Ἰησοῦς, Χριστός, ὁ κύριος Hebr. iii. 1; 1 Pet. v. 10; Col. iii. 17; Acts xviii. 25, xxi. 13. ὑπό, ἀπό, ἐκ Matt. vii. 4; Mark i. 26, viii. 31; Rom. xiii. 1, &c. ἔδωκα, δέδωκα, δίδωμι Luke x. 19; John vii. 19, xii. 49, &c. *sing.* and *plur.* Matt. iii. 8; 1 Pet. ii. 1; Matt. xiv. 18. The third form of change to a more personal exhortation is seen constantly in the Epistles in the substitution of the pronoun of the first person (ἡμεῖς) for that of the second (ὑμεῖς): 1 Pet. i. 4, 10, 12, &c. To these changes may be added the insertion of pronouns of reference (αὐτός, &c.): Matt. vi. 4, xxv. 17, &c. μαθηταί, μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ Matt. xxvi. 36, 45, 56; xxvii. 64, &c. πατήρ, πατήρ μου John vi. 65, viii. 28, &c. And it may be doubtful whether the constant insertion of connecting particles καί, δέ, γάρ, οὖν, is not as much due to an unconscious instinct to supply natural links in the narrative or argument, as to an intentional effort to give greater clearness to the text. Sometimes the impression is more purely *mechanical*, as when the copyist repeats a termination incorrectly: Apoc. xi. 9 (C); 1 Thess. v. 4 (?); 2 Pet. iii. 7 (?).[b]

34. (ii.) Of intentional changes some affect the expression, others the substance of the passage. (*a*) The intentional changes in language are partly changes of Hellenistic forms for those in common use, and partly modifications of harsh constructions. These may in many cases have been made unconsciously, just as might be the case if any one now were to transcribe rapidly one of the original MS. pages of Milton; but more commonly the later scribe would correct as mere blunders dialectic peculiarities which were wholly strange to him. Thus: the forms τεσσεράκοντα, ἐραννᾶν, ἐκαθεύδεθη, λεγίων, &c., ἦλθα, ἔπεσα, &c., and the irregular constructions of ἐάν, ὅταν, are removed almost without exception from all but a few MSS. Imperfect constructions are completed in different ways: Mark vii. 2, *add.* ἐμέμψαντο, or κατέγνωσαν; Rom. i. 32, *add.* οὐκ ἐνόησαν, &c.; 2 Cor. viii. 4, *add.* δέξασθαι; 1 Cor. x. 24, *add.* ἕκαστος. Apparent solecisms are corrected: Matt. v. 28, αὐτῆς for αὐτήν; xv. 32, ἡμέρας for ἡμέραι; Heb. iv. 2, συγκεκερασμένος for -μενους. The Apocalypse has suffered especially from this grammatical revision, owing to the extreme boldness of the rude Hebraizing dialect in which it is written: *e. g.* Apoc. iv. 1, 8, vi. 11, xi. 4, xxi. 14, &c. Variations in the orthography of proper names ought probably to be placed under this head, and in some cases it is perhaps impossible to determine the original form (Ἰσκαριώτης, Ἰσκαριώθ, Σκαριώθ; Ναζαρά, -εθ, -αθ, -ατ, -ετ).

35. (β) The changes introduced into the substance of the text are generally additions, borrowed either from parallel passages or from marginal glosses. The first kind of addition is particularly frequent in the Gospels, where, however, it is often very difficult to determine how far the parallelism of two passages may have been carried in the original text. Instances of unquestionable interpolation occur: Luke iv. 8, xi. 4; Matt. i. 25, v. 44, viii. 13, xxvii. 35 (49); Mark xv. 28; Matt. xix. 17 (compare Acts ix. 5, 6, xxii. 7, xxvi. 14). Similar interpolations occur also in other books: Col. i. 14; 1 Pet. i. 17; Jude 15 (Rom. xvi. 27); Apoc. xx. 2; and this is especially the case in quotations from the LXX., which are constantly brought into exact harmony with the original text: Luke iv. 18, 19, xix. 46; Matt. xii. 44, xv. 8; Heb. ii. 7, xii. 20.

Glosses are of more partial occurrence. Of all Greek MSS. *Cod. Bezae* (D) is the most remarkable for the variety and singularity of the glosses which it contains. Examples of these may be seen: Matt. xx. 28; Luke v. 5, xxii. 26-28; Acts i. 5, xiv. 2. In ten verses of the Acts, taken at random, the following glosses occur: Acts xii. 1, ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ; 3, ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἐπὶ τοὺς πιστούς; 5, πολλὴ δὲ προσευχὴ ἦν ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ περὶ αὐτοῦ; 7, ἐπέστη τῷ Πέτρῳ; 10, κατέβησαν τοὺς ζ βαθμούς. Some simple explanatory glosses have passed into the common text: Matt. vi. 1, ἐλεημοσύνην for δικαιοσύνην; Mark vii. 5, ἀνίπτοις for κοιναῖς; Matt. v. 11, ψευδόμενοι: comp. John v. 4 (Luke xxii. 43, 44).

36. (γ) Many of the glosses which were introduced into the text spring from the ecclesiastical use of the N. T., just as in the Gospels of our own Prayer-Book introductory clauses have been inserted here and there (*e. g.* 3rd and 4th Sundays after Easter: "Jesus said to His disciples"). These additions are commonly notes of person or place: Matt. iv. 12, xii. 25, &c., ὁ Ἰησοῦς inserted; John xiv 1, καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ; Acts iii. 11, xxviii. 1 (cf. Mill, *Prolegg.* 1055-6). Sometimes an emphatic clause is added: Matt. xiii. 23, xxv. 29; Mark vii. 16; Luke viii. 15, xii. 21, ὁ ἔχων ὦτα κ.τ.λ.; Luke xiv. 24, πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσιν κλητοὶ κ.τ.λ. But the most remarkable liturgical insertion is the doxology in the Lord's Prayer, Matt. vi. 13; and it is probable that the interpolated verse Acts viii. 37 is due to a similar cause. An instructive example of the growth of such an addition may be seen in the readings of Luke i. 55, as given in the text of the Gospel and in the collections of ecclesiastical hymns.

[a] By a similar change Athanasius (*De Incarn. Verbi*, 5) and others give in Wisd. ii. 23, κατ' εἰκόνα τῆς ἰδίας ἀϊδιότητος for the reading, τῆς ἰδίας ἰδιότητος.

[b] It was apparently by a similar error (Tregelles, *Horne*, 227) that, in the A. V. of Hebr. x. 23, "the profession of our *faith*" stands for "the profession of our *hope*." The former is found in no document whatever.

37. (δ) Sometimes, though rarely, various readings noted on the margin are incorporated in the text, though this may be reckoned as the effect of ignorance rather than design. Signal examples of this confusion occur: Matt. xvii. 26, xxvi. 59, 60 (D); Rom. vi. 12. Other instances are found, Matt. v. 19; Rom. xiv. 9; 2 Cor. i. 10; 1 Pet. iii. 8.

38. (ε) The number of readings which seem to have been altered for distinctly dogmatic reasons is extremely small. In spite of the great revolutions in thought, feeling, and practice through which the Christian Church passed in fifteen centuries, the copyists of the N. T. faithfully preserved, according to their ability, the sacred trust committed to them. There is not any trace of intentional revision designed to give support to current opinions (Matt. xvii. 21; Mark ix. 29; 1 Cor. vii. 5, need scarcely be noticed). The utmost that can be urged is that internal considerations may have decided the choice of readings: Acts xvi. 7, xx. 28; Rom. v. 14; 1 Cor. xv. 51; 2 Cor. v. 7; 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 John v. 7, in Latin copies; (Rom. viii. 11). And in some cases a feeling of reverence may have led to a change in expression, or to the introduction of a modifying clause: Luke ii. 33, Ἰωσήφ for ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ; ii. 43, Ἰωσὴφ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ for οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ; John vii. 39, οὔπω γὰρ ἦν πνεῦμα δεδομένον; Acts xix. 2 (D); Gal. ii. 5; Mark xiii. 32, *om.* οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός (cf. Matt. xxiv. 36); Matt. v. 22, *add.* εἰκῇ; 1 Cor. xi. 29, *add.* ἀναξίως (Luke xxii. 43, 44, *om.*).

But the general effect of these variations is scarcely appreciable; nor are the corrections of assumed historical and geographical errors much more numerous: Matt. i. 11, viii. 28, Γεργεσηνῶν; xxiii. 35, *om.* υἱοῦ Βαραχίου; xxvii. 9, *om.* Ἱερεμίου, or Ζαχαρίου; Mark i. 2, ἐν τοῖς προφήταις for ἐν Ἡσ. τῷ πρ.; ii. 28, *om.* ἐπὶ Ἀβ. ἀρχιερέως; John i. 28, Βηθαβαρᾷ; v. 2, ἦν δέ for ἔστι δέ; vii. 8, οὔπω for οὐκ (?); viii. 57, τεσσεράκοντα for πεντήκοντα; xix. 14, ὥρα ἦν ὡς τρίτη for ἕκτη; Acts xiii. 33, τῷ δευτέρῳ for τῷ πρώτῳ.

39. It will be obvious from an examination of the instances quoted that the great mass of various readings are simply variations in form. There are, however, one or two greater variations of a different character. The most important of these are John vii. 53–viii. 12; Mark xvi. 9–end; Rom. xvi. 25–27. The first stands quite by itself; and there seems to be little doubt that it contains an authentic narrative, but not by the hand of St. John. The two others, taken in connexion with the last chapter of St. John's Gospel, suggest the possibility that the apostolic writings may have undergone in some cases authoritative revision: a supposition which does not in any way affect their canonical claims: but it would be impossible to enter upon the details of such a question here.

40. Manuscripts, it must be remembered, are but one of the three sources of textual criticism. The versions and patristic quotations are scarcely less important in doubtful cases.[4] But the texts of the versions and the Fathers were themselves liable to corruption, and careful revision is necessary before they can be used with confidence. These considerations will sufficiently show how intricate a problem it is to determine the text of the N. T., where "there is a mystery in the very order of the words," and what a vast amount of materials the critic must have at his command before he can offer a satisfactory solution. It remains to inquire next whether the first editors of the printed text had such materials, or were competent to make use of them.

II. The History of the Printed Text.

1. The history of the printed text of the N. T. may be divided into three periods. The first of these extends from the labours of the Complutensian editors to those of Mill: the second from Mill to Scholz: the third from Lachmann to the present time. The criticism of the first period was necessarily tentative and partial: the materials available for the construction of the text were few, and imperfectly known: the relative value of various witnesses was as yet undetermined; and however highly we may rate the scholarship of Erasmus or Beza this could not supersede the teaching of long experience in the sacred writings any more than in the writings of classical authors. The second period marks a great progress: the evidence of MSS., of versions, of Fathers, was collected with the greatest diligence and success: authorities were compared and classified: principles of observation and judgment were laid down. But the influence of the former period still lingered. The old "received" text was supposed to have some prescriptive right in virtue of its prior publication, and not on the ground of its merits: this was assumed as the copy which was to be corrected only so far as was absolutely necessary. The third period was introduced by the declaration of a new and sounder law. It was laid down that no right of possession could be pleaded against evidence. The "received" text, as such, was allowed no weight whatever. Its authority, on this view, must depend solely on its critical worth. From first to last, in minute details of order and orthography, as well as in graver questions of substantial alteration, the text must be formed by a free and unfettered judgment. Variety of opinions may exist as to the true method and range of inquiry, as to the relative importance of different forms of testimony: all that is claimed is to rest the letter of the N. T. completely and avowedly on a critical and not on a conventional basis. This principle, which seems, indeed, to be an axiom, can only be called in question by supposing that in the first instance the printed text of the N. T. was guarded

[4] The history and characteristics of the Versions are discussed elsewhere. It may be useful to add a short table of the Fathers whose works are of the greatest importance for the history of the text. Those of the first rank are marked by capitals; the Latin Fathers by *italics*.

Justinus M., c. 103-168.
Irenaeus, c. 120-190.
Irenaei Interpres, c. 180.
TERTULLIANUS (Marcion), c. 160-240.
Clemens Alex., † c. 220.
Origenes, 186-253.
Hippolytus.
CYPRIANUS, † 257
Dionysius Alex., † 265.
Petrus Alex., † 313.
Methodius, † c. 311.
Eusebius Caesar, 264-340.
Athanasius, 296-373.
Cyrillus Hieros., 315-386.
LUCIFER, † 370.
Ephraem Syrus, † 378.
Basilius Magnus, 329-379.
HIERONYMUS, 340-420.
Ambrosius, 340-397.
AMBROSIASTER, c. 360.
Victorinus, c. 360.
Chrysostomus, 347-407.
Didymus, † 396.
Epiphanius, † 402.
Rufinus, c. 345-410.
AUGUSTINUS, 354-430.
Theodorus Mops. † 429.
Cyrillus Alex., † 444.
Hilarius, † 449.
Theodoretus, 393-458.
Euthallius, c. 450.
Cassiodorus, c. 468-566.
Victor Antiochenus.
Theophylactus, † c. 628.
Andreas (Apoc.), c. 635-700.
Primasius (Apoc.)
Johannes Damascenus, † c. 756.
Oecumenius, c. 950.
Euthymius, c. 1100.

from the errors and imperfections which attended the early editions of every classical text; and next that the laws of evidence which hold good everywhere else fail in the very case where they might be expected to find their noblest and most fruitful application—suppositions which are refuted by the whole history of the Bible. Each of these periods will now require to be noticed more in detail.

(i) *From the Complutensian Polyglott to Mill.*

2. *The Complutensian Polyglott.*—The Latin Vulgate and the Hebrew text of the O. T. had been published some time before any part of the original Greek of the N. T. The Hebrew text was called for by numerous and wealthy Jewish congregations (Soncino, 1482-88), the Vulgate satisfied ecclesiastical wants; and the few Greek scholars who lived at the close of the 15th century were hardly likely to hasten the printing of the Greek Testament. Yet the critical study of the Greek text had not been wholly neglected. Laurentius Valla, who was second to none of the scholars of his age (comp. Russell's *Life of Bp. Andrewes*, pp. 282-310, quoted by Scrivener), quotes in one place (Matt. xxvii. 12) three, and in another (John vii. 29), seven Greek MSS. in his commentaries on the N. T., which were published in 1505, nearly half a century after his death (Michaelis, *Introd.* ed. Marsh, ii. 339, 340). J. Faber (1512) made use of five Greek MSS. of St. Paul's Epistles (Michaelis, p. 420). Meanwhile the Greek Psalter had been published several times (first at Milan, 1481 ?), and the Hymns of Zacharias and the Virgin (Luke i. 42-56, 68-80) were appended to a Venetian edition of 1486, as frequently happens in MS. Psalters. This was the first part of the N. T. which was printed in Greek. Eighteen years afterwards (1504), the first six chapters of St. John's Gospel were added to an edition of the poems of Gregory of Nazianzus, published by Aldus (Guericke, *Einl.* §41). But the glory of printing the first Greek Testament is due to the princely Cardinal XIMENES. This great prelate as early as 1502 engaged the services of a number of scholars to superintend an edition of the whole Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek, with the addition of the Chaldee Targum of Onkelos, the LXX. version, and the Vulgate. The work was executed at Alcala (Complutum), where he had founded a university. The volume containing the N. T. was printed first, and was completed on Jan. 10, 1514. The whole work was not finished till July 10, 1517, about four months before the death of the Cardinal. Various obstacles still delayed its publication, and it was not generally circulated till 1522, though Leo X. (to whom it was dedicated) authorized the publication March 22, 1520 (Tregelles, *Hist. of Printed Text of N. T.*; Mill, *Prolegg.*).

The most celebrated men who were engaged on the N. T., which forms the fifth volume of the entire work, were Lebrixa (Nebrissensis) and Stunica. Considerable discussion has been raised as to the MSS. which they used. The editors describe these generally as "copies of the greatest accuracy and antiquity," sent from the Papal Library at Rome; and in the dedication to Leo acknowledgment is made of his generosity in sending MSS. of both "the Old and N. T."[r] Very little time, however, could have been given to the examination of the Roman MSS. of the N. T., as somewhat less than eleven months elapsed between the election of Leo and the completion of the Complutensian Testament; and it is remarkable that while an entry is preserved in the Vatican of the loan and return of two MSS. of parts of the LXX. there is no trace of the transmission of any N. T. MS. to Alcala (Tischdf. *N. T.* 1859, p. lxxxii. n.). The whole question, however, is now rather of bibliographical than of critical interest. There can be no doubt that the copies, from whatever source they came, were of late date, and of the common type.[s] The preference which the editors avow for the Vulgate, placing it in the centre column in the O. T. "between the Synagogue and the Eastern Church, tanquam duos hinc et inde latrones," to quote the well-known and startling words of the Preface "medium autem Jesum, hoc est, Romanam sive Latinam ecclesiam" (vol. i. p. iii. b.), has subjected them to the charge of altering the Greek text to suit the Vulgate. But except in the famous interpolation and omission in 1 John v. 7, 8, and some points of orthography (Βεελζεβούβ, Βελίαλ, Tischdf. p. lxxxiii.) the charge is unfounded (Marsh, on Michaelis ii. p. 851, gives the literature of the controversy). The impression was limited to six hundred copies, and as, owing to the delays which occurred between the printing and publication of the book, its appearance was forestalled by that of the edition of Erasmus, the Complutensian N. T. exercised comparatively small influence on later texts, except in the Apocalypse (comp. §3). The chief editions which follow it in the main, are those of (Plantin, Antwerp, 1564-1612; Geneva, 1609-1632; Mainz, 1753 (Reuss, *Gesch. d. N. T.* §401; Le Long, *Biblioth. Sacra*, ed. Masch, i. 191-195); Mill regretted that it was not accepted as the standard text (*Proleg.* 1115); and has given a long list of passages in which it offers, in his opinion, better readings than the Stephanic or Elzevirian texts (*Proleg.* 1098-1114).

3. *The editions of Erasmus.*—The history of the edition of ERASMUS, which was the first *published* edition of the N. T., is happily free from all obscurity. Erasmus had paid consider-

[r] "Testari possumus, Pater sanctissime [*i.e.* Leo X.], maximam laboris nostri partem in eo praecipue versatam fuisse ut....... castigatissima omni ex parte vetustissimaque exemplaria pro archetypis haberemus, quorum quidem tam Hebraeorum quam Graecorum ac Latinorum multiplicem copiam variis ex locis non sine summo labore conquisivimus. Atque ex ipsis quidem Graeca Sanctitati tuae debemus: qui ex ista Apostolica Bibliotheca antiquissimos tum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti codices perquam humane ad nos misisti; qui nobis in hoc negocio maxime fuerunt adjumento" (*Prol.* iii. *a*). And again, Tom. v. *Praef.*: "Illud lectorem non lateat, non quaevis exemplaria impressioni huic archetypa fuisse, sed antiquissima emendatissimaque ac tantae praeterea vetustatis ut fidem eis abrogare nefas videatur (πρὸς δυσκόλον τεταφάτων και βεβήλον, *sic*) quae sanctissimus in Christo pater Leo X. pontifex maximus huic instituto favere cupiens ex Apostolica Bibliotheca educta misit."

[s] One MS. is specially appealed to by Stunica in his controversy with Erasmus, the *Cod. Rhodiensis*, but nothing is known of it which can lead to its identification. The famous story of the destruction of MSS. by the firework maker, as useless parchments, has been fully and clearly refuted. All the MSS. of Ximenes which were used for the Polyglott are now at Madrid, but there is no MS. of any part of the Gk. Test. among them (Tregelles, *Hist. of Printed Text*, pp. 12-18). The edition has many readings in common with the Laudian MS. numbered 51 Gosp., 32 Acts, 38 Paul (Mill, *Proleg.* 1090, 1436-38) Many of the peculiar readings are collected by Mill (*Proleg.* 1092-1095).

able attention to the study of the N. T. when he received an application from Froben, a printer of Basle with whom he was acquainted, to prepare a Greek text for the press. Froben was anxious to anticipate the publication of the Complutensian edition, and the haste with which the work of Erasmus was completed, shows that little consideration was paid to the exigences of textual criticism. The request was made on April 17, 1515, while Erasmus was in England. The details of the printing were not settled in September in the same year, and the whole work was finished in February 1516 Tregelles, *Hist. of Printed Text*, 19, 20). The work, as Erasmus afterwards confessed, was done in reckless haste ("praecipitatum verius quam editum." Comp. *Epp.* v. 26; xii. 19), and that too in the midst of other heavy literary labours (*Ep.* i. 7. Comp. Wetstein, *Prolegg.* p. 166-7).[t] The MSS. which formed the basis of his edition are still, with one exception, preserved at Basle; and two which he used for the press contain the corrections of Erasmus and the printer's marks (Michaelis, ii. 220, 221). The one is a MS. of the Gospels of the 16th century of the ordinary late type (marked 2 Gosp. in the catalogues of MSS. since Wetstein); the other a MS. of the Acts and the Epistles (2 Acts. Epp.), somewhat older but of the same general character.[u] Erasmus also made some use of two other Basle MSS. (1 Gosp.; 4 Acts. Epp.); the former of these is of great value, but the important variations from the common text which it offers, made him suspect that it had been altered from the Latin.[v] For the Apocalypse he had only an imperfect MS. which belonged to Reuchlin. The last six verses were wanting, and these he translated from the Latin,[x] a process which he adopted in other places where it was less excusable. The received text contains two memorable instances of this bold interpolation. The one is Acts viii. 37, which Erasmus, as he says, found written in the margin of a Greek MS., though it was wanting in that which he used: the other is Acts ix. 5, 6, σκληρόν σοι —ἀνάστηθι for ἀλλὰ ἀνάστηθι, which has been found as yet in no Greek MS. whatsoever, though it is still perpetuated on the ground of Erasmus' conjecture. But he did not insert the testimony of the heavenly witnesses (1 John v. 7), an act of critical faithfulness which exposed him to the attacks of enemies. Among these was Stunica—his rival editor—and when argument failed to silence calumny, he promised to insert the words in question on the authority of any one Greek MS. The edition of Erasmus, like the Complutensian, was dedicated to Leo X.; and it is a noble trait of the generosity of Cardinal Ximenes, that when Stunica wished to disparage the work of Erasmus which robbed him of his well-earned honour, he checked him in the words of Moses, "I would that all might thus prophecy." Num. xi. 29 (Tregelles, p. 19). After his first edition was published Erasmus continued his labours on the N. T. *Ep.* iii. 31; and in March, 1519, a second edition appeared which was altered in about 400 places, of which Mill reckons that 330 were improvements (*Prolegg.* §1134). But his chief labour seems to have been spent upon the Latin version, and in exposing the "solecisms" of the common Vulgate, the value of which he completely misunderstood (comp. Mill, *Prolegg.* 1124-1133).[y] These two editions consisted of 3300 copies, and a third edition was required in 1522, when the Complutensian Polyglott also came into circulation. In this edition 1 John v. 7 was inserted for the first time, according to the promise of Erasmus, on the authority of the "Codex Britannicus" (*i. e.* Cod. Montfortianus), in a form which obviously betrays its origin as a clumsy translation from the Vulgate ("ne cui foret causa calumniandi," *Apol. ad Stunicam*, ad loc.).[z] The text was altered in about 118 places (Mill, *Prolegg.* 1138). Of these corrections 36 were borrowed from an edition published at Venice in the office of ALDUS, 1518, which was taken in the main from the first edition of Erasmus, even so as to preserve errors of the press, but yet differed from it in about 200 places, partly from error and partly on MS. authority (Mill, §1122). This edition is further remarkable as giving a few (19) various readings. Three other early editions give a text formed from the second edition of Erasmus and the Aldine, those of Hagenau, 1521, of Cephalaeus at Strasburg, 1524, of Bebelius at Basle, 1531. Erasmus at length

[t] A marvellous proof of haste occurs on the title-page, in which he quotes "Vulgarius" among the chief fathers whose authority he followed. The name was formed from the title of the see of Theophylact (Bulgaria), and Theophylact was converted into an epithet. This "Vulgarius" is quoted on Luke xi. 35, and the name remained unchanged in subsequent editions (Wetstein, *Proleg.* 169).

[u] According to Mill (*Proleg.* 1120), Erasmus altered the text in a little more than fifty places in the Acts, and in about two hundred places in the Epistles, of which changes all but about forty were improvements. Specimens of the corrections on the margin of the MS. are given by Wetstein (*Proleg.* p. 56, ed. Lotze). Of these several were simply on the authority of the Vulgate, one of which (Matt. ii. 11, εὗρον for εἶδον) has retained its place in the received text.

[v] The reading in the received text, Mark vi. 15, ἢ ὡς εἷς τῶν προφητῶν, in place of ὡς εἷς τῶν προφητῶν, is a change introduced by Erasmus on the authority of this MS., which has been supported by some slight additional evidence since. Mill (*Proleg.* §§1117, 18) states that Erasmus used the uncial Basle MS. of the Gospels (E), "correcting it rightly in about sixty-eight places, wrongly in about fifty-seven." This opinion has been refuted by Wetstein (*Proleg.* p. 50). The MS. was not then at Basle: "Hicce codex Basileensi Academiae dono datus est anno 1559 (Lotze ad Wetstein, *l. c.*)

[x] Traces of this unauthorized retranslation remain in the received text: Apoc. xxii. 16, ὀρθρινός. 17. ἀλλ' (bis) ἐλθέτω; λαμβανέτω τό. 18. συμμαρτυροῦμαι γάρ, ἐπι τιθῇ πρὸς ταῦτα. 19. ἀφαιρῇ βίβλου, ἀπὸ βίβλου τ. ζ. Some of these are obvious blunders in rendering from the Latin, and yet they are consecrated by use.

[y] Luther's German version was made from this text (Reuss, *Gesch. d. H. S.* §400). One conjecture of Erasmus, 1 Pet. iii. 20, ἅπαξ ἐξεδέχετο, supported by no MS., passed from this edition into the received text.

[z] In the course of the controversy on this passage the *Cod. Vatic.* B was appealed to (1521). Some years later (1534) Sepulveda describes the MS. in a letter to Erasmus, giving a general description of its agreement with the Vulgate, and a selection of various readings. In reply to this Erasmus appeals to a supposed *foedus cum Graecis*, made at the Council of Florence, 1439, in accordance with which Greek copies were to be altered to agree with the Latin; and argues that B may have been so altered. When Sepulveda answers that no such compact was made, Erasmus replies that he had heard from Cuthbert Tonstall, of Durham that it was agreed that the Greek MSS. should be corrected to harmonize with the Latin, and took the statement for granted. Yet on this simple misunderstanding the credit of the oldest MSS. has been impugned. The influence of the idea in "*foedus cum Graecis*" has survived all belief in the fact (Tregelles, *Horne*, iv. pp. xv.-xvii.)

obtained a copy of the Complutensian text, and in his fourth edition in 1527, gave some various readings from it in addition to those which he had already noted, and used it to correct his own text in the Apocalypse in 90 places, while elsewhere he introduced only 16 changes (Mill, §1141). His fifth and last edition (1535) differs only in 4 places from the fourth, and the fourth edition afterwards became the basis of the received text. This, it will be seen, rested on scanty and late Greek evidence, without the help of any versions except the Latin, which was itself so deformed in common copies, as not to show its true character and weight.

4. *The editions of Stephens.*—The scene of our history now changes from Basle to Paris. In 1543, Simon de Colines (COLINAEUS) published a Greek text of the N. T., corrected in about 150 places on fresh MS. authority. He was charged by Beza with making changes by conjecture; but of the ten examples quoted by Mill, all but one (Matt. viii. 33, ἅπαντα for πάντα) are supported by MSS., and four by the Parisian MS. *Reg.* 85 (119 Gospp.).[a] The edition of Colinaeus does not appear to have obtained any wide influence. Not long after it appeared, R. Estienne (STEPHANUS) published his first edition (1546), which was based on a collation of MSS. in the Royal Library with the Complutensian text.[b] He gives no detailed description of the MSS. which he used, and their character can only be discovered by the quotation of their readings, which is given in the third edition. According to Mill, the text differs from the Complutensian in 581 places, and in 198 of these it follows the last edition of Erasmus. The former printed texts are abandoned in only 37 places in favour of the MSS., and the Erasmian reading is often preferred to that supported by all the other Greek authorities with which Stephens is known to have been acquainted: *e.g.* Matt. vi. 18, viii. 5, ix. 5, &c.[c] A second edition very closely resembling the first both in form and text, having the same preface and the same number of pages and lines, was published in 1549; but the great edition of Stephens is that known as the *Regia*, published in 1550.[d] In this a systematic collection of various readings, amounting, it is said, to 2194 (Mill, §1227), is given for the first time; but still no consistent critical use was made of them. Of the authorities which he quoted most have been since identified. They were the Complutensian text, 10 MSS. of the Gospels, 8 of the Acts, 7 of the Catholic Epistles, 8 of the Pauline Epistles, 2 of the Apocalypse, in all 15 distinct MSS. One of these was the *Codex Bezae* (D). Two have not yet been recognised (Comp. Griesbach, N. T. ff. xxiv.–xxxvi.). The collations were made by his son Henry Stephens; but they fail entirely to satisfy the requirements of exact criticism. The various readings of D alone in the Gospels and Acts are more than the whole number given by Stephens; or, to take another example, while only 598 variants of the Complutensian are given, Mill calculates that 700 are omitted (*Prolegg.* §1226). Nor was the use made of the materials more satisfactory than their quality. Less than thirty changes were made on MS. authority (Mill. 1228); and except in the Apocalypse, which follows the Complutensian text most closely, "it hardly ever deserts the last edition of Erasmus" (Tregelles). Numerous instances occur in which Stephens deserts his former text and *all his MSS.* to restore an Erasmian reading. Mill quotes the following examples among others, which are the most interesting, because they have passed from the Stephanic text into our A. V. Matt. ii. 11, εὗρον for εἶδον (without the authority of any Greek MS., as far as I know, though Scholz says "*cum codd. multis*"), iii. 8, καρποὺς ἀξίους for καρπὸν ἄξιον. Mark vi. 33 *add.* οἱ ὄχλοι: xvi. 8 *add.* ταχύ. Luke vii. 31 *add.* εἶπε δὲ ὁ κύριος. John xiv. 30 *add.* τούτου. Acts v. 23 *add.* ἔξω. Rom. ii. 5 *om.* καὶ before δικαιοκρισίας. James v. 9, κατακριθῆτε for κριθῆτε. Prescription as yet occupied the place of evidence; and it was well that the work of the textual critic was reserved for a time when he could command trustworthy and complete collations. Stephens published a fourth edition in 1537 (Geneva), which is only remarkable as giving for the first time the present division into verses.

5. *The editions of Beza and Elzevir.*—Nothing can illustrate more clearly the deficiency among scholars of the first elements of the textual criticism of the N. T. than the annotations of BEZA (1556). This great divine obtained from H. Stephens a copy of the N. T. in which he had noted down various readings from about twenty-five MSS. and from the early editions (Cf. Marsh, on Michaelis, ii. 858-60), but he used the collection rather for exegetical than for critical purposes. Thus he pronounced in favour of the obvious interpolations in Matt. i. 11; John xviii. 13, which have consequently obtained a place in the margin of the A. V., and elsewhere maintained readings which, on critical grounds, are wholly indefensible: Matt ii. 17; Mark iii. 16, xvi. 2. The interpolation in Apoc. xi. 11, καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος εἱστήκει has passed

[a] An examination of the readings quoted from Colinaeus by Mill shows conclusively that he used Cod. 119 of the Gospels, 10 of the Pauline Epistles (8 of the Acts, the MS. marked 48 by Stephens), and probably 33 of the Gospels and 5 of the Catholic Epistles. The readings in 1 Cor. xiv. 2, 1 Pet. v. 2, 2 Pet. iii. 17, seem to be mere errors, and are apparently supported by no authority.

[b] This edition and its counterpart (1549) are known as the "*O mirificam*" edition, from the opening words of the preface: "O mirificam regis nostri optimi et praestantissimi principis liberalitatem," in allusion to the new fount of small Greek type which the king had ordered to be cut, and which was now used for the first time.

[c] "The Complutensian influence on these editions has been over-estimated. In the last verses of the Apocalypse (§9) they follow what Erasmus supplied, and not any Greek authority" (Tregelles).

[d] Stephens' own description of his edition cannot be received literally. "Codices nacti aliquot ipsa vetustatis specie admodum, quorum copiam nobis bibliotheca regia facile suppeditabit, ex iis ita hunc nostrum recensuimus, *ut nullam omnino litteram secus esse pateremur, quam plures iique meliores libri, tanquam testes, comprobarent.* Adjuti praeterea sumus cum aliis (*i.e.* Erasmi) tum vero Complutensi editione, quam ad vetustissimos bibliothecae Leonis X. Pont. codices excudi jusserat Hispan. Card. Fr. Simenius: quos cum nostris miro consensu saepissime convenire ex ipsa collatione deprehendimus" (Pref. edit. 1546-9). In the preface to the third edition, he says that he used the same 16 copies for these editions as for that.

[e] "Novum JESU Christi D. N. Testamentum. Ex Bibliotheca Regia. Lutetiae. Ex officinâ Roberti Stephani typographi regii, regiis typis. MDL." In this edition Stephens simply says of his "16 copies," that the first is the Complutensian edition, the second (*Codex Bezae*) "a most ancient copy, collated by friends in Italy; 3-8, 10, 15, copies from the Royal Library; "caetera sunt ea quae undique corrogare licuit" (Pref.).

into the text of the A. V. The Greek text of Beza (dedicated to Queen Elizabeth) was printed by H. Stephens in 1565, and again in 1576; but his chief edition was the third, printed in 1582, which contained readings from the *Codices Bezae and Claromontanus*. The reading followed by the text of A. V. in Rom. vii. 6 (ἀποθανόντας for ἀποθανόντες), which is supported by no Greek MS. or version whatever, is due to this edition. Other editions by Beza appeared in 1588-9, 1598, and his (third) text found a wide currency.* Among other editions which were wholly or in part based upon it, those of the ELZEVIRS alone require to be noticed. The first of these editions, famous for the beauty of their execution, was published at Leyden in 1624. It is not known who acted as editor, but the text is mainly that of the third edition of Stephens. Including every minute variation in orthography, it differs from this in 278 places (Scrivener, *N. T.* Cambr. 1860, p. vi.). In these cases it generally agrees with Beza, more rarely it differs from both, either by typographical errors (Matt. vi. 34, xv. 27; Luke x. 6 *add.* δ, xi. 12, xiii. 19; John iii. 6) or perhaps by manuscript authority (Matt. xxiv. 9, *om.* τῶν; Luke vii. 12, viii. 29; John xii. 17, ὅτι). In the second edition (Leyden, 1633) it was announced that the text was that which was universally received (*textum ergo habes nunc ab omnibus receptum*), and the declaration thus boldly made was practically fulfilled. From this time the Elzevirian text was generally reprinted on the continent, and that of the third edition of Stephens in England, till quite recent times. Yet it has been shown that these texts were substantially formed on late MS. authority, without the help of any complete collations or of any readings (except of D) of a first class MS., without a good text of the Vulgate, and without the assistance of oriental versions. Nothing short of a miracle could have produced a critically pure text from such materials and those treated without any definite system. Yet, to use Bentley's words, which are not too strong, "the text stood as if an apostle were R. Stephens' compositor." Habit hallowed what was commonly used, and the course of textual polemics contributed not a little to preserve without change the common field on which controversialists were prepared to engage.

ii. *From Mill to Scholz.*—6. The second period of the history of the printed text may be treated with less detail. It was influenced, more or less throughout by the *textus receptus*, though the authority of this provisional text was gradually shaken by the increase of critical materials and the bold enunciation of principles of revision. The first important collection of various readings—for that of Stephens was too imperfect to deserve the name—was given by WALTON in the 6th volume of his Polyglott. The Syriac, Arabic, Aethiopic, and Persian versions of the N. T., together with the readings of *Cod. Alex.*, were printed in the 5th volume together with the text of Stephens. To these were added in the 6th the readings collected by Stephens, others from an edition by Wechel at Frankfort (1597), the readings of the *Codices Bezae* and *Claromont.*, and of fourteen other MSS. which had been collated under the care of Archbp. Ussher. Some of these collations were extremely imperfect (Scrivener, *Cod. Aug.* p. lxvii.; *Introduction*, p. 148), as appears from later examination, yet it is not easy to overrate the importance of the exhibition of the testimony of the oriental versions side by side with the current Greek text. A few more MS. readings were given by CURCELLAEUS (de Courcelles) in an edition published at Amsterdam, 1658, &c., but the great names of this period continue to be those of Englishmen. The readings of the Coptic and Gothic versions were first given in the edition of (Bp. Fell) Oxford, 1675; ed. Gregory, 1703; but the greatest service which Fell rendered to the criticism of the N.T. was the liberal encouragement which he gave to Mill. The work of MILL (cf. Oxon. 1707; Amstelod. ed. Kuster, 1710; other copies have on the title-page 1723, 1746, &c.) marks an epoch in the history

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* The edition of Beza of 1589 and the third of Stephens may be regarded as giving the fundamental Greek text of the A. V. In the following passages in the Gospels the A. V. differs from Stephens, and agrees with Beza:—

Matt. ix. 33, *om.* ὅτι. Yet this particle might be omitted in translation.
„ xxi. 7, ἐπεκάθισαν for ἐπεκάθισεν.
„ xxiii. 13, 14, transposed in Steph.
Mark vi. 29, *om.* τῷ.
„ viii. 24, ὡς δένδρα for ὅτι ὡς δένδρα.
„ ix. 40, ἡμῶν for ὑμῶν, "against most MSS." as Beza remarks.
Luke i. 35, *add* ἐκ (not in 1st ed.).
„ ii. 22, αὐτῆς for αὐτῶν.
„ x. 22, *om.* καὶ στραφεὶς—εἶπε. Yet given in marg., and noticed by Beza.
„ xv. 26, *om.* αὐτοῦ.
„ xvii. 36, *add* verse. The omission noticed in marg. and by Beza.
„ xx. 31, *add* καὶ. So Beza 1st ed., but not 3d (by error?)
John xiii. 30, ὅτε οὖν ἐξῆλθε. "Against all the old MSS." (Beza).
„ xviii. 24, *add* οὖν.

In others it agrees with Stephens against Beza:—

Matt. i. 23. καλέσουσι for καλέσεις. The marg. may be intended to give the other reading.
„ xx. 15, εἰ for ἤ.
Mark xvi. 20, *add* Ἀμήν at the end.
John iv. 5, Συχάρ for Σιχάρ.
John xviii. 20, πάντοτε for πάντοθεν. "So in the old MSS." (Beza).

In other parts of the N. T. I have noticed the following passages in which the A. V. agrees with the text of Beza's edition of 1589 against Stephens (Acts xvii. 25, xxi. 8 xxii. 25, xxiv. 13, 18; Rom. vii. 6 (note), viii. 11 (note), xii. 11, xvi. 20; 1 Cor. v. 11, xv. 31; 2 Cor. iii. 1, vi. 15, vii. 12, 16, xi. 10; Col. i. 1, 24, ii. 10; 1 Thess. ii. 19; 2 Thess. ii. 4; Tit. ii. 10; Hebr. ix. 2 (note); James ii. 18 (note), iv. 13, 15, v. 12; 1 Pet. i. 4 (note); 2 Pet. iii. 7; 1 John i. 4, ii. 23 (in italics), iii. 16; 2 John 3; 3 John 7; Jude 24; Apoc. iii. 1, v. 11, vii. 2, 10, 14, viii. 11, xi. 1, 2, xiii. 3, xiv. 18, xvi. 14, xvii. 4. On the other hand the A. V. agrees with Stephens against Beza, Acts iv. 27 xvi. 17, xxv. 6 (note), xxvi. 8; Rom. v. 17; 1 Cor. iii. 3 vii, 29, xi. 22, x. 38 (error of press?); 2 Cor. iii. 14; Gal. iv. 17 (note); Phil. i. 23; Tit. ii. 7; Hebr. x. 2; 1 Pet. ii. 21, iii. 21; 2 Pet. ii. 12; Apoc. iv. 10, ix. 1 xii. 14, xiv. 2, xviii. 6, xix. 1. The enumeration given by Scrivener (*A Supplement to the Authorized Version*, pp. 7, 8) differs slightly from this, which includes a few more passages; other passages are doubtful: Acts vii. 26, xv. 32, xix. 27; 2 Cor. xi. 1, xiii. 4; Apoc. iv. 8, xviii. 16. In other places, Matt. ii. 11, x. 10; John xviii. 1; Acts xxvii. 29; 2 Pet. i. 1. they follow neither. In James iv. 15, ζήσομεν seems to be a conjecture. The additional notes on readings, Matt. i. 11, xxvi. 26; Mark ix. 15; Luke ii. 38; John xviii. 13; Acts xxv. 6; Eph. vi. 9; James ii. 18; 2 Pet. ii. 2, 11, 18; 1 John ii. 23; 2 John 8, all come from Beza.

of the N. T. text. There is much in it which will not bear the test of historical inquiry, much that is imperfect in the materials, much that is crude and capricious in criticism, but when every drawback has been made, the edition remains a splendid monument of the labours of a life. The work occupied Mill about thirty years, and was finished only a fortnight before his death. One great merit of Mill was that he recognized the importance of each element of critical evidence, the testimony of MSS. versions and citations, as well as internal evidence. In particular he asserted the claims of the Latin version and maintained, against much opposition, even from his patron Bp. Fell, the great value of patristic quotations. He had also a clear view of the necessity of forming a general estimate of the character of each authority, and described in detail those of which he made use. At the same time he gave a careful analysis of the origin and history of previous texts, a labour which, even now, has in many parts not been superseded. But while he pronounced decided judgments on various readings both in the notes and, without any reference or plan, in the Prolegomena, he did not venture to introduce any changes into the printed text. He repeated the Stephanic text of 1550 without any intentional change, and from his edition this has passed (as Mill's) into general use in England. His caution, however, could not save him from vehement attacks. The charge which was brought against Walton[1] of unsettling the sacred text, was renewed against Mill, and, unhappily, found an advocate in Whitby (*Examen variantium lectionum J. Millii S. T. P.* annexed to his Annotations), a man whose genius was worthy of better things. The 30,000 various readings which he was said to have collected formed a common-place with the assailants of the Bible (Bentley, *Remarks*, iii. 348-358, ed. Dyce). But the work of Mill silently produced fruit both in England and Germany. Men grew familiar with the problems of textual criticism and were thus prepared to meet them fairly.

7. Among those who had known and valued Mill was R. BENTLEY, the greatest of English scholars. In his earliest work (*Epist. ad J. Millium*, ii. 362, ed. Dyce), in 1691, Bentley had expressed generous admiration of the labours of Mill, and afterwards, in 1713, in his *Remarks*, triumphantly refuted the charges of impiety with which they were assailed. But Mill had only "accumulated various readings as a promptuary to the judicious and critical reader;" Bentley would "make use of that promptuary . . . . . and not leave the reader in doubt and suspense" (*Answer to Remarks*, iii. 503). With this view he announced, in 1716, his intention of publishing an edition of the Greek Testament on the authority of the oldest Greek and Latin MS., "exactly as it was in the best examples at the time of the Council of Nice, so that there shall not be twenty words nor even particles' difference" (iii. 477 to Archbp. Wake). Collations were shortly afterwards undertaken both at Paris (including C) and Rome (B), and Bentley himself spared neither labour nor money. In 1720 he published his Proposals and a Specimen (Apoc. xxii.). In this notice he announces his design of publishing "a new edition of the Greek and Latin . . . . as represented in the most ancient and venerable MSS. in Greek and Roman(?) capital letters." In this way "he believes that he has retrieved (except in a very few places) the true exemplar of Origen . . . . and is sure that the Greek and Latin MSS., by their mutual assistance, do so settle the original text to the smallest nicety as cannot be performed now in any *classic* author whatever." He purposed to add all the various readings of the first five centuries, "and what has crept into any copies since is of no value or authority." The proposals were immediately assailed by Middleton. A violent controversy followed, but Bentley continued his labours till 1729 (Dyce, iii. 483). After that time they seemed to have ceased. The troubles in which Bentley was involved render it unnecessary to seek for any other explanation of the suspension of his work. The one chapter which he published shows clearly enough that he was prepared to deal with variations in his copies, and there is no sufficient reason for concluding that the disagreement of his ancient codices caused him to abandon the plan which he had proclaimed with undoubting confidence (Scrivener, *Cod. Aug.* p. xix.). A complete account of Bentley's labours on the N. T. is prepared for publication (1861) by the Rev. A. A. Ellis, under the title *Bentleii Critica Sacra*.

8. The conception of Bentley was in advance both of the spirit of his age and of the materials at his command. Textual criticism was forced to undergo a long discipline before it was prepared to follow out his principles. During this time German scholars hold the first place. Foremost among these was BENGEL (1687-1752), who was led to study the variations of the N. T. from a devout sense of the infinite value of every divine word. His merit in discerning the existence of families of documents has been already noticed (i. §12); but the evidence before him was not sufficient to show the paramount authority of the most ancient witnesses. His most important rule was, *Proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua*; but except in the Revelation he did not venture to give any reading which had not been already adopted in some edition (*Prodromus N. T. Gr. recte cauteque adornandi*, 1725; *Nov. Testam. . . . .* 1734; *Apparatus criticus*, ed. 2da cura P. D. Burk, 1763). But even the partial revision which Bengel had made exposed him to the bitterest attacks; and Wetstein, when at length he published his great edition, reprinted the received text. The labours of WETSTEIN (1693-1754) formed an important epoch in the history of the N. T. While still very young (1716) he was engaged to collate for Bentley, and he afterwards continued the work for himself. In 1733 he was obliged to leave Basle, his native town, from theological differences, and his Greek Testament did not appear till 1751-2 at Amsterdam. A first edition of the *Prolegomena* had been published previously in 1730; but the principles which he then maintained were afterwards much modified by his opposition to Bengel (Comp. Preface to *N. T. cura Gerardi de Trajecto*, ed. 2da, 1735).[2] The great service which Wetstein

[1] Especially by the great puritan Owen in his *Consideration*. Walton replied with severity in *The Considerator considered*.

[2] Gerhard von Maestricht's *N. T.* first appeared in 1711, with a selection of various readings, and a series of canons composed to justify the received text. Some of these canons deserve to be quoted, as an illustration of the bold assertion of the claims of the *printed* text, as such.

CAN. IX. "*Unus codex* non facit variantem lectionem . . . . *modo recepta lectio sit secundum analogiam fidei*" . . .

CAN. X. "Neque *duo codices* faciunt variantem lec-

rendered to sacred criticism was by the collection of materials. He made nearly as great an advance on Mill as Mill had made on those who preceded him. But in the use of his materials he showed little critical tact; and his strange theory of the *Latinization* of the most ancient MSS. proved for a long time a serious drawback to the sound study of the Greek text (*Prolegomena*, ed. Semler, 1766, ed. Lotze, 1831).

9. It was the work of GRIESBACH (1745-1812) to place the comparative value of existing documents in a clearer light. The time was now come when the results of collected evidence might be set out; and Griesbach, with singular sagacity, courtesy, and zeal, devoted his life to the work. His first editions (*Synopsis*, 1774; *Nov. Test.* ed. 1, 1777-5) were based for the most part on the critical collections of Wetstein. Not long afterwards MATTHAEI published an edition based on the accurate collation of Moscow MSS. (*N. T. ex Codd. Mosquensibus* . . . . Riga, 1782-88, 12 vols.; ed. 2da, 1803-7, 3 vols.). These new materials were further increased by the collections of Alter (1786-7), Birch, Adler, and Moldenhawer (1788-1801), as well as by the labours of Griesbach himself. And when Griesbach published his second edition (1796-1806, 2nd ed. of vol. i. by D. Schulz, 1827) he made a noble use of the materials thus placed in his hands. His chief error was that he altered the received text instead of constructing the text afresh; but in acuteness, vigour, and candour he stands below no editor of the N. T., and his judgment will always retain a peculiar value. In 1805 he published a manual edition with a selection of readings which he judged to be more or less worthy of notice, and this has been often reprinted (Comp. *Symbolae Criticae*, 1785-1793; *Opuscula*, ed. Gabler, 1824-5; *Commentarius Criticus*, 1798-1811; White's *Criseos Griesbachianae . . . Synopsis*, 1811).

10. The edition of SCHOLZ contributed more in appearance than reality to the furtherance of criticism (*N. T. ad fidem test. crit.* . . . . 1830-1836). This laborious scholar collected a greater mass of various readings than had been brought together before, but his work is very inaccurate, and his own collations singularly superficial. Yet it was of service to call attention to the mass of unused MSS.; and, while depreciating the value of the more ancient MSS., Scholz himself showed the powerful influence of Griesbach's principles by accepting frequently the Alexandrine in preference to the Constantinopolitan reading (i. §14. Comp. *Biblisch-Kritische Reise* . . . 1823; *Curae Criticae* . . . 1820-1845).

iii. *From Lachmann to the present time.*—11. In the year after the publication of the first volume of Scholz's N. T. a small edition appeared in a series of classical texts prepared by LACHMANN († 1851). In this the admitted principles of scholarship were for the first time applied throughout to the construction of the text of the N. T. The prescriptive right of the *textus receptus* was wholly set aside, and the text in every part was regulated by ancient authority. Before publishing his small edition (*N. T. Gr. ex recensione* C. Lachmanni, Berol. 1831) Lachmann had given a short account of his design (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1830, iv.), to which he referred his readers in a brief postscript, but the book itself contained no Apparatus or Prolegomena, and was the subject of great and painful misrepresentations. When, however, the distinct assertion of the primary claims of evidence throughout the N. T. was more fairly appreciated, Lachmann felt himself encouraged to undertake a larger edition, with both Latin and Greek texts. The Greek authorities for this, limited to the primary uncial MSS. (A B C D P Q T Z E_2 G_2 D_4 H_3), and the quotations of Irenaeus and Origen, were arranged by the younger Buttmann. Lachmann himself prepared the Latin evidence (Tregelles, *Hist of Gr. Text*, p. 101), and revised both texts. The first volume appeared in 1842, the second was printed in 1845, but not published till 1850, owing in a great measure to the opposition which Lachmann found from his friend De Wette (*N. T.* ii. *Praef.* iv.; Tregelles, p. 111). The text of the new edition did not differ much from that of the former; but while in the former he had used Western (*Latin*) authority only to decide in cases where Eastern (*Greek*) authorities were divided; in the latter he used the two great sources of evidence together. Lachmann delighted to quote Bentley as his great precursor (§7); but there was an important difference in their immediate aims. Bentley believed that it would be possible to obtain the true text directly by a comparison of the oldest Greek authorities with the oldest MSS. of the Vulgate. Afterwards very important remains of the earlier Latin versions were discovered, and the whole question was complicated by the collection of fresh documents. Lachmann therefore wished in the first instance only to give the current text of the *fourth* century, which might then become the basis of further criticism. This at least was a great step towards the truth, though it must not be accepted as a final one. Griesbach had changed the current text of the 15th and 16th centuries in numberless isolated passages, but yet the late text was the foundation of his own: Lachmann admitted the authority of antiquity everywhere, in orthography, in construction, in the whole complexion and arrangement of his text. But Lachmann's edition, great as its merits are as a first appeal to ancient evidence, is not without serious faults. The materials on which it was based were imperfect. The range of patristic citations was limited arbitrarily. The exclusion of the Oriental versions, however necessary at the time, left a wide margin for later change (t. i. *Praef.* p. xxiv.). The neglect of primary cursives often necessitated absolute confidence on slender MS. authority. Lachmann was able to use, but little fitted to collect, evidence (t. i. pp. xxv., xxxviii., xxxix.). It was, however, enough for him to have consecrated the highest scholarship by devoting it to the service of the N. T., and to have claimed the Holy Scriptures as a field for reverent and searching criticism. (The best account

tionem . . . . *contra receptam et editam et sani sensus lectionem* . . . . maxime in omittendo" . . .

CAN. xiv. "*Versiones* etiam antiquissimae *ab editis* et manuscriptis differentes . . . ostendunt oscitantiam interpretis.

CAN. xvii. "*Citationes Patrum* textus N. T. non facere debent variantem versionem."

CAN. xxix. "*Efficacior lectio textus recepti*"

As examples of Can. ix. we find, Matt. i. 16, χριστός for Ἰ. ὁ λεγ. χρ.; i. 25, *om.* τὸν πρωτότοκον; Rom. i. 31, *om.* ἀσπόνδους. On 1 John v. 7, 8, the editor refers to the Complutensian edition, and adds: "Ex hac editione, quasi ad fidem praestantissimorum MSS. edita est, indictum clarum habemus, quod in plurimis manuscriptis locus vix inventus et lectus sit" (p. 35).

of Lachmann's plan and edition is in Tregelles. *Hist. of Printed Text*, 97-115. His most important critics are Fritzsche, *De Conformatione N. T. Criticæ* . . . 1841; Tischendorf, *Prolegg.* cii.-cxii.)

12. The chief defects of Lachmann's edition arise from deficiency of authorities. Another German scholar, TISCHENDORF, has devoted twenty years to enlarging our accurate knowledge of ancient MSS. The first edition of Tischendorf (1841) has now no special claims for notice. In his second (Leipsic) edition (1849) he fully accepted the great principle of Lachmann (though he widened the range of ancient authorities), that the text "must be sought solely from ancient authorities, and not from the so-called received edition" (*Praef.* p. xii.), and gave many of the results of his own laborious and valuable collations. The size of this manual edition necessarily excluded a full exhibition of evidence: the editor's own judgment was often arbitrary and inconsistent; but the general influence of the edition was of the very highest value, and the text, as a whole, probably better than any which had preceded it. During the next few years Tischendorf prosecuted his labours on MSS. with unwearied diligence, and in 1855-9 he published his third (seventh[h]) critical edition. In this he has given the authorities for and against each reading in considerable detail, and included the chief results of his later discoveries. The whole critical apparatus is extremely valuable, and absolutely indispensable to the student. The text, except in details of orthography, exhibits generally a retrograde movement from the most ancient testimony. The Prolegomena are copious and full of interest.

13. Meanwhile the sound study of sacred criticism had revived in England. In 1844 TREGELLES published an edition of the Apocalypse in Greek and English, and announced an edition of the N. T.[i] From this time he engaged in a systematic examination of all unpublished uncial MSS., going over much of the same ground as Tischendorf, and comparing results with him. In 1854 he gave a detailed account of his labours and principles (*An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament* . . . . London), and again in his new edition of Horne's *Introduction* (1856). The first part of his Greek Testament, containing St. Matthew and St. Mark, appeared in 1857; the second, completing the Gospels, has just appeared (1861). In this he gives at length the evidence of *all* uncial MSS., and of some peculiarly valuable cursives: of all versions up to the 7th century: of all Fathers to Eusebius inclusive. The Latin Vulgate is added, chiefly from the *Cod. Amiatinus* with the readings of the Clementine edition. This edition of Tregelles differs from that of Lachmann by the greater width of its critical foundation; and from that of Tischendorf by a more constant adherence to ancient evidence. Every possible precaution has been taken to ensure perfect accuracy in the publication, and the work must be regarded as one of the most important contributions, as it is perhaps the most exact, which has been yet made to the cause of textual criticism. The editions of Knapp (1797, &c.), Vater (1824), Tittmann (1820, &c.), and Hahn (1840, &c.) have no peculiar critical value. Meyer (1829, &c.) paid greater attention to the revision of the text which accompanies his great commentary; but his critical notes are often arbitrary and unsatisfactory. In the Greek Testament of Alford, as in that of Meyer, the text is subsidiary to the commentary; but it is impossible not to notice the important advance which has been made by the editor in true principles of criticism during the course of its publication. The fourth edition of the 1st vol. (1859) contains a clear enunciation of the authority of ancient evidence, as supported both by its external and internal claims, and corrects much that was vague and subjective in former editions. Other annotated editions of the Greek Testament, valuable for special merits, may be passed over as having little bearing on the history of the text. One simple text, however, deserves notice (Cambr. 1860), in which, by a peculiar arrangement of type, Scrivener has represented at a glance all the changes which have been made in the text of Stephens (1550), Elzevir (1624), and Beza (1565), by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles.

14. Besides the critical editions of the text of the N. T. various collections of readings have been published separately, which cannot be wholly omitted. In addition to those already mentioned (§9), the most important are by Rinck, *Lucubratio Critica*, 1830; Reiche, *Codicum MSS. N. T. Gr. aliquot insigniorum in Bibl. Reg. Paris . . . collatio* 1847; Scrivener, *A Collation of about Twenty Greek MSS. of the Holy Gospels* . . . 1853; *A Transcript of the Cod. Aug., with a full Collation of Fifty MSS.* 1859; and E. de Muralt, of Russian MSS. (N. T. 1848). The chief contents of the splendid series of Tischendorf's works (*Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus*, 1843; *Codex Claromontanus*, 1852; *Monumenta sacra inedita*, 1846-1856; *Anecdota sacra et profana*, 1855; *Notitia Cod. Sinaitici*, 1860) are given in his own and other editions of the N. T. (The chief works on the history of the printed text are those of Tregelles, *Hist. of Printed Text*, 1854; Reuss, *Geschichte d. H. Schrift.* §§395 ff., where are very complete bibliographical references; and the Prolegomena of Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Tischendorf. To these must be added the promised (1861) *Introduction* of Mr. Scrivener.

III. PRINCIPLES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

The work of the critic can never be shaped by definite rules. The formal enunciation of principles is but the first step in the process of revision. Even Lachmann, who proposed to follow the most directly mechanical method, frequently allowed play to his own judgment. It could not, indeed, be otherwise with a true scholar; and if there is need anywhere for the most free and devout exercise of every faculty, it must be in tracing out the very words of the Apostles and of the Lord Himself. The justification of a method of revision lies in the result. Canons of criticism are more frequently corollaries than laws of procedure. Yet such canons are not without use in marking the course to be followed, but they are intended only to guide and not to dispense with the exercise of tact and scholarship. The student will judge for himself how far they are applicable in every particular case; and no exhibition of general principles can supersede the necessity of a careful examina-

[h] The second and third editions were Graeco-Latin editions, published at Paris in 1842, of no critical value (cf. *Prolegg.* cxxiv.-v.). The fifth was a simple text, with the variations of Elzevir, chiefly a reprint of the (fourth) edition of 1849. The sixth was a Triglott N. T. 1854-5 (Greek, Latin, German); 1858 (Greek and Latin).

[i] Dr. Tregelles' first specimen was published in 1836 (*Hist. of Printed Text*, p. 153).

tion of the characteristics of separate witnesses and of groups of witnesses. The text of Holy Scripture, like the text of all other books, depends on evidence. Rules may classify the evidence and facilitate the decision, but the final appeal must be to the evidence itself. What appears to be the only sound system of criticism will be seen from the rules which follow. The examples which are added can be worked out in any critical edition of the Greek Testament, and will explain better than any lengthened description the application of the rules.

1. *The text must throughout be determined by evidence without allowing any prescriptive right to printed editions.* In the infancy of criticism it was natural that early printed editions should possess a greater value than individual MSS. The language of the Complutensian editors, and of Erasmus and Stephens, was such as to command respect for their texts prior to examination. Comparatively few MSS. were known, and none thoroughly; but at present the whole state of the question is altered. We are now accurately acquainted with the materials possessed by the two latter editors and with the use which they made of them. If there is as yet no such certainty with regard to the basis of the Complutensian text, it is at least clear that no high value can be assigned to it. On the other hand we have, in addition to the early apparatus, new sources of evidence of infinitely greater variety and value. To claim for the printed text any right of possession is, therefore, to be faithless to the principles of critical truth. The received text may or may not be correct in any particular case, but this must be determined solely by an appeal to the original authorities. Nor is it right even to assume the received text as our basis. The question before us is not *What is to be changed?* but, *What is to be read?* It would be superfluous to insist on this if it were not that a natural infirmity makes every one unjustly conservative in criticism. It seems to be irreverent to disturb an old belief, when real irreverence lies in perpetuating an error, however slight it may appear to be. This holds good universally. In Holy Scripture nothing can be indifferent; and it is the supreme duty of the critic to apply to details of order and orthography the same care as he bestows on what may be judged weightier points. If, indeed, there were anything in the circumstances of the first publication of the N. T. which might seem to remove it from the ordinary fortunes of books, then it would be impossible not to respect the pious sentiment which accepts the early text as an immediate work of Providence. But the history shows too many marks of human frailty to admit of such a supposition. The text itself contains palpable and admitted errors (Matt. ii. 11, εὗρον; Acts viii. 37, ix. 5. 6; Apoc. v. 14, xxii. 11; not to mention 1 John v. 7), in every way analogous to those which occur in the first classical texts. The conclusion is obvious, and it is superstition rather than reverence which refuses to apply to the service of Scripture the laws which have restored so much of their native beauty to other ancient writings. It may not be possible to fix the reading in every case finally, but it is no less the duty of the scholar to advance as far as he can and mark the extreme range of uncertainty.

2. *Every element of evidence must be taken into account before a decision is made.* Some uncertainty must necessarily remain; for, when it is said that the text must rest upon evidence, it is implied that it must rest on an examination of the whole evidence. But it can never be said that the mines of criticism are exhausted. Yet even here the possible limits of variation are narrow. The available evidence is so full and manifold that it is difficult to conceive that any new authorities could do more than turn the scale in cases which are at present doubtful. But to exclude remote chances of error it is necessary to take account of every testimony. No arbitrary line can be drawn excluding MSS. versions or quotations below a certain date. The true text must (as a rule) explain all variations, and the most recent forms may illustrate the original one. In practice it will be found that certain documents may be neglected after examination, and that the value of others is variously affected by determinable conditions; but still, as no variation is inherently indifferent, no testimony can be absolutely disregarded.

3. *The relative weight of the several classes of evidence is modified by their generic character.* Manuscripts, versions, and citations, the three great classes of external authorities for the text, are obviously open to characteristic errors. The first are peculiarly liable to errors from transcription (comp. i. §31 ff.). The two last are liable to this cause of corruption and also to others. The genius of the language into which the translation is made may require the introduction of connecting particles or words of reference, as can be seen from the italicised words in the A. V. Some uses of the article and of prepositions cannot be expressed or distinguished with certainty in translation. Glosses or marginal additions are more likely to pass into the text in the process of translation than in that of transcription. Quotations, on the other hand, are often partial or from memory, and long use may give a traditional fixity to a slight confusion or adaptation of passages of Scripture. These grounds of inaccuracy are, however, easily determined, and there is generally little difficulty in deciding whether the rendering of a version or the testimony of a Father can be fairly quoted. Moreover, the most important versions are so close to the Greek text that they preserve the order of the original with scrupulous accuracy, and even in representing minute shades of expression, observe a constant uniformity which could not have been anticipated (Comp. Lachmann, *N. T.* i. p. xlv. ff.). It is a far more serious obstacle to the critical use of these authorities that the texts of the versions and Fathers generally are in a very imperfect state. With the exception of the Latin Version there is not one in which a thoroughly satisfactory text is available; and the editions of Clement and Origen are little qualified to satisfy strict demands of scholarship. As a general rule the evidence of both may be trusted where they differ from the late text of the N. T., but where they agree with this against other early authorities, there is reason to entertain a suspicion of corruption. This is sufficiently clear on comparing the old printed text of Chrysostom with the text of the best MSS. But when full allowance has been made for all these drawbacks, the mutually corrective power of the three kinds of testimony is of the highest value. The evidence of versions may show at once that a MS. reading is a transcriptural error: John i. 14, ὁ εἰπών (B C); Jude 12 ἀπάταις (ℵ); 1 John i. 2, καὶ ὃ ἑοράκαμεν (B), i. 8, ...

ἐστὶν (A), iii. 21, ἔχει (B); 2 Pet. ii. 16, ἐν ἀδικίαις; and the absence of their support throws doubt upon readings otherwise of the highest probability: 2 Pet. ii. 4, σειροῖς, ii. 6, ἀσεβέσιν. The testimony of an early Father is again sufficient to give preponderating weight to slight MS. authority: Matt. i. 18, τοῦ δὲ χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις; and since versions and Fathers go back to a time anterior to any existing MSS., they furnish a standard by which we may measure the conformity of any MS. with the most ancient text. On questions of orthography MSS. alone have authority. The earliest Fathers, like our own writers, seem (if we may judge from printed texts) to have adopted the current spelling of their time, and not to have aimed at preserving in this respect the dialectic peculiarities of N. T. Greek. But MSS., again, are not free from special idiosyncrasies (if the phrase may be allowed) both in construction and orthography, and unless account be taken of these a wrong judgment may be made in isolated passages.

4. *The mere preponderance of numbers is in itself of no weight.* If the multiplication of copies of the N. T. had been uniform, it is evident that the number of later copies preserved from the accidents of time would have far exceeded that of the earlier, yet no one would have preferred the fuller testimony of the 13th to the scantier documents of the 4th century. Some changes are necessarily introduced in the most careful copying, and these are rapidly multiplied. A recent MS. may have been copied from one of great antiquity, but this must be a rare occurrence. If all MSS. were derived by successive reproduction from one source, the most ancient, though few, would claim supreme authority over the more recent mass. As it is, the case is still stronger. It has been shown that the body of later copies was made under one influence. They give the testimony of one church only, and not of all. For many generations Byzantine scribes must gradually, even though unconsciously, have assimilated the text to their current form of expression. Meanwhile the propagation of the Syrian and African types of text was left to the casual reproduction of an ancient exemplar. These were necessarily far rarer than later and modified copies, and at the same time likely to be far less used. Representatives of one class were therefore multiplied rapidly, while those of other classes barely continued to exist. From this it follows that MSS. have no abstract numerical value. Variety of evidence, and not a crowd of witnesses, must decide on each doubtful point; and it happens by no means rarely that one or two MSS. alone support a reading which is unquestionably right (Matt. i. 25, v. 4, 5; Mark ii. 22, &c.).

5. *The more ancient reading is generally preferable.* This principle seems to be almost a truism. It can only be assailed by assuming that the recent reading is itself the representative of an authority still more ancient. But this carries the question from the domain of evidence to that of conjecture, and the issue must be tried on individual passages.

6. *The more ancient reading is generally the reading of the more ancient MSS.* This proposition is fully established by a comparison of explicit early testimony with the text of the oldest copies. It would be strange, indeed, if it were otherwise. In this respect the discovery of the *Codex Sinaiticus* cannot but have a powerful influence upon biblical criticism. Whatever may be its individual peculiarities, it preserves the ancient readings in characteristic passages (Luke ii. 14; John i. 4, 18; 1 Tim. iii. 16). If the secondary uncials (E F S U, &c.) are really the direct representatives of a text more ancient than that in ℵ B C Z, it is at least remarkable that no unequivocal early authority presents their characteristic readings. This difficulty is greatly increased by internal considerations. The characteristic readings of the most ancient MSS. are those which preserve in their greatest integrity those subtle characteristics of style which are too minute to attract the attention of a transcriber, and yet too marked in their recurrence to be due to anything less than an unconscious law of composition. The laborious investigations of Gersdorf (*Beiträge zur Sprach-Characteristik d. Schriftsteller d. N. T.* Leipzig, 1816) have placed many of these peculiarities in a clear light, and it seems impossible to study his collections without gaining the assurance that the earliest copies have preserved the truest image of the Apostolic texts. This conclusion from style is convincingly confirmed by the appearance of the genuine dialectic forms of Hellenistic Greek in those MSS., and those only, which preserve characteristic traits of construction and order. As long as it was supposed that these forms were Alexandrine, their occurrence was naturally held to be a mark of the Egyptian origin of the MSS., but now that it is certain that they were characteristic of a class and not of a locality, it is impossible to resist the inference that the documents which have preserved delicate and evanescent traits of apostolic language must have preserved its substance also with the greatest accuracy.

7. *The ancient text is often preserved substantially in recent copies.* But while the most ancient copies, as a whole, give the most ancient text, yet it is by no means confined exclusively to them. The text of D in the Gospels, however much it has been interpolated, preserves in several cases almost alone the true reading. Other MSS. exist of almost every date (8th cent. L Ξ, 9th cent. X Δ F_2 G_3, 10th cent. 1,106, 11th cent. 33, 22, &c.), which contain in the main the oldest text, though in these the orthography is modernised, and other changes appear which indicate a greater or less departure from the original copy. The importance of the best cursives has been most strangely neglected, and it is but recently that their true claims to authority have been known. In many cases where other ancient evidence is defective or divided they are of the highest value, and it seldom happens that any true reading is wholly unsupported by late evidence.

8. *The agreement of ancient MSS., or of MSS. containing an ancient text, with all the earliest versions and citations marks a certain reading.* The final argument in favour of the text of the most ancient copies lies in the combined support which they receive in characteristic passages from the most ancient versions and patristic citations. The reading of the oldest MSS. is, as a general rule, upheld by the true reading of Versions and the certain testimony of the Fathers, where this can be ascertained. The later reading, and this is not less worthy of notice, is with equal constancy repeated in the corrupted text of the Versions, and often in inferior MSS. of Fathers. The force of this combination of testimony can only be apprehended after a continuous examination of passages. A mere selection of texts conveys only a partial impression, and it is most important to ob-

serve the errors of the weightiest authorities when isolated, in order to appreciate rightly their independent value when combined. For this purpose the student is urged to note for himself the readings of a few selected authorities (A B C D L X 1, 33, 69, &c., the MSS. of the old Latin *a b c ff k*, &c., the best MSS. of the Vulgate, *am. for. harl.*, &c., the great Oriental versions) through a few chapters; and it may certainly be predicted that the result will be a perfect confidence in the text, supported by the combined authority of the classes of witnesses, though frequently one or two Greek MSS. are to be followed against all the remainder.

9. *The disagreement of the most ancient authorities often marks the existence of a corruption anterior to them.* But it happens by no means rarely that the most ancient authorities are divided. In this case it is necessary to recognise an alternative reading; and the inconsistency of Tischendorf in his various editions would have been less glaring, if he had followed the example of Griesbach in noticing prominently those readings to which a slight change in the balance of evidence would give the preponderance. Absolute certainty is not in every case attainable, and the peremptory assertion of a critic cannot set aside the doubt which lies on the conflicting testimony of trustworthy witnesses. The differences are often in themselves (as may appear) of little moment, but the work of the scholar is to present clearly in its minutest details the whole result of his materials. Examples of legitimate doubt as to the true reading occur Matt. vii. 14, &c.; Luke x. 42, &c.; John i. 18, ii. 8, &c.; 1 John iii. 1, v. 10, &c.; Rom. iii. 26, iv. 1, &c. In rare cases this diversity appears to indicate a corruption which is earlier than any remaining documents: Matt. xi. 27; Mark i. 27; 2 Peter i. 21; James iii. 6, iv. 14; Rom. i. 32, v. 6 (17), xiii. 5, xvi. 25 ff. One special form of variation in the most valuable authorities requires particular mention. An early difference of order frequently indicates the interpolation of a gloss; and when the best authorities are thus divided, any ancient though slight evidence for the omission of the transferred clause deserves the greatest consideration: Matt. i. 18, v. 32, 39, xii. 38, &c.; Rom. iv. 1, &c.; Jam. i. 22. And generally serious variations in expression between the primary authorities point to an early corruption by addition: Matt. x. 29; Rom. i. 27, 29, iii. 22, 26.

10. *The argument from internal evidence is always precarious.* If a reading is in accordance with the general style of the writer, it may be said on the one side that this fact is in its favour, and on the other that an acute copyist probably changed the exceptional expression for the more usual one: *e. g.* Matt. i. 24, ii. 14, vii. 21, &c. If a reading is more emphatic, it may be urged that the sense is improved by its adoption: if less emphatic, that scribes were habitually inclined to prefer stronger terms: *e. g.* Matt. v. 13, vi. 4, &c. Even in the case of the supposed influence of parallel passages in the synoptic Evangelists, it is by no means easy to resist the weight of ancient testimony when it supports the parallel phrase, in favour of the natural canon which recommends the choice of variety in preference to uniformity: *e. g.* Matt. iii. 6, iv. 9, viii. 32, ix. 11, &c. But though internal evidence is commonly only of subjective value, there are some general rules which are of very wide, if not of universal application. These have force to decide or to confirm a judgment; but in every instance they must be used only in combination with direct testimony.

11. *The more difficult reading is preferable to the simpler* (proclivi lectioni praestat ardua, Bengel). Except in cases of obvious corruption this canon probably holds good without exception, in questions of language, construction, and sense. Rare or provincial forms, irregular usages of words, rough turns of expression, are universally to be taken in preference to the ordinary and idiomatic phrases. The bold and emphatic agglomeration of clauses, with the fewest connecting particles, is always likely to be nearest to the original text. The usage of the different apostolic writers varies in this respect, but there are very few, if any, instances where the mass of copyists have left out a genuine connexion; and on the other hand there is hardly a chapter in St. Paul's Epistles where they have not introduced one. The same rule is true in questions of interpretation. The hardest reading is generally the true one: Matt. vi. 1, xix. 17, xxi. 31 (ὁ ὕστερος); Rom. viii. 28 (ὁ θεός); 2 Cor. v. 3; unless, indeed, the difficulty lies below the surface: as Rom. xii. 11 (καιρῷ for κυρίῳ), xii. 13 (μνείαις for χρείαις). The rule admits yet further of another modified application. The less definite reading is generally preferable to the more definite. Thus the future is constantly substituted for the pregnant present, Matt. vii. 8; Rom. xv. 18: compound for simple words, Matt. vii. 28, viii. 17, xi. 25; and pronouns of reference are frequently introduced to emphasize the statement, Matt. vi. 4. But caution must be used lest our own imperfect sense of the naturalness of an idiom may lead to the neglect of external evidence (Matt. xxv. 16, ἐποίησεν wrongly for ἐκέρδησεν).

12. *The shorter reading is generally preferable to the longer.* This canon is very often coincident with the former one; but it admits also of a wider application. Except in very rare cases copyists never omitted intentionally, while they constantly introduced into the text marginal glosses and even various readings (comp. §13), either from ignorance or from a natural desire to leave out nothing which seemed to come with a claim to authority. The extent to which this instinct influenced the character of the later text can be seen from an examination of the various readings in a few chapters. Thus in Matt. vi. the following interpolations occur: 4 (αὐτός), ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. 5 (ἄν) ὅτι ἀπ. 6 ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. 10 ἐπὶ τῆς γ. 13 ὅτι σοῦ .. ἀμήν. 15 (τὰ παραπτ. αὐτῶν). 16 ὅτι ἀπ. 19 ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. The synoptic Gospels were the most exposed to this kind of corruption, but it occurs in all parts of the N. T. Everywhere the fuller, rounder, more complete form of expression is open to the suspicion of change; and the pre-eminence of the ancient authorities is nowhere seen more plainly than in the constancy with which they combine in preserving the plain, vigorous, and abrupt phraseology of the apostolic writings. A few examples taken almost at random will illustrate the various cases to which the rule applies: Matt. ii. 15, iv. 6, xii. 25; James iii. 12; Rom. ii. 1, viii. 23, x. 15, xv. 29 (comp. §13).

13. *That reading is preferable which explains the origin of the others.* This rule is chiefly of use in cases of great complication, and it would be impossible to find a better example than one which has been brought forward by Tischendorf for a different purpose (N. T. *Praef.* pp. xxxiii-iv.). The common reading in Mark ii. 22 is ὁ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται καὶ

ἀ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, which is perfectly simple in itself, and the undoubted reading in the parallel passage of St. Matthew. But here there are great variations. One important MS. (L) reads ὁ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί: another (D with *it.*) ὁ οἶνος καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολοῦνται: another (B) ὁ οἶνος ἐκβάλλεται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί. Here, if we bear in mind the reading in St. Matthew, it is morally certain that the text of B is correct. This may have been changed into the common text, but cannot have arisen out of it. Compare James iv. 4, 13; Matt. xxiv. 38; Jude 18; Rom. vii. 25; Mark i. 16, 27.

[For the principles of textual criticism compare Griesbach, *N. T. Prolegg.* §3, pp. lviii. ff.; Tischendorf, *N. T. Prolegg.* xxxii.–xliv.; Tregelles, *Printed Text*, pp. 132 ff.; (Horne's) *Introduction*, pp. 342 ff. The *Crisis* of Wetstein (*Prolegg.* pp. 206-40, Lotze) is very unsatisfactory.]

IV. The Language of the New Testament.

1. The eastern conquests of Alexander opened a new field for the development of the Greek language. It may be reasonably doubted whether a specific Macedonian dialect is not a mere fiction of grammarians; but increased freedom both in form and construction was a necessary consequence of the wide diffusion of Greek. Even in Aristotle there is a great declension from the classical standard of purity, though the Attic formed the basis of his language; and the rise of the *common* or *Grecian* dialect (διάλεκτος κοινή, or δ. Ἑλληνική) is dated from his time. In the writings of educated men who were familiar with ancient models, this "common" dialect always preserved a close resemblance to the normal Attic, but in the intercourse of ordinary life the corruption must have been both great and rapid.

2. At no place could the corruption have been greater or more rapid than at Alexandria, where a motley population, engaged in active commerce, adopted Greek as their common medium of communication. [Alexandria, i. p. 48.] And it is in Alexandria that we must look for the origin of the language of the New Testament. Two distinct elements were combined in this marvellous dialect which was destined to preserve for ever the fullest tidings of the Gospel. On the one side there was Hebrew conception, on the other Greek expression. The thoughts of the East were wedded to the words of the West. This was accomplished by the gradual translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into the vernacular Greek. The Greek had already lost the exquisite symmetry of its first form, so that it could take the clear impress of Hebrew ideas; and at the same time it had gained rather than lost in richness and capacity. In this manner what may be called the theocratic aspect of Nature and History was embodied in Greek phrases, and the power and freedom of Greek quickened and defined Eastern speculation. The theories of the "purists" of the 17th century (comp. Winer, *Grammatik*, §1; Reuss, *Gesch. d. H. S.* §47) were based on a complete misconception of what we may, without presumption, feel to have been required for a universal Gospel. The message was not for one nation only, but for all; and the language in which it was promulgated—like its most successful preacher—united in one complementary attributes. [Hellenist, i. p. 783.]

3. The Greek of the LXX.—like the English of the A. V. or the German of Luther—naturally determined the Greek dialect of the mass of the Jews. It is quite possible that numerous provincialisms existed among the Greek-speaking Jews of Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor, but the dialect of their common Scriptures must have given a general unity to their language. It is, therefore, more correct to call the N. T. dialect Hellenistic than Alexandrine, though the form by which it is characterised may have been peculiarly Alexandrine at first. Its local character was lost when the LXX. was spread among the Greek Dispersion; and that which was originally confined to one city or one work was adopted by a whole nation. At the same time much of the extreme harshness of the LXX. dialect was softened down by intercourse with Greeks or graecising foreigners, and conversely the wide spread of proselytism familiarised the Greeks with Hebrew ideas.

4. The position of Palestine was peculiar. The Aramaic (Syro-Chaldaic), which was the national dialect after the Return, existed side by side with the Greek. Both languages seem to have been generally understood, though, if we may judge from other instances of bilingual countries, the Aramaic would be the chosen language for the common intercourse of Jews (2 Macc. vii. 8, 21, 27). It was in this language, we may believe, that our Lord was accustomed to teach the people; and it appears that He used the same in the more private acts of His life (Mark iii. 17, v. 41, vii. 34; Matt. xxvii. 46; John i. 43; cf. John xx. 16). But the habitual use of the LXX. is a sufficient proof of the familiarity of the Palestinian Jews with the Greek dialect; and the judicial proceedings before Pilate must have been conducted in Greek. (Comp. Grinfield, *Apology for the LXX.*, pp. 76 ff.)

5. The Roman occupation of Syria was not altogether without influence upon the language. A considerable number of Latin words, chiefly referring to acts of government, occur in the N. T., and they are probably only a sample of larger innovations (κῆνσος, λεγιών, κουστωδία, ἀσσάριον, κοδράντης, δηνάριον, μίλιον, πραιτώριον, φραγελλοῦν, St. Matt. &c.; κεντυρίων, σπεκουλάτωρ, τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῆσαι, St. Mark; λέντιον, σουδάριον, τίτλος, St. John, &c.; λιβερτῖνος, κολωνία, σιμικίνθιον, σικάριος, St. Luke; μάκελλον, μεμβράνα, St. Paul). Other words in common use were of Semitic (ἀρραβών, ζιζάνιον, κορβανᾶς, ραββεί), Persian (ἀγγαρεύω, μάγοι, τιάρα, παράδεισος), or Egyptian origin (βάϊον).

6. The language which was moulded under these various influences presents many peculiarities, both philological and exegetical, which have not yet been placed in a clear light. For a long time it has been most strangely assumed that the linguistic forms preserved in the oldest MSS. are *Alexandrine* and not in the widest sense *Hellenistic*, and on the other hand that the Aramaic modifications of the N. T. phraseology remove it from the sphere of strict grammatical analysis. These errors are necessarily fatal to all real advance in the accurate study of the words or sense of the apostolic writings. In the case of St. Paul, no less than in the case of Herodotus, the evidence of the earliest witnesses must be decisive as to dialectic forms. Egyptian scribes preserved the characteristics of other books, and there is no reason to suppose that they altered those of the N. T. Nor is it reasonable to conclude that the later stages of a language are governed by no law or that the introduction of fresh elements destroys the symmetry which is

reality it only changes. But if old misconceptions still linger, very much has been done lately to open the way to a sounder understanding both of the form and the substance of the N. T. by Tischendorf (as to the dialect, *N. T. Prolegg.* xlvi.-lxi..), by Winer (as to the grammatical laws, *Gramm. d. N. T. Sprachid.* 6th ed. 1855; comp. Green's *Grammar of N. T. dialect*, 1842), and by the later commentators (Fritzsche, Lücke, Bleek, Meyer, Alford). In detail comparatively little remains to be done, but a philosophical view of the N. T. language as a whole is yet to be desired. For this it would be necessary to take account of the commanding authority of the LXX. over the religious dialect, of the constant and living power of the spoken Aramaic and Greek, of the mutual influence of inflexion and syntax, of the inherent vitality of words and forms, of the history of technical terms, and of the creative energy of Christian truth. Some of these points may be discussed in other articles; for the present it must be enough to notice a few of the most salient characteristics of the language as to form and expression.

7. The formal differences of the Greek of the N. T. from classical Greek are partly differences of vocabulary and partly differences of construction. Old words are changed in orthography (1) or in inflection (2), new words (3) and rare or novel constructions (4) are introduced. One or two examples of each of these classes may be noticed. But it must be again remarked that the language of the N. T., both as to its lexicography and as to its grammar, is based on the language of the LXX. The two stages of the dialect cannot be examined satisfactorily apart. The usage of the earlier books often confirms and illustrates the usage of the later; and many characteristics of N. T. Greek have been neglected or set aside from ignorance of the fact that they are undoubtedly found in the LXX. With regard to the forms of words, the similarity between the two is perfect; with regard to construction, it must always be remembered that the LXX. is a translation, executed under the immediate influence of the Hebrew, while the books of the N. T. (with a partial exception in the case of St. Matthew) were written freely in the current Greek.

(1) Among the most frequent peculiarities of orthography of Hellenistic Greek which are supported by conclusive authority, are—the preservation of the *μ* before *ψ* and *φ* in *λαμβάνω* and its derivations, *λήμψεται*, *ἀντιλήμψεις*; and of *ν* in compounds of *συν* and *ἐν*, *συνζῆν*, *συμμαθητής*, *ἐνγεγραμμένη*. Other variations occur in *τεσσεράκοντα*, *ἐραυνᾶν*, &c., *ἐκαθερίσθη* &c. It is more remarkable that the aspirate appears to have been introduced into some words, as *ἐλπίς* (Rom. viii. 20; Luke vi. 35). The *ν ἐφελκυστικόν* in verbs (but not in nouns) and the *ς* of *οὕτως* are always preserved before consonants, and the hiatus (with *ἀλλὰ* especially) is constantly (perhaps always) disregarded. The forms in *-ει-*, *-ι-*, are more difficult of determination, and the question is not limited to later Greek.

(2) Peculiarities of inflection are found in *μαίρη*, *-ης*, *χεῖραν*(?), *συγγένην*(?), *βαθέως*, &c. These peculiarities are much more common in verbs. The augment is sometimes doubled: *ἀπεκατεστάθη*, sometimes omitted: *οἰκοδόμησεν*, *κατασχύνθη*. The doubling of *ῥ* is commonly neglected: *ἐράντισεν*. Unusual forms of tenses are used: *ἔπεσα*, *εἶπα*, &c.; unusual moods: *καυθήσωμαι* (1 Cor. xiii. 4?); and unusual conjugations: *νικοῦντι* for *νικῶντι*, *ἐλλόγα* for *ἐλλόγει*, *παρεισεδύησαν* for *παρεισέδυσαν* (Jude 4).

(3) The new words are generally formed according to old analogy—*οἰκοδεσπότης*, *εὐκαιρεῖν*, *καθημερινός*, *ἀποκαραδοκεῖν*; and in this respect the frequency of compound words is particularly worthy of notice. Other words receive new senses: *χρηματίζειν*, *ὀψάριον*, *περισπᾶσθαι*, *συνίστημι*; and some are slightly changed in form: *ἀνάθεμα* (*-ημα*), *ἐξάπινα* (*-ης*), *βασίλισσα* (comp. Winer, *Gramm.* §2).

(4) The most remarkable construction, which is well attested both in the LXX. and in the N. T., is that of the conjunctions *ἵνα*, *ὅταν*, with the present indicative: Gal. vi. 12(?), *ἵνα διώκονται*, Luke xi. 2, *ὅταν προσεύχεσθε*, as well as with the future indicative (Comp. Tischdf. Mark iii. 2). *Ὅταν* is even found with the imperfect and aor. indic., Mark iii. 11, *ὅταν ἐθεώρουν*; Apoc. viii. 1, *ὅταν ἤνοιξεν*. Other irregular constructions in the combination of moods (Apoc. iii. 9) and in defective concords (Mark ix. 26) can be paralleled in classical Greek, though such constructions are more frequent and anomalous in the Apocalypse than elsewhere.

8. The peculiarities of the N. T. language which have been hitherto mentioned have only a rare and remote connexion with interpretation. They illustrate more or less the general history of the decay of a language, and offer in some few instances curious problems as to the corresponding changes of modes of conception. Other peculiarities have a more important bearing on the sense. These are in part Hebraisms (Aramaisms) in (1) expression or (2) construction, and in part (3) modifications of language resulting from the substance of the Christian revelation.

(1) The general characteristic of Hebraic expression is vividness, as simplicity is of Hebraic syntax. Hence there is found constantly in the N. T. a personality of language (if the phrase may be used) which is foreign to classical Greek. At one time this occurs in the substitution of a pregnant metaphor for a simple word: *οἰκοδομεῖν* (St. Paul), *σπλαγχνίζομαι* (Gospels), *πλατύνειν τὴν καρδίαν* (St. Paul), *πρόσωπον λαμβάνειν*, *προσωποληψία*, *προσωποληπτεῖν*. At another time in the use of prepositions in place of cases: *κράζειν ἐν μεγάλῃ φωνῇ*, *ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἀπολέσθαι*, *ἀθῷος ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος*. At another in the use of a vivid phrase for a preposition: *διὰ χειρῶν τινος γενέσθαι*, *ἀποστέλλειν σὺν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου*, *ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου*, *φεύγειν ἀπὸ προσώπου τινός*. And sometimes the one personal act is used to describe the whole spirit and temper: *πορεύεσθαι ὀπίσω τινός*.

(2) The chief peculiarities of the syntax of the N. T. lie in the reproduction of Hebrew forms. Two great features by which it is distinguished from classical syntax may be specially singled out. It is markedly deficient in the use of particles and of oblique and participial constructions. Sentences are more frequently co-ordinated than subordinated. One clause follows another rather in the way of constructive parallelism than by distinct logical sequence. Only the simplest words of connexion are used in place of the subtle varieties of expression by which Attic writers exhibit the interdependence of numerous ideas. The repetition of a key-word (John i. 1, v. 31, 32, xi. 33) or of a

leading thought (John x. 11 ff., xvii. 14-19) often serves in place of all other conjunctions. The words quoted from another are given in a direct objective shape (John vii. 40, 41). Illustrative details are commonly added in abrupt parenthesis (John iv. 6). Calm emphasis, solemn repetition, grave simplicity, the gradual accumulation of truths, give to the language of Holy Scripture a depth and permanence of effect found nowhere else. It is difficult to single out isolated phrases in illustration of this general statement, since the final impression is more due to the iteration of many small points than to the striking power of a few. Apart from the whole context the influence of details is almost inappreciable. Constructions which are most distinctly Hebraic (πληθύνων πληθυνῶ, θανάτῳ τελευτᾶν, εὐδοκεῖν ἔν τινι, σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας, &c.) are not those which give the deepest Hebrew colouring to the N. T. diction, but rather that pervading monotony of form which, though correct in individual clauses, is wholly foreign to the vigour and elasticity of classical Greek. If the student will carefully analyse a few chapters of St. John, in whom the Hebrew spirit is most constant and marked, inquiring at each step how a classical writer would have avoided repetition by the use of pronouns and particles, how he would have indicated dependence by the use of absolute cases and the optative, how he would have united the whole by establishing a clear relation between the parts, he will gain a true measure of the Hebraic style more or less pervading the whole N. T. which cannot be obtained from a mere catalogue of phrases. The character of the style lies in its total effect and not in separable elements: it is seen in the spirit which informs the entire text far more vividly than in the separate members (comp. *Introduction to the Gospels*, pp. 241-252).

(3) The purely Christian element in the N. T. requires the most careful handling. Words and phrases already partially current were transfigured by embodying new truths and for ever consecrated to their service. To trace the history of these is a delicate question of lexicography which has not yet been thoroughly examined. There is a danger of confounding the apostolic usage on the one side with earlier Jewish usage, and on the other with later ecclesiastical terminology. The steps by which the one served as a preparation for the apostolic sense and the latter naturally grew out of it require to be diligently observed. Even within the range of the N. T. itself it is possible to notice various phases of fundamental ideas and a consequent modification of terms. Language and thought are both living powers, mutually dependent and illustrative. Examples of words which show this progressive history are abundant and full of instruction. Among others may be quoted, πίστις, πιστός, πιστεύειν εἰς τινα; δίκαιος, δικαιόω; ἅγιος, ἁγιάζω; καλεῖν, κλῆσις, κλητός, ἐκλεκτός, ἐκλέγεσθαι, ἐλπίς, χάρις; εὐαγγέλιον, εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, κήρυγμα, κηρύττειν, κήρυγμα; ἀπόστολος, πρεσβύτερος, ἐπίσκοπος, διάκονος; ἄρτον κλάσαι, βαπτίζειν, κοινωνία; σάρξ, ψυχή, πνεῦμα; κόσμος, σωτηρία, σώζειν; λυτροῦσθαι, καταλλάσσειν. Nor is it too much to say that in the history of these and such like words lies the history of Christianity. The perfect truth of the apostolic phraseology, when examined by this most rigorous criticism, contains the fulfilment of earlier anticipations and the germ of later growth.

9. For the language of the N. T. calls for the exercise of the most rigorous criticism. The complexity of the elements which it involves makes the inquiry wider and deeper, but does not set it aside. The overwhelming importance, the manifold expression, the gradual development of the message which it conveys, call for more intense devotion in the use of every faculty trained in other schools, but do not suppress inquiry. The gospel is for the whole nature of man, and is sufficient to satisfy the reason as well as the spirit. Words and idioms admit of investigation in all stages of a language. Decay itself is subject to law. A mixed and degenerate dialect is not less the living exponent of definite thought, than the most pure and vigorous. Rude and unlettered men may have characteristic modes of thought and speech, but even (naturally speaking) there is no reason to expect that they will be less exact than others in using their own idiom. The literal sense of the apostolic writings must be gained in the same way as the literal sense of any other writings, by the fullest use of every appliance of scholarship, and the most complete confidence in the necessary and absolute connexion of words and thoughts. No variation of phrase, no peculiarity of idiom, no change of tense, no change of order, can be neglected. The truth lies in the whole expression, and no one can presume to set aside any part as trivial or indifferent.

10. The importance of investigating most patiently and most faithfully the literal meaning of the sacred text must be felt with tenfold force, when it is remembered that the literal sense is the outward embodiment of a spiritual sense, which lies beneath and quickens every part of Holy Scripture [OLD TESTAMENT]. Something of the same kind of double sense is found in the greatest works of human genius, in the *Orestea* for example, or *Hamlet*; and the obscurity which hangs over the deepest utterances of a dramatist may teach humility to those who complain of the darkness of a prophet. The special circumstances of the several writers, their individual characteristics reflected in their books, the slightest details which add distinctness or emphasis to a statement, are thus charged with a divine force. A spiritual harmony rises out of an accurate interpretation. And exactly in proportion as the spiritual meaning of the Bible is felt to be truly its primary meaning, will the importance of a sound criticism of the text be recognized as the one necessary and sufficient foundation of the noble superstructure of higher truth which is afterwards found to rest upon it. Faith in words is the beginning, faith in the WORD is the completion of Biblical interpretation. Impatience may destroy the one and check the other; but the true student will find the simple text of Holy Scripture ever pregnant with lessons for the present and promises for ages to come. The literal meaning is one and fixed: the spiritual meaning is infinite and multiform. The unity of the literal meaning is not disturbed by the variety of the inherent spiritual applications. Truth is essentially infinite. There is thus one sense to the words, but countless relations. There is an absolute fitness in the parables and figures of Scripture, and hence an abiding pertinence. The spiritual meaning is, so to speak, the life of the whole, living on with unchanging power through every change of race and age. To this we can approach only (on the human side) by unwavering trust in the ordinary laws of scholarship, which finds in Scripture its final consecration.

For the study of the language of the N. T., Tischendorf's 7th edition (1859), Grinfield's *Editio Hellenistica* (with the *Scholia*, 1843-8), Bruder's *Concordantiæ* (1842) and Winer's *Grammatik* (6th edition, 1853, translated by Masson, Edinb. 1859), are indispensable. To these may be added Trommius' *Concordantiæ . . . LXX interpretum*, 1718, for the usage of the LXX, and Suicer's *Thesaurus*, 1682, for the later history of some words. The lexicons of Schleusner to the LXX. (1820-1), and N. T. (1819) contain a large mass of materials, but are most uncritical. Those of Wahl (N. T. 1822; Apocrypha, 1853) are much better in point of accuracy and scholarship. On questions of dialect and grammar there are important collections in Sturz, *De Dialecto Maced. et Alex.* (1786); Thiersch, *De Pent. vers. Alex.* (1841); Lobeck's *Phrynichus* (1820), *Paralipomena Gr. Gr.* (1837), *Pathol. Serm. Gr. Prolegg.* (1843), *Pathol. Serm. Gr. Elem.* (1846). The Indices of Jacobson to the *Patres Apostolici* (1840) are very complete and useful. The parallels gathered by Ott and Krebs from Josephus, and by Loesner and Kühn from Philo have been fully used by most recent commentators. Further bibliographical references are given by Winer, *Gramm.* pp. 1-38; Reuss, *Gesch. d. Heil. Schrift*, pp. 28-37; Grinfield's *N. T. Editio Hellenistica*, Praef.. xi., xii. [B. F. W.]

NEW YEAR. [TRUMPETS, FEAST OF.]

NEZI'AH (נְצִיחַ: Νασθιέ; Alex. Νεθιέ in Ezr.; Νισιά in Neh.: *Nasia*). The descendants of Neziah were among the Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 54; Neh. vii. 56). The name appears as NASITH in 1 Esdr. v. 32.

NE'ZIB (נְצִיב: Νασείβ; Alex. Νεσιβ: *Nesîb*), a city of Judah (Josh. xv. 43 only), in the district of the Shefelah or Lowland, one of the same group with Keilah and Mareshah. To Eusebius and Jerome it was evidently known. They place it on the road between Eleutheropolis and Hebron, 7, or 9 (Euseb.), miles from the former, and there it still stands under the almost identical name of *Beit Nûsib*, or *Chirbeh Nasib*, 2¼ hours from *Beit Jibrîn*, on a rising ground at the southern end of the *Wady es-Sûr*, and with Keilah and Mareshah within easy distance. It has been visited by Dr. Robinson (ii. 220, 1) and Tobler (*3tte Wanderung*, 150). The former mentions the remains of ancient buildings, especially one of apparently remote age, 120 feet long by 30 broad. This, however—with the curious discrepancy which is so remarkable in Eastern explorers—is denied by the later traveller, who states that "but for the ancient name no one would suspect this of being an ancient site."

Nezib[a] adds another to the number of places which, though enumerated as in the Lowland, have been found in the mountains. [JIPHTAH; KEILAH.] [G.]

NIB'HAZ (נִבְחַז, and in some MSS. נִבְחָן and נִבְחָז: Νιβχάς or Ναιβάς; for which there is substituted in some copies an entirely different name, Ἀβααζέρ, Ναβααζέρ, or Ἐβλαζέρ, the latter being probably the more correct, answering to the Hebrew אֲבֵל־עֵצֶר, "grief of the ruler": *Nebahaz*), a deity of the Avites, introduced by them into Samaria in the time of Shalmaneser (2 K. xvii. 31). There is no certain information as to the character of the deity, or the form of the idol so named. The Rabbins derived the name from a Hebrew root *nâbach* (נָבַח), "to bark," and hence assigned to it the figure of a dog, or a dog-headed man. There is no *a priori* improbability in this; the Egyptians worshipped the dog (Plut. *De Is.* 44), and according to the opinion current among the Greeks and Romans they represented Anubis as a dog-headed man, though Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt.* i. 440, Second Series) asserts that this was a mistake, the head being in reality that of a jackal. Some indications of the worship of the dog have been found in Syria, a colossal figure of a dog having formerly existed between Berytus and Tripolis (Winer, *Realw. s. v.*). It is still more to the point to observe that on one of the slabs found at Khorsabad and represented by Botta (pl. 141), we have the front of a temple depicted with an animal near the entrance, which can be nothing else than a bitch suckling a puppy, the head of the animal having, however, disappeared. The worship of idols representing the human body surmounted by the head of an animal (as in the well-known case of Nisroch) was common among the Assyrians. According to another equally unsatisfactory theory, Nibhaz is identified with the god of the nether world of the Sabian worship (Gesen. *Thesaur.* p. 842). [W. L. B.]

NIB'SHAN (with the definite article, הַנִּבְשָׁן: Ναφλαζών; Alex. Νεβσαν: *Nebsan*). One of the six cities of Judah (Josh. xv. 62) which were in the district of the Midbar (A. V. "wilderness"), which probably in this one case only designates the depressed region on the immediate shore of the Dead Sea, usually in the Hebrew Scriptures called the *Arâbâh*. [Vol. i. 1156*b*.] Under the name of Nempsan or Nebsan it is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome in the *Onomasticon*, but with no attempt to fix its position. Nor does any subsequent traveller appear to have either sought for or discovered any traces of the name. [G.]

NICA'NOR (Νικάνωρ: *Nicanor*), the son of Patroclus (2 Macc. viii. 9), a general who was engaged in the Jewish wars under Antiochus Epiphanes and Demetrius I. He took part in the first expedition of Lysias, B.C. 166 (1 Macc. iii. 38), and was defeated with his fellow-commander at Emmaus (1 Macc. iv.; cf. 2 Macc. viii. 9 ff.). After the death of Antiochus Eupator and Lysias, he stood high in the favour of Demetrius (1 Macc. vii. 26), who appointed him governor of Judaea (2 Macc. xiv. 12), a command which he readily undertook as one "who bare deadly hate unto Israel" (1 Macc. vii. 26). At first he seems to have endeavoured to win the confidence of Judas, but when his treacherous designs were discovered he had recourse to violence. A battle took place at Capharsalama, which was indecisive in its results; but shortly after Judas met him at Adasa (B.C. 161), and he fell "first in the battle." A general rout followed, and the 13th of Adar, on which the engagement took place, "the day before Mardocheus' day," was ordained to be kept for ever as a festival (1 Macc. vii. 49; 2 Macc. xv. 36).

[a] The word *netsîb*, identical with the above name, is several times employed for a garrison or an officer of the Philistines (see 1 Sam. x. 5; xiii. 3, 4; 1 Chr. xi. 16). This suggests the possibility of Nezib having been a Philistine place. But the application of the term to the Philistines, though frequent, is not exclusive.

[a] If originally a Hebrew name, probably from the same root as Bashan—a sandy soil.

There are some discrepancies between the narratives in the two books of Maccabees as to Nicanor. In 1 Macc. he is represented as acting with deliberate treachery: in 2 Macc. he is said to have been won over to a sincere friendship with Judas, which was only interrupted by the intrigues of Alcimus, who induced Demetrius to repeat his orders for the capture of the Jewish hero (2 Macc. xiv. 23 ff.). Internal evidence is decidedly in favour of 1 Macc. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 10, §4), who does not, however, appear to have had any other authority than 1 Macc. before him, Judas was defeated at Capharsalama; and though his account is obviously inaccurate (ἀναγκάζει τὸν Ἰούδαν . . . ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν φεύγειν), the events which followed (1 Macc. vii. 33 ff.; comp. 2 Macc. xiv. 33 ff.) seem at least to indicate that Judas gained no advantage. In 2 Macc. this engagement is not noticed, but another is placed (2 Macc. xiv. 17) before the connexion of Nicanor with Judas, while this was after it (1 Macc. vii. 27 ff.), in which "Simon Judas' brother" is said to have been "somewhat discomfited."

2. One of the first seven deacons (Acts vi. 5). According to the Pseudo-Hippolytus he was one of the seventy disciples, and "died at the time of the martyrdom of Stephen" (p. 953, ed. Migne). [B. F. W.]

NICODE'MUS (Νικόδημος: *Nicodemus*), a Pharisee, a ruler of the Jews, and[a] teacher of Israel (John iii. 1, 10), whose secret visit to our Lord was the occasion of the discourse recorded by St. John. The name was not uncommon among the Jews (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 3, §2), and was no doubt borrowed from the Greeks. In the Talmud it appears under the form נקדימון, and some would derive it from נקי, innocent, דם, blood (*i. e.* "Sceleris purus"); Wetstein, *N. T.* i. 150. In the case of Nicodemus Ben Gorion, the name is derived by R. Nathan from a miracle which he is supposed to have performed (Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v.).

Nicodemus is only mentioned by St. John, who narrates his nocturnal visit to Jesus, and the conversation which then took place, at which the Evangelist may himself have been present. The high station of Nicodemus as a member of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and the avowed scorn under which the rulers concealed their inward conviction (John iii. 2) that Jesus was a teacher sent from God, are sufficient to account for the secrecy of the interview. A constitutional timidity is discernible in the character of the enquiring Pharisee, which could not be overcome by his vacillating desire to befriend and acknowledge One whom he knew to be a Prophet, even if he did not at once recognise in him the promised Messiah. Thus the few words which he interposed against the rash injustice of his colleagues are cautiously rested on a general principle (John vii. 50), and betray no indication of his faith in the Galilean whom his sect despised. And even when the power of Christ's love, manifested on the cross, had made the most timid disciples bold, Nicodemus does not come forward with his splendid gifts of affection until the example had been set by one of his own rank, and wealth, and station in society (xix. 39).

In these three notices of Nicodemus a noble candour, and a simple love of truth shine out in the midst of hesitation and fear of man. We can therefore easily believe the tradition that after the resurrection (which would supply the last outward impulse necessary to confirm his faith and increase his courage) he became a professed disciple of Christ, and received baptism at the hands of Peter and John. All the rest that is recorded of him is highly uncertain. It is said, however, that the Jews, in revenge for his conversion, deprived him of his office, beat him cruelly, and drove him from Jerusalem; that Gamaliel, who was his kinsman, hospitably sheltered him until his death in a country house, and finally gave him honourable burial near the body of Stephen, where Gamaliel himself was afterwards interred. Finally, the three bodies are said to have been discovered on Aug. 3, A.D. 415, which day was set apart by the Romish Church in honour of the event (Phot. *Biblioth. Cod.* 171; Lucian, *De S. Steph. inventione*).

The conversation of Christ with Nicodemus is appointed as the Gospel for Trinity Sunday. The choice at first sight may seem strange. There are in that discourse no mysterious numbers which might shadow forth truths in their simplest relations; no distinct and yet simultaneous actions of the divine persons; no separation of divine attributes. Yet the instinct[b] which dictated this choice was a right one. For it is in this conversation alone that we see how our Lord himself met the difficulties of a thoughtful man; how he checked, without noticing, the self-assumption of a teacher; how he lifted the half-believing mind to the light of nobler truth.

If the Nicodemus of St. John's Gospel be identical with the Nicodemus Ben Gorion of the Talmud, he must have lived till the fall of Jerusalem, which is not impossible since the term γέρων, in John iii. 4, may not be intended to apply to Nicodemus himself. The arguments for their identification are that both are mentioned as Pharisees, wealthy, pious, and members of the Sanhedrim (*Taanith*, f. 19, &c. See Otho, *Lex. Rab.* s. v.); and that in *Taanith* the original name (altered on the occasion of a miracle performed by Nicodemus in order to procure rain) is said to have been בוני, which is also the name of one of five Rabbinical disciples of Christ mentioned in *Sanhed.* f. 43, 1 (Otho, s. v. *Christus*). Finally, the family of this Nicodemus are said to have been reduced from great wealth to the most squalid and horrible poverty, which however may as well be accounted for by the fall of Jerusalem, as by the change of fortune resulting from an acceptance of Christianity.

On the Gospel of Nicodemus, see Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr.* i. 213; Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* i. 478. In some MSS. it is also called 'The Acts of Pilate.' It is undoubtedly spurious (as the conclusion of it sufficiently proves), and of very little value. [F. W. F.]

NICOLA'ITANS (Νικολαΐται: *Nicolaïtae*). The question how far the sect that is mentioned by this name in Rev. ii. 6, 15, was connected with the Nicolas of Acts vi. 5, and the traditions that have gathered round his name, will be discussed below. [Nicolas.] It will here be considered how far we can get at any distinct notion of what the sect itself was, and in what relation it stood to the life of the Apostolic age.

It has been suggested as one step towards this result that the name before us was symbolic rather

[a] The article in John iii. 10 (ὁ διδάσκ.) is probably only generic although Winer and Bp. Middleton suppose that it implies a rebuke.

[b] The writer is indebted for this remark to a MS. sermon by Mr Westcott.

han historical. The Greek Νικόλαος is, it has been said, an approximate equivalent to the Hebrew בִּלְעָם Balaam, the lord (Vitringa, deriving it from בַּעַל), or, according to another derivation, the devourer of the people (so Hengstenberg, as from בָּלַע).[a] If we accept this explanation we have to deal with one sect instead of two—we are able to compare with what we find in Rev. ii. the incidental notices of the characteristics of the followers of Balaam in Jude and 2 Peter, and our task is proportionately an easier one. It may be urged indeed that this theory rests upon a false or at least a doubtful etymology (Gesenius, *s. v.* בִּלְעָם, makes it = peregrinus), and that the message to the Church of Pergamos (Rev. ii. 14, 15) appears to recognise "those that hold the doctrine of Balaam," and "those that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes," as two distinct bodies. There is, however, a sufficient answer to both these objections. (1) The whole analogy of the mode of teaching which lays stress on the significance of names would lead us to look, not for philological accuracy, but for a broad, strongly-marked *paronomasia*, such as men would recognise and accept. It would be enough for those who were to hear the message that they should perceive the meaning of the two words to be identical.[b] (2) A closer inspection of Rev. ii. 15 would show that the οὕτως ἔχεις, κ. τ. λ. imply the resemblance of the teaching of the Nicolaitans with that of the historical Balaam mentioned in the preceding verse, rather than any kind of contrast.

We are now in a position to form a clearer judgment of the characteristics of the sect. It comes before us as presenting the ultimate phase of a great controversy, which threatened at one time to destroy the unity of the Church, and afterwards to taint its purity. The controversy itself was inevitable as soon as the Gentiles were admitted, in any large numbers, into the Church of Christ. Were the new converts to be brought into subjection to the whole Mosaic law? Were they to give up their old habits of life altogether—to withdraw entirely from the social gatherings of their friends and kinsmen? Was there not the risk, if they continued to join in them, of their eating, consciously or unconsciously, of that which had been slain in the sacrifices of a false worship, and of thus sharing in the idolatry? The apostles and elders at Jerusalem met the question calmly and wisely. The burden of the Law was not to be imposed on the Gentile disciples. They were to abstain, among other things, from "meats offered to idols" and from "fornication" (Acts xv. 20, 29), and this decree was welcomed as the great charter of the Church's freedom. Strange as the close union of the moral and the positive commands may seem to us, it did not seem so to the synod at Jerusalem. The two sins were very closely allied, often even in the closest proximity of time and place. The fathomless impurity which overspread the empire made the one almost as inseparable as the other from its daily social life.

The messages to the Churches of Asia and the later Apostolic Epistles (2 Peter and Jude) indicate that the two evils appeared at that period also in close alliance. The teachers of the Church branded them with a name which expressed their true character. The men who did and taught such things were followers of Balaam (2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude 11). They, like the false prophet of Pethor, united brave words with evil deeds. They made their "liberty" a cloak at once for cowardice and licentiousness. In a time of persecution, when the eating or not eating of things sacrificed to idols was more than ever a crucial test of faithfulness, they persuaded men more than ever that it was a thing indifferent (Rev. ii. 13, 14). This was bad enough, but there was a yet worse evil. Mingling themselves in the orgies of idolatrous feasts, they brought the impurities of those feasts into the meetings of the Christian Church. There was the most imminent risk that its Agapae might become as full of abominations as the Bacchanalia of Italy had been (2 Pet. ii. 12, 13, 18; Jude 7, 8; comp. Liv. xxix. 8-19). Their sins had already brought scandal and discredit on the "way of truth." And all this was done, it must be remembered, not simply as an indulgence of appetite, but as part of a system, supported by a "doctrine," accompanied by the boast of a prophetic illumination (2 Pet. ii. 1). The trance of the son of Beor and the sensual debasement into which he led the Israelites were strangely reproduced.

These were the characteristics of the followers of Balaam, and, worthless as most of the traditions about Nicolas may be, they point to the same distinctive evils. Even in the absence of any teacher of that name, it would be natural enough, as has been shown above, that the Hebrew name of ignominy should have its Greek equivalent. If there were such a teacher, whether the proselyte of Antioch or another,[c] the application of the name to his followers would be proportionately more pointed. It confirms the view which has been taken of their character to find that stress is laid in the first instance on the "deeds" of the Nicolaitans. To hate those deeds is a sign of life in a Church that otherwise is weak and faithless (Rev. ii. 6). To tolerate them is well nigh to forfeit the glory of having been faithful under persecution (Rev. ii. 14, 15). (Comp. Neander's *Apostelgesch.* p. 620, Gieseler's *Eccl. Hist.* § 29; Hengstenberg and Alford on Rev. ii. 6; Stier, *Words of the Risen Saviour*, x.) [E. H. P.]

NIC'OLAS (Νικόλαος: *Nicolaus*), Acts vi. 5. A native of Antioch, and a proselyte to the Jewish faith. When the church was still confined to Jerusalem he became a convert; and being a man of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom, he was chosen by the whole multitude of the dis-

[a] Cocceius (*Cogitat. in Rev.* ii. 6) has the credit of being the first to suggest this identification of the Nicolaitans with the followers of Balaam. He has been followed by the elder Vitringa (*Dissert. de Argum. Epist. Petri poster.* in Hase's *Thesaurus*, ii. 987), Hengstenberg (*in loc.*), Stier (*Words of the Risen Lord*, p. 125 Eng. transl.), and others. Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.*, in Act. Apost. vi. 5) suggests another and more startling *paronomasia*. The word, in his view, was chosen, as identical in sound with נִיכוֹלָא, "let us err," and as thus marking out the special characteristic of the sect.

[b] Vitringa (*l. c.*) finds another instance of this indirect expression of feeling in the peculiar form, "Balaam the son of Bosor," in 2 Pet. ii. 15. The substitution of the latter name for the Beὼρ of the LXX. originated, according to his conjecture, in the wish to point to his antitype in the Christian Church as a true בֶּן־בְּשֹׂר, a *filius carnis*.

[c] It is noticeable (though the documents themselves are not of much weight as evidence) that in two instances the Nicolaitans are said to be "falsely so called" (ψευδώνυμοι. Ignat. *ad Trall.* xi., *Const. Apost.* vi. 8)

ciples to be one of the first seven deacons, and he was ordained by the apostles, A.D. 33.

A sect of Nicolaitans is mentioned in Rev. ii. 6, 15; and it has been questioned whether this Nicolas was connected with them, and if so, how closely.

The Nicolaitans themselves, at least as early as the time of Irenaeus (*Contr. Haer.* i. 26, §3), claimed him as their founder. Epiphanius, an inaccurate writer, relates (*Adv. Haer.* i. 2, §25, p. 76) some details of the life of Nicolas the deacon, and describes him as gradually sinking into the grossest impurity, and becoming the originator of the Nicolaitans and other immoral sects. Stephen Gobar (Photii *Biblioth.* §232, p. 291, ed. 1824) states—and the statement is corroborated by the recently discovered *Philosophumena*, bk. vii. §36—that Hippolytus agreed with Epiphanius in his unfavourable view of Nicolas. The same account is believed, at least to some extent by Jerome (*Ep.* 147, t. i. p. 1082, ed. Vallars. &c.) and other writers in the 4th century. But it is irreconcilable with the traditionary account of the character of Nicolas, given by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 4, p. 187, Sylb. and *apud Euseb. H. E.* iii. 29; see also Hammond, *Annot.* on Rev. ii. 4), an earlier and more discriminating writer than Epiphanius. He states that Nicolas led a chaste life and brought up his children in purity, that on a certain occasion having been sharply reproved by the apostles as a jealous husband, he repelled the charge by offering to allow his wife to become the wife of any other person, and that he was in the habit of repeating a saying which is ascribed to the apostle Matthias also,—that it is our duty to fight against the flesh and to abuse (παραχρῆσθαι) it. His words were perversely interpreted by the Nicolaitans as an authority for their immoral practices. Theodoret (*Haeret. Fab.* iii. 1), in his account of the sect repeats the foregoing statement of Clement; and charges the Nicolaitans with false dealing in borrowing the name of the deacon. Ignatius,[a] who was contemporary with Nicolas, is said by Stephen Gobar to have given the same account as Clement, Eusebius, and Theodoret, touching the personal character of Nicolas. Among modern critics, Cotelerius in a note on *Constit. Apost.* vi. 8, after reciting the various authorities, seems to lean towards the favourable view of the character of Nicolas. Professor Burton (*Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, Lect. xii. p. 364, ed. 1833) is of opinion that the origin of the term Nicolaitans is uncertain; and that, "though Nicolas the deacon has been mentioned as their founder, the evidence is extremely slight which would convict that person himself of any immoralities." Tillemont (*H. E.* ii. 47), possibly influenced by the fact that no honour is paid to the memory of Nicolas by any branch of the Church, allows perhaps too much weight to the testimony against him; rejects peremptorily Cassian's statement—to which Neander (*Planting of the Church*, bk. v. p. 390, ed. Bohn) gives his adhesion—that some other Nicolas was the founder of the sect; and concludes that if not the actual founder, he was so unfortunate as to give occasion to the formation of the sect, by his indiscreet speaking. Grotius' view as given in a note on Rev. ii. 6, is substantially the same as that of Tillemont.

The name Balaam is perhaps (but see Gesen. *Thes* 210) capable of being interpreted as a Hebrew equivalent of the Greek Nicolas. Some commentators think that this is alluded to by St. John in Rev. ii. 14; and C. Vitringa (*Obs. Sacr.* iv. 9) argues forcibly in support of this opinion. [W. T. B.]

NICOP'OLIS (Νικόπολις: *Nicopolis*) is mentioned in Tit. iii. 12, as the place where, at the time of writing the Epistle, St. Paul was intending to pass the coming winter, and where he wished Titus to meet him. Whether either or both of these purposes were accomplished we cannot tell. Titus was at this time in Crete (Tit. i. 5). The subscription to the Epistle assumes that the Apostle was at Nicopolis when he wrote; but we cannot conclude this from the form of expression. We should rather infer that he was elsewhere, possibly at Ephesus or Corinth. He urges that no time should be lost (σπούδασον ἐλθεῖν); hence we conclude that winter was near.

Nothing is to be found in the Epistle itself to determine which Nicopolis is here intended. There were cities of this name in Asia, Africa, and Europe. If we were to include all the theories which have been respectably supported, we should be obliged to write at least three articles. One Nicopolis was in Thrace, near the borders of Macedonia. The subscription (which, however, is of no authority) fixes on this place, calling it the Macedonian Nicopolis: and such is the view of Chrysostom and Theodoret. De Wette's objection to this opinion (*Pastoral Briefe*, p. 21), that the place did not exist till Trajan's reign, appears to be a mistake. Another Nicopolis was in Cilicia; and Schrader (*Der Apostel Paulus*, i. pp. 115-119) pronounces for this; but this opinion is connected with a peculiar theory regarding the Apostle's journeys. We have little doubt that Jerome's view is correct, and that the Pauline Nicopolis was the celebrated city of Epirus ("scribit Apostolus de Nicopoli, quae in Actiaco littore sita," Hieron. *Prooem.* ix. 195). For arrangements of St. Paul's journeys, which will harmonise with this, and with the other facts of the Pastoral Epistles, see Birks, *Horae Apostolicae*, pp. 296-304; and Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul* (2nd ed.), ii. 564-573. It is very possible, as is observed there, that St. Paul was arrested at Nicopolis and taken thence to Rome for his final trial.

This city (the "City of Victory") was built by Augustus in memory of the battle of Actium, and on the ground which his army occupied before the engagement. It is a curious and interesting circumstance, when we look at the matter from a Biblical point of view, that many of the handsomest parts of the town were built by Herod the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xvi. 5, §3). It is likely enough that many Jews lived there. Moreover, it was conveniently situated for apostolic journeys in the eastern parts of Achaia and Macedonia, and also to the northwards, where churches perhaps were founded. St. Paul had long before preached the Gospel, at least on the confines of Illyricum (Rom. xv. 19), and soon after the very period under consideration Titus himself was sent on a mission to Dalmatia (2 Tim. iv. 10).

Nicopolis was on a peninsula to the west of the bay of Actium, in a low and unhealthy situation, and it is now a very desolate place. The remains have been often described. We may refer to Leake's

[a] Usher conjectures that this reference is to the interpolated copy of the Epistle to the Trallians, ch. xi. (*De Ignatii Epistolis* §6. *apud Coteler. Patr. Apost.* ii. 195, ed. 1724.)

Northern Greece, i. 178, and iii. 491 Bowen's *Athos and Epirus*, 211; Wolfe in *Journ. of R. Geog. Soc.* iii. 92; Merivale's *Rome*, iii. 327, 328; Wordsworth's *Greece*, 229-232. In the last mentioned work, and in the *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geog.* maps of the place will be found. [J. S. H.]

NI'GER (Νίγερ: *Niger*) is the additional or distinctive name given to the Symeon (Συμεών), who was one of the teachers and prophets in the Church at Antioch (Acts xiii. 1). He is not known except in that passage. The name was a common one among the Romans; and the conjecture that he was an African proselyte, and was called Niger on account of his complexion, is unnecessary as well as destitute otherwise of any support. His name, Symeon, shows that he was a Jew by birth; and as in other similar cases (*e. g.* Saul, Paul—Silas, Silvanus) he may be supposed to have taken the other name as more convenient in his intercourse with foreigners. He is mentioned second among the five who officiated at Antioch, and perhaps we may infer that he had some pre-eminence among them in point of activity and influence. It is impossible to decide (though Meyer makes the attempt) who of the number were prophets (προφῆται), and who were teachers (διδάσκαλοι). [H. B. H.]

NIGHT. The period of darkness, from sunset to sunrise, including the morning and evening twilight, was known to the Hebrews by the term לַיִל, *layil*, or לַיְלָה, *layĕlâh*. It is opposed to "day," the period of light (Gen. i. 5). Following the Oriental sunset is the brief evening twilight (נֶשֶׁף, *nesheph*, Job xxiv. 15, rendered "night" in Is. v. 11, xxi. 4, lix. 10), when the stars appeared Job iii. 9). This is also called "evening" (עֶרֶב, *'ereb*, Prov. vii. 9, rendered "night" in Gen. xlix. 27, Job vii. 4), but the term which especially denotes the evening twilight is עֲלָטָה, *ălâtâh* (Gen. xv. 17, A. V. "dark;" Ez. xii. 6, 7, 12). *'Ereb* also denotes the time just before sunset (Deut. xxiii. 11; Josh. viii. 29), when the women went to draw water (Gen. xxiv. 11), and the decline of the day is called "the turning of evening" (פְּנוֹת עֶרֶב, *pĕnôth 'ereb*, Gen. xxiv. 63), the time of prayer. This period of the day must also be that which is described as "night" when Boaz winnowed his barley in the evening breeze (Ruth iii. 2), the cool of the day (Gen. iii. 8), when the shadows begin to fall (Jer. vi. 4), and the wolves prowl about (Hab. i. 8; Zeph. iii. 3). The time of midnight (חֲצִי הַלַּיְלָה, *châtsî hallayĕlâh*, Ruth iii. 7, and חֲצוֹת הַלַּיְלָה, *châtsôth hallayĕlâh*, Ex. xi. 4) or greatest darkness is called in Prov. vii. 9 "the pupil of night" (אִישׁוֹן לַיְלָה, *ishôn layĕlâh*, A. V. "black night"). The period between midnight and the morning twilight was generally selected for attacking an enemy by surprise (Judg. vii. 19). The morning twilight is denoted by the same term, *nesheph*, as the evening twilight, and is unmistakeably intended in Sam. xxxi. 12; Job vii. 4; Ps. cxix. 147; possibly also in Is. v. 11. With sunrise the night ended. In one passage, Job xxvi. 10 חֹשֶׁךְ, *chôshec*, "darkness" is rendered "night" in the A. V., but is correctly given in the margin.

For the artificial divisions of the night see the articles DAY and WATCHES. [W. A. W.]

NIGHT-HAWK (תַּחְמָס, *tachmâs*: γλαύξ; *noctua*). Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 830) has endeavoured to prove that the Hebrew word, which occurs only (Lev. xi. 16; Deut. xiv. 15) amongst the list of unclean birds, denotes the "male ostrich," the preceding term, *bath-yaănâh*[a] (*owl*, A. V.) signifying the female bird. The etymology of the word points to some bird of prey, though there is great uncertainty as to the particular species indicated. The LXX., Vulg., and perhaps Onkelos, understand some kind of "owl;" most of the Jewish doctors indefinitely render the word "a rapacious bird:" Gesenius (*Thes. s. v.*) and Rosenmüller (*Schol. ad Lev.* xi. 16) follow Bochart. Bochart's explanation is grounded on an overstrained interpretation of the etymology of the verb *châmas*, the root of *tachmâs*; he restricts the meaning of the root to the idea of acting "unjustly" or "deceitfully," and thus comes to the conclusion that the "unjust bird" is the male ostrich [OSTRICH]. Without stopping to consider the etymology of the word further than to refer the reader to Gesenius, who gives as the first meaning of *châmas* "he acted violently," and to the Arabic *chamash*, "to wound with claws,"[b] it is not at all probable that Moses should have specified both the *male* and *female* ostrich in a list which was no doubt intended to be as comprehensive as possible. The not unfrequent occurrence of the expression "after their kind" is an argument in favour of this assertion. Michaelis believes some kind of swallow (*Hirundo*) is intended: the word used by the Targum of Jonathan is by Kitto (*Pict. Bib.* Lev. xi. 16) and by Oedmann (*Vermisch. Samm.* i. p. 3, c. iv.) referred to the swallow, though the last-named authority says, "it is uncertain, however, what Jonathan really meant." Buxtorf (*Lex. Rabbin.* s. v. חַטַפְיְתָא) translates the word used by Jonathan, "a name of a rapacious bird, *harpyja*." It is not easy to see what claim the swallow can have to represent the *tachmâs*, neither is it at all probable that so small a bird should have been noticed in the Levitical law. The rendering of the A. V. rests on no authority, though from the absurd properties which, from the time of Aristotle, have been ascribed to the night-hawk or goat-sucker, and the superstitions connected with this bird, its claim is not so entirely destitute of every kind of evidence.

As the LXX. and Vulg. are agreed that *tachmâs* denotes some kind of owl, we believe it is safer to follow these versions than modern commentators. The Greek γλαύξ is used by Aristotle for some common species of owl, in all probability for the *Strix flammea* (white owl) or the *Syrnium stridula* (tawny owl);[c] the Veneto-Greek reads νυκτι- κόραξ, a synonym of ὦτος, Aristot., *i. e.* the *Otus vulgaris*, Flem. (long-eared owl): this is the species which Oedmann (see above) identifies with *tachmâs*.

[a] בַּת־יַעֲנָה.

[b] خمش scalpsit, unguibus vulneravit *faciem*. See Freytag s. v.

[c] Not to be confounded with the *Nycticorax* of modern ornithology, which is a genus of *Ardeidæ* (herons).

"The name," he says, "indicates a bird which exercises power, but the force of the power is in the Arabic root *chamash*, 'to tear a face with claws.' Now, it is well known in the East that there is a species of owl of which people believe that it glides into chambers by night and tears the flesh off the faces of sleeping children." Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 196, Lond. 1766) alludes to this nightly terror, but he calls it the "Oriental owl" (*Strix Orientalis*) and clearly distinguishes it from the *Strix otus*, Lin. The Arabs in Egypt call this infant-killing owl *massasa*, the Syrians *bana*. It is believed to be identical with the *Syrnium stridula*, out what foundation there may be for the belief in its child-killing propensities we know not. It is probable that some common species of owl is denoted by *tachmâs*, perhaps the *Strix flammea* or the *Athene meridionalis*, which is extremely common in Palestine and Egypt. [OWL.] [W. H.]

NILE. 1. *Names of the Nile.*—The Hebrew names of the Nile, excepting one that is of ancient Egyptian origin, all distinguish it from other rivers. With the Hebrews the Euphrates, as the great stream of their primitive home, was always "the river," and even the long sojourn in Egypt could not put the Nile in its place. Most of their geographical terms and ideas are, however, evidently traceable to Canaan, the country of the Hebrew language. Thus the sea, as lying on the west, gave its name to the west quarter. It was only in such an exceptional case as that of the Euphrates, which had no rival in Palestine, that the Hebrews seem to have retained the ideas of their older country. These circumstances lend no support to the idea that the Shemites and their language came originally from Egypt. The Hebrew names of the Nile are *Shichôr*, "the black," a name perhaps of the same sense as Nile; *Yeôr*, "the river," a word originally Egyptian; "the river of Egypt;" "the Nachal of Egypt" (if this appellation designate the Nile, and Nachal be a proper name); and "the rivers of Cush," or "Ethiopia." It must be observed that the word Nile nowhere occurs in the A. V.

(*a.*) *Shichôr*, שִׁחוֹר, שִׁחֹר, שְׁחֹר, "the black," from שָׁחַר, "he or it was or became black." The idea of blackness conveyed by this word has, as we should expect in Hebrew, a wide sense, applying not only to the colour of the hair (Lev. xiii. 31, 37), but also to that of a face tanned by the sun (Cant. i. 5, 6), and that of a skin black through disease (Job xxx. 30). It seems, however, to be indicative of a very dark colour; for it is said in the Lamentations, as to the famished Nazarites in the besieged city, "Their visage is darker than blackness" (iv. 8). That the Nile is meant by Shihor is evident from its mention as equivalent to *Yeôr*, "the river," and as a great river, where Isaiah says of Tyre, "And by great waters, the sowing of Shihor, the harvest of the river (יְאֹר) [is] her revenue" (xxiii. 3); from its being put as the western boundary of the Promised Land (Josh. xiii. 3; 1 Chr. xiii. 5), instead of "the river of Egypt" (Gen. xv. 18); and from its being spoken of as the great stream of Egypt, just as the Euphrates was of Assyria (Jer. ii. 18). If, but this is by no means certain, the name Nile, *Shichor*, be really indicative of the colour of the river, it must be compared with the Sanskrit नील:, *Nîlah*, "blue" especially, probably "dark blue," also even "black," as नीलपक:, "black mud," and must be considered to be the Indo-European equivalent of Shihor. The signification "blue" is noteworthy, especially as a great confluent, which most nearly corresponds to the Nile in Egypt, is called the Blue River, or, by Europeans, the Blue Nile.

(*b.*) *Yeôr*, יְאֹר, יְאוֹר, is the same as the ancient Egyptian ATUR, AUR, and the Coptic ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ, ⲓⲁⲣⲟ, ⲓⲁⲣⲱ (M), ⲓⲉⲣⲟ (S). It is important to notice that the second form of the ancient Egyptian name alone is preserved in the later language, the second radical of the first having been lost, as in the Hebrew form; so that, on this double evidence, it is probable that this commoner form was in use among the people from early times. *Yeôr*, in the singular, is used of the Nile alone, excepting in a passage in Daniel (xii. 5, 6, 7), where another river, perhaps the Tigris (comp. x. 4), is intended by it. In the plural, יְאֹרִים, this name is applied to the branches and canals of the Nile (Ps. lxxviii. 44; Ezek. xxix. 3, seqq., xxx. 12), and perhaps tributaries also, with, in some places, the addition of the names of the country, Mitsraïm, Matsor, יְאֹרֵי מְצֹרַיִם (Is. vii. 18, A. V. "rivers of Egypt"), יְאוֹרֵי מָצוֹר (xix. 6, "brooks of defence;" xxxvii. 25,[a] "rivers of the besieged places"); but it is also used of streams or channels, in a general sense, when no particular ones are indicated (see Is. xxxiii. 21; Job xxviii. 10). It is thus evident that this name specially designates the Nile; and although properly meaning a river, and even used with that signification, it is probably to be regarded as a proper name when applied to the Egyptian river. The latter inference may perhaps be drawn from the constant mention of the Euphrates as "the river;" but it is to be observed that Shihor, or "the river of Egypt," is used when the Nile and the Euphrates are spoken of together, as though *Yeôr* could not be well employed for the former, with the ordinary term for river, *nâhâr*, for the latter.[b]

(*c.*) "The river of Egypt," נְהַר מִצְרַיִם, is mentioned with the Euphrates in the promise of the extent of the land to be given to Abraham's posterity, the two limits of which were to be "the river of Egypt" and "the great river, the river Euphrates" (Gen. xv. 18).

(*d.*) "The Nachal of Egypt," נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, has generally been understood to mean "the torrent" or "brook of Egypt," and to designate a desert stream at Rhinocorura, now El-'Areesh, on the eastern border. Certainly נַחַל usually signifies a stream or torrent, not a river; and when a river, one of small size, and dependent upon mountain-rain or snow; but as it is also used for a valley, corresponding to the Arabic *wâdee* (وادي), which is in like manner employed in both senses, it may apply like it, in the case of

[a] In Is. xxxvii. 25 the reference seems to be to an Assyrian conquest of Egypt.

[b] The Nile was probably mentioned by this name in the original of Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 27, where the Greek text reads ὡς φῶς, כְּאֹר having been misunderstood (Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v.)

the Guadalquivir, &c., to great rivers. This name must signify the Nile, for it occurs in cases parallel to those where Shihor is employed (Num. xxxiv. 5, Josh. xv. 4, 47, 1 K. viii. 65, 2 K. xxiv. 7, Is. xxvii. 12), both designating the easternmost or Pelusiac branch of the river as the border of the Philistine territory, where the Egyptians equally put the border of their country towards Kanaan or Kanana (Canaan). It remains for us to decide whether the name signify the "brook of Egypt," or whether Nachal be a Hebrew form of Nile. On the one side may be urged the unlikelihood that the middle radical should not be found in the Indo-European equivalents, although it is not one of the most permanent letters; on the other, that it is improbable that *nahar* "river" and *nachal* "brook" would be used for the same stream. If the latter be here a proper name, Νεῖλος must be supposed to be the same word; and the meaning of the Greek as well as the Hebrew name would remain doubtful, for we could not then positively decide on an Indo-European signification. The Hebrew word *nachal* might have been adopted as very similar in sound to an original proper name; and this idea is supported by the forms of various Egyptian words in the Bible, which are susceptible of Hebrew etymologies in consequence of a slight change. It must, however, be remembered that there are traces of a Semitic language, apparently distinct from Hebrew, in geographical names in the east of Lower Egypt, probably dating from the Shepherd-period; and therefore we must not, if we take *nachal* to be here Semitic, restrict its meaning to that which it bears or could bear in Hebrew.

(*e.*) "The rivers of Cush," נַהֲרֵי כוּשׁ, are alone mentioned in the extremely difficult prophecy contained in Is. xviii. From the use of the plural, a single stream cannot be meant, and we must suppose "the rivers of Ethiopia" to be the confluents or tributaries of the Nile. Gesenius (*Lex.* s. v. נָהָר) makes them the Nile and the Astaboras. Without attempting to explain this prophecy, it is interesting to remark that the expression, "Whose land the rivers have spoiled" (vers. 2, 7), if it apply to any Ethiopian nation, may refer to the ruin of great part of Ethiopia, for a long distance above the First Cataract, in consequence of the fall of the level of the river. This change has been effected through the breaking down of a barrier at that cataract, or at Silsilis, by which the valley has been placed above the reach of the fertilizing annual deposit. The Nile is sometimes poetically called a sea, יָם (Is. xviii. 2; Nah. iii. 8; Job xli. 31; but we cannot agree with Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v., that it is intended in Is. xix. 5): this, however, can scarcely be considered to be one of its names.

It will be instructive to mention the present appellations of the Nile in Arabic, which may illustrate the Scripture terms. By the Arabs it is called Bahr-en-Neel, "the river Nile," the word "bahr" being applied to seas and the greatest rivers. The Egyptians call it Bahr, or "the river" alone; and call the inundation En-Neel, or "the Nile." This latter use of what is properly a name of the river resembles the use of the plural of *Yeôr* in the Bible for the various channels or even streams of Nile-water.

With the ancient Egyptians, the river was sacred, and had, besides its ordinary name already given, a sacred name, under which it was worshipped, HAPEE, or HAPEE-MU, "the abyss," or "the abyss of waters," or "the hidden." Corresponding to the two regions of Egypt, the Upper Country and the Lower, the Nile was called HAPEE-RES, "the Southern Nile," and HAPEE-MEHEET, "the Northern Nile," the former name applying to the river in Nubia as well as in Upper Egypt. The god Nilus was one of the lesser divinities. He is represented as a stout man having woman's breasts, and is sometimes painted red to denote the river during its rise and inundation, or High Nile, and sometimes blue, to denote it during the rest of the year, or Low Nile. Two figures of HAPEE are frequently represented on each side of the throne of a royal statue, or in the same place in a bas-relief, binding it with water-plants, as though the prosperity of the kingdom depended upon the produce of the river. The name HAPEE, perhaps, in these cases, HEPEE, was also applied to one of the four children of Osiris, called by Egyptologers the genii of AMENT or Hades, and to the bull Apis, the most revered of all the sacred animals. The genius does not seem to have any connection with the river, excepting indeed that Apis was sacred to Osiris. Apis was worshipped with a reference to the inundation, perhaps because the myth of Osiris, the conflict of good and evil, was supposed to be represented by the struggle of the fertilizing river or inundation with the desert and the sea, the first threatening the whole valley, and the second wasting it along the northern coast.

2. *Description of the Nile.*—We cannot as yet determine the length of the Nile, although recent discoveries have narrowed the question. There is scarcely a doubt that its largest confluent is fed by the great lakes on and south of the equator. It has been traced upwards for about 2700 miles, measured by its course, not in a direct line, and its extent is probably upwards of 1000 miles more, making it longer than even the Mississippi, and the longest of rivers. In Egypt and Nubia it flows through a bed of silt and slime, resting upon marine or nummulitic limestone, covered by a later formation, over which, without the valley, lie the sand and rocky *débris* of the desert. Beneath the limestone is a sandstone formation, which rises and bounds the valley in its stead in the higher part of the Thebais. Again beneath the sandstone is the breccia verde, which appears above it in the desert eastward of Thebes, and yet lower a group of azoic rocks, gneisses, quartzes, mica schists, and clay slates resting upon the red granite and syenite that rise through all the upper strata at the First Cataract. The river's bed is cut through these layers of rock, which often approach it on either side, and sometimes confine it on both sides, and even obstruct its course, forming rapids and cataracts. To trace it downwards we must first go to equatorial Africa, the mysterious half-explored home of the negroes, where animal and vegetable life flourishes around and in the vast swamp-land that waters the chief part of the continent. Here are two great shallow lakes, one nearer to the coast than the other. From the more eastern (the Ukerewe, which is on the equator), a chief tributary of the White Nile probably takes its rise, and the more western (the Ujeejee), may feed another tributary. These lakes are filled, partly by the heavy rains of the equatorial region, partly by the melting of the snows of the

[e] The geology of the Nile-valley is excellently given by Hugh Miller (*Testimony of the Rocks*, p. 409, seqq.).

lofty mountains discovered by the missionaries Krapf and Rebmann. Whether the lakes supply two tributaries or not, it is certain that from the great region of waters where they lie, several streams fall into the Bahr el-Abyad, or White Nile. Great, however, as is the body of water of this the longer of the two chief confluents, it is the shorter, the Bahr el-Azrak, or Blue River, which brings down the alluvial soil that makes the Nile the great fertilizer of Egypt and Nubia. The Bahr el-Azrak rises in the mountains of Abyssinia, and carries down from them a great quantity of decayed vegetable matter and alluvium. The two streams form a junction at Khartoom, now the seat of government of Soolán, or the Black Country under Egyptian rule. The Bahr el-Azrak is here a narrow river, with high steep mud-banks like those of the Nile in Egypt, and with water of the same colour; and the Bahr el-Abyad is broad and shallow, with low banks and clear water. Further to the north another great river, the Athara, rising, like the Bahr el-Azrak, in Abyssinia, falls into the main stream, which, for the remainder of its course, does not receive one tributary more. Throughout the rest of the valley the Nile does not greatly vary, excepting that in Lower Nubia, through the fall of its level by the giving way of a barrier in ancient times, it does not inundate the valley on either hand. From time to time its course is impeded by cataracts or rapids, sometimes extending many miles, until, at the First Cataract, the boundary of Egypt, it surmounts the last obstacle. After a course of about 550 miles, at a short distance below Cairo and the Pyramids, the river parts into two great branches, which water the Delta, nearly forming its boundaries to the east and west, and flowing into the shallow Mediterranean. The references in the Bible are mainly to the characteristics of the river in Egypt. There, above the Delta, its average breadth may be put at from half a mile to three-quarters, excepting where large islands increase the distance. In the Delta its branches are usually narrower. The water is extremely sweet, especially at the season when it is turbid. It is said by the people that those who have drunk of it and left the country must return to drink of it again.

The great annual phenomenon of the Nile is the inundation, the failure of which produces a famine, for Egypt is virtually without rain (see Zech. xiv. 17, 18). The country is therefore devoid of the constant changes which make the husbandmen of other lands look always for the providential care of God. "For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, [is] not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst [it] with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: but the land, whither ye go to possess it, [is] a land of hills and valleys, [and] drinketh water of the rain of heaven: a land which the LORD thy God careth for: the eyes of the LORD thy God [are] always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year" (Deut. xi. 10-12). At Khartoom the increase of the river is observed early in April, but in Egypt the first signs of rising occur about the summer solstice, and generally the regular increase does not begin until some days after, the inundation commencing about two months after the solstice. The river then pours, through canals and cuttings in the banks, which are a little higher than the rest of the soil, over the valley, which it covers with sheets of water. It attains to its greatest height about, or not long after, the autumnal equinox, and then falling more slowly than it had risen sinks to its lowest point at the end of nine months, there remaining stationary for a few days before it again begins to rise. The inundations are very various, and when they are but a few feet deficient or excessive cause great damage and distress. The rise during a good inundation is about 40 feet at the First Cataract, about 36 at Thebes, and about 4 at the Rosetta and Damietta mouths. If the river at Cairo attain to no greater height than 18 or 20 feet, the rise is scanty; if only to 2 or 4 more, insufficient; if to 24 feet or more, up to 27, good; if to a greater height, it causes a flood. Sometimes the inundation has failed altogether, as for seven years in the reign of the Fâtimee Khaleefeh El-Mustansir bi-lláh, when there was a seven years' famine; and this must have been the case with the great famine of Joseph's time, to which this later one is a remarkable parallel [FAMINE]. Low inundations always cause dearths; excessive inundations produce or foster the plague and murrain, besides doing great injury to the crops. In ancient times, when every square foot of ground must have been cultivated, and a minute system of irrigation maintained, both for the natural inundation and to water the fields during the Low Nile, and when there were many fish-pools as well as canals for their supply, far greater ruin than now must have been caused by excessive inundations. It was probably to them that the priest referred, who told Solon, when he asked if the Egyptians had experienced a flood, that there had been many floods, instead of the one of which he had spoken, and not to the successive past destructions of the world by water, alternating with others by fire, in which some nations of antiquity believed (Plat. *Timaeus*, 21 seqq.).

The Nile in Egypt is always charged with alluvium, especially during the inundation; but the annual deposit, excepting under extraordinary circumstances, is very small in comparison with what would be conjectured by any one unacquainted with subjects of this nature. Inquirers have come to different results as to the rate, but the discrepancy does not generally exceed an inch in a century. The ordinary average increase of the soil in Egypt is about four inches and a half in a century. The cultivable soil of Egypt is wholly the deposit of the Nile, but it is obviously impossible to calculate, from its present depth, when the river first began to flow in the rocky bed now so deeply covered with the rich alluvium. An attempt has however been made to use geology as an aid to history, by first endeavouring to ascertain the rate of increase of the soil, then digging for indications of man's existence in the country, and lastly applying to the depth at which any such remains might be discovered the scale previously obtained. In this manner Mr. Horner (*Phil. Transactions*, vol. 148), when his labourers had found, or pretended to find, a piece of pottery at a great depth on the site of Memphis, argued that man must have lived there, and not in the lowest state of barbarism, about 13,000 years ago. He however entirely disregarded various causes by which an object could have been deposited at such a depth, as the existence of canals and wells, from the latter of which water could be anciently as now drawn up in earthen pots from a very low level, and the occurrence of fissures in the earth. He formed his scale on the supposition that the ancient Egyptians placed a great statue before the principal temple of Memphis in such a position that the inundation each year reached its base, at or

we know that they were very careful to put all their stone works where they thought they would be out of the reach of its injurious influence; and, what is still more serious, he laid stress upon the discovery of burnt brick even lower than the piece of pottery, being unaware that there is no evidence that the Egyptians in early times used any but crude brick, a burnt brick being as sure a record of the Roman dominion as an imperial coin. It is important to mention this extraordinary mistake, as it was accepted as a correct result by the late Baron Bunsen, and urged by him and others as a proof of the great antiquity of man in Egypt (*Quarterly Review*, Apr. 1859, No. cex.; *Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed., note by Ed., p. 593 seqq.).

In Upper Egypt the Nile is a very broad stream, flowing rapidly between high, steep mud-banks, which are scarped by the constant rush of the water, which from time to time washes portions away, and stratified by the regular deposit. On either side rise the bare yellow mountains, usually a few hundred feet high, rarely a thousand, looking from the river like cliffs, and often honeycombed with the entrances of the tombs which make Egypt one great city of the dead, so that we can understand the meaning of that murmur of the Israelites to Moses, "Because [there were] no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness?" (Ex. xiv. 11). Frequently the mountain on either side approaches the river in a rounded promontory, against whose base the restless stream washes, and then retreats and leaves a broad bay-like valley, bounded by a rocky curve. Rarely both mountains confine the river in a narrow bed, rising steeply on either side from a deep rock-cut channel through which the water pours with a rapid current. Perhaps there is a remote allusion to the rocky channels of the Nile, and especially to its primaeval bed wholly of bare rock, in that passage of Job where the plural of Yeor is used. "He cutteth out rivers (יְאֹרִים) among the rocks, and his eye seeth every precious thing. He bindeth the floods from overflowing" (xxviii. 10, 11). It must be recollected that there are allusions to Egypt, and especially to its animals and products, in this book, so that the Nile may well be here referred to, if the passage do not distinctly mention it. In Lower Egypt the chief differences are that the view is spread out in one rich plain, only bounded on the east and west by the desert, of which the edge is low and sandy, unlike the mountains above, though essentially the same, and that the two branches of the river are narrower than the undivided stream. On either bank, during Low Nile, extend fields of corn and barley, and near the river-side stretch long groves of palm-trees. The villages rise from the level plain, standing upon mounds, often ancient sites, and surrounded by palm-groves, and yet higher dark-brown mounds mark where of old stood towns, with which often "their memorial is perished" (Ps. ix. 6). The villages are connected by dykes, along which pass the chief roads. During the inundation the whole valley and plain is covered with sheets of water, above which rise the villages like islands, only to be reached along the half-ruined dykes. The aspect of the country is as though it were overflowed by a destructive flood, while between its banks, here and there broken through and constantly giving way, rushes a vast turbid stream, against which no boat could make its way, excepting by tacking, were it not for the north wind that blows ceaselessly during the season of the inundation, making the river seem more powerful as it beats it into waves. The prophets more than once allude to this striking condition of the Nile. Jeremiah says of Pharaoh-Necho's army, "Who [is] this [that] cometh up as the Nile [Yeor], whose waters are moved as the rivers? Egypt riseth up like the Nile, and [his] waters are moved like the rivers; and he saith, I will go up, [and] will cover the land; I will destroy the city and the inhabitants thereof" (xlvi. 7, 8). Again, the prophecy "against the Philistines, before that Pharaoh smote Gaza," commences, "Thus saith the LORD; Behold, waters rise up out of the north, and shall be as an overflowing stream (*nachal*),[a] and shall overflow the land, and all that is therein; the city, and them that dwell therein" (xlvii. 1, 2). Amos, also, a prophet who especially refers to Egypt, uses the inundation of the Nile as a type of the utter desolation of his country. "The LORD hath sworn by the excellency of Jacob, Surely I will never forget any of their works. Shall not the land tremble for this, and every one mourn that dwelleth therein? and it shall rise up wholly as the Nile (כְּאֹר); and it shall be cast out and drowned, as [by] the Nile (כִּיאוֹר מִצְרָיִם) of Egypt" (viii. 7, 8; see ix. 5).

The banks of the river are enlivened by the women who come down to draw water, and, like Pharaoh's daughter, to bathe, and the herds of kine and buffaloes which are driven down to drink and wash, or to graze on the grass of the swamps, like the good kine that Pharaoh saw in his dream as "he stood by the river," which were "coming up out of the river," and "fed in the marsh-grass" (Gen. xli. 1, 2).

The river itself abounds in fish, which anciently formed a chief means of sustenance to the inhabitants of the country. Perhaps, as has been acutely remarked in another article, Jacob, when blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, used for their multiplying the term דָּנָה (Gen. xlviii. 16), which is connected with דָּג, a fish, though it does not seem certain which is the primitive; as though he had been struck by the abundance of fish in the Nile or the canals and pools fed by it. [MANASSEH, p. 2188.] The Israelites in the desert looked back with regret to the fish of Egypt: "We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely" (Num. xi. 5). In the Thebaïs crocodiles are found, and during Low Nile they may be seen basking in the sun upon the sand-banks. The crocodile is constantly spoken of in the Bible as the emblem of Pharaoh, especially in the prophecies of Ezekiel. [EGYPT, vol. i. p. 500b.]

The great difference between the Nile of Egypt in the present day and in ancient times is caused by the failure of some of its branches, and the ceasing of some of its chief vegetable products; and the chief change in the aspect of the cultivable land, as dependent on the Nile, is the result of the ruin of the fish-pools and their conduits, and the consequent decline of the fisheries. The river was famous for its seven branches, and under the Roman dominion eleven were counted, of which, however, there were but seven principal ones. Herodotus notices that there were seven, of which he says that two, the present Damietta and Rosetta branches, were originally artificial, and he therefore speaks of

[a] The use of "*nachal*" here affords a strong argument in favour of the opinion that it is applied to the Nile.

"the five mouths" (ii. 10). Now, as for a long period past, there are no navigable and unobstructed branches but these two that Herodotus distinguishes as in origin works of man. This change was prophesied by Isaiah: "And the waters shall fail from the sea, and the river shall be wasted and dried up" (xix. 5). Perhaps the same prophet, in yet more precise words, predicts this, where he says, "And the LORD shall utterly destroy the tongue of the Egyptian sea; and with his mighty wind shall he shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in the [or 'into'] seven streams, and make [men] go over dryshod ['in shoes']" (xi. 15). However, from the context, and a parallel passage in Zechariah (x. 10, 11), it seems probable that the Euphrates is intended in this passage by "the river." Ezekiel also prophesies of Egypt that the Lord would "make the rivers drought" (xxx. 12), here evidently referring to either the branches or canals of the Nile. In exact fulfilment of these prophecies the bed of the highest part of the Gulf of Suez has dried, and all the streams of the Nile, excepting those which Herodotus says were originally artificial, have wasted, so that they can be crossed without fording.

The monuments and the narratives of ancient writers show us in the Nile of Egypt in old times, a stream bordered by flags and reeds, the covert of abundant wild-fowl, and bearing on its waters the fragrant flowers of the various-coloured lotus. Now, in Egypt scarcely any reeds or water-plants—the famous papyrus being nearly if not quite extinct, and the lotus almost unknown—are to be seen, excepting in the marshes near the Mediterranean. This also was prophesied by Isaiah: "The papyrus-reeds (עָרוֹת) in the river (יְאוֹר), on the edge of the river, and everything growing [lit. "sown"] in the river shall be dried up, driven away [by the wind], and [shall] not be" (xix. 7). When it is recollected that the water-plants of Egypt were so abundant as to be a great source of revenue in the prophet's time, and much later, the exact fulfilment of his predictions is a valuable evidence of the truth of the old opinion as to "the sure word of prophecy." The failure of the fisheries is also foretold by Isaiah (xix. 8, 10), and although this was no doubt a natural result of the wasting of the river and streams, its cause could not have been anticipated by human wisdom. Having once been very productive, and a main source of revenue as well as of sustenance, the fisheries are now scarcely of any moment, excepting about Lake Menzeleh, and in some few places elsewhere, chiefly in the north of Egypt.

Of old the great river must have shewn a more fair and busy scene than now. Boats of many kinds were ever passing along it, by the painted walls of temples, and the gardens that extended around the light summer pavilions, from the pleasure-galley, with one great square sail, white or with variegated pattern, and many oars, to the little papyrus skiff, dancing on the water, and carrying the seekers of pleasure where they could shoot with arrows, or knock down with the throw-stick, the wild-fowl that abounded among the reeds, or engage in the dangerous chace of the hippopotamus or the crocodile. In the Bible the papyrus-boats are mentioned; and they are shewn to have been used for their swiftness to carry tidings to Ethiopia (Is. xviii. 2).

The great river is constantly before us in the history of Israel in Egypt. Into it the male children were cast; in it, or rather in some canal or pool, was the ark of Moses put, and found by Pharaoh's daughter when she went down to bathe. When the plagues were sent, the sacred river—a main support of the people—and its waters everywhere were turned into blood. [PLAGUES OF EGYPT.]

The prophets not only tell us of the future of the Nile; they speak of it as it was in their days. Ezekiel likens Pharaoh to a crocodile, fearing no one in the midst of his river, yet dragged forth with the fish of his rivers, and left to perish in the wilderness (xxix. 1-5; comp. xxxii. 1-6). Nahum thus speaks of the Nile, when he warns Nineveh by the ruin of Thebes: "Art thou better than No-Amon, that was situate among the rivers, [that had] the waters round about it, whose rampart [was] the sea, [and] her wall [was] from the sea?" (iii. 8). Here the river is spoken of as the rampart, and perhaps as the support of the capital, and the situation, most remarkable in Egypt, of the city on the two banks is indicated [NO-AMON]. But still more striking than this description is the use which we have already noticed of the inundation, as a figure of the Egyptian armies, and also of the coming of utter destruction, probably by an invading force.

In the New Testament there is no mention of the Nile. Tradition says that when Our Lord was brought into Egypt, His mother came to Heliopolis. [ON.] If so, He may have dwelt in His childhood by the side of the ancient river which witnessed so many events of sacred history, perhaps the coming of Abraham, certainly the rule of Joseph, and the long oppression and deliverance of Israel their posterity. [R. S. P.]

NIM'RAH (נִמְרָה: Νάμβρα; Alex. Αμβραμ *Nemra*), a place mentioned, by this name, in Num. xxxii. 3 only, among those which formed the districts of the "land of Jazer and the land of Gilead," on the east of Jordan, petitioned for by Reuben and Gad. It would appear from this passage to have been near Jazer and Heshbon, and therefore on the upper level of the country. If it is the same as BETH-NIMRAH (ver. 36) it belonged to the tribe of Gad. By Eusebius, however (*Onomast.* Νεβρά), it is cited as a "city of Reuben in Gilead," and said to have been in his day a very large place (κώμη μεγίστη) in [a] Batanaea, bearing the name of Abara. This account is full of difficulties, for Reuben never possessed the country of Gilead, and Batanaea was situated several days' journey to the N.W. of the district of Heshbon, beyond not only the territory of Reuben, but even that of Gad. A wady and a town, both called *Nimreh*, have, however, been met with in *Betheniyeh*, east of the *Lejah*, and five miles N.W. of *Kunawât* (see the maps of Porter, Van de Velde, and Wetzstein). On the other hand the name of *Nimrin* is said to be attached to a watercourse and a site of ruins in the Jordan valley, a couple of miles east of the river, at the embouchure of the *Wady Shoaib*. [BETH-NIMRAH.] But this again is too far from Heshbon in the other direction.

The name *Nimr* ("panther") appears to be a common one on the east of Jordan, and it must be left to future explorers (when exploration in that region becomes possible) to ascertain which (if either) of the places so named is the Nimrah in question. [G.]

NIM'RIM, THE WATERS OF (מֵי נִמְרִים: in Is. τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς Νεμπρείμ, Alex. τῆς Νεμρειμ;

[a] The present Greek text has Καναναια; but the correction is obvious.

in Jer. τὸ ὕδωρ Νεβρείν, Alex. Νεβρειμ: *Aquae Nemrim*), a stream or brook (not improbably a stream with pools) within the country of Moab, which is mentioned in the denunciations of that nation uttered, or quoted, by Isaiah (xv. 6) and Jeremiah (xlviii. 34). From the former of these passages it appears to have been famed for the abundance of its grass.

If the view taken of these denunciations under the head of MOAB (p. 392, 6) be correct, we should look for the site of Nimrim in Moab proper, *i. e.* on the south-eastern shoulder of the Dead Sea, a position which agrees well with the mention of the "brook of the willows" (perhaps *Wady Beni Hammed*) and the "borders of Moab," that is, the range of hills encircling Moab at the lower part of the territory.

A name resembling Nimrim still exists at the south-eastern end of the Dead Sea, in the *Wady en-Nemeirah* and *Burj en-Nemeirah*, which are situated on the beach, about half-way between the southern extremity and the promontory of *el-Lissan* (De Saulcy, *Voyage*, i. 284, &c.; Seetzen, ii. 354). Eusebius (*Onom.* Νεκηρίμ) places it N. of Soora, *i. e.* Zoar. How far the situation of *en-Nemeirah* corresponds with the statement of Eusebius cannot be known until that of Zoar is ascertained. If the *Wady en-Nemeirah* really occupies the place of the waters of Nimrim, Zoar must have been considerably further south than is usually supposed. On the other hand the name[b] is a common one in the transjordanic localities, and other instances of its occurrence may yet be discovered more in accordance with the ancient statements. [G.]

NIMROD (נִמְרֹד: Νεβρώδ: *Nemrod*), a son of Cush and grandson of Ham. The events of his life are recorded in a passage (Gen. x. 8 ff.) which, from the conciseness of its language, is involved in considerable uncertainty. We may notice, in the first place, the terms in ver. 8. 9, rendered in the A. V. "mighty" and "mighty hunter before the Lord." The idea of any moral qualities being conveyed by these expressions may be at once rejected; for, on the one hand, the words "before the Lord" are a mere superlative adjunct (as in the parallel expression in Jon. iii. 3), and contain no notion of Divine approval; and, on the other hand, the ideas of violence and insolence with which tradition invested the character of the hero, as delineated by Josephus[c] (*Ant.* i. 4, §2), are not necessarily involved in the Hebrew words, though the term *gibbôr*[d] is occasionally taken in a bad sense (*e. g.* Ps. lii. 1). The term may be regarded as betokening personal prowess with the accessory notion of gigantic stature (as in the LXX. γίγας). It is somewhat doubtful whether the prowess of Nimrod rested on his achievements as a hunter or as a conqueror. The literal rendering of the Hebrew words would undoubtedly apply to the former, but they may be regarded as a translation of a proverbial expression originally current in the land of Nimrod, where the terms significant of "hunter" and "hunting" appear to have been applied to the forays of the sovereigns against the surrounding nations.[e] The two phases of prowess, hunting and conquering, may indeed well have been combined in the same person in a rude age, and the Assyrian monuments abound with scenes which exhibit the skill of the sovereigns in the chase. But the context certainly favours the special application of the term to the case of conquest, for otherwise the assertion in ver. 8, "he *began* to be a mighty one in the earth," is devoid of point—while, taken as introductory to what follows, it seems to indicate Nimrod as the first who, after the flood, established a powerful empire on the earth the limits of which are afterwards defined. The next point to be noticed is the expression in ver. 10, "The beginning of his kingdom," taken in connexion with the commencement of ver. 11, which admits of the double sense: "Out of that land went forth Asshur," as in the text of the A. V., and "out of that land he went forth to Assyria," as in the margin. These two passages mutually react on each other; for if the words "beginning of his kingdom" mean, as we believe to be the case, "his *first* kingdom," or, as Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1252) renders it "the territory of which it was at first composed," then the expression implies a subsequent extension of his kingdom, in other words, that "he went forth to Assyria." If, however, the sense of ver. 11 be, "out of that land went forth Asshur," then no other sense can be given to ver. 10 than that "the capital of his kingdom was Babylon," though the expression must be equally applied to the towns subsequently mentioned. This rendering appears untenable in all respects, and the expression may therefore be cited in support of the marginal rendering of ver. 11. With regard to the latter passage, either sense is permissible in point of grammatical construction, for the omission of the local affix to the word Asshur, which forms the chief objection to the marginal rendering, is not peculiar to this passage (comp. 1 K. xi. 17; 2 K. xv. 14), nor is it necessary even to assume a *prolepsis* in the

[b] A racy and characteristic passage, aimed at the *doctrina haereticorum*, and playing on the name as signifying a leopard, will be found in Jerome's Commentary on Is. xv. 6.

[c] The view of Nimrod's character taken by this writer originated partly perhaps in a false etymology of the name, as though it were connected with the Hebrew root *mârad* (מָרַד), "to rebel," and partly from the supposed connexion of the hero's history with the building of the tower of Babel. There is no ground for the first of these assumptions: the name is either Cushite or Assyrian. Nor, again, does the Bible connect Nimrod with the building of the tower; for it only states that Babel formed one of his capitals. Indications have, indeed, been noticed by Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, v. 74) of a connexion between the two narratives; they have undoubtedly a common Jehovistic character; but the point on which he lays most stress (the expression in i. 2, "from the east," or "eastward" is in reality worthless for the purpose. The influence of the view taken by Josephus is curiously developed in the identification of Nimrod with the constellation Orion, the Hebrew name *cesil* (כְּסִיל), "foolish," being regarded as synonymous with Nimrod, and the giant form of Orion, together with its Arabic name, "the giant," supplying another connecting link. Josephus follows the LXX. in his form of the name. Νεβρώδης. The variation in the LXX. is of no real importance, as it may be paralleled by a similar exchange of β for μ in the case of Σεβεά (1 Chr. i. 47), and, in a measure, by the insertion of the β before the liquids in other cases, such as Μαμβρῆ (Gen. xiv. 13). The variation hardly deserves the attention it has received in Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 596.

[d] גִּבּוֹר.

[e] Tiglath-pileser I., for instance, is described as "he that "pursues after" or "hunts the people of Bilu-Nigra." So also of other kings (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 59[illegible]

application of the term Asshur to the land of Assyria at the time of Nimrod's invasion, inasmuch as the historical date of this event may be considerably later than the genealogical statement would imply. Authorities both ancient and modern are divided on the subject, but the most weighty names of modern times support the marginal rendering, as it seems best to accord with historical truth. The unity of the passage is moreover supported by its peculiarities both of style and matter. It does not seem to have formed part of the original genealogical statement but to be an interpolation of a later date;[f] it is the only instance in which personal characteristics are attributed to any of the names mentioned; the proverbial expression which it embodies bespeaks its traditional and fragmentary character, and there is nothing to connect the passage either with what precedes or with what follows it. Such a fragmentary record, though natural in reference to a single mighty hero, would hardly admit of the introduction of references to others. The only subsequent notice of the name Nimrod occurs in Mic. v. 6, where the "land of Nimrod" is a synonym either for Assyria, just before mentioned, or for Babylonia.

The chief events in the life of Nimrod, then, are (1) that he was a Cushite; (2) that he established an empire in Shinar (the classical Babylonia), the chief towns being Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calneh; and (3) that he extended this empire northwards along the course of the Tigris over Assyria, where he founded a second group of capitals, Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen. These events correspond to and may be held to represent the salient historical facts connected with the earliest stages of the great Babylonian empire. 1. In the first place, there is abundant evidence that the race that first held sway in the lower Babylonian plain was of Cushite or Hamitic extraction. Tradition assigned to Belus, the mythical founder of Babylon, an Egyptian origin, inasmuch as it described him as the son of Poseidon and Libya (Diod. Sicul. i. 28; Apollodor. ii. 1, §4; Pausan. iv. 23, §5); the astrological system of Babylon (Diod. Sicul. i. 81) and perhaps its religious rites (Hestiaeus[g] ap. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4, §3) were referred to the same quarter; and the legend of Oannes, the great teacher of Babylon, rising out of the Erythraean sea, preserved by Syncellus (*Chronogr.* p. 28), points in the same direction. The name Cush itself was preserved in Babylonia and the adjacent countries under the forms of Cossaei, Cissia, Cuthah, and Susiana or *Chuzistan*. The earliest written language of Babylonia, as known to us from existing inscriptions, bears a strong resemblance to that of Egypt and Ethiopia, and the same words have been found in each country, as in the case of *Meröe*, the Meroë of Ethiopia, the Mars of Babylonia (Rawlinson, i. 442). Even the name Nimrod appears in the list of the Egyptian kings of the 22nd dynasty, but there are reasons for thinking that dynasty to have been of Assyrian extraction. Putting the above-mentioned considerations together, they leave no doubt as to the connexion between the ancient Babylonians and the Ethiopian or Egyptian stock (respectively the Nimrod and the Cush of the Mosaic table). More than this cannot be fairly inferred from the data, and we must therefore withhold our assent from Bunsen's view (*Bibelwerk*, v. 69) that the Cushite origin of Nimrod betokens the westward progress of the Scythian or Turanian races from the countries eastward of Babylonia; for, though branches of the Cushite family (such as the Cossaei) had pressed forward to the east of the Tigris, and though the early language of Babylonia bears in its structure a Scythic or Turanian character, yet both these features are susceptible of explanation in connexion with the original eastward progress of the Cushite race.

2. In the second place, the earliest seat of empire was in the south part of the Babylonian plain. The large mounds, which for a vast number of centuries have covered the ruins of ancient cities, have already yielded some evidences of the dates and names of their founders, and we can assign the highest antiquity to the towns represented by the mounds of *Niffer* (perhaps the early Babel, though also identified with Calneh), *Warka* (the Biblical Erech), *Mugheir* (Ur), and *Senkereh* (Ellasar), while the name of Accad is preserved in the title *Kinzi-Akkad*, by which the founder or embellisher of those towns was distinguished (Rawlinson, i. 435). The date of their foundation may be placed at about B.C. 2200. We may remark the coincidence between the quadruple groups of capitals noticed in the Bible, and the title *Kiprat* or *Kiprat-arba*, assumed by the early kings of Babylon and supposed to mean "four races" (Rawlinson, i. 438, 447).

3. In the third place, the Babylonian empire extended its sway northwards along the course of the Tigris at a period long anterior to the rise of the Assyrian empire in the 13th century B.C. We have indications of this extension as early as about 1860 when Shamas-Iva, the son of Ismi-dagon king of Babylon founded a temple at *Kileh-shergat* (supposed to be the ancient Asshur). The existence of Nineveh itself can be traced up by the aid of Egyptian monuments to about the middle of the 15th century B.C., and though the historical name of its founder is lost to us, yet tradition mentions a Belus as king of Nineveh at a period anterior to that assigned to Ninus (Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 231), thus rendering it probable that the dynasty represented by the latter name was preceded by one of Babylonian origin.

Our present information does not permit us to identify Nimrod with any personage known to us either from inscriptions or from classical writers. Ninus and Belus are representative titles rather than personal names, and are but equivalent terms for "the lord," who was regarded as the founder of the empires of Nineveh and Babylon. We have no reason on this account to doubt the personal exist-

[f] The expressions חֵל, גִּבּוֹר, and still more the use of the term יְהוָה, are regarded as indications of a Jehovistic original, while the genealogy itself is Elohistic. It should be further noticed that there is nothing to mark the connexion or distinction between Nimrod and the other sons of Cush.

[g] The passage quoted by Josephus is of so fragmentary a character, that its original purport can hardly be guessed. He adduces it apparently to illustrate the name Shinar, but the context favours the supposition that the writer referred to the period subsequent to the flood, in which case we may infer the belief (1) that the population of Babylonia was not autochthonous, but immigrant; (2) that the point from which it immigrated was from the west Belus being identified with Zeus Enyalius.

ence[h] of Nimrod, for the events with which he is connected fall within the shadows of a remote antiquity. But we may, nevertheless, consistently with this belief, assume that a large portion of the interest with which he was invested was the mere reflection of the sentiments with which the nations of western Asia looked back on the overshadowing greatness of the ancient Babylonian empire, the very monuments of which seemed to tell of days when "there were giants in the earth." The feeling which suggested the colouring of Nimrod as a representative hero still finds place in the land of his achievements, and to him the modern Arabs[i] ascribe all the great works of ancient times, such as the *Birs-Nimrûd* near Babylon, *Tel Nimrûd* near *Baghdad*, the dam of *Suhr el Nimrûd* across the Tigris below *Mosul*, and the well-known mound of *Nimrûd* in the same neighbourhood. [W. L. B.]

NIMSHI (נִמְשִׁי: Ναμεσσί; in 2 Chr. Ναμεσσεί: *Namsi*). The grandfather of Jehu, who is generally called "the *son* of Nimshi" (1 K. xix. 16 · 2 K. ix. 2, 14, 20; 2 Chr. xxii. 7).

NIN'EVEH (נִינְוֵה: Νινευΐ, Νῖνος: *Ninus*, *Ninos*, *Ninive*), the capital of the ancient kingdom and empire of Assyria; a city of great power, size, and renown, usually included amongst the most ancient cities of the world of which there is any historic record. The name appears to be compounded from that of an Assyrian deity, "Nin," corresponding, it is conjectured, with the Greek Hercules, and occurring in the names of several Assyrian kings, as in "Ninus," the mythic founder, according to Greek tradition, of the city. In the Assyrian Inscriptions Nineveh is also supposed to be called "the city of Bel."

Nineveh is first mentioned in the O. T. in connexion with the primitive dispersement and migrations of the human race. Asshur, or, according to the marginal reading, which is generally preferred, Nimrod, is there described (Gen. x. 11) as extending his kingdom from the land of Shinar, or Babylonia, in the south, to Assyria in the north, and founding four cities, of which the most famous was Nineveh. Hence Assyria was subsequently known to the Jews as "the land of Nimrod" (cf. Mic. v. 6), and was believed to have been first peopled by a colony from Babylon. The kingdom of Assyria and of the Assyrians is referred to in the O. T. as connected with the Jews at a very early period; as in Num. xxiv. 22, 24, and Ps. lxxxiii. 8: but after the notice of the foundation of Nineveh in Genesis no further mention is made of the city until the time of the book of Jonah, or the 8th century B.C., supposing we accept the earliest date for that narrative [JONAH], which, however, according to some critics, must be brought down 300 years later, or to the 5th century B.C. In this book neither Assyria nor the Assyrians are mentioned, the king to whom the prophet was sent being termed the "king of Nineveh," and his subjects "the people of Nineveh." Assyria is first called a kingdom in the time of Menahem, about B.C. 770. Nahum (? B.C. 645) directs his prophecies against Nineveh; only once against the king of Assyria, ch. iii. 18. In 2 Kings (xix. 36) and Isaiah (xxxvii. 37) the city is first distinctly mentioned as the residence of the monarch. Sennacherib was slain there when worshipping in the temple of Nisroch his god. In 2 Chronicles (xxxii. 21), where the same event is described, the name of the place where it occurred is omitted. Zephaniah, about B.C. 630, couples the capital and the kingdom together (ii. 13); and this is the last mention of Nineveh as an *existing* city. He probably lived to witness its destruction, an event impending at the time of his prophecies. Although Assyria and the Assyrians are alluded to by Ezekiel and Jeremiah, by the former as a nation in whose miserable ruin prophecy had been fulfilled (xxxi.), yet they do not refer by name to the capital. Jeremiah, when enumerating "all the kingdoms of the world which are upon the face of the earth" (ch. xxv.), omits all mention of the nation and the city. Habakkuk only speaks of the Chaldaeans, which may lead to the inference that the date of his prophecies is somewhat later than that usually assigned to them. [HABAKKUK.] From a comparison of these data, it has been generally assumed that the destruction of Nineveh and the extinction of the empire took place between the time of Zephaniah and that of Ezekiel and Jeremiah. The exact period of these events has consequently been fixed, with a certain amount of concurrent evidence derived from classical history, at B.C. 606 (Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* i. 269). It has been shewn that it may have occurred 20 years earlier. [ASSYRIA.] The city was then laid waste, its monuments destroyed, and its inhabitants scattered or carried away into captivity. It never rose again from its ruins. This total disappearance of Nineveh is fully confirmed by the records of profane history. There is no mention of it in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenid dynasty. Herodotus (i. 193) speaks of the Tigris as "the river upon which the town of Nineveh formerly stood." He must have passed, in his journey to Babylon, very near the site of the city—perhaps actually over it. So accurate a recorder of what he saw would scarcely have omitted to mention, if not to describe, any ruins of importance that might have existed there. Not two centuries had then elapsed since the fall of the city. Equally conclusive proof of its condition is afforded by Xenophon, who with the ten thousand Greeks encamped during his retreat on, or very near, its site (B.C. 401). The very name had then been forgotten, or at least he does

[h] We must notice, without however adopting, the views lately propounded by M. D. Chwolson in his pamphlet, *Ueber die Ueberreste der altbabylonischen Literatur*. He has discovered the name Nemrod or Nemroda in the manuscript works of an Arabian writer named Ibn-Wa'hschijjah, who professes to give a translation of certain original literary works in the Nabathaean language, one of which, "on Nabathaean agriculture," is in part assigned by him to a writer named Qut'ami. This Qut'ami incidentally mentions that he lived in Babylon under a dynasty of Canaanites, which had been founded by a priest named Nemrod. M. Chwolson assigns Ibn-Wa'hschijjah to the end of the 9th century of our new era, and Qut'ami to the early part of the 13th century B.C. He regards the term Nabathaean as meaning old-Babylonian, and the works of Qut'ami as the remains of a Babylonian literature. He further identifies the Canaanite dynasty with the fifth or Arabian dynasty of Berosus, and adduces the legend of Cepheus, the king of Joppa, who reigned from the Mediterranean to the Erythraean sea, in confirmation of such a Canaanitish invasion. It would be beyond our province to discuss the various questions raised by this curious discovery. The result, if established, would be to bring the date of Nimrod down to about B.C. 1500.

[i] The Arabs retain Josephus' view of the impiety of Nimrod, and have a collection of legends respecting his idolatry, his enmity against Abraham, &c. (Layard's *Nineveh*, i. 24 note).

not appear to have been acquainted with it, for he calls one group of ruins "Larissa," and merely states that a second group was near the deserted town of Mespila (*Anab.* b. iii. 4, §7). The ruins, as he describes them, correspond in many respects with those which exist at the present day, except that he assigns to the walls near Mespila a circuit of six parasangs, or nearly three times their actual dimensions. Ctesias placed the city on the Euphrates (*Frag.* i. 2), a proof either of his ignorance or of the entire disappearance of the place. He appears to have led Diodorus Siculus into the same error (ii. 27, 28).[a] The historians of Alexander, with the exception of Arrian (*Ind.* 42, 3), do not even allude to the city, over the ruins of which the conqueror must have actually marched. His great victory of Arbela was won almost in sight of them. It is evident that the later Greek and Roman writers, such as Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, could only have derived any independent knowledge they possessed of Nineveh from traditions of no authority. They concur, however, in placing it on the eastern bank of the Tigris. During the Roman period, a small castle or fortified town appears to have stood on some part of the site of the ancient city. It was probably built by the Persians (Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 22); and subsequently occupied by the Romans, and erected by the Emperor Claudius into a colony. It appears to have borne the ancient traditional name of Nineve, as well as its corrupted form of Ninos and Ninus, and also at one time that of Hierapolis. Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 13), mentioning its capture by Meherdates, calls it "Ninos;" on coins of Trajan it is "Ninus," on those of Maximinus "Niniva," in both instances the epithet Claudiopolis being added. Many Roman remains, such as sepulchral vases, bronze and other ornaments, sculptured figures in marble, terracottas, and coins, have been discovered in the rubbish covering the Assyrian ruins; besides wells and tombs, constructed long after the destruction of the Assyrian edifices. The Roman settlement appears to have been in its turn abandoned, for there is no mention of it when Heraclius gained the great victory over the Persians in the battle of Nineveh, fought on the very site of the ancient city, A.D. 627. After the Arab conquest, a fort on the east bank of the Tigris bore the name of "Ninawi" (Rawlinson, *As. Soc. Journal*, vol. xii. 418). Benjamin of Tudela, in the 12th century, mentions the site of Nineveh as occupied by numerous inhabited villages and small townships (ed. Asher, i. 91). The name remained attached to the ruins during the Middle Ages; and from them a bishop of the Chaldaean Church derived his title (Assemani, iv. 459); but it is doubtful whether any town or fort was so called. Early English travellers merely allude to the site (Purchas, ii. 1387). Niebuhr is the first modern traveller who speaks of "Nuniyah" as a village standing on one of the ruins which he describes as "a considerable hill" (ii 353). This may be a corruption of "Nebbi Yunus," the Prophet Jonah, a name still given to a village containing his apocryphal tomb. Mr. Rich, who surveyed the site in 1820, does not mention Nuniyah, and no such place now exists. Tribes of Turcomans and sedentary Arabs, and Chaldaean and Syrian Christians, dwell in small mud-built villages, and cultivate the soil in the country around the ruins; and occasionally a tribe of wandering Kurds, or of Bedouins driven by hunger from the desert, will pitch their tents amongst them. After the Arab conquest of the west of Asia, Mosul, at one time the flourishing capital of an independent kingdom, rose on the opposite or western bank of the Tigris. Some similarity in the names has suggested its identification with the Mespila of Xenophon; but its first actual mention only occurs after the Arab conquest (A.H. 16, and A.D. 637). It was sometimes known as Athur, and was united with Nineveh as an episcopal see of the Chaldaean Church (Assemani, iii. 269). It has lost all its ancient prosperity, and the greater part of the town is now in ruins.

Traditions of the unrivalled size and magnificence of Nineveh were equally familiar to the Greek and Roman writers, and to the Arab geographers. But the city had fallen so completely into decay before the period of authentic history, that no description of it, or even of any of its monuments, is to be found in any ancient author of trust. Diodorus Siculus asserts (ii. 3) that the city formed a quadrangle of 150 stadia by 90, or altogether of 480 stadia (no less than 60 miles), and was surrounded by walls 100 feet high, broad enough for three chariots to drive abreast upon them, and defended by 1500 towers, each 200 feet in height. According to Strabo (xvi. 737) it was larger than Babylon, which was 385 stadia in circuit. In the O.T. we find only vague allusions to the splendour and wealth of the city, and the very indefinite statement in the book of Jonah that it was "an exceeding great city," or "a great city to God," or "for God" (*i. e.* in the sight of God), "of three days' journey;" and that it contained "six score thousand persons who could not discern between their right hand and their left hand, and also much cattle" (iv. 11). It is obvious that the accounts of Diodorus are for the most part absurd exaggerations, founded upon fabulous traditions, for which existing remains afford no warrant. It may, however, be remarked that the dimensions he assigns to the area of the city would correspond to the three days' journey of Jonah—the Jewish day's journey being 20 miles—if that expression be applied to the circuit of the walls. "Persons not discerning between their right hand and their left" may either allude to children, or to the ignorance of the whole population. If the first be intended, the number of inhabitants, according to the usual calculation, would have amounted to about 600,000. But such expressions are probably mere Eastern figures of speech to denote vastness, and far too vague to admit of exact interpretation.

The political history of Nineveh is that of Assyria, of which a sketch has already been given. [ASSYRIA.] It has been observed that the territory included within the boundaries of the kingdom of Assyria proper was comparatively limited in extent, and that almost within the immediate neighbourhood of the capital petty kings appear to have ruled over semi-independent states, owning allegiance and paying tribute to the great Lord of the Empire, "the King of Kings," according to his Oriental title, who dwelt at Nineveh. (Cf. Is. x. 8: "Are not my princes altogether kings?") These petty kings were in a constant state of rebellion, which usually shewed itself by their refusal to pay the apportioned tribute—the principal link between the sovereign and the dependent states—and repeated expeditions were undertaken against them to enforce this act of obe-

[a] In a fragment from Ctesias, preserved by Nicolaus Damascenus, the city is restored to its true site. (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* iii. 358.)

dience (Cf. 2 K. xvi. 7, xvii. 4, where it is stated that the war made by the Assyrians upon the Jews was for the purpose of enforcing the payment of tribute.) There was, consequently, no bond of sympathy arising out of common interests between the various populations which made up the empire. Its political condition was essentially weak. When an independent monarch was sufficiently powerful to carry on a successful war against the great king, or a dependent prince sufficiently strong to throw off his allegiance, the empire soon came to an end. The fall of the capital was the signal for universal disruption. Each petty state asserted its independence, until reconquered by some warlike chief who could found a new dynasty and a new empire to replace those which had fallen. Thus on the borders of the great rivers of Mesopotamia arose in turn the first Babylonian, the Assyrian, the Median, the second Babylonian, the Persian, and the Seleucid empires. The capital was however invariably changed, and generally transferred to the principal seat of the conquering race. In the East men have rarely rebuilt great cities which have once fallen into decay—never perhaps on exactly the same site. If the position of the old capital was deemed, from political or commercial reasons, more advantageous than any other, the population was settled in its neighbourhood, as at Delhi, and not amidst its ruins. But Nineveh, having fallen with the empire, never rose again. It was abandoned at once, and suffered to perish utterly. It is probable that, in conformity with an Eastern custom, of which we find such remarkable illustrations in the history of the Jews, the entire population was removed by the conquerors, and settled as colonists in some distant province.

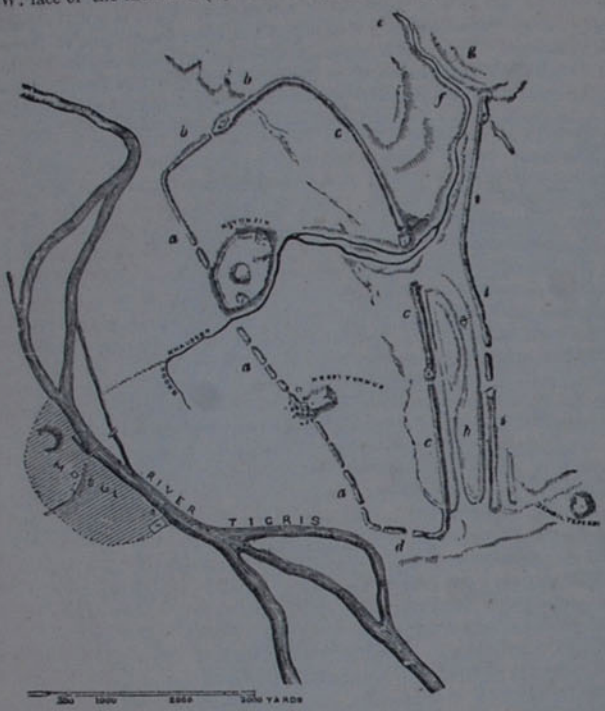
The Ruins.—Previous to recent excavations and researches, the ruins which occupied the presumed site of Nineveh seemed to consist of mere shapeless heaps or mounds of earth and rubbish. Unlike the vast masses of brick masonry which mark the site of Babylon, they showed externally no signs of artificial construction, except perhaps here and there the traces of a rude wall of sun-dried bricks. Some of these mounds were of enormous dimensions—looking in the distance rather like natural elevations than the work of men's hands. Upon and around them, however, were scattered innumerable fragments of pottery—the unerring evidence of former habitations. Some had been chosen by the scattered population of the land as sites for villages, or for small mud-built forts, the mound itself affording means of refuge and defence against the marauding parties of Bedouins and Kurds which for generations have swept over the face of the country. The summits of others were sown with corn or barley. During the spring months they were covered with grass and flowers, bred by the winter rains. The Arabs call these mounds "Tel," the Turcomans and Turks "Teppeh," both words being equally applied to natural hills and elevations, and the first having been used in the same double sense by the most ancient Semitic races (cf. Hebrew תֵּל, "a hill," "a mound," "a heap of rubbish," Ez. iii. 15, Ezr. ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61; 2 K. xix. 12). They are found in vast numbers throughout the whole region watered by the Tigris and Euphrates and their confluents, from the Taurus to the Persian Gulf. They are seen, but are less numerous, in Syria, parts of Asia Minor, and in the plains of Armenia. Wherever they have been examined they appear to have furnished remains which identify the period of their construction with that of the alternate supremacy of the Assyrian, Babyloman, and Persian empires. They differ greatly in form, size and height. Some are mere conical heaps, varying from 50 to 150 feet high; others have a broad flat summit, and very precipitous cliff-like sides, furrowed by deep ravines worn by the winter rains. Such mounds are especially numerous in the region to the east of the Tigris, in which Nineveh stood, and some of them must mark the ruins of the Assyrian capital. There is no edifice mentioned by ancient authors as forming part of the city, which we are required, as in the case of Babylon, to identify with any existing remains, except the tomb, according to some, of Ninus, according to others of Sardanapalus, which is recorded to have stood at the entrance of Nineveh (Diod. Sic. ii. 7; Amyut. *Frag.* ed. Müller, p. 136). The only difficulty is to determine which ruins are to be comprised within the actual limits of the ancient city. The northern extremity of the principal collection of mounds on the eastern bank of the Tigris may be fixed at Shereef Khan, and the southern at Nimroud, about 6½ miles from the junction of that river with the great Zab, the ancient Lycus. Eastward they extend to Khorsabad, about 10 miles N. by E. of Shereef Khan, and to Karamless, about 15 miles N.E. of Nimroud. Within the area of this irregular quadrangle are to be found, in every direction, traces of ancient edifices and of former population. It comprises various separate and distinct groups of ruins, four of which, if not more, are the remains of fortified inclosures or strongholds, defended by walls and ditches, towers and ramparts. The principal are—1, the group immediately opposite Mosul, including the great mounds of Kouyunjik (also called by the Arabs, Armousheeyah) and Nebbi Yunus; 2, that near the junction of the Tigris and Zab, comprising the mounds of Nimroud and Athur; 3, Khorsabad, about 10 miles to the east of the former river; 4, Shereef Khan, about 5½ miles to the north of Kouyunjik; and 5, Selamiyah, 3 miles to the north of Nimroud. Other large mounds are Baaskeikhah, and Karamless, where the remains of fortified inclosures may perhaps be traced, Baazani, Yarumjeh, and Bellawat. It is scarcely necessary to observe that all these names are comparatively modern, dating from after the Mohammedan conquest. The respective position of these ruins will be seen in the accompanying map (p. 549). We will describe the most important.

The ruins opposite Mosul consist of an inclosure formed by a continuous line of mounds, resembling a vast embankment of earth, but marking the remains of a wall, the western face of which is interrupted by the two great mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus (p. 550). To the east of this inclosure are the remains of an extensive line of defences, consisting of moats and ramparts. The inner wall forms an irregular quadrangle with very unequal sides—the northern being 2333 yards, the western, or the river-face, 4533, the eastern (where the wall is almost the segment of a circle) 5300 yards, and the southern but little more than 1000; altogether 13,200 yards, or 7 English miles 4 furlongs. The present height of this earthen wall is between 40 and 50 feet. Here and there a mound more lofty than the rest covers the remains of a tower or a gateway. The walls appear to have been originally faced, at least to a certain height, with stone masonry, some remains of which have

been discovered. The mound of Kouyunjik is of irregular form, being nearly square at the S.W. corner, and ending almost in a point at the N.E. It is about 1300 yards in length, by 500 in its greatest width; its greatest height is 96 feet, and its sides are precipitous, with occasional deep ravines or watercourses. The summit is nearly flat, but falls from the W. to the E. A small village formerly stood upon it, but has of late years been abandoned. The Khosr, a narrow but deep and sluggish stream, sweeps round the southern side of the mound on its way to join the Tigris. Anciently dividing itself into two branches, it completely surrounded Kouyunjik. Nebbi Yunus is considerably smaller than Kouyunjik, being about 530 yards by 430, and occupying an area of about 40 acres. In height it is about the same. It is divided into two nearly equal parts by a depression in the surface. Upon it is a Turcoman village containing the apocryphal tomb of Jonah, and a burial-ground held in great sanctity by Mohammedans from its vicinity to this sacred edifice. Remains of entrances or gateways have been dis-

Plan of ruins which comprise ancient Nineveh.

covered in the N. and E. walls (*b*). The Tigris formerly ran beneath the W. wall, and at the foot of the two great mounds. It is now about a mile distant from them, but during very high spring floods it sometimes reaches its ancient bed. The W. face of the inclosure (*a*) was thus protected by



Plan of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus.

the river. The N. and S. faces (*b* and *d*) were strengthened by deep and broad moats. The E. (*c*) being most accessible to an enemy, was most strongly fortified, and presents the remains of a very elaborate system of defences. The Khosr, before entering the inclosure, which it divides into two nearly equal parts, ran for some distance almost parallel to it (*f*), and supplied the place of an artificial ditch for about half the length of the E. wall. The remainder of the wall was protected by two wide moats (*h*), fed by the stream, the supply of water being regulated by dams, of which traces still exist. In addition, one or more ramparts of earth were thrown up, and a moat excavated between the inner walls and the Khosr, the eastern bank of which was very considerably raised by artificial means. Below, or to the S. of the stream, a third ditch, excavated in the compact conglomerate rock and about 200 feet broad, extended almost the whole length of the E. face, joining the mound on the S. An enormous outer rampart of earth, still in some places above 80 feet in height (*i*), completed the defences on this side. A few mounds outside this rampart probably mark the sites of detached towers or fortified posts. This elaborate system of fortifications was singularly well devised to resist the attacks of an enemy. It is remarkable that within the inclosure, with the exception of Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus, no mounds or irregularities in the surface of the soil denote ruins of any size. The ground is, however, strewed in every direction with fragments of brick, pottery, and the usual signs of ancient population.

Nimroud consists of a similar inclosure of consecutive mounds —the remains of ancient walls. The system of defences is however very inferior in importance and completeness to that of Kouyunjik. The indications of towers occur at regular intervals; 108 may still be traced on the N. and E. sides. The area forms an irregular square, about 2331 yards by 2095, containing about 1000 acres. The N. and E. sides were defended by moats, the W. and S. walls by the river, which once flowed immediately beneath them. On the S.W. face is a great mound, 700 yards by 400, and covering about 60 acres, with a cone or pyramid of earth about 140 feet high rising in the N.W. corner of it. At the S.E. angle of the inclosure is a group of lofty mounds called by the Arabs, after Nimroud's lieutenant, Athur (cf. Gen. x. 11). According to the Arab geographers this name at one time applied to all the ruins of Nimroud (Layard, *Nin. and its Rem.* ii. 245, note). Within the inclosure a few slight irregularities in the soil mark the sites of ancient habitations, but there are no indications of ruins of buildings of any size. Fragments of brick and pottery abound. The Tigris is now 1½ mile distant from the mound, but sometimes reaches them during extraordinary floods.

The inclosure-walls of Khorsabad form a square of about 2000 yards. They show the remains of towers and gateways. There are apparently no traces of moats or ditches. The mound which gives its name to this group of ruins rises on the N.W. face. It may be divided into two parts or stages, the upper about 650 ft. square and 30 ft. high, and the lower adjoining it, about 1350 by 300. Its summit was formerly occupied by an Arab vil-

Mound of Nimroud.

lage. In one corner there is a pyramid or cone, similar to that at Nimroud, but very inferior in height and size. Within the interior are a few mounds marking the sites of propylaea and similar detached monuments, but no traces of considerable buildings. These ruins were known to the early Arab geographers by the name of "Saraoun," probably a traditional corruption of the name of Sargon, the king who founded the palaces discovered there.

Shereef Khan, so called from a small village in the neighbourhood, consists of a group of mounds of no great size when compared with other Assyrian ruins, and without traces of an outer-wall. Selamiyah is an inclosure of irregular form, situated upon a high bank overlooking the Tigris, about 5000 yards in circuit, and containing an area of about 410 acres, apparently once surrounded by a ditch or moat. It contains no mound or ruin, and even the earthen rampart which marks the walls has in many places nearly disappeared. The name is derived from an Arab town once of some importance, but now reduced to a miserable village inhabited by Turcomans.

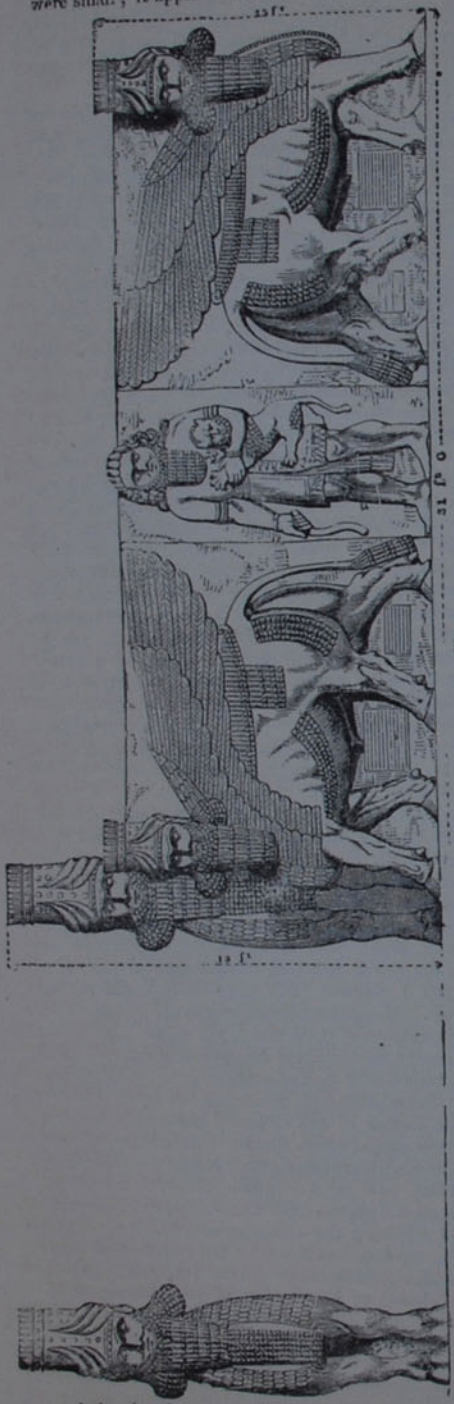
The greater part of the discoveries which, of late years, have thrown so much light upon the history and condition of the ancient inhabitants of Nineveh were made in the ruins of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, and Khorsabad. The first traveller who carefully examined the supposed site of the city was Mr. Rich, formerly political agent for the East India Company at Baghdad; but his investigations were almost entirely confined to Kouyunjik and the surrounding mounds, of which he made a survey in 1820. From them he obtained a few relics, such as inscribed pottery and bricks, cylinders, and gems. Some time before a bas-relief representing men and animals had been discovered, but had been destroyed by the Mohammedans. He subsequently visited the mound of Nimroud, of which, however, he was unable to make more than a hasty examination (*Narrative of a Residence in Kurdistan*, ii. 131). Several travellers described the ruins after Mr. Rich, but no attempt was made to explore them systematically until M. Botta was appointed French consul at Mosul in 1843. Whilst excavating in the mound of Khorsabad, to which he had been directed by a peasant, he discovered a row of upright alabaster slabs, forming the panelling or skirting of the lower part of the walls of a chamber. This chamber was found to communicate with others of similar construction, and it soon became evident that the remains of an edifice of considerable size were buried in the mound. The French Government having given the necessary funds, the ruins were fully explored. They consisted of the lower part of a number of halls, rooms, and passages, for the most part wainscoted with slabs of coarse gray alabaster, sculptured with figures in relief, the principal entrances being formed by colossal human-headed winged bulls. No remains of exterior architecture of any great importance were discovered. The calcined limestone and the great accumulation of charred wood and charcoal showed that the building had been destroyed by fire. Its upper part had entirely disappeared, and its general plan could only be restored by the remains of the lower story. The collection of Assyrian sculptures in the Louvre came from these ruins.

The excavations subsequently carried on by MM. Place and Fresnel at Khorsabad led to the discovery, in the inclosure below the platform, of propylaea, flanked by colossal human-headed bulls, and of other detacned buildings forming the approaches to the palace, and also of some of the gateways in the inclosure-walls, ornamented with similar mythic figures.

M. Botta's discoveries at Khorsabad were followed by those of Mr. Layard at Nimroud and Kouyunjik, made between the years 1845 and 1850. The mound of Nimroud was found to contain the ruins of several distinct edifices, erected at different periods —materials for the construction of the latest having been taken from an earlier building. The most ancient stood at the N.W. corner of the platform, the most recent at the S.E. In general plan and in construction they resembled the ruins at Khorsabad—consisting of a number of halls, chambers, and galleries, panelled with sculptured and inscribed alabaster slabs, and opening one into the other by doorways generally formed by pairs of colossal human-headed winged bulls or lions. The exterior architecture could not be traced. The lofty cone or pyramid of earth adjoining this edifice covered the ruins of a building the basement of which was a square of 165 feet, and consisted, to the height of 20 feet, of a solid mass of sun-dried bricks, faced on the four sides by blocks of stone carefully squared, bevelled, and adjusted. This stone facing singularly enough coincides exactly with the height assigned by Xenophon to the stone plinth of the walls (*Anab.* iii. 4), and is surmounted, as he describes the plinth to have been, by a superstructure of bricks, nearly every kiln-burnt brick bearing an inscription. Upon this solid substructure there probably rose, as in the Babylonian temples, a succession of platforms or stages, diminishing in size, the highest having a shrine or altar upon it (BABEL; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* ch. v.). A vaulted chamber or gallery, 100 feet long, 6 broad, and 12 high, crossed the centre of the mound on a level with the summit of the stone-masonry. It had evidently been broken into and rifled of its contents at some remote period, and may have been a royal sepulchre—the tomb of Ninus, or Sardanapalus, which stood at the entrance of Nineveh. It is the tower described by Xenophon at Larissa as being 1 plethron (100 feet) broad and 2 plethra high. It appears to have been raised by the son of the king who built the N.W. palace, and whose name in the cuneiform inscriptions is supposed to be identified with that of Sardanapalus. Shalmanubar or Shalmaneser,[b] the builder of this tomb or tower, also erected in the centre of the great mound a second palace, which appears to have been destroyed to furnish materials for later buildings. The black obelisk now in the British Museum was found amongst its ruins. On the W. face of the mound and adjoining the centre palace, are the remains of a third edifice, built by the grandson of Shalmanubar, whose name is read Iva-Lush, and who is believed to be the Pul of the Hebrew Scriptures. It contained some important inscribed slabs, but no sculptures. Essarhaddon raised (about B.C. 680) at the S.W. corner of the platform another royal abode of considerable extent, but constructed principally with materials brought from his predecessor's palaces. In the opposite or S.E. corner

[a] It must be observed, once for all, that whilst the Assyrian proper names are given in the text according to the latest interpretations of the cuneiform inscriptions, they are very doubtful.

are the ruins of a still later palace built by his grandson Ashur-emit-ili, very inferior in size and in splendour to other Assyrian edifices. Its rooms were small; it appears to have had no great halls,



and the chambers were panelled with slabs of common stone without sculpture or inscriptions. Some important detached figures, believed to bear the name of the historical Semiramis, were, however, found in its ruins. At the S.W. corner of the mound of Kouyunjik stood a palace built by Sennacherib (about B.C. 700), exceeding in size and in magnificence of decoration all others hitherto explored. It occupied nearly 100 acres. Although much of the building yet remains to be examined, and much has altogether perished, about 60 courts, halls (some nearly 150 feet square), rooms, and passages (one 200 feet long), have been discovered, all panelled with sculptured slabs of alabaster. The entrances to the edifice and to the principal chambers were flanked by groups of winged human-headed lions and bulls of colossal proportions—some nearly 20 feet in height; 27 portals thus formed were excavated by Mr. Layard. A second palace was erected on the same platform by the son of Essarhaddon, the third king of the name of Sardanapalus. In it were discovered sculptures of great interest and beauty, amongst them the series representing the lion-hunt now in the British Museum. Owing to the sanctity attributed by Mohammedans to the supposed tomb of Jonah, great difficulties were experienced in examining the mound upon which it stands. A shaft sunk within the walls of a private house led to the discovery of sculptured slabs; and excavations subsequently carried on by agents of the Turkish Government proved that they formed part of a palace erected by Essarhaddon. Two entrances or gateways in the great inclosure-walls have been excavated—one (at *b* on plan) flanked by colossal human-headed bulls and human figures. They, as well as the walls, appear, according to the inscriptions, to have been constructed by Sennacherib. No propylaea or detached buildings have as yet been discovered within the inclosure. At Shereefi Khan are the ruins of a temple, but no sculptured slabs have been dug up there. It was founded by Sennacherib, and added to by his grandson. At Selamiyah no remains of buildings nor any fragments of sculpture or inscriptions have been discovered.

The Assyrian edifices were so nearly alike in general plan, construction, and decoration, that one description will suffice for all. They were built upon artificial mounds or platforms, varying in height, but generally from 30 to 50 feet above the level of the surrounding country, and solidly constructed of regular layers of sun-dried bricks, as at Nimroud, or consisting merely of earth and rubbish heaped up, as at Kouyunjik. The mode of raising the latter kind of mound is represented in a series of bas-reliefs, in which captives and prisoners are seen amongst the workmen (Layard, *Mon. of Nin.* 2nd series, pl. 14, 15). This platform was probably faced with stone-masonry, remains of which were discovered at Nimroud, and broad flights of steps (such as were found at Khorsabad) or inclined ways led up to its summit. Although only the general plan of the ground-floor can now be traced, it is evident that the palaces had several stories built of wood and sun-dried bricks, which, when the building was deserted and allowed to fall to decay, gradually buried the lower chambers with their ruins, and protected the sculptured slabs from the effects of the weather. The depth of soil and rubbish above the alabaster slabs varied from a few inches to about 20 feet. It is to this accumulation of rubbish above them that the bas-reliefs owe their extraordinary preservation. The portions of the edifices still remaining consist of halls, chambers, and galleries, opening for the most part into large uncovered courts. The partition walls vary

from 6 to 15 feet in thickness, and are solidly built of sun-dried bricks, against which are placed the panelling or skirting of alabaster slabs. No windows have hitherto been discovered, and it is probable that in most of the smaller chambers light was only admitted through the doors. The wall, above the wainscoting of alabaster, was plastered, and painted with figures and ornaments. The pavement was formed either of inscribed slabs of alabaster, or large flat kiln-burnt bricks. It rested upon layers of bitumen and fine sand. Of nearly similar construction are the modern houses of Mosul, the architecture of which has probably been preserved from the earliest times as that best suited to the climate and to the manners and wants of an Oriental people. The rooms are grouped in the same manner round open courts or large halls. The same alabaster, usually carved with ornaments, is used for wainscoting the apartments, and the walls are constructed of sun-dried bricks. The upper part and the external architecture of the Assyrian palaces, both of which have entirely disappeared, can only be restored conjecturally, from a comparison of monuments represented in the bas-reliefs, and of edifices built by nations, such as the Persians, who took their arts from the Assyrians. By such means Mr. Fergusson has, with much ingenuity, attempted to reconstruct a palace of Nineveh (*The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored*). He presumes that the upper stories were built entirely of sun-dried bricks and wood—a supposition warranted by the absence of stone and marble columns, and of remains of stone and burnt-brick-masonry in the rubbish and soil which cover and surround the ruins; that the exterior was richly sculptured and painted with figures and ornaments, or decorated with enamelled bricks of bright colours, and that light was admitted to the principal chambers on the ground-floor through a kind of gallery which formed the upper part of them, and upon which rested the wooden pillars necessary for the support of the superstructure. The capitals and various details of these pillars, the friezes and architectural ornaments, he restores from the stone columns and other remains at Persepolis. He conjectures that curtains, suspended between the pillars, kept out the glaring light of the sun, and that the ceilings were of wood-work, elaborately painted with patterns similar to those represented in the sculptures, and probably ornamented with gold and ivory. The discovery at Khorsabad of an arched entrance of considerable size and depth, constructed of sun-dried and kiln-burnt bricks, the latter enamelled with figures, leads to the inference that some of the smaller chambers may have been vaulted.

The sculptures, with the exception of the human-headed lions and bulls, were for the most part in low relief. The colossal figures usually represent the king, his attendants, and the gods; the smaller sculptures, which either cover the whole face of the slab, or are divided into two compartments by bands of inscriptions, represent battles, sieges, the chase, single combats with wild beasts, religious ceremonies, &c. &c. All refer to public or national events; the hunting-scenes evidently recording the prowess and personal valour of the king as the head of the people—"the mighty hunter before the Lord." The sculptures appear to have been painted—remains of colour having been found on most of them. Thus decorated, without and within, the Assyrian palaces must have displayed a barbaric magnificence, not however devoid of a certain grandeur and beauty, which no ancient or modern edifice has probably exceeded. Amongst the small objects, undoubtedly of the Assyrian period, found in the ruins, were copper-vessels (some embossed and incised with figures of men and animals and graceful ornaments), bells, various instruments and tools of copper and iron, arms (such as spear and arrow heads, swords, daggers, shields, helmets, and fragments of chain and plate armour), ivory ornaments, glass bowls and vases, alabaster urns figures and other objects in terra-cotta, pottery, parts of a throne, inscribed cylinders and seals of agate and other precious materials, and a few detached statues. All these objects show great mechanical skill and a correct and refined taste, indicating considerable advance in civilization.

These great edifices, the depositories of the national records, appear to have been at the same time the abode of the king and the temple of the gods—thus corresponding, as in Egypt, with the character of the monarch, who was both the political and religious chief of the nation, the special favourite of the deities, and the interpreter of their decrees. No building has yet been discovered which possesses any distinguishing features to mark it specially as a temple. They are all precisely similar in general plan and construction. Most probably a part of the palace was set apart for religious worship and ceremonies. Altars of stone, resembling the Greek tripod in form, have been found in some of the chambers —in one instance before a figure of the king himself (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 351). According to the inscriptions, it would, however, appear that the Assyrian monarchs built temples of great magnificence at Nineveh, and in various parts of the empire, and profusely adorned them with gold, silver, and other precious materials.

Site of the City.—Much diversity of opinion exists as to the identification of the ruins which may be properly included within the site of ancient Nineveh. According to Sir H. Rawlinson and those who concur in his interpretation of the cuneiform characters, each group of mounds we have described represents a separate and distinct city. The name applied in the inscriptions to Nimroud is supposed to read "Kalkhu," and the ruins are consequently identified with those of the Calah of Genesis (x. 11); Khorsabad is Sargina, as founded by Sargon, the name having been retained in that of Sarghun, or Saraoun, by which the ruins were known to the Arab geographers; Shereef Khan is Tarbisi. Selamiyah has not yet been identified, no inscription having been found in the ruins. The name of Nineveh is limited to the mounds opposite Mosul, including Kouyunjik and Nebbi Yunus. Sir H. Rawlinson was at one time inclined to exclude even the former mound from the precincts of the city (*Journ. of As. Soc.* xii. 418). Furthermore, the ancient and primitive capital of Assyria is supposed to have been not Nineveh, but a city named Asshur, whose ruins have been discovered at Kalah Sherghat, a mound on the right or W. bank of the Tigris, about 60 miles S. of Mosul. It need scarcely be observed that this theory rests entirely upon the presumed accuracy of the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions, and that it is totally at variance with the accounts and traditions preserved by sacred and classical history of the antiquity, size, and importance of Nineveh. The area of the inclosure of Kouyunjik, about 1800 acres, is far too small to represent the site of the city, built as it must have been in accordance with eastern customs and man-

ners, even after allowing for every exaggeration on the part of ancient writers. Captain Jones (*Topography of Nineveh, Journ. of R. Asiat. Soc.* xv. p. 324) computes that it would contain 174,000 inhabitants, 50 square yards being given to each person; but the basis of this calculation would scarcely apply to any modern Eastern city. If Kouyunjik represents Nineveh, and Nimroud Calah, where are we to place Resen, "a great city" between the two? (Gen. x. 12.) Scarcely at Selamiyah, only three miles from Nimroud, and where no ruins of any importance exist. On the other hand, it has been conjectured that these groups of mounds are not ruins of separate cities, but of fortified royal residences, each combining palaces, temples, propylaea, gardens, and parks, and having its peculiar name; and that they all formed part of one great city built and added to at different periods, and consisting of distinct quarters scattered over a very large area, and frequently very distant one from the other. Nineveh might thus be compared with Damascus, Ispahan, or perhaps more appropriately with Delhi, a city rebuilt at various periods, but never on exactly the same site, and whose ruins consequently cover an area but little inferior to that assigned to the capital of Assyria. The primitive site, the one upon which Nineveh was originally founded, may possibly have been that occupied by the mound of Kouyunjik. It is thus alone that the ancient descriptions of Nineveh, if any value whatever is to be attached to them, can be reconciled with existing remains. The absence of all traces of buildings of any size within the inclosures of Nimroud, Kouyunjik, and Khorsabad, and the existence of propylaea forming part of the approaches to the palace, beneath and at a considerable distance from the great mound at Khorsabad, seem to add weight to this conjecture. Even Sir H. Rawlinson is compelled to admit that all the ruins may have formed part of "that group of cities, which in the time of the prophet Jonah, was known by the common name of Nineveh" (*On the Inscriptions of Babylonia and Assyria, Journ. As. Soc.*). But the existence of fortified palaces is consistent with Oriental custom, and with authentic descriptions of ancient Eastern cities. Such were the residences of the kings of Babylon, the walls of the largest of which were 60 stadia, or 7 miles in circuit, or little less than those of Kouyunjik, and considerably greater than those of Nimroud [BABYLON]. The Persians, who appear to have closely imitated the Assyrians in most things, constructed similar fortified parks, or paradises—as they were called—which included royal dwelling places (Quint. Curt. l. 7, c. 8). Indeed, if the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions is to be trusted, the Assyrian palaces were of precisely the same character; for that built by Essarhaddon at Nebbi Yunus, is stated to have been so large that horses and other animals were not only kept, but even bred within its walls (Fox Talbot, *Assyr. Texts translated*, 17, 18). It is evident that this description cannot apply to a building occupying so confined an area as the summit of this mound, but to a vast inclosed space. This aggregation of strongholds may illustrate the allusion in Nahum (iii. 14), "Draw thee waters for the siege, fortify thy strong holds," and "repair thy fortified places." They were probably surrounded by the dwellings of the mass of the population, either collected in groups, or scattered singly in the midst of fields, orchards, and gardens. There are still sufficient indications in the country around of the sites of such habitations. The fortified inclosures, whilst including the residences of the king, his family or immediate tribe, his principal officers, and probably the chief priests, may also have served as places of refuge for the inhabitants of the city at large in times of danger or attack. According to Diodorus (ii. 9) and Quintus Curtius (v. 1), there was land enough within the precincts of Babylon, besides gardens and orchards, to furnish corn for the wants of the whole population in case of siege; and in the book of Jonah, Nineveh is said to contain, besides its population, "much cattle" (iv. 11). As at Babylon, no great consecutive wall of inclosure comprising all the ruins, such as that described by Diodorus, has been discovered at Nineveh, and no such wall ever existed, otherwise some traces of so vast and massive a structure must have remained to this day. The river Gomel, the modern Ghazir-Su, may have formed the eastern boundary or defence of the city. As to the claims of the mound of Kalah Sherghat to represent the site of the primitive capital of Assyria called Asshur, they must rest entirely on the interpretation of the inscriptions. This city was founded, or added to, they are supposed to declare, by one Shamas-Iva, the son and viceroy, or satrap, of Ismi-Dagon, king of Babylon, who reigned, it is conjectured, about B.C. 1840. Assyria and its capital remained subject to Babylonia until B.C. 1273, when an independent Assyrian dynasty was founded, of which fourteen kings, or more, reigned at Kalah Sherghat. About B.C. 930 the seat of government, it is asserted, was transferred by Sardanapalus (the second of the name, and the Sardanapalus of the Greeks) to the city of Kalkhu or Calah (Nimroud), which had been founded by an earlier monarch named Shalmanubar. There it continued about 250 years, when Sennacherib made Nineveh the capital of the empire [ASSYRIA]. These assumptions seem to rest upon very slender grounds; and Dr. Hincks altogether rejects the theory of the Babylonian character of these early kings, believing them to be Assyrian (*Report to Trustees of Brit. Mus. on Cylinders and Terra-Cottas*). It is believed that on an inscribed terra-cotta cylinder discovered at Kalah Sherghat, the foundation of a temple is attributed to this Shamas-Iva. A royal name similar to that of his father, Ismi-Dagon, is read on a brick from some ruins in southern Babylonia, and the two kings are presumed to be identical, although there is no other evidence of the fact (Rawl. *Herod.* i. p. 456, note 5); indeed the only son of this Babylonian king mentioned in the inscriptions is read Ibil-anu-duna, a name entirely different from that of the presumed viceroy of Asshur. It is by no means an uncommon occurrence that the same names should be found in royal dynasties of very different periods.[c] The Assyrian dynasties furnish more than one example. It may be further observed that no remains of sufficient antiquity and importance have been discovered at

[c] To support the theory of the ancient capital of Assyria being Asshur, a further identification is required of two kings whose names are read Tiglathpileser, one found in a rock-cut inscription at Bavian in the mountains to the E. of Mosul, the other occurring on the Kalah Sherghat cylinder. M. Oppert has questioned the identity of the two (Rawl. *Herod.* i. 459, and note).

Kalah Sherghat to justify the opinion that it was the ancient capital. The only sculpture found in the ruins, the seated figure in black basalt now in the British Museum, belongs to a later period than the monuments from the N.W. palace at Nimroud. Upon the presumed identification above indicated, and upon no other evidence, as far as we can understand, an entirely new system of Assyrian history and chronology has been constructed, of which a sketch has been given under the title ASSYRIA (see also Rawlinson's *Herod.* vol. i. p. 489). It need only be pointed out here that this system is at variance with sacred, classical, and monumental history, and can scarcely be accepted as proven, until the Assyrian ruins have been examined with more completeness than has hitherto been possible, and until the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions has made far greater progress. It has been shown how continuously tradition points to Nineveh as the ancient capital of Assyria. There is no allusion to any other city which enjoyed this rank. Its name occurs in the statistical table of Karnak, in conjunction with Naharaina or Mesopotamia, and on a fragment recently discovered by M. Mariette, of the time of Thotmas III., or about B.C. 1490 (Birch, *Trans. R. Soc. of Lit.* ii. 345, second Series); and no mention has been found on any Egyptian monument of such cities as Asshur and Calah. Sir H. Rawlinson, in a paper read before the R. S. of Lit., has, however, contended that the Naharayn, Saenkar, and Assuri of the Egyptian inscriptions are not Mesopotamia, Singar, and Assyria, and that Nin-i-iu is not Nineveh at all, but refers to a city in the chain of Taurus. But these conclusions are altogether rejected by Egyptian scholars. Further researches may show that Sennacherib's palace at Kouyunjik, and that of Sardanapalus at Nimroud, were built upon the site, and above the remains of very much earlier edifices. According to the interpretation of the inscriptions, Sardanapalus himself founded a temple at "Nineveh" (Rawl. *Herod.* i. 462), yet no traces of this building have been discovered at Kouyunjik. Sargon *restored* the walls of Nineveh, and declares that he erected his palace "near to Nineveh" (*id.* 474), whilst Sennacherib only claims to have *rebuilt* the palaces, which were "rent and split from extreme old age" (*id.* 475), employing 360,000 men, captives from Chaldaea, Syria, Armenia, and Cilicia, in the undertaking, and speaks of Nineveh as founded of old, and governed by his forefathers, "kings of the old time" (Fox Talbot, on Bellino's cylinder, *Journ. of As. Soc.* vol. xviii.). Old palaces, a great tower, and ancient temples dedicated to Ishtar and Bar Muri, also stood there. Hitherto the remains of no other edifices than those attributed to Sennacherib and his successors have been discovered in the group of ruins opposite Mosul.

Prophecies relating to Nineveh, and Illustrations of the O. T.—These are exclusively contained in the Books of Nahum and Zephaniah; for although Isaiah foretells the downfall of the Assyrian empire (ch. x. and xiv.), he makes no mention of its capital. Nahum threatens the entire destruction of the city, so that it shall not rise again from its ruins: "With an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof." "He will make an utter end; affliction shall not rise up the second time" (i. 8, 9). "Thy people is scattered upon the mountains, and no one gathereth them. There is no healing of thy bruise" (iii. 18, 19). The manner in which the city should be taken seems to be indicated. "The defence shall be prepared" (ii. 5) is rendered in the margin 'a reading "the covering or coverer shall be prepared,' and by Mr. Vance Smith (*Prophecies on Assyria and the Assyrians*, 242), "the covering machine," the covered battering-ram or tower supposed to be represented in the bas-reliefs as being used in sieges. Some commentators believe that "the overrunning flood" refers to the agency of water in the destruction of the walls by an extraordinary overflow of the Tigris, and the consequent exposure of the city to assault through a breach; others, that it applies to a large and devastating army. An allusion to the overflow of the river may be contained in ii. 6, "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved," a prophecy supposed to have been fulfilled when the Medo-Babylonian army captured the city. Diodorus (ii. 27) relates of that event, that "there was an old prophecy that Nineveh should not be taken till the river became an enemy to the city: and in the third year of the siege the river being swoln with continued rains, overflowed part of the city, and broke down the wall for twenty stadia; then the king thinking that the oracle was fulfilled and the river become an enemy to the city, built a large funeral pile in the palace, and collecting together all his wealth, and his concubines and eunuchs, burnt himself and the palace with them all: and the enemy entered the breach that the waters had made, and took the city." Most of the edifices discovered had been destroyed by fire, but no part of the walls of either Nimroud or Kouyunjik appears to have been washed away by the river. The Tigris is still subject to very high and dangerous floods during the winter and spring rains, and even now frequently reaches the ruins. When it flowed in its ancient bed at the foot of the walls a part of the city might have been overwhelmed by an extraordinary inundation. The likening of Nineveh to "a pool of water" (ii. 8) has been conjectured to refer to the moats and dams by which a portion of the country around Nineveh could be flooded. The city was to be partly destroyed by fire, "The fire shall devour thy bars," "then shall the fire devour thee" (iii. 13, 15). The gateway in the northern wall of the Kouyunjik inclosure had been destroyed by fire as well as the palaces. The population was to be surprised when unprepared, "while they are drunk as drunkards they shall be devoured as stubble fully dry" (i. 10). Diodorus states that the last and fatal assault was made when they were overcome with wine. In the bas-reliefs carousing scenes are represented, in which the king, his courtiers, and even the queen, reclining on couches or seated on thrones, and attended by musicians, appear to be pledging each other in bowls of wine (Botta, *Mon. de Nin.* pl. 63-67, 112, 113, and one very interesting slab in the Brit. Mus., figured on p. 556). The captivity of the inhabitants, and their removal to distant provinces, are predicted (iii. 18). Their dispersion, which occurred when the city fell, was in accordance with the barbarous custom of the age. The palace-temples were to be plundered of their idols, "out of the house of thy gods will I cut off the graven image and the molten image" (i. 14), and the city sacked of its wealth: "Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold" (ii. 9). For ages the Assyrian edifices have been despoiled of their sacred images; and enormous amounts of gold and silver were, according to tradition, taken to Ecbatana by the conquering Medes (Diod. Sic.

ii.). Only one or two fragments of the precious metals were found in the ruins. Nineveh, after its fall, was to be "empty, and void, and waste" (ii. 10); "it shall come to pass, that all they that look upon thee shall flee from thee, and say, Nineveh is laid waste" (iii. 7). These epithets describe the present state of the site of the city. But the fullest and the most vivid and poetical picture of its ruined and deserted condition is that given by Zephaniah, who probably lived to see its fall. "He will make Nineveh a desolation, and dry like a wilderness. And flocks shall lie down in the midst of her, all the beasts of the nations: both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper

King feasting. From Kouyunjik.

lintels of it: their voice shall sing in the windows: desolation shall be in the thresholds: for he shall uncover the cedar work . . . . how is she become a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in! every one that passeth by her shall hiss and wag his hand" (ii. 13, 14, 15). The canals which once fertilised the soil are now dry. Except when the earth is green after the periodical rains the site of the city, as well as the surrounding country, is an arid yellow waste. Flocks of sheep and herds of camels may be seen seeking scanty pasture amongst the mounds. From the unwholesome swamp within the ruins of Khorsabad, and from the reedy banks of the little streams that flow by Kouyunjik and Nimroud may be heard the croak of the cormorant and the bittern. The cedar-wood which adorned the ceilings of the palaces has been uncovered by modern explorers (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* 357), and in the deserted halls the hyena, the wolf, the fox, and the jackall, now lie down. Many allusions in the O. T. to the dress, arms, modes of warfare, and customs of the people of Nineveh, as well as of the Jews, are explained by the Nineveh monuments. Thus (Nah. ii. 3), "the shield of his mighty men is made red, the valiant men are in scarlet." The shields and the dresses of the warriors are generally painted red in the sculptures. The magnificent description of the assault upon the city (iii. 1, 2, 3) is illustrated in almost every particular (Layard, *Nin. and its Rem.* ii., part ii., ch. v.). The mounds built up against the walls of a besieged town (Is. xxxvii. 33; 2 K. xix. 32; Jer. xxxii. 24, &c.), the battering-ram (Ez. iv. 2), the various kinds of armour, helmets, shields, spears, and swords, used in battle and during a siege; the chariots and horses (Nah. iii. 3; CHARIOT), are all seen in various bas-reliefs (Layard, *Nin. and its Rem.* ii., part ii., chaps. iv. and v.). The custom of cutting off the heads of the slain and placing them in heaps (2 K. x. 8) is constantly represented (Layard, ii. 184). The allusion in 2 K. xix. 28, "I will put my hook in thy nose and my bridle in thy lips," is illustrated in a bas-relief from Khorsabad (*id.* 378).

The interior decoration of the Assyrian palaces is described by Ezekiel, himself a captive in Assyria and an eye-witness of their magnificence (xxiii. 14, 15). "She saw men of sculptured workmanship upon the walls; likenesses of the Chaldaeans pictured in red, girded with girdles upon their loins, with coloured flowing head-dresses upon their heads, with the aspect of princes all of them" (Lay. *Nin. and its Rem.* ii. 307); a description strikingly illustrated by the sculptured likenesses of the Assyrian kings and warriors (see especially Botta, *Mon. de Nin.* pl. 12). The mystic figures seen by the prophet in his vision (ch. i.), uniting the man, the lion, the ox, and the eagle, may have been suggested by the eagle-headed idols, and man-headed bulls and lions (by some identified with the cherubim of the Jews [CHERUB]), and the sacred emblem of the

Winged deity.

"wheel within wheel" by the winged circle or globe frequently represented in the bas-reliefs (Lay *Nin. and its Rem.* ii. p. 465).

Winged globe.

Arts.—The origin of Assyrian art is a subject at present involved in mystery, and one which offers a wide field for speculation and research. Those who derive the civilisation and political system of the Assyrians from Babylonia would trace their arts to the same source. One of the principal features of their architecture, the artificial platform serving as a substructure for their national edifices, may have been taken from a people inhabiting plains perfectly flat, such as those of Shinar, rather than an undulating country in which natural elevations are not uncommon, such as Assyria proper. But it still remains to be proved that there are artificial mounds in Babylonia of an earlier date than mounds on or near the site of Nineveh. Whether other leading features and the details of Assyrian architecture came from the same source, is much more open to doubt. Such Babylonian edifices as have been hitherto explored are of a later date than those of Nineveh, to which they appear to bear but little resemblance. The only features in common seem to be the ascending stages of the temples or tombs, and the use of enamelled bricks. The custom of panelling walls with alabaster or stone must have originated in a country in which such materials abound, as in Assyria, and not in the alluvial plains of southern Mesopotamia, where they cannot be obtained except at great cost or by great labour. The use of sun-dried and kiln-burnt bricks and of wooden columns would be common to both countries, as also such arrangements for the admission of light and exclusion of heat as the climate would naturally suggest.

In none of the arts of the Assyrians have any traces hitherto been found of progressive change. In the architecture of the most ancient known edifice all the characteristics of the style are already fully developed; no new features of any importance seem to have been introduced at a later period. The palace of Sennacherib only excels those of his remote predecessors in the vastness of its proportions, and in the elaborate magnificence of its details. In sculpture, as probably in painting also, if we possessed the means of comparison, the same thing is observable as in the remains of ancient Egypt. The earliest works hitherto discovered show the result of a lengthened period of gradual development, which, judging from the slow progress made by untutored men in the arts, must have extended over a vast number of years. They exhibit the arts of the Assyrians at the highest stage of excellence they probably ever attained. The only change we can trace, as in Egypt, is one of decline or "decadence." The latest monuments, such as those from the palaces of Essarhaddon and his son, show perhaps a closer imitation of nature, especially in the representation of animals, such as the lion, dog, wild ass, &c., and a more careful and minute execution of details than those from the earlier edifices; but they are wanting in the simplicity yet grandeur of conception, in the invention, and in the variety of treatment displayed in the most ancient sculptures. This will at once be perceived by a comparison of the ornamental details of the two periods. In the older sculptures there occur the most graceful and varied combinations of flowers, beasts, birds, and other natural objects, treated in a conventional and highly artistic manner; in the later there is only a constant and monotonous repetition of rosettes and commonplace forms, without much display of invention or imagination (compare Layard, *Mon. of Nineveh*, 1st series, especially plates 5, 8, 43-48, 50. with 2nd series, *passim*; and with Botta, *Monumens de Ninive*). The same remark applies to animals. The lions of the earlier period are a grand, ideal, and, to a certain extent, conventional representation of the beast—not very different from that of the Greek sculptor in the noblest period of Greek art (Layard, *Mon. of Nin.* 2nd series, pl. 2). In the later bas-reliefs, such as those from the palace of Sardanapalus III., now in the British Museum, the lions are more closely imitated from nature without any conventional elevation; but what is gained in truth is lost in dignity.

The same may be observed in the treatment of the human form, though in its representation the Assyrians, like the Egyptians, would seem to have been, at all times, more or less shackled by religious prejudices or laws. For instance, the face is almost invariably in profile, not because the sculptor was unable to represent the full face, one or two examples of it occurring in the bas-reliefs, but probably because he was bound by a generally received custom, through which he would not break. No new forms or combinations appear to have been introduced into Assyrian art during the four or five centuries, if not longer period, with which we are acquainted with it. We trace throughout the same eagle-headed, lion-headed, and fish-headed figures, the same winged divinities, the same composite forms at the doorways. In the earliest works, an attempt at composition, that is at a pleasing and picturesque grouping of the figures, is perhaps more evident than in the later,—as may be illustrated by the Lion-hunt from the N. W. Palace, now in the British Museum (Layard, *Mon. of Nin.* pl. 10). A parallel may in many respects be drawn between the arts of the Assyrians from their earliest known period to their latest, and those of Greece from Phidias to the Roman epoch, and of Italy from the 15th to the 18th century.

The art of the Nineveh monuments must in the present state of our knowledge be accepted as an original and national art, peculiar, if not to the Assyrians alone, to the races who at various periods possessed the country watered by the Tigris and Euphrates. As it was undoubtedly brought to its highest perfection by the Assyrians, and is especially characteristic of them, it may well and conveniently bear their name. From whence it was originally derived there is nothing as yet to show. If from Babylon, as some have conjectured, there are no remains to prove the fact. Analogies may perhaps be found between it and that of Egypt, but they are not sufficient to convince us that the one was the offspring of the other. These analogies, if not accidental, may have been derived, at some very remote period, from a common source. The two may have been offshoots from some common trunk which perished ages before either Nineveh or Thebes was founded; or the Phœnicians, as it has been suggested, may have introduced into the two countries, between which they were placed, and between which they may have formed a commercial link, the arts peculiar to each of them. Whatever the origin, the development of the arts of the two countries appears to have been affected and directed by very opposite conditions of national character, climate, geographical and geological position, politics, and religion. Thus, Egyptian architecture seems to have been derived from a stone prototype, Assyrian from a wooden one—in accordance with the physical nature of the two countries. Assyrian art is the type of power, vigour, and action; Egyptian that of

calm dignity and repose. The one is the expression of an ambitious, conquering, and restless nature; the other of a race which seems to have worked for itself alone and for eternity. At a late period of Assyrian history, at the time of the building of the Khorsabad palace (about the 8th century B.C.), a more intimate intercourse with Egypt through war or dynastic alliances than had previously existed, appears to have led to the introduction of objects of Egyptian manufacture into Assyria, and may have influenced to a limited extent its arts. A precisely similar influence proceeding from Assyria has been remarked at the same period in Egypt, probably arising from the conquest and temporary occupation of the latter country by the Assyrians, under a king whose name is read Asshur-bani-pal, mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions (Birch, *Trans. of R. Soc. of Lit.*, new series). To this age belong the ivories, bronzes, and nearly all the small objects of an Egyptian character, though not apparently of Egyptian workmanship, discovered in the Assyrian ruins. It has been asserted, on the authority of an inscription believed to contain the names of certain Hellenic artists from Idalium, Citium, Salamis, Paphos, and other Greek cities, that Greeks were employed by Essarhaddon and his son in executing the sculptured decorations of their palaces (Rawl. *Herod.* i. 483). But, passing over the extreme uncertainty attaching to the decipherment of proper names in the cuneiform character, it must be observed that no remains whatever of Greek art of so early a period are known, which can be compared in knowledge of principles and in beauty of execution and of design with the sculptures of Assyria. Niebuhr has remarked of Hellenic art, that "anything produced before the Persian war was altogether barbarous" (34th Lecture on *Ancient History*). If Greek artists could execute such monuments in Assyria, why, it may be asked, did they not display equal skill in their own country? The influence, indeed, seems to have been entirely in the opposite direction. The discoveries at Nineveh show almost beyond a doubt that the Ionic element in Greek art was derived from Assyria, as the Doric came from Egypt. There is scarcely a leading form or a detail in the Ionic order which cannot be traced to Assyria—the volute of the column, the frieze of griffins, the honeysuckle-border, the guilloche, the Caryatides, and many other ornaments peculiar to the style.

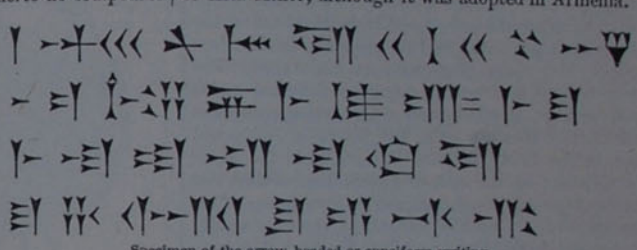
The arts of the Assyrians, especially their architecture, spread to surrounding nations, as is usually the case when one race is brought into contact with another in a lower state of civilisation. They appear to have crossed the Euphrates, and to have had more or less influence on the countries between it and the Mediterranean. Monuments of an Assyrian character have been discovered in various parts of Syria, and further researches would probably disclose many more. The arts of the Phoenicians, judging from the few specimens preserved, show the same influence. In the absence of even the most insignificant remains, and of any implements which may with confidence be attributed to the Jews [ARMS], there are no materials for comparison between Jewish and Assyrian art. It is possible that the bronzes and ivories discovered at Nineveh were of Phoenician manufacture, like the vessels in Solomon's temple. On the lion-weights, now in the British Museum, are inscriptions both in the cuneiform and Phœnician characters. The Assyrian inscriptions seem to indicate a direct dependence of Judaea upon Assyria from a very early period. From the descriptions of the temple and "houses" of Solomon (cf. 1 K. vi., vii.; 2 Chr iii., iv.; Joseph. viii. 2; Fergusson's *Palaces of Nineveh;* and Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 642), it would appear that there was much similarity between them and the palaces of Nineveh, if not in the exterior architecture, certainly in the interior decorations, such as the walls panelled or wainscoted with sawn stones, the sculptures on the slabs representing trees and plants, the remainder of the walls above the skirting painted with various colours and pictures, the figures of the winged cherubim carved "all the house round," and especially on the doorways, the ornaments of open flowers, pomegranates, and lilies (apparently corresponding exactly with the rosettes, pomegranates, and honey-suckle ornaments of the Assyrian bas-reliefs, Botta, *Mon. de Nin.* and Layard, *Mon. of Nin.*), and the ceiling, roof, and beams of cedar-wood. The Jewish edifices were however very much inferior in size to the Assyrian. Of objects of art (if we may use the term) contained in the Temple we have the description of the pillars, of the brazen sea, and of various bronze or copper vessels. They were the work of Hiram, the son of a Phoenician artist by a Jewish woman of the tribe of Naphtali (1 K. vii. 14), a fact which gives us some insight into Phoenician art, and seems to show that the Jews had no art of their own, as Hiram was fetched from Tyre by Solomon. The Assyrian character of these objects is very remarkable. The two pillars and "chapiters" of brass had ornaments of lilies and pomegranates; the brazen sea was supported on oxen, and its rim was ornamented with flowers of lilies, whilst the bases were graven with lions, oxen, and cherubim on the borders, and the plates of the ledges with cherubim, lions, and palm-trees. The vail of the temple, of different colours, had also cherubim wrought upon it. (Cf. Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* woodcut, p. 588, in which a large vessel, probably of bronze or copper, is represented supported upon oxen, and *Mon. of Nin.* series 2, pl. 60, 65, 68,—in which vessels with embossed rims apparently similar to those in Solomon's temple are figured. Also series 1, pl. 8, 44, 48, in which embroideries with cherubim occur.)

The influence of Assyria to the eastward was even more considerable, extending far into Asia. The Persians copied their architecture (with such modifications as the climate and the building-materials at hand suggested), their sculpture, probably their painting and their mode of writing, from the Assyrians. The ruined palaces of Persepolis show the same general plan of construction as those of Nineveh—the entrances formed by human-headed animals, the skirting of sculptured stone, and the inscribed slabs. The various religious emblems and the ornamentation have the same Assyrian character. In Persia, however, a stone architecture prevailed, and the columns in that material have resisted to this day the ravages of time.

The Persians made an advance in one respect upon Assyrian sculpture, and probably painting likewise, in an attempt at a natural representation of drapery by the introduction of folds, of which there is only the slightest indication on Assyrian monuments. It may have been partly through Persia that the influence of Assyrian art passed into Asia Minor and thence into Greece; but it had probably penetrated far into the former country long before the Persian

domination. We find it strongly shown in the earliest monuments, as in those of Lycia and Phrygia, and in the archaic sculptures of Branchidae. But the early art of Asia Minor still offers a most interesting field for investigation. Amongst the Assyrians, the arts were principally employed, as amongst all nations in their earlier stages of civilisation, for religious and national purposes. The colossal figures at the doorways of the palaces were mythic combinations to denote the attributes of a deity. The "Man-Bull" and the "Man-Lion," are conjectured to be the gods "Nin" and "Nergal," presiding over war and the chace; the eagle-headed and fish-headed figures so constantly repeated in the sculptures, and as ornaments on vessels of metal, or in embroideries—Nisroch and Dagon. The bas-reliefs almost invariably record some deed of the king, as head of the nation, in war, and in combat with wild beasts, or his piety in erecting vast palace-temples to the gods. Hitherto no sculptures specially illustrating the private life of the Assyrians have been discovered, except one or two incidents, such as men baking bread or tending horses, introduced as mere accessories into the historical bas-reliefs. This may be partly owing to the fact that no traces whatever have yet been found of their burial places, or even of their mode of dealing with the dead. It is chiefly upon the walls of tombs that the domestic life of the Egyptians has been so fully depicted. In the useful arts, as in the fine arts, the Assyrians had made a progress which denotes a very high state of civilisation [ASSYRIA]. When the inscriptions have been fully examined and deciphered, it will probably be found that they had made no inconsiderable advance in the sciences, especially in astronomy, mathematics, numeration, and hydraulics. Although the site of Nineveh afforded no special advantages for commerce, and although she owed her greatness rather to her political position as the capital of the empire, yet, situated upon a navigable river communicating with the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf, she must have soon formed one of the great trading stations between that important inland sea, and Syria, and the Mediterranean, and must have become a depôt for the merchandise supplied to a great part of Asia Minor, Armenia, and Persia. Her merchants are described in Ezekiel (xxvii. 24) as trading in blue clothes and broidered work (such as is probably represented in the sculptures), and in Nahum (iii. 16) as "multiplied above the stars of heaven." The animals represented on the black obelisk in the British Museum and on other monuments, the rhinoceros, the elephant, the double-humped camel, and various kinds of apes and monkeys, show a communication direct or indirect with the remotest parts of Asia. This intercourse with foreign nations, and the practice of carrying to Assyria as captives the skilled artists and workmen of conquered countries, must have contributed greatly to the improvement of Assyrian manufactures.

Writing and Language.—The ruins of Nineveh have furnished a vast collection of inscriptions partly carved on marble or stone slabs, and partly impressed upon bricks, and upon clay cylinders, or six-sided and eight-sided prisms, barrels, and tablets, which, used for the purpose when still moist, were afterwards baked in a furnace or kiln. (Cf. Ezekiel. iv. 1, "Take thee a tile . . . and pourtray upon it the city, even Jerusalem.") The cylinders are hollow, and appear, from the hole pierced through them, to have been mounted so as to turn round, and to present their several sides to the reader. The character employed was the arrow-headed or cuneiform—so called from each letter being formed by marks or elements resembling an arrow-head or a wedge. This mode of writing, believed by some to be of Turanian or Scythic origin, prevailed throughout the provinces comprised in the Assyrian, Babylonian, and the eastern portion of the ancient Persian empires, from the earliest times to which any known record belongs, or at least 20 centuries before the Christian era, down to the period of the conquests of Alexander; after which epoch, although occasionally employed, it seems to have gradually fallen into disuse. It never extended into Syria, Arabia, or Asia Minor, although it was adopted in Armenia.



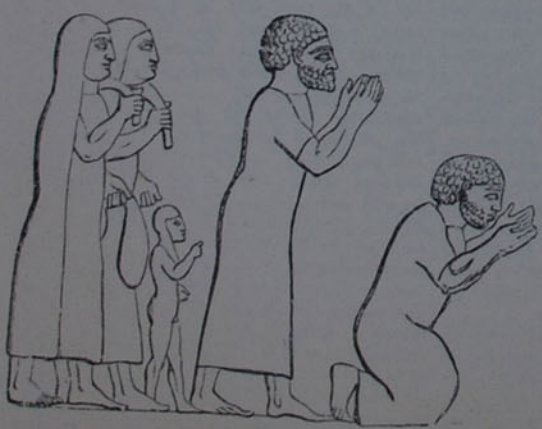
Specimen of the arrow-headed or cuneiform writing.

A cursive writing resembling the ancient Syrian and Phoenician, and by some believed to be the original form of all other cursive writing used in Western Asia, including the Hebrew, appears to have also been occasionally employed in Assyria, probably for documents written on parchment or papyrus, or perhaps leather skins. The Assyrian cuneiform character was of the same class as the Babylonian, only differing from it in the less complicated nature of its forms. Although the primary elements in the later Persian and so-called Median cuneiform were the same, yet their combination and the value of the letters were quite distinct. The latter, indeed, is but a form of the Assyrian. Herodotus terms all cuneiform writing the "Assyrian writing" (Herod. iv. 87). This character may have been derived from some more ancient form of hieroglyphic writing; but if so, all traces of such origin have disappeared. The Assyrian and Babylonian alphabet (if the term may be applied to above 200 signs) is of the most complicated, imperfect, and arbitrary nature—some characters being phonetic, others syllabic, others ideographic—the same character being frequently used indifferently. This constitutes one of the principal difficulties in the process of decipherment. The investigation first commenced by Grotefend (Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, vol. ii. App. 2) has since been carried on with much success by Sir H. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, Mr. Norris, and Mr. Fox Talbot, in England, and by M. Oppert in France (see papers by those gentlemen in the *Journals of the Roy. As. Soc.*, in *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, in *Journal of Sacred Literature*, and in the *Athenaeum*). Although considerable doubt may still reasonably prevail as to the interpretation of details, as to grammatical construction, and especially as to the rendering of proper names, sufficient progress has been made to enable the student to ascertain with some degree of confidence the general meaning

and contents of an inscription. The people of Nineveh spoke a Semitic dialect, connected with the Hebrew and with the so-called Chaldee of the Books of Daniel and Ezra. This agrees with the testimony of the O. T. But it is asserted that there existed in Assyria, as well as in Babylonia, a more ancient tongue belonging to a Turanian or Scythic race, which is supposed to have inhabited the plains watered by the Tigris and Euphrates long before the rise of the Assyrian empire, and from which the Assyrians derived their civilisation and the greater part of their mythology. It was retained for sacred purposes by the conquering race, as the Latin was retained after the fall of the Roman Empire in the Catholic church. In fragments of vocabularies discovered in the record-chamber at Kouyunjik words in the two languages are placed in parallel columns, whilst a centre column contains a monographic or ideographic sign representing both. A large number of Turanian words or roots are further supposed to have existed in the Assyrian tongue, and tablets apparently in that language have been discovered in the ruins. The monumental inscriptions occur on detached stelae and obelisks, of which there are several specimens in the British Museum from the Assyrian ruins, and one in the Berlin Museum discovered in the island of Cyprus; on the colossal human-headed lions and bulls, upon parts not occupied by sculpture, as between the legs; on the sculptured slabs, generally in bands between two bas-reliefs, to which they seem to refer; and, as in Persia and Armenia, carved on the face of rocks in the hill-country. At Nimroud the same inscription is carved on nearly every slab in the N. W. palace, and generally repeated on the back, and even carried across the sculptured colossal figures. The Assyrian inscriptions usually contain the chronicles of the king who built or restored the edifice in which they are found, records of his wars and expeditions into distant countries, of the amount of tribute and spoil taken from conquered tribes, of the building of temples and palaces, and invocations to the gods of Assyria. Frequently every stone and kiln-burnt brick used in a building bears the name and titles of the king, and generally those of his father and grandfather are added. These inscribed bricks are of the greatest value in restoring the royal dynasties. The longest inscription on stone, that from the N. W. palace of Nineveh containing the records of Sardanapalus II., has 325 lines, that on the black obelisk has 210. The most important hitherto discovered in connexion with Biblical history, is that upon a pair of colossal human-headed bulls from Kouyunjik, now in the British Museum, containing the records of Sennacherib, and describing, amongst other events, his wars with Hezekiah. It is accompanied by a series of bas-reliefs believed to represent the siege and capture of Lachish (LACHISH; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 148-153).

Sennacherib on his Throne before Lachish.

A long list might be given of Biblical names occurring in the Assyrian inscriptions (*id.* 626). Those of three Jewish kings have been read, Jehu son of Khumri (Omri), on the black obelisk (JEHU; Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* 613), Menahem on a slab from the S. W. palace, Nimroud, now in the British Museum (*id.* 617), and Hezekiah in the Kouyunjik records. The most important inscribed terra-cotta cylinders are — those from Kalah Sherghat, with the annals of a king, whose name is believed to read Tiglath Pileser, not the same mentioned in the 2nd Book of Kings, but an earlier monarch, who is supposed to have reigned about B.C. 1110 (Rawl. *Herod.* i. 457), those from Khorsabad containing the annals of Sargon; those from Kouyunjik, especially one known as Bellino's cylinder, with the chronicles of Sennacherib; that from Nebbi Yunus with the records of Essarhaddon, and the fragments of three cylinders with those of his son The



Jewish Captives from Lachish (Kouyunjik)

largest inscription on a cylinder is of 820 lines. Such cylinders and inscribed slabs were generally buried beneath the foundations of great public buildings. Many fragments of cylinders and a vast collection of inscribed clay tablets, many in perfect preservation, and some bearing the impressions of seals, were discovered in a chamber at Kouyunjik, and are now deposited in the British Museum. They appear to include historical documents, vocabularies, astronomical and other calculations, calendars, directions for the performance of religious ceremonies, lists of the gods, their attributes, and the days appointed for their worship, descriptions of countries, lists of animals, grants of lands, &c. &c. In this chamber was also found the piece of clay bearing the seal of the Egyptian king, So or Sabaco, and that of an Assyrian monarch, either Sennacherib or his son, probably affixed to a treaty between the two, which having been written on parchment or papyrus, had entirely perished (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 156).

Impressions of the Signets of the Kings of Assyria and Egypt. (Original size.)

Part of Cartouche of Sabaco, enlarged from the impression of his Signet.

The most important results may be expected when inscriptions so numerous and so varied in character are deciphered. A list of nineteen or twenty kings can already be compiled, and the annals of the greater number of them will probably be restored to the lost history of one of the most powerful empires of the ancient world, and of one which appears to have exercised perhaps greater influence than any other upon the subsequent condition and development of civilised man. [ASSYRIA.]

The only race now found near the ruins of Nineveh or in Assyria which may have any claim to be considered descendants from the ancient inhabitants of the country are the so-called Chaldaean or Nestorian tribes, inhabiting the mountains of Kurdistan, the plains round the lake of Ooroomiyah in Persia, and a few villages in the neighbourhood of Mosul. They still speak a Semitic dialect, almost identical with the Chaldee of the books of Daniel and Ezra. A resemblance, which may be but fanciful, has been traced between these and the representations of the Assyrians in the bas-reliefs. Their physical characteristics at any rate seem to mark them as of the same race. The inhabitants of this part of Asia have been exposed perhaps more than those of any other country in the world to the devastating inroads of stranger hordes. Conquering tribes of Arabs and of Tartars have more than once well-nigh exterminated the population which they found there, and have occupied their places. The few survivors from these terrible massacres have taken refuge in the mountain fastnesses, where they may still linger. A curse seems to hang over a land naturally rich and fertile, and capable of sustaining a vast number of human beings. Those who now inhabit it are yearly diminishing, and there seems no prospect that for generations to come this once-favoured country should remain other than a wilderness.

(Layard's *Nineveh and its Remains*; *Nineveh and Babylon*; and *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st and 2nd Series; Botta's *Monument de Ninive*; Fergusson, *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored*; Vaux's *Nineveh and Persepolis*.) [A. H. L.]

NIN'EVITES (Νινευῖται: *Ninevitae*). The inhabitants of Nineveh (Luke xi. 30).

NI'SAN. [MONTHS.]

NIS'ROCH (נִסְרֹךְ: Μεσεραάχ, Mai's ed. Ἐσδράχ; Alex. Ἐσαράχ in 2 K.; Νασαράχ in Is.: *Nesroch*). The proper name of an idol of Nineveh, in whose temple Sennacherib was worshipping when assassinated by his sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer (2 K. xix. 37; Is. xxxvii. 38). Selden confesses his ignorance of the deity denoted by this name (*de Dis Syris*, synt. ii. c. 10); but Beyer, in his *Additamenta* (pp. 323-325) has collected several conjectures. Jarchi, in his note on Is. xxxvii. 38, explains Nisroch as "a beam, or plank, of Noah's ark," from the analysis which is given of the word by Rabbinical expositors (נסרא נוחא=נסרך). What the true etymology may be is extremely doubtful. If the origin of the word be Shemitic, it may be derived, as Gesenius suggests, from the Heb. נֶשֶׁר, which is in Arab. *nisr*, "an eagle," with the termination *ôch* or *âch*, which is intensive in Persian,[a] so that Nisroch would signify "the great eagle" (comp. ARIOCH). But it must be confessed that this explanation is far from satisfactory. It is adopted, however, by Mr. Layard, who identifies with Nisroch the eagle-headed human figure, which is one of the most prominent on the earliest Assyrian monuments, and is always represented as contending with and conquering the lion or the bull (*Nineveh*, ii. 458, 459). In another passage he endeavours to reconcile the fact that Asshur was the supreme god of the Assyrians, as far as can be determined from the inscriptions, with the appearance of the name Nisroch as that of the chief god of Nineveh, by supposing that Sennacherib may have been slain in the temple of Asshur, and that the Hebrews, seeing everywhere the eagle-headed figure, "may have believed it to be that of the peculiar god of the Assyrians, to whom they consequently gave a name denoting an eagle" (*Nin. & Bab.* 637, note). Other explanations, based upon the same etymology, have been given; such as that suggested by Beyer (*Addit.* p. 324), that Nisroch denotes "Noah's eagle," that is "Noah's bird," that is "Noah's dove," the

[a] So he says in his *Thes.*, but in his *Jesaia* (l. 976) he correctly calls it a diminutive.

dove being an object of worship among the Assyrians (Lucian, *de Jov. trag.* c. 42); or that mentioned as more probable by Winer (*Realw.* s. v.), that it was the constellation Aquila, the eagle being in the Persian religion a symbol of Ormuzd. Parkhurst, deriving the word from the Chaldee root סָרַךְ, *serac* (which occurs in Dan. vi. in the form סַרְכִיָּא, *sârecayyâ*, and is rendered in the A. V. "presidents"), conjectures that Nisroch may be the impersonation of the solar fire, and substantially identical with Molech and Milcom, which are both derived from a root similar in meaning to *serac*. Nothing, however, is certain with regard to Nisroch, except that these conjectures, one and all, are very little to be depended on. Sir H. Rawlinson says that Asshur had no temple at Nineveh in which Sennacherib could have been worshipping (Rawlinson, *Herod.* I. p. 590). He conjectures that Nisroch is not a genuine reading. Josephus has a curious variation. He says (Ant. X. 1 §5) that Sennacherib was buried in his own temple called *Arasce* (*ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ναῷ Ἀράσκῃ λεγομένῳ*). [W. A. W.]

NITRE (נֶתֶר, *nether*: ἄλκος, *νίτρον*: *nitrum*) occurs in Prov. xxv. 20, "As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather, and as vinegar upon *nether*, so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart;" and in Jer. ii. 22, where it is said of sinful Judah, "though thou wash thee with *nether* and take thee much *borith* [SOAP], yet thine iniquity is marked before me." The substance denoted is not that which we now understand by the term *nitre*, *i. e.* nitrate of potassa—"saltpetre"—but the *νίτρον* or *λίτρον* of the Greeks, the *nitrum* of the Latins, and the *natron* or native carbonate of soda of modern chemistry. Much has been written on the subject of the nitrum of the ancients; it will be enough to refer the reader to Beckmann, who (*History of Inventions*, ii. 482, Bohn's ed.) has devoted a chapter to this subject, and to the authorities mentioned in the notes. It is uncertain at what time the English term *nitre* first came to be used for *saltpetre*, but our translators no doubt understood thereby the carbonate of soda, for *nitre* is so used by Holland in his translation of Pliny (xxxi. 10) in contradistinction to *saltpetre*, which he gives as the marginal explanation of *aphronitrum*.

The latter part of the passage in Proverbs is well explained by Shaw, who says (*Trav.* ii. 387), "the unsuitableness of the singing of songs to a heavy heart is very finely compared to the contrariety there is between vinegar and natron." This is far preferable to the explanation given by Michaelis (*De Nitro Hebraeor.* in *Commentat. Societ. Reg. praelect.* i. 166; and *Suppl. Lex. Heb.* p. 1704), that the simile alludes to the unpleasant smell arising from the admixture of the acid and alkali; it points rather to the extreme mental agitation produced by ill-timed mirth, the *grating* against the feelings, to make use of another metaphor. Natrum was and is still used by the Egyptians for washing linen, the value of soda in this respect is well known; this explains Jer. *l. c.*, "though thou wash thee with soda," &c. Hasselquist (*Trav.* 275) says that natrum is dug out of a pit or mine near Mantura in Egypt, and is mixed with limestone and is of a whitish-brown colour. The Egyptians use it, (1) to put into bread instead of yeast, (2) instead of soap, (3) as a cure for the toothache, being mixed with vinegar. Compare also Forskâl (*Flor. Aegypt. Arab.* p. xlvi.), who gives its Arabic names, *atrun* or *natrun*.

Natron is found abundantly in the well-known soda lakes of Egypt described by Pliny (xxxi. 10), and referred to by Strabo (xvii. A. 1155. ed. Kramer), which are situated in the barren valley of *Bahr-bela-ma* (the Waterless Sea), about 50 miles W. of Cairo; the natron occurs in whitish or yellowish efflorescent crusts, or in beds three or four feet thick, and very hard (Volney, *Trav.* i. 15), which in the winter are covered with water about two feet deep; during the other nine months of the year the lakes are dry, at which period the natron is procured. (See Andréossi, *Mémoire sur la Vallée des Lacs de Natron*, in *Mém. sur l'Égypte*, ii. 276, &c.; Berthollet, *Observat. sur le Natron*, *ibid.* p. 310; *Descript. de l'Égypte*, xxi. 205.) [W. H.]

NO. [NO-AMON.]

NOADI'AH (נוֹעַדְיָה: Νωαδία: *Noadia*). 1. A Levite, son of Binnui, who with Meremoth, Eleazar, and Jozabad, weighed the vessels of gold and silver belonging to the Temple which were brought back from Babylon (Ezr. viii. 33). In 1 Esd. viii. 63, he is called "Moeth the son of Sabbea."

2. (*Noadia*). The prophetess Noadiah joined Sanballat and Tobiah in their attempt to intimidate Nehemiah while rebuilding the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. vi. 14). She is only mentioned in Nehemiah's denunciation of his enemies, and is not prominent in the narrative.

NO'AH (נֹחַ: Νῶε; Joseph. Νώεος: *Noë*), the tenth in descent from Adam, in the line of Seth, was the son of Lamech, and grandson of Methuselah. Of his father Lamech all that we know is comprised in the words that he uttered on the birth of his son, words the more significant when we contrast them with the saying of the other Lamech of the race of Cain, which have also been preserved. The one exults in the discovery of weapons by which he may defend himself in case of need. The other, a tiller of the soil, mourns over the curse which rests on the ground, seeing in it evidently the consequence of sin. It is impossible to mistake the religious feeling which speaks of "the ground which *Jehovah* hath cursed." Not less evident is the bitter sense of weary and fruitless labour, mingled with better hopes for the future. We read that on the birth of a son "he called his name Noah, saying, This shall comfort us, for our work and labour of our hands, because of (or from) the ground which Jehovah hath cursed." Nothing can be more exquisitely true and natural than the way in which the old man's saddened heart turns fondly to his son. His own lot had been cast in evil times; "but this," he says, "shall comfort us." One hardly knows whether the sorrow or the hope predominates. Clearly there is an almost prophetic feeling in the name which he gives his son, and hence some Christian writers have seen in the language a prophecy of the Messiah, and have supposed that as Eve was mistaken on the birth of Cain, so Lamech in like manner was deceived in his hope of Noah. But there is no reason to infer from the language of the narrative that the hopes of either were of so definite a nature. The knowledge of a personal Deliverer was not vouchsafed till a much later period.

In the reason which Lamech gives for calling his son Noah, there is a play upon the name which it is impossible to preserve in English. He called his name Noah (נֹחַ, Noach, *rest*), saying, "this same

shall *comfort* us" (יְנַחֲמֵנוּ, yenachamênû). It is quite plain that the name "rest," and the verb "comfort," are of different roots; and we must not try to make a philologist of Lamech, and suppose that he was giving an accurate derivation of the name Noah. He merely plays upon the name, after a fashion common enough in all ages and countries.

Of Noah himself from this time we hear nothing more till he is 500 years old, when it is said he begat three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet.[a]

Very remarkable, however, is the glimpse which we get of the state of society in the ante-diluvian world. The narrative it is true is brief, and on many points obscure: a mystery hangs over it which we cannot penetrate. But some few facts are clear. The wickedness of the world is described as having reached a desperate pitch, owing it would seem in a great measure to the fusion of two races which had hitherto been distinct. And further the marked features of the wickedness of the age were lust and brutal outrage. "They took them wives of all which they chose;" and, "the earth was filled with violence." "The earth was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth." So far the picture is clear and vivid. But when we come to examine some of its details, we are left greatly at a loss. The narrative stands thus:

"And it came to pass when men (the Adam) began to multiply on the face of the ground and daughters were born unto them; then the sons of God (the Elohim) saw the daughters of men (the Adam) that they were fair, and they took to them wives of all that they chose. And Jehovah said, My spirit shall not for ever rule (or be humbled) in men, seeing that they are [or, in their error they are] but flesh, and their days shall be a hundred and twenty years. The Nephilim were in the earth in those days; and also afterwards when the sons of God (the Elohim) came in unto the daughters of men (the Adam), and children were born to them, these were the heroes which were of old, men of renown."

Here a number of perplexing questions present themselves: Who were the sons of God? Who the daughters of men? Who the Nephilim? What is the meaning of "My spirit shall not always rule, or dwell, or be humbled in men;" and of the words which follow, "But their days shall be an hundred and twenty years?"

We will briefly review the principal solutions which have been given of these difficulties.

a. Sons of God and daughters of men.

Three different interpretations have from very early times been given of this most singular passage.

1. The "sons of Elohim" were explained to mean sons of princes, or men of high rank (as in Ps. lxxii. 6, *b'nê 'Elyón*, sons of the Most High) who degraded themselves by contracting marriages with "the daughters of men." *i. e.* with women of inferior position. This interpretation was defended by Ps. xlix. 3, where "sons of men," *b'nê ádâm*, means "men of low degree," as opposed to *b'né ísh*, "men of high degree." Here, however, the opposition is with *b'nê ha-Elohim*, and not with *b'né ísh*, and therefore the passages are not parallel. This is the interpretation of the Targum of Onkelos, following the oldest Palestinian Kabbala, of the later Targum, and of the Samaritan Vers. So also Symmachus, Saadia, and the Arabic of Erpenius, Aben Ezra, and R. Sol. Isaaki. In recent times this view has been elaborated and put in the most favourable light by Schiller (*Werke*, x. 401, &c.); but it has been entirely abandoned by every modern commentator of any note.

2. A second interpretation, perhaps not less ancient, understands by the "sons of Elohim," angels. So some MSS. of the LXX., which according to Procopius and Augustine (*De Civit. Dei*, xv. 23), had the reading ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, whilst others had υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, the last having been generally preferred since Cyril and Augustine; so Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3; Philo *De Gigantibus* [perhaps Aquila, who has υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, of which however Jerome says, *Deos intelligens angelos sive sanctos*]; the Book of Enoch as quoted by Georgius Syncellus in his Chronographia, where they are termed οἱ ἐγρήγοροι, "the watchers" (as in Daniel); the Book of Jubilees (translated by Dillmann from the Ethiopic); the later Jewish Hagada, whence we have the story of the fall of Shamchazai and Azazel,[b] given by Jellinek in the *Midrash Abchir*; and most of the older Fathers of the Church, finding probably in their Greek MSS. ἄγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, as Justin, Tatian, Athenagoras, Clemens Alex., Tertullian, and Lactantius. This view, however, seemed in later times to be too monstrous to be entertained. R. Sim. b. Jochai anathematized it. Cyrill calls it ἀποπώτατον. Theodoret (*Quaest. in Gen.*) declares the maintainers of it to have lost their senses, ἐμβρόντητοι καὶ ἄγαν ἠλίθιοι; Philastrius numbers it among heresies, Chrysostom among blasphemies. Finally, Calvin says of it, "Vetus illud commentum de angelorum concubitu cum mulieribus sua absurditate abunde refellitur, ac mirum est doctos viros tam crassis et prodigiosis deliriis fuisse olim fascinatos." Notwithstanding all which, however, many modern German commentators very strenuously assert this view. They rest their argument in favour of it mainly on these two particulars; first, that "sons of God" is everywhere else in the O. T. a name of the angels; and next, that St. Jude seems to lend the sanction of his authority to this interpretation. With regard to the first of these reasons, it is not even certain that in all other passages of Scripture where "the sons of God" are mentioned angels are meant.

[a] In marked contrast with the simplicity and soberness of the Biblical narrative, is the wonderful story told of Noah's birth in the book of Enoch. Lamech's wife, it is said, "brought forth a child, the flesh of whose head white as snow, and red as a rose; the hair of whose head was white like wool, and long; and whose eyes were beautiful. When he opened them he illuminated all the house like the sun. And when he was taken from the hand of the midwife, opening also his mouth, he spoke to the Lord of righteousness." Lamech is terrified at the prodigy, and goes to his father Mathusala, and tells him that he has begotten a son who is unlike other children. On hearing the story, Mathusala proceeds, at Lamech's entreaty, to consult Enoch, "whose residence is with the angels." Enoch explains that, in the days of his father Jared, "those who were from heaven disregarded the word of the Lord . . . laid aside their class and intermingled with women;" that consequently a deluge was to be sent upon the earth, whereby it should be "washed from all corruption;" that Noah and his children should be saved; and that his posterity should beget on the earth giants, not spiritual, but carnal (Book of Enoch, ch. cv. p. 161-3).

[b] In Beresh. Rab. in Gen. vi. 2, this Azazel is declared to be the tutelary deity of women's ornaments and paint and is identified with the Azazel in Lev. xvi. 8.

It is not absolutely *necessary* so to understand the designation either in Ps. xxix. 1 or lxxxix. 6, or even in Job i., ii. In any of these passages it might mean holy men. Job xxxviii. 7, and Dan. iii. 25, are the only places in which it *certainly* means angels. The argument from St. Jude is of more force; for he does compare the sin of the angels to that of Sodom and Gomorrha (τούτοις in ver. 7 must refer to the angels mentioned in ver. 6), as if it were of a like unnatural kind. And that this was the meaning of St. Jude is rendered the more probable when we recollect his quotation from the Book of Enoch where the same view is taken. Further, that the angels had the power of assuming a corporeal form seems clear from many parts of the O. T. All that can be urged in support of this view has been said by Delitzsch in his *Die Genesis ausgelegt*, and by Kurtz, *Gesch. des Alten Bundes*, and his treatise, *Die Ehen der Söhne Gottes*. And it must be confessed that their arguments are not without weight. The early existence of such an interpretation seems at any rate to indicate a starting-point for the heathen mythologies. The fact, too, that from such an intercourse "the mighty men" were born, points in the same direction. The Greek "heroes" were sons of the gods; οὐκ οἶσθα says Plato in the Cratylus, ὅτι ἡμίθεοι οἱ ἥρωες; πάντες δήπου γεγόνασιν ἐρασθέντες ἢ θεὸς θνητῆς ἢ θνητοὶ θεᾶς. Even Hesiod's account of the birth of the giants, monstrous and fantastic as it is, bears tokens of having originated in the same belief. In like manner it may be remarked that the stories of *incubi* and *succubi*, so commonly believed in the middle ages, and which even Heidegger (*Hist. Sacr.* i. 289) does not discredit, had reference to a commerce between demons and mortals of the same kind as that narrated in Genesis.[c]

Two modern poets, Byron (in his drama of *Cain*) and Moore (in his *Loves of the Angels*), have availed themselves of this last interpretation for the purpose of their poems.

3. The interpretation, however, which is now most generally received, is that which understands by "the sons of the Elohim" the family and descendants of Seth, and by "the daughters of man (Adam)," the women of the family of Cain. So the Clementine Recognitions interpret "the sons of the Elohim" as Homines justi qui angelorum vixerant vitam. So Ephrem, and the Christian Adam-Book of the East: so also, Theodoret, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, Jerome, Augustine, and others; and in later times Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, and a whole host of recent commentators. They all suppose that whereas the two lines of descent from Adam—the family of Seth who preserved their faith in God, and the family of Cain who lived only for this world—had hitherto kept distinct, now a mingling of the two races took place which resulted in the thorough corruption of the former, who falling away, plunged into the deepest abyss of wickedness, and that it was this universal corruption which provoked the judgment of the Flood.

4. A fourth interpretation has recently been advanced and maintained with considerable ingenuity, by the author of the *Genesis of the Earth and Man*. He understands by "the sons of the Elohim" the "servants or worshippers of *false gods*" [taking Elohim to mean not God but gods], whom he supposes to have belonged to a distinct pre-Adamite race. "The daughters of men," he contends, should be rendered "the daughters of Adam, or the Adamites," women, that is, descended from Adam. These last had hitherto remained true in their faith and worship, but were now perverted by the idolaters who intermarried with them. But this hypothesis is opposed to the direct statements in the early chapters of Genesis, which plainly teach the descent of all mankind from one common source.

Whichever of these interpretations we adopt (the third perhaps is the most probable), one thing at least is clear, that the writer intends to describe a fusion of races hitherto distinct, and to connect with this two other facts; the one that the offspring of these mixed marriages were men remarkable for strength and prowess (which is only in accordance with what has often been observed since, viz., the superiority of the mixed race as compared with either of the parent stocks); the other, that the result of this intercourse was the thorough and hopeless corruption of both families alike.

b. But who were the Nephilim? It should be observed that they are not spoken of (as has sometimes been assumed), as the offspring of the "sons of the Elohim" and "the daughters of men." The sacred writer says, "the Nephilim were on the earth in those days," before he goes on to speak of the children of the mixed marriages. The name, which has been variously explained, only occurs once again in Num. xiii. 33, where the Nephilim are said to have been one of the Canaanitish tribes. They are there spoken of as "men of great stature," and hence probably the rendering γίγαντες of the LXX. and "the giants" of our A. V. But there is nothing in the word itself to justify this interpretation. If it is of Hebrew origin (which however may be doubted) it must mean either "fallen," *i. e.* apostate ones; or those who "fall upon" others, violent men, plunderers, freebooters, &c. It is of far more importance to observe that if the Nephilim of Canaan were descendants of the Nephilim in Gen. vi. 4, we have here a very strong argument for the non-universality of the Deluge.

c. In consequence of the grievous and hopeless wickedness of the world at this time, God resolves to destroy it. "My spirit," He says, "shall not always" "dwell" (LXX. Vulg. Saad.)—or "bear sway" In man—inasmuch as he is but flesh. The meaning of which seems to be that whilst God had put His Spirit in man, *i. e.* not only the breath of life, but a spiritual part capable of recognising, loving, and worshipping Him, man had so much sunk down into the lowest and most debasing of fleshly pleasures, as to have almost extinguished the higher light within him; as one of the Fathers says: *anima victa libidine fit caro*: the soul and spirit became transubstantiated into flesh. Then follows: "But his days shall be a hundred and twenty years," which has been interpreted by some to mean, that still a time of grace shall be given for repentance, viz., 120 years before the Flood shall come; and by others, that the duration of human life should in future be limited to this term of years, instead of extending over centuries as before. This last seems the most natural interpretation of the Hebrew words. Of Noah's life during this age of almost universal apostasy we are told but little. It is merely said, that he was a righteous man and perfect in his generations (*i. e.* amongst his contemporaries), and that he, like Enoch, walked with God. This last expressive phrase is used of none other but

[c] Thomas Aquin. (pars i. qu. 51, art. 3) argues that it was possible for angels to have children by mortal women.

these two only. To him God revealed His purpose to destroy the world, commanding him to prepare an ark for the saving of his house. And from that time till the day came for him to enter into the Ark, we can hardly doubt that he was engaged in active, but as it proved unavailing efforts to win those about him from their wickedness and unbelief. Hence St. Peter calls him "a preacher of righteousness." Besides this we are merely told that he had three sons, each of whom had married a wife; that he built the Ark in accordance with Divine direction; and that he was 600 years old when the Flood came.

Both about the Ark and the Flood so many questions have been raised, that we must consider each of these separately.

The Ark.—The precise meaning of the Hebrew word (תֵּבָה, *tēbâh*) is uncertain. The word only occurs here and in the second chapter of Exodus, where it is used of the little papyrus boat in which the mother of Moses entrusted her child to the Nile. In all probability it is to the old Egyptian that we are to look for its original form.

Bunsen, in his vocabulary,[d] gives *tba*, "a chest," *tpt*, "a boat," and in the Copt. Vers. of Exod. ii. 3, 5, ΘΗΒΙ, is the rendering of *tēbâh*. The LXX. employ two different words. In the narrative of the flood they use κιβωτός, and in that of Moses θῆκα, or according to some MSS. θηβή. The Book of Wisdom has σχεδία; Berosus and Nicol. Damasc. quoted in Josephus, πλοῖον and λάρναξ. The last is also found in Lucian, *De Deâ Syr.* c. 12. In the Sibylline Verses the ark is δουράτεον δῶμα, ὄκος and κιβωτός. The Targum and the Koran have each respectively given the Chaldee and the Arabic form of the Hebrew word.

This "chest," or "boat," was to be made of gopher (*i. e.* cypress) wood, a kind of timber which both for its lightness and its durability was employed by the Phoenicians for building their vessels. Alexander the Great, Arrian tells us (vii. 19), made use of it for the same purpose. The planks of the ark, after being put together, were to be protected by a coating of pitch, or rather bitumen (כֹּפֶר, LXX. ἄσφαλτος), which was to be laid on both inside and outside, as the most effectual means of making it water-tight, and perhaps also as a protection against the attacks of marine animals. Next to the material, the method of construction is described. The ark was to consist of a number of "nests" (קִנִּים), or small compartments, with a view no doubt to the convenient distribution of the different animals and their food. These were to be arranged in three tiers, one above another; "with lower, second, and third (stories) shalt thou make it." Means were also to be provided for letting light into the ark. In the A. V. we read, "A *window* shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above:"—words which it must be confessed convey no very intelligible idea. The original, however, is obscure, and has been differently interpreted. What the "window," or "light-hole" (צֹהַר, *tsôhar*) was, is very puzzling. It was to be at the top of the ark apparently. If the words "unto a cubit (אֶל־אַמָּה) shalt thou finish it *above*," refer to the window and not to the ark itself, they seem to imply that this aperture, or skylight, extended to the breadth of a cubit the whole length of the roof.[e] But if so, it could not have been merely an open slit, for that would have admitted the rain. Are we then to suppose that some transparent, or at least translucent, substance was employed? It would almost seem so.[f] A different word is used in chap. viii. 6, where it is said that Noah opened the window of the ark. There the word is חַלּוֹן (*challôn*), which frequently occurs elsewhere in the same sense. Certainly the story as there given does imply a transparent window as Saalschütz (*Archaeol.* i. 311) has remarked.[g] For Noah could watch the motions of the birds outside, whilst at the same time he had to open the window in order to take them in. Supposing then the *tsôhar* to be, as we have said, a skylight, or series of skylights running the whole length of the ark (and the fem. form of the noun inclines one to regard it as a collective noun), the *challôn*[h] might very well be a single compartment of the larger window, which could be opened at will. But besides the window there was to be a door. This was to be placed in the side of the ark. "The door must have been of some size to admit the larger animals, for whose ingress it was mainly intended. It was no doubt above the highest draught mark of the ark, and the animals ascended to it probably by a sloping embankment. A door

[d] *Egypt's Place*, &c., i. 482.

[e] Knobel's explanation is different. By the words, "to a cubit (or within a cubit) shalt thou finish it above," he understands that, the window being in the side of the ark, a space of a cubit was to be left between the top of the window and the overhanging roof of the ark which Noah removed after the flood had abated (viii. 13). There is however no reason to conclude, as he does, that there was only one light. The great objection to supposing that the window was in the side of the ark, is that then a great part of the interior must have been left in darkness. And again we are told (viii. 13), that when the Flood abated Noah removed the covering of the ark, to look about him to see if the earth were dry. This would have been unnecessary if the window had been in the side. "Unto a cubit shalt thou finish it above" can hardly mean, as some have supposed, that the roof of the ark was to have this pitch; for, considering that the ark was to be 50 cubits in breadth, a roof of a cubit's pitch would have been almost flat.

[f] Symm. renders the word διαφανές. Theodoret has merely λίθος; Gr. Venet. φωταγωγόν; Vulg. *fenestram*. The LXX. translate, strangely enough, ἐπισυνάγων ποιήσεις τὸν κιβωτόν. The root of the word indicates that the *tsôhar* was something *shining*. Hence probably the Talmudic explanation, that God told Noah to fix precious stones in the ark, that they might give as much light as midday (Sanh. 108 *b*).

[g] The only serious objection to this explanation is the supposed improbability of any substance like glass having been discovered at that early period of the world's history. But we must not forget that even according to the Hebrew chronology the world had been in existence 1656 years at the time of the Flood, and according to the LXX., which is the more probable, 2262. Vast strides must have been made in knowledge and civilization in such a lapse of time. Arts and sciences may have reached a ripeness, of which the record, from its scantiness, conveys no adequate conception. The destruction caused by the Flood must have obliterated a thousand discoveries, and left men to recover again by slow and patient steps the ground they had lost.

[h] A different word from either of these is used in vii. 11 of the windows of heaven, אֲרֻבֹּת, *'ărubbôth* (from אָרַב, "to interweave") lit. "net works" or "gratings" (Ges. *Thes.* in v.)

in the side is not more difficult to understand than the port holes in the sides of our vessels."[i]

Of the shape of the ark nothing is said; but its dimensions are given. It was to be 300 cubits in length, 50 in breadth, and 30 in height. Supposing the cubit here to be the cubit of natural measurement, reckoning from the elbow to the top of the middle finger, we may get a rough approximation as to the size of the ark. The cubit, so measured (called in Deut. iii. 11, "the cubit of a man"), must of course, at first, like all natural measurements, have been inexact and fluctuating. In later times no doubt the Jews had a standard common cubit, as well as the royal cubit and sacred cubit. We shall probably, however, be near enough to the mark if we take the cubit here to be the common cubit, which was reckoned (according to Mich., Jahn, Gesen. and others) as equal to six hand-breadths, the hand-breadth being 3⅓ inches. This therefore gives 21 inches for the cubit.[k] Accordingly the ark would be 525 feet in length, 87 feet 6 inches in breadth, and 52 feet 6 inches in height. This is very considerably larger than the largest British man-of-war. The Great Eastern, however, is both longer and deeper than the ark, being 680 feet in length (691 on deck), 83 in breadth, and 58 in depth. Solomon's Temple, the proportions of which are given 1 K. vi. 2, was the same height as the ark, but only one-fifth of the length, and less than half the width.

It should be remembered that this huge structure was only intended to float on the water, and was not in the proper sense of the word a ship. It had neither mast, sail, nor rudder; it was in fact nothing but an enormous floating house, or oblong box rather, "as it is very likely," says Sir W. Raleigh, "that the ark had *fundum planum*, a *flat bottom*, and not raysed in form of a ship, with a sharpness forward, to cut the waves for the better speed." The figure which is commonly given to it by painters, there can be no doubt is wrong. Two objects only were aimed at in its construction: the one was that it should have ample stowage, and the other that it should be able to keep steady upon the water. It was never intended to be carried to any great distance from the place where it was originally built. A curious proof of the suitability of the ark for the purpose for which it was intended was given by a Dutch merchant, Peter Jansen, the Mennonite, who in the year 1604 had a ship built at Hoorn of the same proportions (though of course not of the same size) as Noah's ark. It was 120 feet long, 20 broad, and 12 deep. This vessel, unsuitable as it was for quick voyages, was found remarkably well adapted for freightage.[l] It was calculated that it would hold a third more lading than other vessels without requiring more hands to work it. A similar experiment is also said to have been made in Denmark, where, according to Reyher, several vessels called "fleuten" or floats were built after the model of the ark.

After having given Noah the necessary instructions for the building of the ark, God tells him the purpose for which it was designed. Now for the first time we hear how the threatened destruction was to be accomplished, as well as the provision which was to be made for the repeopling of the earth with its various tribes of animals. The earth is to be destroyed by water. "And I, behold I do bring the flood (הַמַּבּוּל)—waters upon the earth—to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life ... but I will establish my covenant with thee, &c." (vi. 17, 18). The inmates of the ark are then specified. They are to be Noah and his wife, and his three sons with their wives:—whence it is plain that he and his family had not yielded to the prevailing custom of polygamy. Noah is also to take a pair of each kind of animal into the ark with him that he may preserve them alive; birds, domestic animals (בְּהֵמָה),[m] and creeping things are particularly mentioned. He is to provide for the wants of each of these stores "of every kind of food that is eaten." It is added, "Thus did Noah; according to all that God (Elohim) commanded him, so did he."

A remarkable addition to these directions occurs in the following chapter. The pairs of animals are now limited to one of *unclean* animals, whilst of *clean* animals and birds (ver. 2), Noah is to take to him seven pairs (or as others think, seven individuals, that is three pairs and one supernumerary male for sacrifice).[n] How is this addition to be accounted for? May we not suppose that we have here traces of a separate document interwoven by a later writer with the former history? The passage indeed has not, to all appearance, been incorporated intact, but there is a colouring about it which seems to indicate that Moses, or whoever put the Book of Genesis into its present shape, had here consulted a different narrative. The distinct use of the Divine names in the same phrase, vi. 22, and vii. 5—in the former Elohim, in the latter Jehovah—suggests

[i] Kitto, *Bible Illustrations, Antediluvians*, &c., p. 142. The Jewish notion was that the ark was entered by means of a ladder. On the steps of this ladder, the story goes, Og, king of Bashan, was sitting when the Flood came; and on his pledging himself to Noah and his sons to be their slave for ever, he was suffered to remain there, and Noah gave him his food each day out of a hole in the ark (Pirk. R. Eliezer).

[k] See Winer, *Realw.* "Elle." Sir Walter Raleigh, in his *History of the World*, reckons the cubit at 18 inches. Dr. Kitto calls this a safe way of estimating the cubit in Scripture, but gives it himself as = 21·888 inches. For this inconsistency he is taken to task by Hugh Miller, who adopts the measurement of Sir W. Raleigh.

[l] Augustine (*De Civ. D.* lib. xv.) long ago discovered another excellence in the proportions of the ark; and that is, that they were the same as the proportions of the perfect human figure, the length of which from the sole to the crown is six times the width across the chest, and ten times the depth of the recumbent figure measured in a right line from the ground.

[m] Only tame animals of the larger kinds are expressly mentioned (vi. 20); and if we could be sure that none others were taken, the difficulties connected with the necessary provision, stowage, &c., would be materially lessened. It may, however, be urged that in the first instance "every living thing of all flesh" (vi. 19) was to come into the ark, and that afterwards (vii. 14) "every living thing" is spoken of not as *including*, but as distinct from the tame cattle, and that consequently the inference is that wild animals were meant.

[n] Calv., Ges., Tuch, Baumg., and Delitzsch, understand seven individuals of each species. Del. argues that if we take שִׁבְעָה here to mean seven pairs, we must also take the שְׁנַיִם before to mean two pairs (and Origen does so take it, *cont. Cels.* iv. 41). But without arguing with Knobel, that the repetition of the numeral in this case, and not in the other, *may perhaps* be designed to denote that here pairs are to be understood, at any rate the addition "male and his female" renders this the more probable interpretation.

that this may have been the case.[o] It does not follow, however, from the mention of clean and unclean animals that this section reflects a Levitical or post-Mosaic mind and handling. There were sacrifices before Moses, and why may there not have been a distinction of clean and unclean animals? It may be true of many other things besides circumcision; Moses gave it you, not because it was of Moses, but because it was of the fathers.

Are we then to understand that Noah literally conveyed a pair of all the animals of the world into the ark? This question virtually contains in it another, viz., whether the deluge was universal, or only partial? If it was only partial, then of course it was necessary to find room but for a comparatively small number of animals; and the dimensions of the ark are ample enough for the required purpose. The argument on this point has already been so well stated by Hugh Miller in his Testimony of the Rocks, that we need do little more than give an abstract of it here. After saying that it had for ages been a sort of stock problem to determine whether all the animals in the world by sevens, and by pairs, with food sufficient to serve them for a twelvemonth could have been accommodated in the given space, he quotes Sir W. Raleigh's calculation on the subject.[p] Sir Walter proposed to allow "for eighty-nine distinct species of beasts, or lest any should be omitted, for a hundred several kinds." He then by a curious sort of estimate, in which he considers "one elephant as equal to four beeves, one lion to two wolves," and so on, reckons that the space occupied by the different animals would be equivalent to the spaces required for 91 (or say 120) beeves, four score sheep, and three score and four wolves. "All these two hundred and eighty beasts[q] might be kept in one storey, or room of the ark, in their several cabins; their meat in a second; the birds and their provision in a third, with space to spare for Noah and his family, and all their necessaries." "Such," says Hugh Miller, "was the calculation of the great voyager Raleigh, a man who had a more practical acquaintance with *stowage* than perhaps any of the other writers who have speculated on the capabilities of the ark, and his estimate seems sober and judicious." He then goes on to show how enormously these limits are exceeded by our present knowledge of the extent of the animal kingdom. Buffon doubled Raleigh's number of distinct species. During the last thirty years so astonishing has been the progress of discovery, that of mammals alone there have been ascertained to exist more than eight times the number which Buffon gives. In the first edition of Johnston's *Physical Atlas* (1848), one thousand six hundred and twenty-six different species of mammals are enumerated; and in the second edition (1856), one thousand six hundred and fifty-eight species. To these we must add the six thousand two hundred and sixty-six birds of Lesson, and the six hundred and fifty-seven or (subtracting the sea-snakes, and perhaps the turtles), the six hundred and forty-two reptiles of Charles Bonaparte.

Take the case of the *clean* animals alone, of which there were to be seven introduced into the ark. Admitting, for argument sake, that only seven individuals, and not seven pairs, were introduced, the number of these alone, as now known, is sufficient to settle the question. Mr. Waterhouse, in the year 1856, estimated the oxen at twenty species: the sheep at twenty-seven species; the goats at twenty; and the deer at fifty-one. "In short, if, excluding the lamas and the musks as doubtfully *clean*, tried by the Mosaic test, we but add to the sheep, goats, deer, and cattle the forty-eight species of unequivocally *clean* antelopes, and multiply the whole by seven, we shall have as the result a sum total of one thousand one hundred and sixty-two individuals, a number more than four times greater than that for which Raleigh made provision in the ark." It would be curious to ascertain what number of animals could possibly be stowed, together with sufficient food to last for a twelvemonth, on board the Great Eastern.

But it is not only the inadequate size of the ark to contain all, or anything like all, the progenitors of our existing species of animals, which is conclusive against a universal deluge. Another fact points with still greater force, if possible, in the same direction, and that is the manner in which we now find these animals distributed over the earth's surface. "Linnaeus held, early in the last century, that all creatures which now inhabit the globe had proceeded originally from some such common centre as the ark might have furnished; but no zoologist acquainted with the distribution of species can acquiesce in any such conclusion now. We now know that every great continent has its own peculiar fauna; that the original centres of distribution must have been not one, but many; further that the areas or circles around these centres must have been occupied by their pristine animals in ages long anterior to that of the Noachian Deluge; nay that in even the latter geologic ages they were preceded in them by animals of the same general type." Thus, for instance, the animals of S. America, when the Spaniards first penetrated into it, were found to be totally distinct from those of Europe, Asia, or Africa. The puma, the jaguar, the tapir, the lama, the sloths, the armadilloes, the opossums, were animals which had never been seen elsewhere. So again Australia has a whole class of animals, the marsupials, quite unknown to other parts of the world. The various species of kangaroo, phascolomys, dasyurus, and perameles, the flying phalangers, and other no less singular creatures, were the astonishment of naturalists when this continent was first discovered. New Zealand likewise, "though singularly devoid of indigenous mammals and reptiles . . . has a scarcely less remarkable fauna than either of these great continents. It consists almost exclusively of birds, some

[o] It is remarkable, moreover, that whilst in ver. 2 it is said, "Of *every clean beast* thou shalt take to thee by sevens," in vers. 8, 9, it is said, "Of *clean beasts*, and of beasts that are not clean," &c., "there went in *two and two* unto Noah into the ark." This again looks like a combination from different sources.

[p] The earliest statement on the subject I have met with is in the Pirke R. Eliezer, where it is said that Noah took 12 kinds of birds, and 365 species of beasts, with him into the ark.

[q] Heidegger in like manner (*Hist. Sacr.* i. p. 518) thinks he is very liberal in allowing 300 kinds of animals to have been taken into the ark, and considers that this would give 50 cubits of solid contents for each kind of animal. He then subjoins the far more elaborate and really very curious computation of Joh. Temerarius in his *Chronol. Demonstr.*, who reckons after Sir W. Raleigh's fashion, but enumerates all the different species of known animals (amongst which he mentions Pegasi, Sphinxes, and Satyrs), the kind and quantity of provision, the method of stowage, &c. See Heidegger, as above, pp. 506, 7, and 518-21.

of them so ill provided with wings that, like the *wika* of the natives, they can only run along the ground." And what is very remarkable, this law with regard to the distribution of animals does not date merely from the human period. We find the gigantic forms of those different species which during the later tertiary epochs preceded or accompanied the existing forms, occupying precisely the same habitats. In S. America, for instance, there lived then, side by side, the gigantic sloth (megatherium) to be seen in the British Museum, and the smaller animal of the same species which has survived the extinction of the larger. Australia in like manner had then its gigantic marsupials, the very counterpart in everything but in size of the existing species. And not only are the same mammals found in the same localities, but they are surrounded in every respect by the same circumstances, and exist in company with the same birds, the same insects, the same plants. In fact so stable is this law that, although prior to the pleistocene period we find a different distribution of animals, we still find each separate locality distinguished by its own species both of fauna and of flora, and we find these grouped together in the same manner as in the later periods. It is quite plain, then, that if all the animals of the world were literally gathered together in the ark and so saved from the waters of a universal deluge, this could only have been effected (even supposing there was space for them in the ark) by a most stupendous miracle. The sloth and the armadillo must have been brought across oceans and continents from their South American home, the kangaroo from his Australian forests and prairies, and the polar bear from his icebergs, to that part of Armenia, or the Euphrates valley, where the ark was built. These and all the other animals must have been brought in perfect subjection to Noah, and many of them must have been taught to forget their native ferocity in order to prevent their attacking one another. They must then further, having been brought by supernatural means from the regions which they occupied, have likewise been carried back to the same spots by supernatural means, care having moreover been taken that no trace of their passage to and fro should be left.

But the narrative does not compel us to adopt so tremendous an hypothesis. We shall see more clearly when we come to consider the language used with regard to the Flood itself, that even that language, strong as it undoubtedly is, does not oblige us to suppose that the Deluge was universal. But neither does the language employed with regard to the animals lead to this conclusion. It is true that Noah is told to take two "of every living thing of all flesh," but that could only mean two of every animal *then known* to him, unless we suppose him to have had supernatural information in zoology imparted—a thing quite incredible. In fact, but for some misconceptions as to the meaning of certain expressions, no one would ever have suspected that Noah's knowledge, or the knowledge of the writer of the narrative, could have extended beyond a very limited portion of the globe.

Again, how were the carnivorous animals supplied with food during their twelve months' abode in the ark? This would have been difficult even for the very limited number of wild animals in Noah's immediate neighbourhood. For the very large numbers which the theory of a universal Deluge supposes, it would have been quite impossible, unless again we have recourse to miracle, and either maintain that they were miraculously supplied with food, or that for the time being the nature of their teeth and stomach was changed, so that they were able to live on vegetables. But these hypotheses are so extravagant, and so utterly unsupported by the narrative itself, that they may be safely dismissed without further comment.

The Flood.—The ark was finished, and all its living freight was gathered into it as in a place of safety. Jehovah shut him in, says the chronicler speaking of Noah. And then there ensued a solemn pause of seven days before the threatened destruction was let loose. At last the Flood came; the waters were upon the earth. The narrative is vivid and forcible, though entirely wanting in that sort of description which in a modern historian or poet would have occupied the largest space. We see nothing of the death-struggle; we hear not the cry of despair; we are not called upon to witness the frantic agony of husband and wife, and parent and child, as they fled in terror before the rising waters. Nor is a word said of the sadness of the one righteous man who, safe himself, looked upon the destruction which he could not avert. But one impression is left upon the mind with peculiar vividness, from the very simplicity of the narrative, and it is that of utter desolation. This is heightened by the contrast and repetition of two ideas. On the one hand we are reminded no less than six times in the narrative in chaps. vi., vii., viii., who the tenants of the ark were (vi. 18-21, vii. 1-3, 7-9, 13-16, viii. 16, 17, 18, 19), the favoured and rescued few; and on the other hand the total and absolute blotting out of everything else is not less emphatically dwelt upon (vi. 13, 17, vii. 4, 21-23). This evidently designed contrast may especially be traced in chap. vii. First, we read in ver. 6, "And Noah was six hundred years old when the flood came,—waters upon the earth." Then follows an account of Noah and his family and the animals entering into the ark. Next verses 10-12 resume the subject of ver. 7: "And it came to pass after seven days that the waters of the flood were upon the earth. In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, in the second month, on the seventeenth day of the month, on the selfsame day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows (or floodgates) of heaven were opened. And the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights." Again the narrative returns to Noah and his companions and their safety in the ark (ver. 13-16). And then in ver. 17 the words of ver. 12 are resumed, and from thence to the end of the chapter a very simple but very powerful and impressive description is given of the appalling catastrophe: "And the flood was forty days upon the earth; and the waters increased and bare up the ark, and it was lift up from off the earth. And the waters prevailed and increased exceedingly upon the earth: and the ark went on the face of the waters. And the waters prevailed very exceedingly upon the earth, and all the high mountains which [were] under the whole heaven were covered. Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail, and the mountains were covered. And all flesh died which moveth upon the earth, of fowl, and of cattle, and of wild beasts, and of every creeping thing which creepeth upon the earth, and every man. All in whose nostrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every sub-

stance which was on the face of the ground was blotted out, as well man as cattle and creeping thing and fowl of the heaven: they were blotted out from the earth, and Noah only was left, and they that were with him in the ark. And the waters prevailed on the earth a hundred and fifty days."

The waters of the Flood increased for a period of 190 days (40+150, comparing vii. 12 and 24). And then "God remembered Noah," and made a wind to pass over the earth, so that the waters were assuaged. The ark rested on the seventeenth day of the seventh month[r] on the mountains of Ararat. After this the waters gradually decreased till the first day of the tenth month, when the tops of the mountains were seen. It was then that Noah sent forth, first, the raven,[s] which flew hither and thither, resting probably on the mountain-tops, but not returning to the ark; and next, after an interval of seven days (cf. ver. 10), the dove, "to see if the waters were abated from the ground" (*i. e.* the lower plain country). "But the dove," it is beautifully said, "found no rest for the sole of her foot, and she returned unto him into the ark." After waiting for another seven days he again sent forth the dove, which returned this time with a fresh (טרף) olive-leaf in her mouth, a sign that the waters were still lower.[t] And once more, after another interval of seven days, he sent forth the dove, and she "returned not again unto him any more," having found a home for herself upon the earth. No picture in natural history was ever drawn with more exquisite beauty and fidelity than this: it is admirable alike for its poetry and its truth.

On reading this narrative it is difficult, it must be confessed, to reconcile the language employed with the hypothesis of a partial deluge. The difficulty does not lie in the largeness of most of the terms used, but rather in the precision of one single expression. It is natural to suppose that the writer, when he speaks of "all flesh," "all in whose nostrils was the breath of life," refers only to his own locality. This sort of language is common enough in the Bible when only a small part of the globe is intended. Thus, for instance, it is said that "*all countries* came into Egypt to Joseph to buy corn;" and that "a decree went out from Caesar Augustus that *all the world* should be taxed." In these and many similar passages the expressions of the writer are obviously not to be taken in an exactly literal sense. Even the apparently very distinct phrase "*all* the high hills that were *under the whole heaven* were covered" may be matched by another precisely similar, where it is said that God would put the fear and the dread of Israel upon *every nation under heaven*. It requires no effort to see that such language is framed with a kind of poetic breadth. The real difficulty lies in the connecting of this statement with the district in which Noah is supposed to have lived, and the assertion that the waters prevailed fifteen cubits upward. If the Ararat on which the ark rested be the present mountain of the same name, the highest peak of which is more than 17,000 feet above the sea [ARARAT], it would have been quite impossible for this to have been covered, the water reaching 15 cubits, *i. e.* 26 feet above it, unless the whole earth were submerged. The author of the *Genesis of the Earth*, &c., has endeavoured to escape this difficulty by shifting the scene of the catastrophe to the low country on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates (a miraculous overflow of these rivers being sufficient to account for the Deluge), and supposing that the "fifteen cubits upward" are to be reckoned, not from the top of the mountains, but from the surface of the plain. By "the high hills" he thinks may be meant only slight elevations, called "high" because they were the highest parts overflowed. But fifteen cubits is only a little more than twenty-six feet, and it seems absurd to suppose that such trifling elevations are described as "all the high hills under the whole heaven." At this rate the ark itself must have been twice the height of the highest mountain. The plain meaning of the narrative is, that far as the eye could sweep, not a solitary mountain reared its head above the waste of waters. On the other hand, there is no necessity for assuming that the ark stranded on the high peaks of the mountain now called Ararat, or even that that mountain was visible. A lower mountain-range, such as the Zagros range for instance, may be intended. And in the absence of all geographical certainty in the matter it is better to adopt some such explanation of the difficulty. Indeed it is out of the question to imagine that the ark rested on the top of a mountain which is covered for 4000 feet from the summit with perpetual snow, and the descent from which would have been a very serious matter both to men and other animals. The local tradition, according to which fragments of the ark are still believed to remain on the summit, can weigh nothing when balanced against so extreme an improbability. Assuming, then, that the Ararat here mentioned is not the mountain of that name in Armenia, we may also assume the inundation to have been partial, and may suppose it to have extended over the whole valley of the Euphrates, and eastward as far as the range of mountains running down to the Persian gulf, or further. As the inundation is said to have been caused by the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep, as well as by the rain, some great and sudden subsidence of the land may have taken place, accompanied by an inrush of the waters of the Persian gulf, similar to what occurred in the Runn of Cutch, on the eastern arm of the Indus, in 1819, when the sea flowed in, and in a few hours converted a tract of land, 2000 square miles in area, into an inland sea or lagoon (see the account of this subsidence of the Delta of the Indus in Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, pp. 460-3).

It has sometimes been asserted that the facts of

[r] It is impossible to say how this reckoning of time was made, and whether a lunar or a solar year is meant. Much ingenuity has been expended on this question (see Delitzsch's *Comment.*), but with no satisfactory results.

[s] The raven was supposed to foretell changes in the weather both by its flight and its cry (Aelian, *H. A.* vii. 7; Virg. *Georg.* i. 382, 410). According to Jewish tradition, the raven was preserved in the ark in order to be the progenitor of the birds which afterwards fed Elijah by the brook Cherith.

[t] The olive-tree is an evergreen, and seems to have the power of living under water, according to Theophrastus (*Hist. plant.* iv. 8) and Pliny (*H. N.* xiii. 50), who mention olive-trees in the Red Sea. The olive grows in Armenia, but only in the valleys on the south side of Ararat, not on the slopes of the mountain. It will not flourish at an elevation where even the mulberry, walnut, and apricot are found (Ritter, *Erdkunde* x. 920).

geology are conclusive against the possibility of a universal deluge. Formerly, indeed, the existence of shells and corals at the top of high mountains was taken to be no less conclusive evidence the other way. They were constantly appealed to as a proof of the literal truth of the Scripture narrative. And so troublesome and inconvenient a proof did it seem to Voltaire, that he attempted to account for the existence of fossil shells by arguing that either they were those of fresh-water lakes and rivers evaporated during dry seasons, or of land-snails developed in unusual abundance during wet ones; or that they were shells that had been dropped from the hats of pilgrims on their way from the Holy Land to their own homes; or in the case of the ammonites, that they were petrified reptiles. It speaks ill for the state of science that such arguments could be advanced, on the one side for, and on the other against, the universality of the Deluge. And this is the more extraordinary—and the fact shows how very slowly, where prejudices stand in the way, the soundest reasoning will be listened to—when we remember that so early as the year 1517 an Italian named Fracastoro had demonstrated the untenableness of the vulgar belief which associated these fossil remains with the Mosaic Deluge. "That inundation," he observed, "was too transient; it consisted principally of fluviatile waters; and if it had transported shells to great distances, must have strewed them over the surface, not buried them at vast depths in the interior of mountains. . . . But the clear and philosophical views of Fracastoro were disregarded, and the talent and argumentative powers of the learned were doomed for three centuries to be wasted in the discussion of these two simple and preliminary questions: first, whether fossil remains had ever belonged to living creatures; and secondly, whether, if this be admitted, all the phenomena could not be explained by the deluge of Noah" (Lyell, *Principles of Geology*, p. 20, 9th ed.). Even within the last thirty years geologists like Cuvier and Buckland have thought that the *superficial deposits* might be referred to the period of the Noachian Flood. Subsequent investigation, however, showed that if the received chronology were even approximately correct, this was out of the question, as these deposits must have taken place thousands of years before the time of Noah, and indeed before the creation of man. Hence the geologic diluvium is to be carefully distinguished from the historic. And although, singularly enough, the latest discoveries give some support to the opinion that man may have been in existence during the formation of the drift,* yet even then that formation could not have resulted from a mere temporary submersion like that of the Mosaic Deluge, but must have been the effect of causes in operation for ages. So far then, it is clear, there is no evidence now on the earth's surface in favour of a universal deluge.

But is there any positive geological evidence against it? Hugh Miller and other geologists have maintained that there is. They appeal to the fact that in various parts of the world, such as Auvergne in France, and along the flanks of Aetna, there are cones of loose scorine and ashes belonging to long extinct volcanoes, which must be at least triple the antiquity of the Noachian Deluge, and which yet exhibit no traces of abrasion by the action of water. These loose cones, they argue, must have been swept away had the water of the Deluge ever reached them. But this argument is by no means conclusive. The heaps of scoriae are, we have been assured by careful scientific observers, not of that loose incoherent kind which they suppose. And it would have been quite possible for a gradually advancing inundation to have submerged these, and then gradually to have retired without leaving any mark of its action. Indeed, although there is no proof that the whole world ever was submerged at one time, and although, arguing from the observed facts of the geological cataclysms, we should be disposed to regard such an event as in the highest degree improbable, it cannot, on geological grounds alone, be pronounced impossible. The water of the globe is to the land in the proportion of three-fifths to two-fifths. There already existed therefore, in the different seas and lakes, water sufficient to cover the whole earth. And the whole earth might have been submerged for a twelvemonth, as stated in Genesis, or even for a much longer period, without any trace of such submersion being now discernible.

There is, however, other evidence conclusive against the hypothesis of a universal deluge, miracle apart. "The first effect of the covering of the whole globe with water would be a complete change in its climate, the general tendency being to lower and equalize the temperature of all parts of its surface. *Pari passu* with this process . . . would ensue the destruction of the great majority of marine animals. And this would take place, partly by reason of the entire change in climatal conditions, too sudden and general to be escaped by migration; and, in still greater measure, in consequence of the sudden change in the depth of the water. Great multitudes of marine animals can only live between tide-marks, or at depths less than fifty fathoms; and as by the hypothesis the land had to be depressed many thousands of feet in a few months, and to be raised again with equal celerity, it follows that the animals could not possibly have accommodated themselves to such vast and rapid changes. All the littoral animals, therefore, would have been killed. The race of acorn-shells and periwinkles would have been exterminated, and all the coral-reefs of the Pacific would at once have been converted into dead coral, never to grow again. But so far is this from being the case, that acorn-shells, periwinkles, and coral still survive, and there is good evidence that they have continued to exist and flourish for many thousands of years. On the other hand Noah was not directed to take marine animals of any kind into the ark, nor indeed is it easy to see how they could have been preserved.

"Again, had the whole globe been submerged the sea-water covering the land would at once have destroyed every fresh-water fish, mollusk, and worm; and as none of these were taken into the ark, the several species would have become extinct. Nothing of the kind has occurred.

"Lastly, such experiments as have been made with regard to the action of sea-water upon terrestrial plants leave very little doubt that submergence in sea-water for ten or eleven months

* In a valuable paper by Mr. Joseph Prestwich (recently published in the *Philosophical Transactions*), it is suggested that in all probability the origin of man will have to be thrown back into a greatly earlier antiquity than that usually assigned to it, but the pleistocene deposits to be brought down to a much more recent period, geologically speaking, than geologists have hitherto allowed.

would have effectually destroyed not only the great majority of the plants, but their seeds as well. And yet it is not said that Noah took any stock of plants with him into the ark, or that the animals which issued from it had the slightest difficulty in obtaining pasture.

"There are, then, it must be confessed, very strong grounds for believing that no universal deluge ever occurred. Suppose the Flood, on the other hand, to have been local: suppose, for instance, the valley of the Euphrates to have been submerged; and then the necessity for preserving all the species of animals disappears. For, in the first place, there was nothing to prevent the birds and many of the large mammals from getting away; and in the next, the number of species peculiar to that geographical area, and which would be absolutely destroyed by its being flooded, supposing they could not escape, is insignificant."

All these considerations point with overwhelming force in the same direction, and compel us to believe, unless we suppose that a stupendous miracle was wrought, that the Flood of Noah (like other deluges of which we read) extended only over a limited area of the globe.

It now only remains to notice the later allusions to the catastrophe occurring in the Bible, and the traditions of it preserved in other nations besides the Jewish.

The word specially used to designate the Flood of Noah (הַמַּבּוּל, *hammabbûl*) occurs in only one other passage of Scripture, Ps. xxix. 10. The poet there sings of the Majesty of God as seen in the storm. It is not improbable that the heavy rain accompanying the thunder and lightning had been such as to swell the torrents, and perhaps cause a partial inundation. This carried back his thoughts to the Great Flood of which he had often read, and he sang, "Jehovah sat as king at the Flood," and looking up at the clear face of the sky, and on the freshness and glory of nature around him, he added, "and Jehovah remaineth a king for ever." In Is. liv. 9, the Flood is spoken of as "the waters of Noah." God Himself appeals to His promise made after the Flood as a pledge of His faithfulness to Israel: "For this is as the waters of Noah unto Me: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth; so have I sworn that I would not be wroth with thee nor rebuke thee."

In the N. T. our Lord gives the sanction of His own authority to the historical truth of the narrative, Matt. xxiv. 37 (cf. Luke xvii. 26), declaring that the state of the world at His Second Coming shall be such as it was in the days of Noah. St. Peter speaks of the "long suffering of God," which "waited in the days of Noah while the ark was a preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water," and sees in the waters of the Flood by which the ark was borne up a type of Baptism, by which the Church is separated from the world. And again, in his Second Epistle (ii. 5) he cites it as an instance of the righteous judgment of God who spared not the old world, &c.

The traditions of many nations have preserved the memory of a great and destructive flood from which but a small part of mankind escaped. It is not always very clear whether they point back to a common centre, whence they were carried by the different families of men as they wandered east and west, or whether they were of national growth, and embody merely records of catastrophes, such as especially in mountainous countries are of no rare occurrence. In some instances no doubt the resemblances between the heathen and the Jewish stories are so striking as to render it morally certain that the former were borrowed from the latter. We find, indeed, a mythological element, the absence of all moral purpose, and a national and local colouring, but, discernible amongst these, undoubted features of the primitive history. The traditions which come nearest to the Biblical account are those of the nations of Western Asia. Foremost amongst these is the Chaldean. It is preserved in a Fragment of Berosus, and is as follows: "After the death of Ardates, his son Xisuthrus reigned eighteen sari. In his time happened a great Deluge: the history of which is thus described. The Deity Kronos appeared to him in a vision, and warned him that on the 15th day of the month Daesius there would be a flood by which mankind would be destroyed. He therefore enjoined him to write a history of the beginning, course, and end of all things; and to bury it in the City of the Sun at Sippara; and to build a vessel (σκάφος) and to take with him into it his friends and relations; and to put on board food and drink, together with different animals, birds, and quadrupeds; and as soon as he had made all arrangements, to commit himself to the deep. Having asked the Deity whither he was to sail? he was answered, 'To the gods, after having offered a prayer for the good of mankind.' Whereupon, not being disobedient (to the heavenly vision), he built a vessel five stadia in length, and two in breadth. Into this he put everything which he had prepared, and embarked in it his wife, his children, and his personal friends. After the flood had been upon the earth and was in time abated, Xisuthrus sent out some birds from the vessel, which not finding any food, nor any place where they could rest, returned thither. After an interval of some days Xisuthrus sent out the birds a second time, and now they returned to the ship with mud on their feet. A third time he repeated the experiment and then they returned no more: whence Xisuthrus judged that the earth was visible above the waters; and accordingly he made an opening in the vessel (?), and seeing that it was stranded upon the site of a certain mountain, he quitted it with his wife and daughter, and the pilot. Having then paid his adoration to the earth, and having built an altar and offered sacrifices to the gods, he, together with those who had left the vessel with him, disappeared. Those who had remained behind, when they found that Xisuthrus and his companions did not return, in their turn left the vessel and began to look for him, calling him by his name. Him they saw no more, but a voice came to them from heaven, bidding them lead pious lives, and so join him who was gone to live with the gods; and further informing them that his wife, his daughter, and the pilot had shared the same honour. It told them, moreover, that they should return to Babylon, and how it was ordained that they should take up the writings that had been buried in Sippara and impart them to mankind, and that the country where they then were was the land of Armenia. The rest having heard these words, offered sacrifices to the gods, and taking a circuit journeyed to Babylon. The vessel being thus stranded in Armenia, some part of it still remains in the mountains of the Corcyraeans (or Cordyaeans, *i. e.* the Kurds or Kurdistan) in Armenia;

and the people scrape off the bitumen from the vessel and make use of it by way of charms. Now, when those of whom we have spoken returned to Babylon, they dug up the writings which had been buried at Sippara; they also founded many cities and built temples, and thus the country of Babylon became inhabited again" (Cory's *Ancient Fragments*,[x] pp. 26-29). Another version abridged, but substantially the same, is given from Abydenus (*Ibid.* pp. 33, 34). The version of Eupolemus (quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* x. 9) is curious: "The city of Babylon," he says, "owes its foundation to those who were saved from the Deluge; they were giants, and they built the tower celebrated in history." Other notices of a Flood may be found (a) in the Phoenician mythology, where the victory of Pontus (the sea) over Demarous (the earth) is mentioned (see the quotation from Sanchoniathon in Cory, as above, p. 13): (b) in the Sibylline Oracles, partly borrowed no doubt from the Biblical narrative, and partly perhaps from some Babylonian story. In these mention is made of the Deluge, after which Kronos, Titan, and Japetus ruled the world, each taking a separate portion for himself, and remaining at peace till after the death of Noah, when Kronos and Titan engaged in war with one another (*Ib.* p. 52). To these must be added (c) the Phrygian story of king Annakos or Nannakos (Enoch) in Iconium, who reached an age of more than 300 years, foretold the Flood, and wept and prayed for his people, seeing the destruction that was coming upon them. Very curious, as showing what deep root this tradition must have taken in the country, is the fact that so late as the time of Septimius Severus, a medal was struck at Apamea, on which the Flood is commemorated. "The city is known to have been formerly called 'Kibôtos' or 'the Ark;' and it is also known that the coins of cities in that age exhibited some leading point in their mythological history. The medal in question represents a kind of square vessel floating in the water. Through an opening in it are seen two persons, a man and a woman. Upon the top of this chest or ark is perched a bird, whilst another flies towards it carrying a branch between its feet. Before the vessel are represented the same pair as having just quitted it, and got upon the dry land. Singularly enough, too, on some specimens of this medal the letters **NΩ**, or **NΩE**, have been found on the vessel, as in the annexed cut. (See Eckhel iii. pp. 132, 133; Wiseman, *Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion*, ii. pp. 128, 129.) This fact is no doubt remarkable, but too much stress must not be laid upon it; for, making full allowance for the local tradition as having occasioned it, we must not forget the influence which the Biblical account would have in modifying the native story.

Coin of Apamea in Phrygia, representing the Deluge.

As belonging to this cycle of tradition, must be reckoned also (1) the Syrian, related by Lucian (*De Deâ Syrâ*, c. 13), and connected with a huge chasm in the earth near Hieropolis into which the waters of the Flood are supposed to have drained and (2) the Armenian quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 3) from Nicolaus Damascenus, who flourished about the age of Augustus. He says: "There is above Minyas in the land of Armenia, a great mountain, which is called Baris [*i. e.* a ship], to which it is said that many persons fled at the time of the Deluge, and so were saved; and that one in particular was carried thither upon an ark (ἐπὶ τὴν λάρνακος), and was landed upon its summit; and that the remains of the vessel's planks and timbers were long preserved upon the mountain. Perhaps this was the same person of whom Moses the Legislator of the Jews wrote an account."

A second cycle of traditions is that of Eastern Asia. To this belong the Persian, Indian, and Chinese. The Persian is mixed up with its cosmogony, and hence loses anything like an historical aspect. "The world having been corrupted by Ahriman, it was necessary to bring over it a universal flood of water that all impurity might be washed away. The rain came down in drops as large as the head of a bull; the earth was under water to the height of a man, and the creatures of Ahriman were destroyed."

The Chinese story is, in many respects, singularly like the Biblical, according to the Jesuit M. Martinius, who says that the Chinese computed it to have taken place 4000 years before the Christian era. Fáh-he, the reputed author of Chinese civilization, is said to have escaped from the waters of the Deluge. He reappears as the first man at the production of a renovated world, attended by seven companions—his wife, his three sons, and three daughters, by whose intermarriage the whole circle of the universe is finally completed (Hardwick, *Christ and other Masters*, iii. 16).[y]

The Indian tradition appears in various forms. Of these, the one which most remarkably agrees with the Biblical account is that contained in the Mahábhárata. We are there told that Brahma, having taken the form of a fish, appeared to the pious Manu (Satya, *i. e.* the righteous, as Noah is also called) on the banks of the river Vîrini. Thence, at his request, Manu tranferred him when he grew bigger to the Ganges, and finally, when he was too large even for the Ganges, to the ocean. Brahma now announces to Manu the approach of the Deluge, and bids him build a ship and put in it all kinds of seeds together with the seven Rishis, or holy beings. The Flood begins and covers the whole earth. Brahma himself appears in the form of a horned fish, and the vessel being made fast to him he draws it for many years, and finally lands on the loftiest summit of Mount Himarat (*i. e.* the

[x] We have here and there made an alteration, where the translator seemed to us not quite to have caught the meaning of the original.

[y] Dr. Gutzlaff, in a paper 'On Buddhism in China,' communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society (*Journal*, xvi. 79), says that he saw in one of the Buddhist temples, "in beautiful stucco, the scene where Kwan-yin, the Goddess of Mercy, looks down from heaven upon the lonely Noah in his ark, amidst the raging waves of the deluge, with the dolphins swimming around as his last means of safety, and the dove with an olive-branch in its beak flying towards the vessel. Nothing could have exceeded the beauty of the execution."

Himálaya). Then, by the command of God, the ship is made fast, and in memory of the event the mountain called Naubandhana (i. e. *ship-binding*). By the favour of Brahma, Manu, after the Flood, creates the new race of mankind, which are hence termed Manudsha, *i. e.* born of Manu (Bopp, *die Sündfluth*). The Puránic or popular version is of much later date, and is, "according to its own admission, coloured and disguised by allegorical imagery." Another and perhaps the most ancient version of all is that contained in the Çatapat'ha-Bráhmána. The peculiarity of this is that its locality is manifestly *north* of the Himalaya range, over which Manu is supposed to have crossed into India. Both versions will be found at length in Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, ii. 145-152.

The account of the Flood in the Koran is drawn apparently, partly from Biblical, and partly from Persian sources. In the main, no doubt, it follows the narrative in Genesis, but dwells at length on the testimony of Noah to the unbelieving (Sale's *Koran*, ch. xi. p. 181). He is said to have tarried among his people one thousand, save fifty years (ch. xxix. p. 327). The people scoffed at and derided him; and "thus were they employed until our sentence was put in execution and the oven poured forth water." Different explanations have been given of this oven which may be seen in Sale's note. He suggests (after Hyde, *de Rel. Pers.*) that this idea was borrowed from the Persian Magi, who also fancied that the first waters of the Deluge gushed out of the oven of a certain old woman named Zala Cûfa. But the word *Tannûr* (oven), he observes, may mean only a receptacle in which waters are gathered, or the fissure from which they brake forth.[1] Another peculiarity of this version is, that Noah calls in vain to one of his sons to enter into the ark: he refuses, in the hope of escaping to a mountain, and is drowned before his father's eyes. The ark, moreover, is said to have rested on the mountain Al Jûdi, which Sale supposes should be written Jordi or Giordi, and connects with the Gordyaei, Cardu, &c., or Kurd Mountains on the borders of Armenia and Mesopotamia (ch. xi. pp. 181-183, and *notes*).

A third cycle of traditions is to be found among the American nations. These, as might be expected, show occasionally some marks of resemblance to the Asiatic legends. The one in existence among the Cherokees reminds us of the story in the Mahábhárata, only that a dog here renders the same service to his master as the fish does there to Manu. "This dog was very pertinacious in visiting the banks of a river for several days, where he stood gazing at the water and howling piteously. Being sharply spoken to by his master and ordered home, he revealed the coming evil. He concluded his prediction by saying that the escape of his master and family from drowning depended upon their throwing *him* into the water; that to escape drowning himself he must take a boat and put in it all he wished to save: that it would then rain hard a long time, and a great overflowing of the land would take place. By obeying this prediction the man and his family were saved, and from them the earth was again peopled." (Schoolcraft, *Notes on the Iroquois*, pp. 358, 359.)

"Of the different nations that inhabit Mexico," says A. von Humboldt, "the following had paintings resembling the deluge of Coxcox, viz., the Aztecs, the Mixtecs, the Zapotecs, the Tlascaltecs, and the Mechoacans. The Noah, Xisuthrus, or Manu of these nations is termed Coxcox, Teo-Cipactli, or Tezpi. He saved himself with his wife Xochiquetzatl in a bark, or, according to other traditions, on a raft. The painting represents Coxcox in the midst of the water waiting for a bark. The mountain, the summit of which rises above the waters, is the peak of Colhuacan, the Ararat of the Mexicans. At the foot of the mountain are the heads of Coxcox and his wife. The latter is known by two tresses in the form of horns, denoting the female sex. The men born after the Deluge were dumb: the dove from the top of a tree distributed among them tongues, represented under the form of small commas." Of the Mechoacan tradition he writes, "that Coxcox, whom they called Tezpi, embarked in a spacious *acalli* with his wife, his children, several animals, and grain. When the Great Spirit ordered the waters to withdraw, Tezpi sent out from his bark a vulture, the zopilote or *vultur aura*. This bird did not return on account of the carcases with which the earth was strewed. Tezpi sent out other birds, one of which, the hummingbird, alone returned, holding in its beak a branch clad with leaves. Tezpi, seeing that fresh verdure covered the soil, quitted his bark near the mountain of Colhuacan" (*Vues des Cordillères et Monumens de l'Amérique*, pp. 226, 227). A peculiarity of many of these American Indian traditions must be noted, and that is, that the Flood, according to them, usually took place in the time of the First Man, who, together with his family escape. But Müller (*Americanischen Urreligionen*) goes too far when he draws from this the conclusion that these traditions are consequently cosmogonic and have no historical value. The fact seems rather to be that all memory of the age between the Creation and the Flood had perished, and that hence these two great events were brought into close juxtaposition. This is the less unlikely when we see how very meagre even the Biblical history of that age is.

It may not be amiss, before we go on to speak of the traditions of more cultivated races, to mention the legend still preserved among the inhabitants of the Fíjí islands, although not belonging to our last group. They say that, "after the islands had been peopled by the first man and woman, a great rain took place by which they were finally submerged; but before the highest places were covered by the waters, two large double canoes made their appearance. In one of these was Rokora the god of carpenters, in the other Rokola his head workman, who picked up some of the people and kept them on board until the waters had subsided, after which they were again landed on the island. It is reported that in former times canoes were always kept in readiness against another inundation. The persons thus saved, eight in number, were landed at Mbenga, where the highest of their gods is said to have made his first appearance. By virtue of this tradition, the chiefs of Mbenga take rank before all others and have always acted a conspicuous part among the Fíjís. They style themselves *Ngali-duva-ki-langi* —subject to Heaven alone" (Wilkes, *Exploring Expedition*).

[1] The road from Salzburg to Bad-Gastein passes by some very singular fissures made in the limestone by the course of the stream, which are known by the name of "Die Ofen," or "the Ovens."

One more cycle of traditions we shall notice—that, viz., of the Hellenic races.

Hellas has two versions of a flood, one associated with Ogyges (*Jul. Afric.* as quoted by Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* x. 10) and the other, in a far more elaborate form, with Deucalion. Both, however, are of late origin,—they were unknown to Homer and Hesiod. Herodotus, though he mentions Deucalion as one of the first kings of the Hellenes, says not a word about the Flood (i. 56). Pindar is the first writer who mentions it (*Olymp.* ix. 37ff.). In Apollodorus (*Bibliot.* i. 7) and Ovid (*Metam.* i. 260) the story appears in a much more definite shape. Finally, Lucian gives a narrative (*De Deâ Syr.* c. 12, 13), not very different from that of Ovid, except that he makes provision for the safety of the animals which Ovid does not. He attributes the necessity for the Deluge to the exceeding wickedness of the existing race of men, and declares that the earth opened and sent forth waters to swallow them up, as well as that heavy rain fell upon them. Deucalion, as the one righteous man, escaped with his wives and children and the animals he had put into the chest (λάρνακα), and landed, after nine days and nine nights, on the top of Parnassus, whilst the chief part of Hellas was under water, and nearly all men perished, except a few who reached the tops of the highest mountains. Plutarch (*de Sollert. Anim.* §13) mentions the dove which Deucalion made use of to ascertain whether the flood was abated.

Most of these accounts, it must be observed, localize the Flood, and confine it to Greece or some part of Greece. Aristotle speaks of a local inundation near Dodona only (*Meteorol.* i. 14).

It must also be confessed, that the later the narrative, the more definite the form it assumes, and the more nearly it resembles the Mosaic account.

It seems tolerably certain that the Egyptians had no records of the Deluge, at least if we are to credit Manetho. Nor has any such record been detected on the monuments, or preserved in the mythology of Egypt. They knew, however, of the flood of Deucalion, but seem to have been in doubt whether it was to be regarded as partial or universal, and they supposed it to have been preceded by several others.

Everybody knows Ovid's story of Deucalion and Pyrrha. It may be mentioned, however, in reference to this as a very singular coincidence that, just as, according to Ovid, the earth was repeopled by Deucalion and Pyrrha throwing the bones of their mother (*i. e.* stones) behind their backs, so among the Tamanaki, a Carib tribe on the Orinoko, the story goes that a man and his wife escaping from the flood to the top of the high mountain Tapanacu, threw over their heads the fruit of the Mauritia-palm, whence sprung a new race of men and women. This curious coincidence between Hellenic and American traditions seems explicable only on the hypothesis of some common centre of tradition.

After the Flood.—Noah's first act after he left the ark was to build an altar, and to offer sacrifices. This is the first altar of which we read in Scripture, and the first burnt sacrifice. Noah, it is said, took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar. And then the narrative adds with childlike simplicity: "And Jehovah smelled a smell of rest (or satisfaction), and Jehovah said in His heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man's sake; for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth, neither will I again smite any more every living thing as I have done." Jehovah accepts the sacrifice of Noah as the acknowledgment on the part of man that he desires reconciliation and communion with God; and therefore the renewed earth shall no more be wasted with a plague of waters, but so long as the earth shall last, seed-time and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night shall not cease.

Then follows the blessing of God (Elohim) upon Noah and his sons. They are to be fruitful and multiply: they are to have lordship over the inferior animals; not, however, as at the first by native right, but by terror is their rule to be established. All living creatures are now given to man for food; but express provision is made that the blood (in which is the life) should not be eaten. This does not seem necessarily to imply that animal food was not eaten before the flood, but only that now the use of it was sanctioned by divine permission. The prohibition with regard to blood reappears with fresh force in the Jewish ritual (Lev. iii. 17, vii. 26, 27, xvii. 10-14; Deut. xii. 16, 23, 24, xv. 23), and seemed to the Apostles so essentially human as well as Jewish that they thought it ought to be enforced upon Gentile converts. In later times the Greek Church urged it as a reproach against the Latin that they did not hesitate to eat things strangled (*suffocata in quibus sanguis tenetur*).

Next, God makes provision for the security of human life. The blood of man, in which is his life, is yet more precious than the blood of beasts. When it has been shed God will require it, whether of beast or of man: and man himself is to be the appointed channel of Divine justice upon the homicide: "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of God made He man." Hence is laid the first foundation of the civil power. And just as the priesthood is declared to be the privilege of all Israel before it is made representative in certain individuals, so here the civil authority is declared to be a right of human nature itself, before it is delivered over into the hands of a particular executive.

Thus with the beginning of a new world God gives, on the one hand, a promise which secures the stability of the natural order of the universe, and, on the other hand, consecrates human life with a special sanctity as resting upon these two pillars—the brotherhood of men, and man's likeness to God.

Of the seven precepts of Noah, as they are called, the observance of which was required of all Jewish proselytes, three only are here expressly mentioned—the abstinence from blood; the prohibition of murder; and the recognition of the civil authority. The remaining four: the prohibition of idolatry, of blasphemy, of incest, and of theft rested apparently on the general sense of mankind.

It is in the terms of the blessing and the covenant made with Noah after the Flood that we find the strongest evidence that in the sense of the writer it was universal, *i.e.*, that it extended to *all the then known world*. The literal truth of the narrative obliges us to believe that *the whole human race*, except eight persons, perished by the waters of the flood. Noah is clearly the head of a new human family, the representative of the whole race. It is as such that God makes His covenant with him; and hence selects a *natural* phenomenon as the sign of that covenant, just as later in making a *national* covenant with Abraham, He made the sea of it to

be an arbitrary sign in the flesh. The bow in the cloud, seen by every nation under heaven, is an unfailing witness to the truth of God. Was the rainbow, then, we ask, never seen before the flood? Was this "sign in the heavens" beheld for the first time by the eight dwellers in the ark when, after their long imprisonment, they stood again upon the green earth, and saw the dark humid clouds spanned by its glorious arch? Such seems the meaning of the narrator. And yet this implies that there was no rain before the flood, and that the laws of nature were changed, at least in that part of the globe, by that event. There is no reason to suppose that in the world at large there has been such change in meteorological phenomena as here implied. That a certain portion of the earth should never have been visited by rain is quite conceivable. Egypt, though not absolutely without rain, very rarely sees it. But the country of Noah and the Ark was a mountainous country; and the ordinary atmospherical conditions must have been suspended, or a new law must have come into operation after the flood, if the rain then first fell, and if the rainbow had consequently never before been painted on the clouds. Hence, many writers have supposed that the meaning of the passage is, not that the rainbow now appeared for the first time, but that it was now for the first time invested with the sanctity of a sign; that not a new phenomenon was visible, but that a new meaning was given to a phenomenon already existing. It must be confessed, however, that this is not the *natural* interpretation of the words: "This is the sign of the covenant which I do set between me and you, and every living thing which is with you for everlasting generations: my bow have I set in the cloud, and it shall be for the sign of a covenant between me and the earth. And it shall come to pass that when I bring a cloud over the earth, then the bow shall be seen in the cloud, and I will remember my covenant which is between me and you and every living thing of all flesh," &c.

Noah now for the rest of his life betook himself to agricultural pursuits, following in this the tradition of his family. It is particularly noticed that he planted a vineyard, and some of the older Jewish writers, with a touch of poetic beauty, tell us that he took the shoots of a vine which had wandered out of paradise wherewith to plant his vineyard.[a] Whether in ignorance of its properties or otherwise, we are not informed, but he drank of the juice of the grape till he became intoxicated and shamefully exposed himself in his own tent. One of his sons, Ham, mocked openly at his father's disgrace. The others, with dutiful care and reverence, endeavoured to hide it. Noah was not so drunk as to be unconscious of the indignity which his youngest son had put upon him; and when he recovered from the effects of his intoxication, he declared that in requital for this act of brutal unfeeling mockery, a curse should rest upon the sons of Ham, that *he* who knew not the duty of a child, should see his own son degraded to the condition of a slave. With the curse on his youngest son was joined a blessing on the other two. It ran thus, in the old poetic or rather rhythmical and alliterative form into which the more solemn utterances of antiquity commonly fell. And he said:—

> Cursed be Canaan,
> A slave of slaves shall he be to his brethren.

And he said:—

> Blessed be Jehovah, God of Shem,
> And let Canaan be their slave!
> May God enlarge Japhet,[b]
> And let him dwell in the tents of Shem,
> And let Canaan be their slave!

Of old a father's solemn curse or blessing was held to have a mysterious power of fulfilling itself. And in this case the words of the righteous man, though strictly the expression of a wish (Dr. Pye Smith is quite wrong in translating all the verbs as futures; they are optatives) did in fact amount to a prophecy. It has been asked why Noah did not curse Ham, instead of cursing Canaan. It might be sufficient to reply that at such times men are not left to themselves, and that a divine purpose as truly guided Noah's lips then, as it did the hands of Jacob afterwards. But, moreover, it was surely by a righteous retribution that he, who as youngest son had dishonoured his father, should see the curse light on the head of his own youngest son. The blow was probably heavier than if it had lighted directly on himself. Thus early in the world's history was the lesson taught practically which the law afterwards expressly enunciated, that God visits the sins of the fathers upon the children. The subsequent history of Canaan shows in the clearest manner possible the fulfilment of the curse. When Israel took possession of his land, he became the slave of Shem: when Tyre fell before the arms of Alexander, and Carthage succumbed to her Roman conquerors, he became the slave of Japhet: and we almost hear the echo of Noah's curse in Hannibal's *Agnosco fortunam Carthaginis*, when the head of Hasdrubal his brother was thrown contemptuously into the Punic lines.[c]

It is uncertain whether in the words "And let him dwell in the tents of Shem," "God," or "Japhet," is the subject of the verb. At first it seems more natural to suppose that Noah prays that God would dwell there (the root of the verb is the same as that of the noun *Shechinah*). But the blessing of Shem has been spoken already. It is better therefore to take Japhet as the subject. What then is meant by his dwelling in the tents of Shem? Not of course that he should so occupy them as to thrust out the original possessors; nor even that they should melt into one people; but as it would seem, that Japhet may enjoy the *religious privileges* of Shem. So Augustine: "Latificet Deus Japheth et habitet in tentoriis Sem, id est, in Ecclesiis quas filii Prophetarum Apostoli construxerunt." The Talmud sees this blessing fulfilled in the use of the Greek language in sacred things, such as the translation of the Scriptures. Thus Shem is blessed with the knowledge of Jehovah: and Japhet with temporal increase and dominion in the first instance, with the further hope of sharing afterwards in spiritual advantages. After this prophetic blessing we hear no more of the patriarch but the sum of his

[a] Armenia, it has been observed, is still favourable to the growth of the vine. Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 4, 9) speaks of the excellent wines of the country, and his account has been confirmed in more recent times (Ritter, *Erdk.* x. 454, 319, &c.). The Greek myth referred the discovery and cultivation of the vine to Dionysos, who according to one version brought it from India (Diod. Sic. iii. 32), according to another from Phrygia (Strabo, x. 469). Asia at all events is the acknowledged home of the vine.

[b] There is an alliterative play upon words here which cannot be preserved in a translation.

[c] See Delitzsch, *Comm. in loc.*

years. "And Noah lived after the flood three hundred and fifty years. And thus all the days of Noah were nine hundred and fifty years: and he died."

For the literature of this article the various commentaries on Genesis, especially those of modern date, may be consulted. Such are those of Tuch, 1838; of Baumgarten, 1843; Knobel, 1852; Schröder, 1846; Delitzsch, 3d ed. 1860. To the last of these especially the present writer is much indebted. Other works bearing on the subject more or less directly are Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, 1853; Pfaff's *Schöpfungs Geschichte*, 1855; Wiseman's *Lectures on Science and Revealed Religion*; Hugh Miller's *Testimony of the Rocks*. Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*, 1857; Müller's *Die Americanischen Urreligionen*; Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, and Ewald's *Jahrbücher*, have also been consulted. The writer has further to express his obligations both to Professor Owen and to Professor Huxley, and especially to the latter gentleman, for much valuable information on the scientific questions touched upon in this article. [J. J. S. P.]

NO'AH (נֹעָה: Νουά: *Noa*). One of the five daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, xxxvi. 11, Josh. xvii. 3).

NO-A'MON, NO (נֹא אָמוֹן: μερὶς Ἀμμών: *Alexandria* (*populorum*), Nah. iii. 8: נֹא: Διόσπολις: *Alexandria*, Jer. xlvi. 25, Ez. xxx. 14, 15, 16), a city of Egypt, Thebae (Thebes), or Diospolis Magna. The second part of the first form is the name of AMEN, the chief divinity of Thebes, mentioned or alluded to in connexion with this place in Jeremiah, "Behold, I will punish Amon [or 'the multitude,' with reference to Amen[a]] in No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods, and their kings" (*l. c.*); and perhaps also alluded to in Ezekiel (xxx. 15). [AMON.] The second part of the Egyptian sacred name of the city, HA-AMEN, "the abode of Amen," is the same. There is a difficulty as to the meaning of No. It has been supposed, in accordance with the LXX. rendering of No-Amon by μερὶς Ἀμμών, that the Coptic ⲛⲟⲩ, ⲛⲟⲩϩ, *funis, funiculus*, once *funis mensorius* (Mic. ii. 4), instead of ⲛⲟⲩ ⲛ̀ⲣⲱⲙⲓ, might indicate that it signified "portion," so that the name would mean "the portion of Amon." But if so, how are we to explain the use of No alone? It thus occurs not only in Hebrew, but also in the language of the Assyrian inscriptions, in which it is written Ni'a, according to Sir Henry Rawlinson ('Illustrations of Egyptian History and Chronology,' &c., *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, 2nd Ser. vii. p. 166).[b] The conjectures that Thebes was called ⲡ ϩⲓ ⲙ ϩⲙⲟⲩⲛ, "the abode of Amen," or, still nearer the Hebrew, ⲛϩ ϩⲙⲟⲩⲛ, "the [city] of Amen," like ⲛϩⲓⲥⲓ, "the [city] of Isis," or, as Gesenius prefers, ϩⲙ ϩⲙⲟⲩⲛ, "the place of Amen" (*Thes.* s. v.), are all liable to two serious objections, that they neither represent the Egyptian name, nor afford an explanation of the use of No alone. It seems most reasonable to suppose that No is a Semitic name, and that Amon is added in Nahum (*l. c.*) to distinguish Thebes from some other place bearing the same name, or on account of the connection of Amen with that city. Thebes also bears in ancient Egyptian the common name of doubtful signification, AP-T or T-AP, which the Greeks represented by Thebae. The whole metropolis, on both banks of the river, was called TAM. (See Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* i. pp. 175, seqq.)

Jerome supposes No to be either Alexandria or Egypt itself (*In Jesaiam*, lib. v. t. iii. col. 125, ed. Paris, 1704). Champollion takes it to be Diospolis in Lower Egypt (*L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. p. 131); but Gesenius (*l. c.*) well observes that it would not then be compared in Nahum to Nineveh. This and the evidence of the Assyrian record leave no doubt that it is Thebes. The description of No-Amon, as "situate among the rivers, the waters round about it" (Nah. *l. c.*), remarkably characterizes Thebes, the only town of ancient Egypt which we know to have been built on both sides of the Nile; and the prophecy that it should "be rent asunder" (Ez. xxx. 16) cannot fail to appear remarkably significant to the observer who stands amidst the vast ruins of its chief edifice, the great temple of Amen, which is rent and shattered as if by an earthquake, although it must be held to refer primarily, at least, rather to the breaking up or capture of the city (comp. 2 K. xxv. 4, Jer. lii. 7), than to its destruction. See THEBES. [R. S. P.]

NOB (נֹב: Νομβά; Alex. Νοβά, exc. Νοβάθ 1 Sam. xxiii. 11, Νόβ Neh. xi. 32: *Nobe*, *Nob* in Neh.) was a sacerdotal city in the tribe of Benjamin, and situated on some eminence near Jerusalem. That it was on one of the roads which led from the north to the capital, and within sight of it, is certain from the illustrative passage in which Isaiah (x. 28-32) describes the approach of the Assyrian army:—

> "He comes to Ai, passes through Migron,
> At Michmash deposits his baggage;
> They cross the pass, Geba is our night-station;
> Terrified is Ramah, Gibeah of Saul flees.
> Shriek with thy voice, daughter of Gallim;
> Listen, O Laish! Ah, poor Anathoth!
> Madmenah escapes, dwellers in Gebim take flight.[a]
> Yet this day he halts at Nob:
> He shakes his hand against the mount, daughter of Zion,
> The hill of Jerusalem."

In this spirited sketch the poet sees the enemy pouring down from the north; they reach at length the neighbourhood of the devoted city; they take possession of one village after another; while the inhabitants flee at their approach, and fill the country with cries of terror and distress. It is implied here clearly that Nob was the last station in their line of march, whence the invaders could see Jerusalem, and whence they could be seen, as they "shook the hand" in proud derision of their enemies. Lightfoot also mentions a Jewish tradition (*Opp.* ii. p. 203) that Jerusalem and Nob stood within sight of each other.

Nob was one of the places where the tabernacle or ark of Jehovah, was kept for a time during the days of its wanderings before a home was provided

[a] The former is the more probable reading, as the gods of Egypt are mentioned almost immediately after.

[b] Sir Henry Rawlinson identifies Ni'a with No-Amon. The whole paper (pp. 137, seqq.) is of great importance, as illustrating the reference in Nahum to the capture of Thebes, by shewing that Egypt was conquered by both Esarhaddon and Asshur-bani-pal, and that the latter twice took Thebes. If these wars were after the prophet's time, the narrative of them makes it more probable than it before seemed that there was a still earlier conquest of Egypt by the Assyrians.

[a] "The full idea," says Gesenius, "is that they hurry off to conceal their treasures."

for it or mount Zion (2 Sam. vi. 1 &c.). A company of the Benjamites settled here after the return from the exile (Neh. xi. 32). But the event for which Nob was most noted in the Scripture annals, was a frightful massacre which occurred there in the reign of Saul (1 Sam. xxii. 17-19). David had fled thither from the court of the jealous king; and the circumstances under which he had escaped being unknown, Ahimelech, the high priest at Nob, gave him some of the shew-bread from the golden table, and the sword of Goliath which he had in his charge as a sacred trophy. Doeg, an Edomite, the king's shepherd, who was present, reported the affair to his master. Saul was enraged on hearing that such favour had been shown to a man whom he hated as a rival; and nothing would appease him but the indiscriminate slaughter of all the inhabitants of Nob. The king's executioners having refused to perform the bloody deed (1 Sam. xxii. 17), he said to Doeg, the spy, who had betrayed the unsuspecting Ahimelech, "Turn thou, and fall upon the priests. And Doeg the Edomite turned, and he fell upon the priests, and slew on that day fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod. And Nob, the city of the priests, smote he with the edge of the sword, both men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen, and asses, and sheep, with the edge of the sword." Abiathar, a son of Ahimelech, was the only person who survived to recount the sad story.

It would be a long time naturally before the doomed city could recover from such a blow. It appears in fact never to have regained its ancient importance. The references in Is. x. 32, and Neh. xi. 32, are the only later allusions to Nob which we find in the O. T. All trace of the name has disappeared from the country long ago. Jerome states that nothing remained in his time to indicate where it had been. Geographers are not agreed as to the precise spot with which we are to identify the ancient locality. Some of the conjectures on this point may deserve to be mentioned. "It must have been situated," says Dr. Robinson (*Researches*, vol. i. p. 464), "somewhere upon the ridge of the Mount of Olives, north-east of the city. We sought all along this ridge, from the Damascus road to the summit opposite the city, for some traces of an ancient site which might be regarded as the place of Nob; but without the slightest success." Kiepert's Map places Nob at *El-Isâwieh*, not far from Anâtâ about a mile north-west of Jerusalem. Tobler (*Topographie von Jerus.* ii. §719) describes this village as beautifully situated, and occupying unquestionably an ancient site. But it must be regarded as fatal to this identification that Jerusalem is not to be seen from that point. *El-Isâwieh* is in a valley, and the *dramatic* representation of the prophet would be unsuited to such a place. Mr. Porter (*Handb.* ii. 324) expresses the confident belief that Nob is to be sought on a low round tell, a little to the right of the northern road and opposite to *Shâfât*. He found there several cisterns hewn in the rock, large building stones, and various other indications of an ancient town. The top of this hill affords an extensive view, and Mount Zion is distinctly seen, though Moriah and Olivet are hid by an intervening ridge. The Nob spoken of above is not to be confounded with another which Jerome mentions in the plain of Sharon, not far from Lydda. (See Von Raumer's *Palaestina*, p. 196.) No allusion is made to this latter place in the Bible. The Jews after recovering the ark of Jehovah from the Philistines would be likely to keep it beyond the reach of a similar disaster; and the Nob which was the seat of the sanctuary in the time of Saul, must have been among the mountains. This Nob, or Niobe as Jerome writes, now *Beit Núba*, could not be the village of that name near Jerusalem. The towns with which Isaiah associates the place put that view out of the question. [H. B. H.]

NO'BAH (נֹבַח: Ναβώθ, Ναβαί; Alex. Ναβωθ, Ναβεθ: *Noba*). The name conferred by the conqueror of KENATH and the villages in dependence on it on his new acquisition (Num. xxxii. 42). For a certain period after the establishment of the Israelite rule the new name remained, and is used to mark the course taken by Gideon in his chase after Zebah and Zalmunna (Judg. viii. 11). But it is not again heard of, and the original appellation, as is usual in such cases, appears to have recovered its hold, which it has since retained; for in the slightly modified form of *Kunâwat* it is the name of the place to the present day (see *Onomasticon*, Nabo).

Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 268, *note* 2) identifies the Nobah of Gideon's pursuit with Nophah of Num. xxi. 30, and distinguishes them both from Nobah of Num. xxxii. 42, on the ground of their being mentioned with Dibon, Medeba, and Jogbehah. But if Jogbehah be, as he elsewhere (ii. 504, *note* 4) suggests, *el-Jebeibeh*, between *Ammân* and *es-Salt*, there is no necessity for the distinction. In truth the lists of Gad and Reuben in Num. xxxii. are so confused that it is difficult to apportion the towns of each in accordance with our present imperfect topographical knowledge of those regions. Ewald also (ii. 392 *note*) identifies Nobah of Num. xxxii. 42 with *Nawa* or *Neve*, a place 15 or 16 miles east of the north end of the Lake of Gennesaret (Ritter, *Jordan*, 356). But if Kenath and Nobah are the same, and *Kunâwat* be Kenath, the identification is both unnecessary and untenable.

Eusebius and Jerome, with that curious disregard of probability which is so puzzling in some of the articles in the *Onomasticon*, identify Nobah of Judg. viii. with Nob, "the city of the Priests, afterwards laid waste by Saul" (*Onom.* Νομβά and "Nabbe sive Noba"). [G.]

NO'BAH (נֹבַח: Ναβαῦ: *Noba*). An Israelite warrior (Num. xxxii. 42 only), probably, like Jair, a Manassite, who during the conquest of the territory on the east of Jordan possessed himself of the town of Kenath and the villages or hamlets dependent upon it (Heb. "daughters"), and gave them his own name. According to the Jewish tradition (*Seder Olum Rabba*, ix.) Nobah was born in Egypt, died after the decease of Moses, and was buried during the passage of the Jordan.

It will be observed that the form of the name in the LXX. is the same as that given to Nebo. [G.]

NOD. [CAIN.]

NO'DAB (נוֹדָב: Ναδαβαῖοι: *Nodab*), the name of an Arab tribe mentioned only in 1 Chr. v. 19, in the account of the war of the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half of the tribe of Manasseh, against the Hagarites (verses 9-22); "and they made war with the Hagarites, with Jetur, and Nephish, and *Nodab*" (ver. 19). In Gen. xxv. 15 and 1 Chr. i. 31, Jetur, Naphish, and Kedemah are the last three sons of Ishmael, and it has been therefore supposed that Nodab also was

one of his sons. But we have no other mention of Nodab, and it is probable, in the absence of additional evidence, that he was a grandson or other descendant of the patriarch, and that the name, in the time of the record, was that of a tribe sprung from such descendant. The Hagarites, and Jetur, Nephish, and Nodab, were pastoral people, for the Reubenites dwelt in their tents throughout all the east [land] of Gilead (ver. 10), and in the war a great multitude of cattle—camels, sheep, and asses—were taken. A hundred thousand men were taken prisoners or slain, so that the tribes must have been very numerous; and the Israelites "dwelt in their steads until the captivity." If the Hagarites (or Hagarenes) were, as is most probable, the people who afterwards inhabited Hejer [HAGARENES], they were driven southwards, into the north-eastern province of Arabia, bordering the mouths of the Euphrates, and the low tracts surrounding them. [JETUR; ITURAEA; NAPHISH.] [E. S. P.]

NO'Ë (Νῶε: *Noë*). The patriarch Noah (Tob. iv. 12; Matt. xxiv. 37, 38; Luke iii. 36, xvii. 26, 27).

NO'EBA (Νοεβά: *Nachoba*) = NEKODA 1 (1 Esdr. v. 31; comp. Ezr. ii. 48).

NO'GAH (נֹגַהּ: Ναγαί, Ναγέθ: *Noge, Noga*). One of the thirteen sons of David who were born to him in Jerusalem (1 Chr. iii. 7, xiv. 6). His name is omitted from the list in 2 Sam. v.

NO'HAH (נֹחָה: Νωά: *Nohaa*). The fourth son of Benjamin (1 Chr. viii. 2).

NON (נוּן: Νούν: *Nun*). Nun, the father of Joshua (1 Chr. vii. 27).

NOPH, MOPH (נֹף: Μέμφις: *Memphis*, Is. xix. 13, Jer. ii. 16, Ez. xxx. 13, 16; מֹף: Μέμφις: *Memphis*, Hos. ix. 6), a city of Egypt, Memphis. These forms are contracted from the ancient Egyptian common name, MEN-NUFR, or MEN-NEFRU, "the good abode," or perhaps "the abode of the good one:" also contracted in the Coptic forms ⲙⲉⲛϥⲓ, ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲟϥⲓ, ⲙⲉⲛϩⲉ, ⲙⲉⲛⲛϩⲉ (M), ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲉ (S); in the Greek Μέμφις; and in the Arabic *Menf*, منف.[a] The Hebrew forms are to be regarded as representing colloquial forms of the name, current with the Shemites, if not with the Egyptians also. As to the meaning of Memphis, Plutarch observes that it was interpreted to signify either the haven of good ones, or the sepulchre of Osiris (καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν οἱ μὲν ὅρμον ἀγαθῶν ἑρμηνεύουσιν, οἱ δ'[ἰδί]ως τάφον Ὀσίριδος, *De Iside et Osiride*, 20). It is probable that the epithet "good" refers to Osiris, whose sacred animal Apis was here worshipped, and here had its burial-place, the Serapeum, whence the name of the village Busiris (PA-HESAR? "the [abode?] of Osiris"), now represented in name, if not in exact site, by Aboo-Seer,[b] probably originally a quarter of Memphis. As the great upper Egyptian city is characterized in Nahum as "situate among the rivers" (iii. 8), so in Hosea the lower Egyptian one is distinguished by its Necropolis, in this passage as to the fugitive Israelites: "Mizraim shall gather them up, Noph shall bury them;" for its burial ground, stretching for twenty miles along the edge of the Libyan desert, greatly exceeds that of any other Egyptian town. (See Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* i. pp. 234, seqq., and MEMPHIS.) [R. S. P.]

NO'PHAH (נֹפַח, Nôphach; the Samar. has the article, הנפח: αἱ γυναῖκες, Alex. αἱ γ. αὐτῶν, *Nophe*), a place mentioned only in Num. xxi. 30 in the remarkable song apparently composed by the Amorites after their conquest of Heshbon from the Moabites, and therefore of an earlier date than the Israelite invasion. It is named with Dibon and Medeba, and was possibly in the neighbourhood of Heshbon. A name very similar to Nophah is Nobah, which is twice mentioned; once as bestowed by the conqueror of the same name on Kenath (a place still existing more than 70 miles distant from the scene of the Amorite conflict), and again in connexion with Jogbehah, which latter, from the mode of its occurrence in Num. xxxii. 36, would seem to have been in the neighbourhood of Heshbon. Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 268 *note*) decides (though without giving his grounds) that Nophah is identical with the latter of these. In this case the difference would be a dialectical one, Nophah being the Moabite or Amorite form. [NOBAH.] [G.]

NOSE-JEWEL (נֶזֶם, pl. constr. נִזְמֵי: ἐνώτια: *inaures*: A. V., Gen. xxiv. 22; Ex. xxxv. 22 "earring;" Is. iii. 21; Ez. xvi. 12, "jewel on the forehead:" rendered by Theod. and Symm. ἐπιδέσμιον, Ges. 870). A ring of metal, sometimes of gold or silver, passed usually through the right nostril, and worn by way of ornament by women in the East. Its diameter is usually 1 in. or 1½ in., but sometimes as much as 3½ in. Upon it are strung beads, coral, or jewels. In Egypt it is now almost confined to the lower classes. It is mentioned in the Mishna, *Shabb.* vi. 1; *Celim*, xi. 8. Layard remarks that no specimen has been found in Assyrian remains. (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 51, 232; Niebuhr, *Descr. de l'Arab.* p. 57; *Voyages*, i. 133, ii. 56; Chardin, *Voy.* viii. 200; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 78; *App.* iii. p. 226; Saalschütz, *Hebr. Arch.* i. 3, p. 25; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* p. 262 544.) [H. W. P.]

NUMBER.[b] Like most Oriental nations, it is probable that the Hebrews in their written calculations made use of the letters of the alphabet. That they did so in post-Babylonian times we have conclusive evidence in the Maccabaean coins; and it is highly probable that this was the case also in earlier times, both from internal evidence, of which

[a] This Arabic name affords a curious instance of the use of Semitic names of similar sound but different signification in the place of names of other languages.

[b] 1. חֶקֶר, ἀριθμός, properly enquiry, investigation (Ges. p. 515).

2. מִכְסָה, ἀριθμός, *numerus*.

3. מְנִי, Τύχη, *Fortuna*, probably a deity (Ges. p. 798); rendered "number," Is. lxv. 11.

4. מָנֶה, Chald. from same root as (3).

5. מִסְפָּר.

6. סְפוֹרָה in plur. Ps. lxxi. 15, πραγματεῖαι, *literatura*.

7. מִפְקָד.

To number is (1) מָנָה, ἀριθμέω, *numero*. (2) חָשַׁב, λογίζομαι, *i. e.* value, account, as in Is. xlii. 17. In Pi'el count, or number, which is the primary notion of the word (Ges. p. 631).

we shall presently speak, and also from the practice of the Greeks, who borrowed it with their earliest alphabet from the Phoenicians, whose alphabet again was, with some slight variations, the same as that of the Samaritans and Jews (Chardin, *Voy.* ii. 421, iv. 288 and foll., Langlès; Thiersch, *Gr. Gr.* §xii., lxiii. pp. 23, 153; Jelf, *Gr. Gr.* i. 3; Müller, *Etrusker*, ii. 317, 321; *Eng. Cycl.*, "Coins," "Numeral Characters;" Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 91; Donaldson, *New Cratylus*, pp. 146, 151; Winer, *Zahlen*).

But though, on the one hand, it is certain that in all existing MSS. of the Hebrew text of the O. T. the numerical expressions are written at length (Lee, *Hebr. Gram.* §§19, 22), yet, on the other, the variations in the several versions between themselves and from the Hebrew text, added to the evident inconsistencies in numerical statement between certain passages of that text itself, seem to prove that some shorter mode of writing was originally in vogue, liable to be misunderstood, and in fact misunderstood by copyists and translators. The following may serve as specimens:—

1. In 2 K. xxiv. 8 Jehoiachin is said to have been 18 years old, but in 2 Chr. xxxvi. 9 the number given is 8.

2. In Is. vii. 8 Vitringa shows that for threescore and five one reading gives sixteen and five, the letter *jod* י (10) after *shesh* (6) having been mistaken for the Rabbinical abbreviation by omission of the *mem* from the plural *shishim*, which would stand for sixty. Six + ten was thus converted into sixty + ten.

3. In 1 Sam. vi. 19 we have 50,070, but the Syriac and Arabic versions have 5070.

4. In 1 K. iv. 26 we read that Solomon had 40,000 stalls for chariot-horses, but 4000 only in 2 Chr. ix. 25.

5. The letters *vau* (6) and *zayin* (7) appear to have been interchanged in some readings of Gen. ii. 2.

These variations, which are selected from a copious list given by Glass (*De Caussis Corruptionis*, i. §25, vol. ii. p. 188, ed. Dathe), appear to have proceeded from the alphabetic method of writing numbers, in which it is easy to see how, *e. g.*, such letters as *vau* (ו) and *jod* (י), *nun* (נ) and *caph* (כ), may have been confounded and even sometimes omitted. The final letters also, which were unknown to the early Phoenician or Samaritan alphabet, were used as early as the Alexandrian period to denote hundreds between 500 and 1000.[e]

But whatever ground these variations may afford for reasonable conjecture, it is certain, from the fact mentioned above, that no positive rectification of them can at present be established, more especially as there is so little variation in the numbers quoted from the O. T., both in N. T. and in the Apocrypha; *e.g.* (1) Num. xxv. 9, quoted 1 Cor. x. 8. (2) Ex. xii. 40), quoted Gal. iii. 17. (3) Ex. xvi. 35 and Ps. xcv. 10, quoted Acts xiii. 18. (4) Gen. xvii. 1, quoted Rom. iv. 19. (5) Num. i. 46, quoted Exodus. xvi. 10.

Josephus also in the main agrees in his statements of numbers with our existing copies. There can be little doubt, however, as was remarked by St. Augustine (*Civ. D.* x. 13, §1), that some at least of the numbers mentioned in Scripture are intended to be representative rather than determinative. Certain numbers, as 7, 10, 40, 100, were regarded as giving the idea of completeness.

[e] ך Heb. 500, ם 600, ן 700, ף 800, ץ 900.

Without entering into his theory of this usage, we may remark that the notion of representative numbers in certain cases is one extremely common among Eastern nations, who have a prejudice against counting their possessions accurately; that it enters largely into many ancient systems of chronology, and that it is found in the philosophical and metaphysical speculations not only of the Pythagorean and other ancient schools of philosophy, both Greek and Roman, but also in those of the later Jewish writers, of the Gnostics, and also of such Christian writers as St. Augustine himself (August. *De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 16, 25; *Civ. D.* xv. 30; Philo, *De Mund. Opif.* i. 21; *De Abrah.* ii. 5; *De Sept. Num.* ii. 281, ed. Mangey; Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 5, §5; Mishna, *Pirke Aboth*, v. 7, 8; Irenaeus, i. 3, ii. 1, v. 29, 30; Hieronym. *Com. in* Is. iv. 1, vol. iv. p. 72, ed. Migne; Arist. *Metaphys.* i. 5, 6, xii. 6, 8; Aelian, *V. H.* iv. 17; Varro, *Hebdom.* fragm. i. p. 255, ed. Bipont.; Niebuhr, *Hist. of Rome*, ii. 72, ed. Hare; Burckhardt, *Trav. in Arabia*, i. 75; *Syria*, p. 560, comp. with Gen. xiii. 16 and xxii. 17; also see papers on Hindoo Chronology in Sir W. Jones's Works, Suppl. vol. ii. pp. 968, 1017).

We proceed to give some instances of numbers used *a.* representatively, and thus probably by design indefinitely, or *b.* definitely, but, as we may say preferentially, *i.e.*, because some meaning (which we do not in all cases understand) was attached to them.

1. *Seven*, as denoting either plurality or completeness, is so frequent as to make a selection only of instances necessary, *e. g. seven-fold*, Gen. iv. 24; *seven times*, *i. e.* completely, Lev. xxvi. 24; Ps. xii. 6; *seven* (*i.e.* many) *ways*, Deut. xxviii. 25. See also 1 Sam. ii. 5; Job v. 19, where six also is used; Prov. vi. 16, ix. 1; Eccl. xi. 2, where eight also is named; Is. iv. 1; Jer. xv. 9; Mic. v. 5; also Matt. xii. 45, *seven spirits*; Mark xvi. 9, *seven devils*; Rev. iv. 5, *seven Spirits*, xv. 1, *seven plagues*. Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 411, says that Scripture uses seven to denote plurality. See also Christian authorities quoted by Suicer, *Thes. Eccl.* s. v. ἕβδομος, Hofmann, *Lex.* s. v. "Septem," and the passages quoted above from Varro, Aristotle, and Aelian, in reference to the heathen value for the number 7.

2. *Ten* as a preferential number is exemplified in the Ten Commandments and the law of Tithe. It plays a conspicuous part in the later Jewish ritual code. See Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 410.

3. *Seventy*, as compounded of 7 × 10, appears frequently, *e.g.*, *seventy fold* (Gen. iv. 24; Matt. xviii. 22). Its definite use appears in the offerings of 70 shekels (Num. vii. 13, 19, and foll.); the 70 elders (xi. 16); 70 years of captivity (Jer. xxv. 11). To these may be added the 70 descendants of Noah (Gen. x.), and the alleged Rabbinical qualification for election to the office of Judge among the 71 members of the Great Sanhedrim, of the knowledge of 70 languages (*Sanh.* ii. 6; and Carpzov, *App. Bibl.* p. 576). The number of 72 translators may perhaps also be connected with the same idea.

4. *Five* appears in the table of punishments, of legal requirements (Ex. xxii. 1; Lev. v. 16, xxii. 14, xxvii. 15; Num. v. 7, xviii. 16), and in the five empires of Daniel (Dan. ii.).

5. *Four* is used in reference to the 4 winds (Dan. vii. 2); and the so-called 4 corners of the earth; the 4 creatures, each with 4 wings and 4 faces, of Ezekiel (i. 5 and foll.); 4 rivers of Paradise (Gen

ii. 10); 4 beasts (Dan. vii., and Rev. iv. 6); the 4 equal-sided Temple-chamber (Ez. xl. 47).

3. *Three* was regarded, both by the Jews and other nations, as a specially complete and mystic number (Plato, *De Leg.* iv. p. 715; Dionys. Halic. iii. c. 12). It appears in many instances in Scripture as a definite number, *e. g.* 3 feasts (Ex. xxiii. 14, 17; Deut. xvi. 16), the triple offering of the Nazarite, and the triple blessing (Num. vi. 14, 24), the triple invocation (Is. vi. 3; Rev. i. 4), Daniel's 3 hours of prayer (Dan. vi. 10, comp. Ps. lv. 17), the third heaven, (2 Cor. xii. 2), and the thrice-repeated vision (Acts x. 16).

7. *Twelve* (3 × 4) appears in 12 tribes, 12 stones in the high-priest's breast-plate, 12 Apostles, 12 foundation-stones, and 12 gates (Rev. xxi. 19-21); 12,000 furlongs of the heavenly city (Rev. xxi. 16); 144,000 sealed (Rev. vii. 4).

8. *Forty* appears in many enumerations; 40 days of Moses Ex. (xxiv. 18); 40 years in the wilderness (Num. xiv. 34); 40 days and nights of Elijah 1 K. xix. 8); 40 days of Jonah's warning to Nineveh Jon. iii. 4); 40 days of temptation (Matt. iv. 2). Add to these the very frequent use of the number 40 in regnal years, and in political or other periods (Judg. iii. 11, xiii. 1; 1 Sam. iv. 18; 2 Sam. v. 4, xv. 7; 1 K. xi. 42; Ez. xxix. 11, 12; Acts xiii. 21).

9. *One hundred.*—100 cubits' length of the Tabernacle-court (Ex. xxvii. 18); 100 men, *i. e.* a large number (Lev xxvi. 8); Gideon's 300 men (Judg. vii. 6); the selection of 10 out of every 100, (xx. 10); 100 men (2 K. iv. 43); leader of 100 men (1 Chr. xii. 14); 100 stripes (Prov. xvii. 10); 100 times (Eccl. viii. 12); 100 children (vi. 3); 100 cubits' measurements in Ezekiel's Temple (Ez. xl., xli., xlii.); 100 sheep (Matt. xviii. 12); 100 pence (Matt. xviii. 28); 100 measures of oil or wheat (Luke xvi. 6, 7).

10. Lastly, the mystic number 666 (Rev. xiii. 18), of which the earliest attempted explanation is the conjecture of Irenaeus, who of three words, Euanthas, Lateinos, and Teitan, prefers the last as fulfilling its conditions best. (For various other interpretations see Calmet, Whitby, and Irenaeus, *De Antichrist.* v. c. 29, 30).

It is evident, on the one hand, that whilst the representative, and also the typical character of certain numbers must be maintained (*e. g.*, Matt. xix. 28), there is, on the other, the greatest danger of over-straining any particular theory on the subject, and of thus degenerating into that subtle trifling, from which neither the Gnostics, nor some also of their orthodox opponents were exempt (see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. c. 11, p. 782, ed. Potter and August. *l. c.*), and of which the Rabbinical writings present such striking instances. [CHRONOLOGY, CENSUS.] [H. W. P.]

NUMBERING. [CENSUS.]

NUMBERS (וַיְדַבֵּר, from the first word; or בְּמִדְבַּר, from the words בְּמִדְבַּר סִינַי, in i. 1: Ἀριθμοί: *Numeri*: called also by the later Jews סֵפֶר הַפְּקוּדִים, or הַפְּקֻדִים), the Fourth Book of the Law or Pentateuch. It takes its name in the LXX. and Vulg. (whence our 'Numbers') from the double numbering or census of the people; the first of which is given in chaps. i.-iv., and the second in chap. xxvi.

A. *Contents.*—The Book may be said to contain generally the history of the Israelites from the time of their leaving Sinai, in the second year after the Exodus, till their arrival at the borders of the Promised Land in the fortieth year of their journeyings. It consists of the following principal divisions:—

I. The preparations for the departure from Sinai (i. 1–x. 10).

II. The journey from Sinai to the borders of Canaan (x. 11–xiv. 45).

III. A brief notice of laws given, and events which transpired, during the thirty-seven years' wandering in the wilderness (xv. 1–xix. 22).

IV. The history of the last year, from the second arrival of the Israelites in Kadesh till they reach "the plains of Moab by Jordan near Jericho" (xx. 1–xxxvi. 13).

I. (*a.*) The object of the encampment at Sinai has been accomplished. The Covenant has been made, the Law given, the Sanctuary set up, the Priests consecrated, the service of God appointed, and Jehovah dwells in the midst of His chosen people. It is now time to depart in order that the object may be achieved for which Israel has been sanctified. That object is the occupation of the Promised Land. But this is not to be accomplished by peaceable means, but by the forcible expulsion of its present inhabitants; for "the iniquity of the Amorites is full," they are ripe for judgment, and this judgment Israel is to execute. Therefore Israel must be organized as Jehovah's army: and to this end a mustering of all who are capable of bearing arms is necessary. Hence the book opens with the numbering of the people,[a] chapters i.–iv. These contain, first, the census of all the tribes or clans, amounting in all to six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty, with the exception of the Levites, who were not numbered with the rest (chap. i.); secondly, the arrangement of the camp, and the order of march (chap. ii.); thirdly, the special and separate census of the Levites, who are claimed by God instead of all the first-born, the three families of the tribe having their peculiar offices in the Tabernacle appointed them, both when it was at rest and when they were on the march (chaps. iii., iv.).

(*b.*) Chapters v., vi. Certain laws apparently supplementary to the legislation in Leviticus; the removal of the unclean from the camp (v. 1-4); the law of restitution (v. 5-10); the trial of jealousy (v. 11-31), the law of the Nazarites (vi. 1-21); the form of the priestly blessing (vi. 22-27).

(*c*) Chapters vii. 1–x. 10. Events occurring at this time, and regulations connected with them. Chap. vii. gives an account of the offerings of the princes of the different tribes at the dedication of the Tabernacle; chap. viii. of the consecration of the Levites (ver. 89 of chap. vii., and verses 1-4 of chap. viii. seem to be out of place); chap. ix. 1-14, of the second observance of the Passover (the first in the wilderness) on the 14th day of the second month, and of certain provisions made to meet the case of those who by reason of defilement were unable to keep it. Lastly, chap. ix. 15-23, tells how the cloud and the fire regulated the march and the encampment; and x. 1-10, how two silver trumpets were employed to give the signal for public assemblies, for war, and for festal occasions.

II. March from Sinai to the borders of Canaan.

(*a.*) We have here, first, the order of march described (x. 14-28); the appeal of Moses to his father-in-law, Hobab, to accompany them in their journeys; a request urged probably because, from his

[a] See Kurtz, *Gesch. des Alten Bundes*, ii. 331.

desert life, he would be well acquainted with the best spots to encamp in, and also would have influence with the various wandering and predatory tribes who inhabited the peninsula (29-32); and the chant which accompanied the moving and the resting of the ark (vers. 35, 36).

(*b.*) An account of several of the stations and of the events which happened at them. The first was at Taberah, where, because of their impatient murmurings, several of the people were destroyed by lightning (these belonged chiefly, it would seem, to the motley multitude which came out of Egypt with the Israelites); the loathing of the people for the manna; the complaint of Moses that he cannot bear the burden thus laid upon him, and the appointment in consequence of seventy elders to serve and help him in his office (xi. 10-29); the quails sent, and the judgment following thereon, which gave its name to the next station, Kibroth-hattaavah (the graves of lust), xi. 31-35 (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 30, 31, cvi. 14, 15); arrival at Hazeroth, where Aaron and Miriam are jealous of Moses, and Miriam is in consequence smitten with leprosy (xii. 1-15); the sending of the spies from the wilderness of Paran (*et Tîh*), their report, the refusal of the people to enter Canaan, their rejection in consequence, and their rash attack upon the Amalekites, which resulted in a defeat (xii. 16–xiv. 45).

III. What follows must be referred apparently to the thirty-seven years of wanderings; but we have no notices of time or place. We have laws respecting the meat and drink offerings, and other sacrifices (xv. 1-31); an account of the punishment of a Sabbath-breaker, perhaps as an example of the presumptuous sins mentioned in vers. 30, 31 (xv. 32-36); the direction to put fringes on their garments as mementos (xv. 37-41); the history of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and the murmuring of the people (xvi.); the budding of Aaron's rod as a witness that the tribe of Levi was chosen (xvii.); the direction that Aaron and his sons should bear the iniquity of the people, and the duties of the priests and Levites (xviii.); the law of the water of purification (xix.).

IV. (*a.*) The narrative returns abruptly to the second encampment of the Israelites in Kadesh. Here Miriam dies, and the people murmur for water, and Moses and Aaron, "speaking unadvisedly," are not allowed to enter the Promised Land (xx. 1-13). They intended perhaps, as before, to enter Canaan from the south. This, however, was not to be permitted. They therefore desired a passage through the country of Edom. Moses sent a conciliatory message to the king, asking permission to pass through, and promising carefully to abstain from all outrage, and to pay for the provisions which they might find necessary. The jealousy, however, of this fierce and warlike people was aroused. They refused the request, and turned out in arms to defend their border. And as those almost inaccessible mountain-passes could have been held by a mere handful of men against a large and well-trained army, the Israelites abandoned the attempt as hopeless and turned southwards, keeping along the western borders of Idumaea till they reached Ezion-geber (xx. 14-21).

On their way southwards they stop at Mount Hor, or rather at Moserah, on the edge of the Edomite territory; and from this spot it would seem that Aaron, accompanied by his brother Moses and his son Eleazar, quitted the camp in order to ascend the mountain Mount Hor lying itself within the Edomite territory, whilst it might have been perilous for a larger number to attempt to penetrate it, these unarmed wayfarers would not be molested, or might escape detection. Bunsen suggests that Aaron was taken to Mount Hor, in the hope that the fresh air of the mountain might be beneficial to his recovery; but the narrative does not justify such a supposition.

After Aaron's death, the march is continued southward; but when the Israelites approach the head of the Akabah at the southernmost point of the Edomite territory, they again murmur by reason of the roughness of the way, and many perish by the bite of venomous serpents (xx. 22–xxi. 9). The passage (xxi. 1-3) which speaks of the Canaanite king of Arad as coming out against the Israelites is clearly out of place, standing as it does *after* the mention of Aaron's death on Mount Hor. Arad is in the south of Palestine. The attack therefore must have been made whilst the people were yet in the neighbourhood of Kadesh. The mention of Hormah also shows that this must have been the case (comp. xiv. 45). It is on this *second* occasion that the name of Hormah is said to have been given. Either therefore it is used proleptically in xiv. 45, or there is some confusion in the narrative. What "the way of Atharim" (A. V. "the way of the spies") was, we have no means now of ascertaining.

(*b.*) There is again a gap in the narrative. We are told nothing of the march along the eastern edge of Edom, but suddenly find ourselves transported to the borders of Moab. Here the Israelites successively encounter and defeat the kings of the Amorites and of Bashan, wresting from them their territory and permanently occupying it (xxi. 10-35). Their successes alarm the king of Moab, who, distrusting his superiority in the field, sends for a magician to curse his enemies; hence the episode of Balaam (xxii. 1–xxiv. 25). Other artifices are employed by the Moabites to weaken the Israelites, especially through the influence of the Moabitish women (xxv. 1), with whom the Midianites (ver. 6) are also joined; this evil is averted by the zeal of Phinehas (xxv. 7, 8); a second numbering of the Israelites takes place in the plains of Moab preparatory to their crossing the Jordan (xxvi.). A question arises as to the inheritance of daughters, and a decision is given thereon (xxvii. 1-11); Moses is warned of his death, and Joshua appointed to succeed him (xxvii. 12-23). Certain laws are given concerning the daily sacrifice, and the offerings for sabbaths and festivals (xxviii., xxix.); and the law respecting vows (xxx.); the conquest of the Midianites is narrated (xxxi.); and the partition of the country east of the Jordan among the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh (xxxii.). Then follows a recapitulation, though with some difference, of the various encampments of the Israelites in the desert (xxxiii. 1-49); the command to destroy the Canaanites, (xxxiii. 50-56); the boundaries of the Promised Land, and the men appointed to divide it (xxxiv.); the appointment of the cities of the Levites and the cities of refuge (xxxv.); further directions respecting heiresses, with special reference to the case mentioned in chap. xxvii., and conclusion of the book (xxxvi.).

B. *Integrity.*—This, like the other books of the Pentateuch, is supposed by many critics to consist of a compilation from two or three, or more, earlier documents. According to De Wette, the following portions are the work of the Elohist [PENTATEUCH]:—Chap. i. 1–x. 28; xiii. 2-16 (in its ori-

ginal, though not in its present form); xv.; xvi. 1, 2-11, 16-23, 24 (?); xvii.-xix.; xx. 1-13, 22-29; xxv.-xxxi. (except perhaps xxvi. 8-11); xxxii. 5, 28-42 (vers. 1-4 uncertain); xxxiii.-xxxvi. The rest of the book is, according to him, by the Jehovist or later editor. Von Lengerke (*Kenaan*, s. lxxxi.) and Stähelin (§23) make a similar division, though they differ as to some verses, and even whole chapters. Vaihinger (in Herzog's *Encyclopädie*, art. "Pentateuch") finds traces of three distinct documents, which he ascribes severally to the pre-Elohist, the Elohist, and the Jehovist. To the first he assigns chap. x. 29-36; xi. 1-12, 16 (in its original form); xx. 14-21; xxi. 1-9, 13-35; xxxii. 33-42; xxxiii. 55, 56. To the Elohist belong chap. i. 1-x. 28; xi. 1-xii. 16; xiii. 1-xx. 13; xx. 22-29; xxi. 10-12; xxii. 1; xxv. 1-xxxi. 54; xxxii. 1-32; xxxiii. 1-xxxvi. 19. To the Jehovist, xi. 1-xii. 16 (*überarbeitet*); xxii. 2-xxiv. 25; xxxi. 8, &c.

But the grounds on which this distinction of documents rests are in every respect most unsatisfactory. The use of the divine names, which was the starting-point of this criticism, ceases to be a criterion; and certain words and phrases, a particular manner or colouring, the narrative of miracles or prophecies, are supposed to decide whether a passage belongs to the earlier or the later document. Thus, for instance, Stähelin alleges as reasons for assigning chaps. xi. xii. to the Jehovist, the coming down of Jehovah to speak with Moses, xi. 17, 25; the pillar of a cloud, xii. 5; the relation between Joshua and Moses, xi. 28, as in Ex. xxxiii. xxxiv.; the seventy elders, xi. 16, as Ex. xxiv. 1, and so on. So again in the Jehovistic section, xiii. xiv., he finds traces of "the author of the First Legislation" in one passage (xiii. 2-17), because of the use of the word מטה, signifying "a tribe," and נשיא, as in Num. i. and vii. But נשיא is used also by the supposed supplementist, as in Ex. xxii. 27, xxxiv. 31; and that מטה is not peculiar to the older documents has been shown by Keil (*Comm. on Joshua*, s. xix.). Von Lengerke goes still further, and cuts off xiii. 2-16 altogether from what follows. He thus makes the story of the spies, as given by the Elohist, strangely maimed. We only hear of their being sent to Canaan, but nothing of their return and their report. The chief reason for this separation is that in xiii. 27 occurs the Jehovistic phrase, "flowing with milk and honey," and some references to other earlier Jehovistic passages. De Wette again finds a repetition in xiv. 26-38 of xiv. 11-25, and accordingly gives these passages to the Elohist and Jehovist respectively. This has more colour of probability about it, but has been answered by Ranke (*Untersuch.* ii. s. 197 ff.). Again, chap. xvi. is supposed to be a combination of two different accounts, the original or Elohistic document having contained only the story of the rebellion of Korah and his company, whilst the Jehovist mixed up with it the insurrection of Dathan and Abiram, which was directed rather against the temporal dignity than against the spiritual authority of Moses. But it is against this view, that, in order to justify it, verses 12, 14, 27, and 32, are treated as interpolations. Besides, the discrepancies which it is alleged have arisen from the fusing of the two narratives disappear when fairly looked at. There is no contradiction, for instance, between xvi. 19, where Korah appears at the tabernacle of the congregation, and ver. 27, where Dathan and Abiram stand at the door of their tents. In the last passage Korah is not mentioned, and, even if we suppose him to be included, the narrative allows time for his having left the Tabernacle and returned to his own tent. Nor, again, does the statement, ver. 35, that the 250 men who offered incense were destroyed by fire, and who had, as we learn from ver. 2, joined the leaders of the insurrection, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, militate against the narrative in ver. 32, according to which Dathan and Abiram and all that appertained unto Korah were swallowed up alive by the opening of the earth. Further, it is clear, as Keil remarks (*Einleit.* 94), that the earlier document (*die Grundschrift*) implies that persons belonging to the other tribes were mixed up in Korah's rebellion, because they say to Moses and Aaron (ver. 3), "*All* the congregation is holy," which justifies the statement in vers. 1, 2, that, besides Korah the Levite, the Reubenites Dathan, Abiram, and On, were leaders of the insurrection.

In chap. xii. we have a remarkable instance of the jealousy with which the authority of Moses was regarded even in his own family. Considering the almost absolute nature of that authority, this is perhaps hardly to be wondered at. On the other hand, as we are expressly reminded, there was everything in his personal character to disarm jealousy. "Now the man Moses was very meek above all the men which were upon the face of the earth," says the historian (ver. 3). The pretext for the outburst of this feeling on the part of Miriam and Aaron was that Moses had married an Ethiopian woman (a woman of Cush). This was probably, as Ewald suggests, a second wife married after the death of Zipporah. But there is no reason for supposing, as he does (*Gesch.* ii. 222, note), that we have here a confusion of two accounts. He observes that the words of the brother and sister, "Hath the Lord indeed spoken only by Moses, hath He not also spoken by us?" show that the real ground of their jealousy was the apparent superiority of Moses in the prophetical office; whereas, according to the narrative, their dislike was occasioned by his marriage with a foreigner and a person of inferior rank. But nothing surely can be more natural than that the long pent-up feeling of jealousy should have fastened upon the marriage as a pretext to begin the quarrel, and then have shown itself in its true character in the words recorded by the historian.

It is not perhaps to be wondered at that the episode of Balaam (xxii. 2-xxiv. 25) should have been regarded as a later addition. The language is peculiar, as well as the general cast of the narrative. The prophecies are vivid and the diction of them highly finished: very different from the rugged, vigorous fragments of ancient poetry which meet us in chap. xxi. On these grounds, as well as on the score of the distinctly Messianic character of Balaam's prophecies, Ewald gives this episode to his Fifth Narrator, or the latest editor of the Pentateuch. This writer he supposes to have lived in the former half of the 8th century B.C., and hence he accounts for the reference to Assyria and the Cypriotes (the Kittim); the latter nation about that time probably infesting as pirates the coasts of Syria, whereas Assyria might be joined with Eber, because as yet the Assyrian power, though hostile to the southern nations, was rather friendly than otherwise to Judah. The allusions to Edom and Moab as vanquished enemies have reference, it is said, to the time of David (Ewald, *Gesch.*

i. 143 ff., and compare ii. 277 ff.). The prophecies of Balaam therefore, on this hypothesis, are *vaticinia ex eventu*, put into his mouth by a clever, but not very scrupulous, writer of the time of Isaiah, who, finding some mention of Balaam as a prince of Midian in the older records, put the story into shape as we have it now. But this sort of criticism is so purely arbitrary that it scarcely merits a serious refutation, not to mention that it rests entirely on the assumption that in prophecy there is no such thing as prediction. We will only observe that, considering the peculiarity of the man and of the circumstances as given in the history, we might expect to find the narrative itself, and certainly the poetical portions of it, marked by some peculiarities of thought and diction. Even granting that this episode is not by the same writer as the rest of the book of Numbers, there seems no valid reason to doubt its antiquity, or its rightful claim to the place which it at present occupies. Nothing can be more improbable than that, as a later invention, it should have found its way into the Book of the Law.

At any rate, the picture of this great magician is wonderfully in keeping with the circumstances under which he appears and with the prophecies which he utters. This is not the place to enter into all the questions which are suggested by his appearance on the scene. How it was that a heathen became a prophet of Jehovah we are not informed; but such a fact seems to point to some remains of a primitive revelation, not yet extinct, in other nations besides that of Israel. It is evident that his knowledge of God was beyond that of most heathen, and he himself could utter the passionate wish to be found in his death among the true servants of Jehovah; but, because the soothsayer's craft promised to be gainful, and the profession of it gave him an additional importance and influence in the eyes of men like Balak, he sought to combine it with his higher vocation. There is nothing more remarkable in the early history of Israel than Balaam's appearance. Summoned from his home by the Euphrates, he stands by his red altar-fires, weaving his dark and subtle sorceries, or goes to seek for enchantment, hoping, as he looked down upon the tents of Israel among the acacia-groves of the valley, to wither them with his word, yet constrained to bless, and to foretell their future greatness.

The Book of Numbers is rich in fragments of ancient poetry, some of them of great beauty, and all throwing an interesting light on the character of the times in which they were composed. Such, for instance, is the blessing of the high-priest (vi. 24-26):—

"Jehovah bless thee and keep thee:
Jehovah make His countenance shine upon thee,
And be gracious unto thee:
Jehovah lift up His countenance upon thee,
And give thee peace."

Such too are the chants which were the signal for the Ark to move when the people journeyed, and for it to rest when they were about to encamp:—

"Arise, O Jehovah! let Thine enemies be scattered:
Let them also that hate Thee flee before Thee."
And,
"Return, O Jehovah,
To the ten thousands of the families of Israel!"

In chap. xxi. we have a passage cited from a book called the 'Book of the Wars of Jehovah.' This was probably a collection of ballads and songs composed on different occasions by the watch-fires of the camp, and for the most part, though not perhaps exclusively, in commemoration of the victories of the Israelites over their enemies. The title shows us that these were written by men imbued with a deep sense of religion, and who were therefore foremost to acknowledge that not their own prowess, but Jehovah's Right Hand, had given them the victory when they went forth to battle. Hence it was called, not 'The Book of the Wars of Israel,' but 'The Book of the Wars of Jehovah. Possibly this is the book referred to in Ex. xvii. 14, especially as we read (ver. 16) that when Moses built the altar which he called Jehovah-Nissi (Jehovah is my banner), he exclaimed, "Jehovah will have war with Amalek from generation to generation." This expression may have given the name to the book.

The fragment quoted from this collection is difficult, because the allusions in it are obscure. The Israelites had reached the Arnon, "which," says the historian, "forms the border of Moab, and separates between the Moabites and Amorites." "Wherefore it is said," he continues, "in the Book of the Wars of Jehovah,

'Vaheb in Suphah and the torrent-beds;
Arnon and the slope of the torrent-beds
Which turneth to where Ar lieth,
And which leaneth upon the border of Moab.'"

The next is a song which was sung on the digging of a well at a spot where they encamped, and which from this circumstance was called Beêr, or 'The Well.' It runs as follows:—

"Spring up, O well! sing ye to it:
Well, which the princes dug,
Which the nobles of the people bored
With the sceptre-of-office, with their staves."

This song, first sung at the digging of the well, was afterwards no doubt commonly used by those who came to draw water. The maidens of Israel chanted it one to another, verse by verse, as they toiled at the bucket, and thus beguiled their labour. "Spring up, O well!" was the burden or refrain of the song, which would pass from one mouth to another at each fresh coil of the rope, till the full bucket reached the well's mouth. But the peculiar charm of the song lies not only in its antiquity, but in the characteristic touch which so manifestly connects it with the life of the time to which the narrative assigns it. The one point which is dwelt upon is, that the leaders of the people took their part in the work, that they themselves helped to dig the well. In the new generation, who were about to enter the Land of Promise, a strong feeling of sympathy between the people and their rulers had sprung up, which augured well for the future, and which left its stamp even on the ballads and songs of the time. This little carol is fresh and lusty with young life; it sparkles like the water of the well whose springing up first occasioned it; it is the expression, on the part of those who sung it, of lively confidence in the sympathy and co-operation of their leaders, which, manifested in this one instance, might be relied upon in all emergencies (Ewald, *Gesch.* ii. 264, 5).

Immediately following this 'Song of the Well,' comes a song of victory, composed after a defeat of the Moabites and the occupation of their territory. It is in a taunting, mocking strain; and is commonly considered to have been written by some *Israelitish* bard on the occupation of the Amorite territory

Yet the manner in which it is introduced would rather lead to the belief that we have here the translation of an old Amorite ballad. The history tells us that when Israel approached the country of Sihon they sent messengers to him, demanding permission to pass through his territory. The request was refused. Sihon came out against them, but was defeated in battle. "Israel," it is said, "smote him with the edge of the sword, and took his land in possession, from the Arnon to the Jabbok and as far as the children of Ammon; for the border of the children of Ammon was secure (*i. e.* they made no encroachments upon Ammonitish territory). Israel also took all these cities, and dwelt in all the cities of the Amorites in Heshbon, and all her daughters (*i. e.* lesser towns and villages)." Then follows a little scrap of Amorite history: "For Heshbon is the city of Sihon, king of the Amorites, and he had waged war with the former king of Moab, and had taken from him all his land as far as the Arnon. *Wherefore* the ballad-singers (המשלים) say,—

'Come ye to Heshbon,
Let the city of Sihon be built and established!
For fire went forth from Heshbon,
A flame out of the stronghold (קריה) of Sihon,
Which devoured Ar of Moab,
The lords[a] of the high places of Arnon.
Woe to thee, Moab!
Thou art undone, O people of Chemosh!
He (*i. e.* Chemosh thy god) hath given up his sons as fugitives,
And his daughters into captivity,
To Sihon king of the Amorites.
Then we cast them down[b]; Heshbon perished even unto Dibon.
And we laid (it) waste unto Nophah, which (reacheth) unto Mêdebâ.'"

If the song is of Hebrew origin, then the former part of it is a biting taunt, "Come, ye Amorites, into your city of Heshbon, and build it up again. Ye boasted that *ye* had burnt it with fire and driven out its Moabite inhabitants; but now *we* are come in our turn and have burnt Heshbon, and driven you out as ye once burnt it and drove out its Moabite possessors."

C. The alleged discrepancies between many statements in this and the other books of the Pentateuch, will be found discussed in other articles, DEUTERONOMY; EXODUS; PENTATEUCH. [J. J. S. P.]

NUME'NIUS (Νουμήνιος: *Numenius*), son of Antiochus, was sent by Jonathan on an embassy to Rome (1 Macc. xii. 16) and Sparta (xii. 17), to renew the friendly connexions between these nations and the Jews, c. B.C. 144. It appears that he had not returned from his mission at the death of Jonathan (1 Macc. xiv. 22, 23). He was again despatched to Rome by Simon, c. B.C. 141 (1 Macc. xiv. 24), where he was well received and obtained letters in favour of his countrymen, addressed to the various Eastern powers dependent on the Republic, B.C. 139 (1 Macc. xv. 15 ff.). [LUCIUS.] [B. F. W.]

NUN (נון, or נוּן, 1 Chr. vii. 27: Ναυη: *Nun*). The father of the Jewish captain Joshua (Ex. xxxiii. 11, &c.). His genealogical descent from Ephraim is recorded in 1 Chr. vii. Nothing is known of his life, which was doubtless spent in Egypt. The mode of spelling his name in the LXX. has not been satisfactorily accounted for. Gesenius asserts that it is a very early mistake of transcribers, who wrote NATH for NATN. But Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 298) gives some good etymological reasons for the more probable opinion that the final N is omitted intentionally. [W. T. B.]

NURSE.[c] It is clear, both from Scripture and from Greek and Roman writers, that in ancient times the position of the nurse, wherever one was maintained, was one of much honour and importance. (See Gen. xxiv. 59, xxxv. 8; 2 Sam. iv. 4; 2 K. xi. 2; 3 Macc. i. 20; Hom. *Od.* ii. 361, xix. 15, 251, 466; Eurip. *Ion*, 1357; *Hippol.* 267 and foll.; Virg. *Aen.* vii. 1.) The same term is applied to a foster-father or mother, *e. g.*, Num. xi. 12; Ruth iv. 16; Is. xlix. 23. In great families male servants, probably eunuchs in later times, were entrusted with the charge of the boys, 2 K. x. 1, 5. [CHILDREN.] See also *Kúran*, iv. p. 63, Tegg's ed.; Mrs. Poole, *Englw. in Eg.* iii. p. 201. [H. W. P.]

NUTS. The representative in the A. V. of the words *botnîm* and *egóz*.

1. *Botnîm* (בָּטְנִים: τερέβινθος: *terebinthus*). Among the good things of the land which the sons of Israel were to take as a present to Joseph in Egypt, mention is made of *botnîm*. There can scarcely be a doubt that the *botnim* denote the fruit of the Pistachio tree (*Pistacia vera*), though most

Pistacia vera.

modern versions are content with the general term *nuts*. (See Bochart, *Chanaan*, i. 10.) For other attempted explanations of the Hebrew term, compare Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 24. The LXX. and Vulg. read

[a] Or "the possessors of, the men of, the high places," &c.

[b] So in Zunz's Bible, and this is the simplest rendering. Ewald and Bunsen: "We burned them." Others: "We shot at them."

[c] 1. אֹמֵן, *m.*, τιθηνός, *nutrix*, *nutritius*; אֹמֶנֶת, *f.*, τιθήνη, *nutrix*, from אָמַן, to carry (see Is. lx. 4).

2. מֵינֶקֶת, part. f. Hiph., from יָנַק, "suck," with אִשָּׁה, γυνὴ τροφεύουσα (Ex. ii. 7). Connected with this is the doubtful verb נוּק, θηλάζω *nutrio* (Ges 867).

3. In N. T. τροφός, *nutrix* (1 Thess. ii. 7).

terebinth, the Persian version has *pusteh*, from which it is believed the Arabic *fostak* is derived, whence the Greek πιστάκια, and the Latin *pistacia*; the *Pistacia vera* is in form not unlike the *P. terebinthus*, another species of the same genus of plants; it is probable therefore that the *terebinthus* of the LXX. and Vulg. is used generically, and is here intended to denote the Pistachio-tree, for the terebinth does not yield edible fruit.[a] Syria and Palestine have been long famous for Pistachio-trees, see Dioscorides (i. 177) and Pliny (xiii. 5), who says "Syria has several trees that are peculiar to itself; among the nut-trees there is the well-known pistacia;" in another place (xv. 22) he states that Vitellius introduced this tree into Italy, and that Flaccus Pompeius brought it at the same time into Spain. The district around Aleppo is especially celebrated for the excellence of the Pistachio nuts, see Russell (*Hist. of Alep.* i. p. 82, 2nd ed.) and Galen (*de Fac. Alim.* 2, p. 612), who mentions Berrhoea (Aleppo) as being rich in the production of these trees; the town of Batna in the same district is believed to derive its name from this circumstance: Betonim, a town of the tribe of Gad (Josh. xiii. 26), has in all probability a similar etymology. [BETONIM.] Bochart draws attention to the fact that pistachio-nuts are mentioned together with almonds in Gen. xliii. 11, and observes that Dioscorides, Theophrastus, and others, speak of the pistachio-tree conjointly with the almond-tree; as there is no mention in early writers of the *Pistacia vera* growing in Egypt (see Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 27), it was doubtless not found there in Patriarchal times, wherefore Jacob's present to Joseph would have been most acceptable. There is scarcely any allusion to the occurrence of the *Pistacia vera* in Palestine amongst the writings of modern travellers; Kitto (*Phys. Hist. Pal.* p. 323) says "it is not much cultivated in Palestine, although found there growing wild in some very remarkable positions, as on Mount Tabor, and on the summit of Mount Attaroos" (see Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 334). Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 267) says that the terebinth-trees near Mais el Jebel had been grafted with the pistachio from Aleppo by order of Ibrahim Pasha, but that "the peasants destroyed the grafts, lest their crop of oil from the berries of these trees should be diminished." Dr. Hooker saw only two or three pistachio-trees in Palestine. These were outside the north gate of Jerusalem. But he says the tree is cultivated at Beirut and elsewhere in Syria. The *Pistacia vera* is a small tree varying from 15 to 30 ft. in height; the male and female flowers grow on separate trees; the fruit, which is a green-coloured oily kernel, not unlike an almond, is enclosed in a brittle shell. Pistachio-nuts are much esteemed as an article of diet both by Orientals and Europeans; the tree, which belongs to the Natural Order *Anacardiaceae*, extends from Syria to Bokhara, and is naturalised over the South of Europe; the nuts are too well-known to need minute description.

2. *Egôz* (אֱגוֹז: καρύα: *nux*) occurs only in Cant. vi. 11, "I went into the garden of nuts." The Hebrew word in all probability is here to be understood to refer to the *Walnut-tree*; the Greek καρύα is supposed to denote the tree, κάρυον the nut (see Soph. *Fr.* 892). Although κάρυον and *nux* may signify any kind of *nut*, yet the *walnut*, as *the* nut κατ' ἐξοχήν, is more especially that which is denoted by the Greek and Latin terms (see Casaubon *on Athenaeus*, ii. 65; Ovid, *Nux Elegia*; Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 28). The Hebrew term is evidently allied to the Arabic *jawz*, which is from a Persian word of very similar form; whence Abu'l Fadli (in Celsius) says "the Arabs have borrowed the word *Gjaus* from the Persian, in Arabic the term is *Chusf*, which is a tall tree." The *Chusf* or *Chasf*, is translated by Freytag, "an esculent nut, the walnut." The Jewish Rabbis understand the walnut by *Egôz*.

According to Josephus (*B. J.* iii. 10, § 8) the walnut-tree was formerly common, and grew most luxuriantly around the lake of Gennesareth; Schulz, speaking of this same district, says he often saw walnut-trees growing there large enough to shelter four-and-twenty persons. See also Kitto (*Phys. Hist. Pal.* p. 250) and Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 265). The walnut-tree (*Juglans regia*) belongs to the Natural Order *Juglandaceae*; it is too well-known to require any description. [W. H.]

NYMPHAS (Νυμφᾶς: *Nymphas*), a wealthy and zealous Christian in Laodicea, Col. iv. 15. His house was used as a place of assembly for the Christians; and hence Grotius making an extraordinarily high estimate of the probable number of Christians in Laodicea, infers that he must have lived in a rural district.

In the Vatican MS. (B) this name is taken for that of a woman; and the reading appears in some Latin writers, as pseudo-Ambrose, pseudo-Anselm, and it has been adopted in Lachmann's N. T. The common reading, however, is found in the Alexandrian MS. and in that of Ephrem Syrus (A and C), and is the only one known to the Greek Fathers.

[W. T. B.]

O

OAK. The following Hebrew words, which appear to be merely various forms of the same root,[a] occur in the O. T. as the names of some species of oak, viz. *êl*, *élâh*, *êlôn*, *ilân*, *allâh*, and *allôn*.

1. *El* (אֵיל: LXX. Vat. τερέβινθος; Alex τεοέμινθος; Aq., Sym., Theod., δρῦς: *campestria*) occurs only in the sing. number in Gen. xiv. 6 ("El-paran"). It is uncertain whether *êl* should be joined with Paran to form a proper name, or whether it is to be taken separately, as the "terebinth," or the "oak," or the "grove" of Paran. Onkelos and Saadias follow the Vulg., whence the "plain" of the A. V. (margin); (see Stanley, *S. & P.* 519, 520, App.). Rosenmüller (*Schol.* ad l. c.) follows Jarchi (*Comment. in Pent.* ad Gen. xiv. 6), and is for retaining the proper name. Three plural forms of *êl* occur: *êlim*, *êlôth*, and *êlath*. *Elim*, the second station where the Israelites halted

[a] The Arabic بطم (*butm*) appears to be also used generically. It is more generally applied to the terebinth, but may comprehend the pistachio-tree, as Gesenius conjectures, and Dr. Royle (Kitto's *Cycl.*) has proved. He says the word is applied in some Arabic works to a tree which has green-coloured kernels. This must be the *Pistacia vera*.

[a] From אוּל or אָלַל, "to be strong."

after they had crossed the Red Sea, in all probability derived its name from the seventy palm-trees there; the name *êl*, which more particularly signifies an "oak," being here put for any grove or plantation. Similarly the other plural form, *êlôth* or *êlath*, may refer, as Stanley (*S. & P.* p. 20) conjectures, to the palm-grove at Akaba. The plural *êlîm* occurs in Is. i. 29, where probably "oaks" are intended in Is. lxi. 3, and Ez. xxxi. 14, any strong flourishing trees may be denoted.

2. *Elâh* (אֵלָה: *τερέβινθος, δρῦς, Ἠλά, δένδρον, δένδρον συσκίαζον* Symm.; *πλάτανος* in Hos. iv. 13; *δένδρον σύσκιον*: *terebinthus, quercus*: "oak," "elah," "teil-tree" in Is. vi. 13; "elms" in Hos. iv. 13). There is much difficulty in determining the exact meanings of the several varieties of the term mentioned above: the old versions are so inconsistent that they add but little by way of elucidation. Celsius (*Hierob.* i. 34) has endeavoured to shew that *êl*, *êlîm*, *êlôn*, *êlâh*, and *allâh*, all stand for the terebinth-tree (*Pistacia terebinthus*), while *allôn* alone denotes an oak. Royle (in Kitto's *Cyc.* art. "Alah") agrees with Celsius in identifying the *êlâh* (אֵלָה) with the terebinth, and the *allôn* (אַלּוֹן) with the oak. Hiller (*Hierophyt.* i. 348) restricts the various forms of this word to different species of oak, and says no mention is made of the terebinth in the Hebrew Scriptures. Rosenmüller (*Bib. Not.* p. 237) gives the terebinth to *êl* and *êlâh*, and the oak to *allâh*, *allôn*, and *êlôn* (אֵילוֹן).

For the various opinions upon the meaning of these kindred terms, see Gesen. *Thes.* pp. 47, 51, 103, and Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 519.

That various species of oak may well have deserved the appellation of mighty trees is clear from the fact, that noble oaks are to this day occasionally seen in Palestine and Lebanon. On this subject we have been favoured with some valuable remarks from Dr. Hooker, who says, "The forests have been so completely cleared off all Palestine, that we must not look for existing evidence of what the trees were in biblical times and antecedently. In Syria proper there are only three common oaks. All form large trees in many countries, but very rarely now in Palestine; though that they do so occasionally is proof enough that they once did." Abraham's oak, near Hebron, is a familiar example of a noble tree of one species. Dr. Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 81) has given a minute account of it; and "his description," says Dr. Hooker, "is good, and his measurements tally with mine." If we examine the claims of the terebinth to represent the *êlâh*, as Celsius and others assert, we shall see that in point of size it cannot compete with some of the oaks of Palestine; and that therefore, if *êlâh* ever denotes the terebinth, which we by no means assert it does not, the term etymologically is applicable to it only in a second degree; for the *Pistacia terebinthus*, although it also occasionally grows to a great size, "spreading its boughs," as Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 322) observes, "far and wide like a noble oak," yet it does not form so conspicuously a good tree as either the *Quercus pseudo-coccifera* or *Q. aegilops*. Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 243) remarks on this point: "There are more mighty oaks here in this immediate vicinity (*Mejdel es-Shems*) than there are terebinths in all Syria and Palestine together. I have travelled from end to end of these countries, and across them in all directions, and speak with absolute certainty." At p. 600, the same writer remarks, "We have oaks in Lebanon twice the size of this (Abraham's oak), and every way more striking and majestic." Dr. Hooker has no doubt that Thomson is correct in saying there are far finer oaks in Lebanon; "though," he observes, "I did not see any larger, and only one or two at all near it. Cyril Graham told me there were forests of noble oaks in Lebanon north of the cedar valley." It is evident from these observations that two oaks (*Quercus pseudo-coccifera* and *Q. aegilops*) are well worthy of the name of mighty trees; though it is equally true that over a greater part of the country the oaks of Palestine are at present merely bushes.

Quercus pseudo-coccifera.

3. *Elôn* (אֵילוֹן: *ἡ δρῦς ἡ ὑψηλή, ἡ βαλανος Ἠλών*: *convallis illustris, quercus*) occurs frequently in the O. T., and denotes, there can be little doubt, some kind of oak. The A. V., following the Targum, translates *êlôn* by "plain." (See Stanley, *S. & P.* 520, App.)

4. *Ilân* (אֵילָן: *δένδρον*: *arbor*) is found only in Dan. iv. as the tree which Nebuchadnezzar saw in his dream. The word appears to be used for any "strong tree," the oak having the best claim to the title, to which tree probably indirect allusion may be made.

5. *Allâh* (אַלָּה: *ἡ τέρμινθος*; Aq. and Symm. *ἡ δρῦς*: *quercus*) occurs only in Josh. xxiv. 26, and is correctly rendered "oak" by the A. V.

6. *Allôn* (אַלּוֹן: *ἡ βάλανος, δένδρον βαλάνου, δρῦς*: *quercus*) is uniformly rendered "oak" by the A. V., and has always been so understood by commentators. It should be stated that *allôn* occurs in Hos. iv. 13, as distinguished from the other form *êlâh*; consequently it is necessary to suppose that two different trees are signified by the terms. We believe, for reasons given above, that the difference is specific, and not generic—that two species of oaks are denoted by the Hebrew terms: *allôn* may stand for an evergreen oak, as the *Quercus pseudo-coccifera*, and *êlâh* for one of the deciduous kinds. The *Pistacia vera* could never be mistaken for an oak. If, therefore, specific allusion was ever made to this tree, we cannot help believing that it would have

been under another name than any one of the numerous forms which are used to designate the different species of the genus *Quercus*; perhaps under a Hebrew form allied to the Arabic *butm*, "the terebinth." The oak-woods of Bashan are mentioned in Is. ii. 13, Ez. xxvii. 6, Zech. xi. 2. The oaks of Bashan belong in all probability to the species known as *Quercus aegilops*, the Valonia oak, which is said to be common in Gilead and Bashan. Sacrifices were offered under oaks (Hos. iv. 13; Is. i. 29); of oak-timber the Tyrians manufactured oars (Ez. xvii. 6), and idolaters their images (Is. xliv. 14); under the shade of oak-trees the dead were sometimes interred (Gen. xxxv. 8; see also 1 Sam. xxxi. 13).

Quercus aegilops.

Another species of oak, besides those named above, is the *Quercus infectoria*, which is common in Galilee and Samaria. It is rather a small tree in Palestine, and seldom grows above 30 ft. high, though in ancient times it might have been a noble tree.

For a description of the oaks of Palestine, see Dr. Hooker's paper read before the Linnean Society, June, 1861. [W. H.]

OATH.[a] I. The principle on which an oath is held to be binding is incidentally laid down in Heb. vi. 16, viz. as an ultimate appeal to divine authority to ratify an assertion (see the principle stated and defended by Philo, *De Leg. Alleg.* iii. 73, i. 128, ed. Mang.). There the Almighty is represented as promising or denouncing with an oath, *i.e.* doing so in the most positive and solemn manner (see such passages as Gen. xxii. 16, xii. 7, compared with xxiv. 7; Ex. xvii. 16 and Lev. xxvi. 14 with Dan. ix. 11; 2 Sam. vii. 12, 13, with Acts ii. 30; Ps. cx. 4 with Heb. vii. 21, 28; Is. xlv. 23; Jer. xxii. 5, xxxii. 22). With this Divine asseveration we may compare the Stygian oath of Greek mythology (Hom. *Il.* xv. 37; Hes. *Theog.* 400, 805; see also the *Laws of Menu*, c. viii. 110; Sir W. Jones, *Works*, iii. 291).

II. On the same principle, that oath has always been held most binding which appealed to the highest authority, both as regards individuals and communities. (*a.*) Thus believers in Jehovah appealed to Him, both judicially and extra-judicially, with such phrases as "The God of Abraham judge;" "As the Lord liveth;" "God do so to me and more also;" "God knoweth," and the like (see Gen. xxi. 23, xxxi. 53; Num. xiv. 2, xxx. 2; 1 Sam. xiv. 39, 44; 1 K. ii. 42; Is. xlviii. 1, lxv. 16; Hos. iv. 15). So also our Lord himself accepted the high-priest's adjuration (Matt. xxvi. 63), and St. Paul frequently appeals to God in confirmation of his statements (Acts xxvi. 29; Rom. i. 9, ix. 1; 2 Cor. i. 23, xi. 31; Phil. i. 8; see also Rev. x. 6). (*b.*) Appeals of this kind to authorities recognised respectively by adjuring parties were regarded as bonds of international security, and their infraction as being not only grounds of international complaint, but also offences against divine justice. So Zedekiah, after swearing fidelity to the king of Babylon, was not only punished by him, but denounced by the prophet as a breaker of his oath (2 Chr. xxxvi. 13; Ez. xvii. 13, 18). Some, however, have supposed that the Law forbade any intercourse with heathen nations which involved the necessity of appeal by them to their own deities (Ex. xxiii. 32; Selden, *De Jur. Nat.* ii. 13; see Liv. i. 24; *Laws of Menu*, viii. 113; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Jus Jurandum").

III. As a consequence of this principle, (*a*) appeals to God's name on the one hand, and to heathen deities on the other, are treated in Scripture as tests of allegiance (Ex. xxiii. 13, xxxiv. 6; Deut. xxix. 12; Josh. xxiii. 7, xxiv. 16; 2 Chr. xv. 12, 14; Is. xix. 18, xlv. 23; Jer. xii. 16; Am. viii. 14; Zeph. i. 5). (*b*) So also the sovereign's name is sometimes used as a form of obligation, as was the case among the Romans with the name of the emperor; and Hofmann quotes a custom by which the kings of France used to appeal to themselves at their coronation (Gen. xlii. 15; 2 Sam. xi. 11, xiv. 19; Martyr. S. Polycarp. c. ix.; Tertull. *Apol.* c. 32; Suet. *Calig.* c. 27; Hofmann, *Lex.* art. "Juramentum"; *Dict. of Antiq.* u. s.; Michaelis, *On Laws of Moses*, art. 256, vol. iv. 102, ed. Smith).

IV. Other forms of oath, serious or frivolous, are mentioned; as, by the "blood of Abel" (Selden, *De Jur. Nat.* v. 8); by the "head;" by "Heaven," the "Temple," &c., some of which are condemned by our Lord (Matt. v. 33, xxiii. 16-22; and see Jam. v. 12). Yet He did not refuse the solemn adjuration of the high-priest (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64; see Juv. *Sat.* vi. 16; Mart. xi. 94; Mishna, *Sanh.* iii. 2, compared with Am. viii. 7; Spencer, *De Leg. Hebr.* ii. 1-4).

As to the subject-matter of oaths the following cases may be mentioned:—

1. Agreement or stipulation for performance of certain acts (Gen. xiv. 22, xxiv. 2, 8, 9; Ruth i. 17; 1 Sam. xiv. 24; 2 Sam. v. 3; Ezr. x. 5; Neh. v. 12, x. 29, xiii. 25; Acts xxiii. 21; and see Joseph. *Vit.* c. 53).

2. Allegiance to a sovereign, or obedience from an inferior to a superior (Eccl. viii. 2; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 13; 1 K. xviii. 10). Josephus says the Essenes considered oaths unnecessary for the initiated, though they required them previously to initiation (*B. J.* ii. 8, §§6, 7; *Ant.* xv. 10, §4; Philo, *Quod omnis probus*, I. 12, ii. 458, ed. Mangey.)

[a] 1. אָלָה, ἀρά, *maledictio*, *juramentum*, with affinity to אֵל, the name of God (Ges. pp. 44, 99).

2. שְׁבוּעָה and שְׁבֻעָה, from שֶׁבַע, "seven," the sacred number (Ges. pp. 1354, 1356), ὅρκος, *juramentum*.

3. Promissory oath of a ruler (Josh. vi. 26; 1 Sam. xiv. 24, 28; 2 K. xxv. 24; Matt. xiv. 7). Priests took no oath of office (Heb. vii. 21).

4. Vow made in the form of an oath (Lev. v. 4).

5. Judicial oaths. (*a*) A man receiving a pledge from a neighbour was required, in case of injury happening to the pledge, to clear himself by oath of the blame of damage (Ex. xxii. 10, 11; 1 K. viii. 31; 2 Chr. vi. 22). A wilful breaker of trust, especially if he added perjury to his fraud, was to be severely punished (Lev. vi. 2-5; Deut. xix. 16-18). (*b*) It appears that witnesses were examined on oath, and that a false witness, or one guilty of suppression of the truth, was to be severely punished (Lev. v. 1; Prov. xxix. 24; Michaelis, *l. c.* art. 256, iv. 109; Deut. xix. 16-19; Grotius, in *Crit. Sacr.* on Matt. xxvi. 63; Knobel on Lev. v. 1, in *Kurzg. Exeg. Hdb.*). (*c*) A wife suspected of incontinence was required to clear herself by oath (Num. v. 19-22).

It will be observed that a leading feature of Jewish criminal procedure was that the accused person was put upon his oath to clear himself (Ex. xxii. 11; Num. v. 19-22; 1 K. viii. 31; 2 Chr. vi. 22; Matt. xxvi. 63).

The forms of adjuration mentioned in Scripture are—1. Lifting up the hand. Witnesses laid their hands on the head of the accused (Gen. xiv. 22; Lev. xxiv. 14; Deut. xxxii. 40; Is. iii. 7; Ez. xx. 5, 6; Sus. v. 35; Rev. x. 5; see Hom. *Il.* xix. 254; Virg. *Aen.* xii. 196; Carpzov, *Apparatus*, p. 652).

2. Putting the hand under the thigh of the person to whom the promise was made. As Josephus describes the usage, this ceremony was performed by each of the contracting parties to each other. It has been explained (*a*) as having reference to the covenant of circumcision (Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron*, vi. 6; Carpzov, *l. c.* p. 653); (*b*) as containing a principle similar to that of phallic symbolism (Her. ii. 48; Plut. *Is. et Osir.* vii. 412, ed. Reiske; Knobel on Gen. xxiv. 2, in *Kurzg. Exeg. Hdb.*); (*c*) as referring to the promised Messiah (Aug. *Qu. in Hept.* 62; *Civ. Dei*, xvi. 33). It seems likely that the two first at least of these explanations may be considered as closely connected, if not identical with each other (Gen. xxiv. 2, xlvii. 29; Nicolaus, *De Jur.* xi. 6; Ges. p. 631, *s. v.* יָרֵךְ; Fagius and others in *Crit. Sacr.*; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 16, §1).

3. Oaths were sometimes taken before the altar, or, as some understand the passage, if the persons were not in Jerusalem, in a position looking towards the Temple (1 K. viii. 31; 2 Chr. vi. 22; Godwyn, *l. c.* vi. 6; Carpzov, p. 654; see also Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 219; Hom. *Il.* xiv. 272).

4. Dividing a victim and passing between or distributing the pieces (Gen. xv. 10, 17; Jer. xxxiv. 18). This form was probably used to intensify the imprecation already ratified by sacrifice according to the custom described by classical writers under the phrases ὅρκια τέμνειν, *foedus ferire*, &c. We may perhaps regard in this view the acts recorded Judg. xix. 29, 1 Sam. xi. 7, and perhaps Herod. vii. 39.

As the sanctity of oaths was carefully inculcated by the Law, so the crime of perjury was strongly condemned; and to a false witness the same punishment was assigned which was due for the crime to which he testified (Ex. xx. 7; Lev. xix. 12; Deut. xix. 16-19; Ps. xv. 4; Jer. v. 2, vii. 9; Ez. xvi. 59; Hos. x. 4; Zech. viii. 17). Whether the "swearing" mentioned by Jeremiah (xxiii. 10) and by Hosea (iv. 2) was false swearing, or profane abuse of oaths, is not certain. If the latter, the crime is one which had been condemned by the Law (Lev. xxiv. 11, 16; Matt. xxvi. 74).

From the Law the Jews deduced many special cases of perjury, which are thus classified:—1. *Jurandum promissorium*, a rash inconsiderate promise for the future, or false assertion respecting the past (Lev. v. 4). 2. *Vanum*, an absurd self-contradictory assertion. 3. *Depositi*, breach of contract denied (Lev. xix. 11). 4. *Testimonii*, judicial perjury (Lev. v. 1; Nicolaus and Selden, *De Juramentis*, in Ugolini, *Thesaurus*, xxvi.; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Matt. v. 33, vol. ii. 292; Mishna, *Sheb.* iii. 7, iv. 1, v. 1, 2; Otho, *Lex. Rabb.*, art. "Juramentum").

Women were forbidden to bear witness on oath, as was inferred from Deut. xix. 17 (Mishna, *Sheb.* iv. 1).

The Christian practice in the matter of oaths was founded in great measure on the Jewish. Thus the oath on the Gospels was an imitation of the Jewish practice of placing the hands on the book of the Law (P. Fagius, on *Onkel. ad* Ex. xxiii. 1; Justinian, *Nov.* c. viii. Epil.; Matth. Paris, *Hist.* p. 916).

Our Lord's prohibition of swearing was clearly always understood by the Christian Church as directed against profane and careless swearing, not against the serious judicial form (Bingham, *Antiq. Eccl.* xvi. 7, §4, 5; Aug. *Ep.* 157, c. v. 40); and thus we find the fourth Council of Carthage (c. 61) reproving clerical persons for swearing by created objects.

The most solemn Mohammedan oath is made on the open Koran. Mohammed himself used the form, "By the setting of the stars" (Chardin, *Voy.* vi. 87; Sale's *Koran*, lvi. p. 437).

Bedouin Arabs use various sorts of adjuration, one of which somewhat resembles the oath "by the Temple." The person takes hold of the middle tent-pole, and swears by the life of the tent and its owners (Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 127, foll.; see also another case mentioned by Burckhardt, *Syria*, p. 398).

The stringent nature of the Roman military oath, and the penalties attached to infraction of it, are alluded to, more or less certainly, in several places in N. T., *e. g.* Matt. viii. 9, Acts xii. 19, xvi. 27, xxvii. 42; see also Dionys. Hal. xi. 43, and Aul. Gell. xvi. 4. [PERJURY.] [H. W. P.]

OBADI'AH (עֹבַדְיָה: Ἀβδία: *Obdia*). The name of Obadiah was probably as common among the Hebrews as Abdallah among the Arabians, both of them having the same meaning and etymology.

1. The sons of Obadiah are enumerated in a corrupt passage of the genealogy of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 21). The reading of the LXX., and Vulg. was בְּנוֹ, "his son," and of the Peshito Syriac בַּר, "son of," for בְּנֵי, "sons of;" so that according to the two former versions Obadiah was the son of Arnan, and according to the last the son of Jesaiah.

2. (Ἀβδιού: *Obadia.*) According to the received text, one of the five sons of Izrahiah, a descendant of Issachar and a chief man of his tribe (1 Chr. vii. 3). Four only, however, are mentioned, and the discrepancy is rectified in four of Kennicott's MSS., which omit the words "and the sons of Izrahiah" thus making Izrahiah brother,

and not father, of Obadiah, and both sons of Uzzi. The Syriac and Arabic versions follow the received text, but read "four" instead of "five."

3. ('Αβδιά: *Obdia.*) One of the six sons of Azel, a descendant of Saul (1 Chr. viii. 38, ix. 44).

4. A Levite, son of Shemaiah, and descended from Jeduthun (1 Chr. ix. 16). He appears to have been a principal musician in the Temple choir in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 25). It is evident, from a comparison of the last-quoted passage with 1 Chr. ix. 15-17 and Neh. xi. 17-19, that the first three names "Mattaniah, and Bakbukiah, Obadiah," belong to ver. 24, and the last three, "Meshullam, Talmon, Akkub," were the families of porters. The name is omitted in the Vat. MS. in Neh. xii. 25, where the Codex Fred. Aug. has 'Οβδίας and the Vulg. *Obedia.* In Neh. xi. 17, "Obadiah the son of Shemaiah," is called "ABDA the son of Shammua."

5. (*Obdias.*) The second in order of the lion-faced Gadites, captains of the host, who joined David's standard at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 9).

6. One of the princes of Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat, who were sent by the king to teach in the cities of Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 7).

7. ('Αβαδία: *Obedia.*) The son of Jehiel, of the sons of Joab, who came up in the second caravan with Ezra, accompanied by 218 of his kinsmen (Ezr. viii. 9).

8. ('Αβδία: *Obdias.*) A priest, or family of priests, who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 5). [W. A. W.]

9. ('Οβδιού: *Abdias.*) The prophet Obadiah.

We know nothing of him except what we can gather from the short book which bears his name. The Hebrew tradition adopted by St. Jerome (*In Abd.*), and maintained by Abarbanel and Kimchi, that he is the same person as the Obadiah of Ahab's reign, is as destitute of foundation as another account, also suggested by Abarbanel, which makes him to have been a converted Idumaean, "the hatchet," according to the Hebrew proverb, "returning into the wood out of which it was itself taken" (Abarb. *In Obad apud* Pfeifferi, *Opera*, p. 1092, Ultraj. 1704). The question of his date must depend upon the interpretation of the 11th verse of his prophecy. He there speaks of the conquest of Jerusalem and the captivity of Jacob. If he is referring to the well-known captivity by Nebuchadnezzar he must have lived at the time of the Babylonish captivity, and have prophesied subsequently to the year B.C. 588. If, further, his prophecy against Edom found its first fulfilment in the conquest of that country by Nebuchadnezzar in the year B.C. 583, we have its date fixed. It must have been uttered at some time in the five years which intervened between those two dates. Jaeger argues at length for an earlier date. He admits that the 11th verse refers to a capture of Jerusalem, but maintains that it may apply to its capture by Shishak in the reign of Rehoboam (1 K. xiv. 25; 2 Chr. xii. 2); by the Philistines and Arabians in the reign of Jehoram (2 Chr. xxi. 16); by Joash in the reign of Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 22); or by the Chaldaeans in the reign of Jehoiakim and of Jehoiachin (2 K. xxiv. 2 and 10). The Idumaeans might, he argues, have joined the enemies of Judah on any of these occasions, as their inveterate hostility from an early date is proved by several passages of Scripture, *e. g.* Joel iii. 19; Am. i. 11. He thinks it probable that the occasion referred to by Obadiah is the capture of Jerusalem by the Ephraimites in the reign of Amaziah (2 Chr. xxv. 22). The utmost force of these statements is to prove a possibility. The only argument of any weight for the early date of Obadiah is his position in the list of the books of the minor prophets. Why should he have been inserted between Amos and Jonah if his date is about B.C. 585? Schnurrer seems to answer this question satisfactorily when he says that the prophecy of Obadiah is an amplification of the last five verses of Amos, and was therefore placed next after the book of Amos. Our conclusion is in favour of the later date assigned to him, agreeing herein with that of Pfeiffer, Schnurrer, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Hendewerk, and Maurer.

The book of Obadiah is a sustained denunciation of the Edomites, melting, as is the wont of the Hebrew prophets (cf. Joel iii., Am. ix.), into a vision of the future glories of Zion, when the arm of the Lord should have wrought her deliverance and have repaid double upon her enemies. Previous to the captivity, the Edomites were in a similar relation to the Jews to that which the Samaritans afterwards held. They were near neighbours, and they were relatives. The result was that intensified hatred which such conditions are likely to produce, if they do not produce cordiality and good-will. The Edomites are the types of those who ought to be friends and are not—of those who ought to be helpers, but in the day of calamity are found "standing on the other side." The prophet first touches on their pride and self-confidence, and then denounces their "violence against their brother Jacob" at the time of the capture of Jerusalem. There is a sad tone of reproach in the form into which he throws his denunciation, which contrasts with the parallel denunciations of Ezekiel (xxv. and xxxv.), Jeremiah (Lam. iv. 21), and the author of the 137th Psalm, which seem to have been uttered on the same occasion and for the same cause. The psalmist's "Remember the children of Edom, O Lord, in the day of Jerusalem, how they said, Down with it, down with it, even to the ground!" coupled with the immediately succeeding imprecation on Babylon, is a sterner utterance, by the side of which the "Thou shouldest not" of Obadiah appears rather as the sad remonstrance of disappointment. He complains that they looked on and rejoiced in the destruction of Jerusalem; that they triumphed over her and plundered her; and that they cut off the fugitives who were probably making their way through Idumaea to Egypt.

The last six verses are the most important part of Obadiah's prophecy. The vision presented to the prophet is that of Zion triumphant over the Idumaeans and all her enemies, restored to her ancient possessions, and extending her borders northward and southward and eastward and westward. He sees the house of Jacob and the house of Joseph (here probably denoting the ten tribes and the two) consuming the house of Esau as fire devours stubble (ver. 18). The inhabitants of the city of Jerusalem, now captive at Sepharad, are to return to Jerusalem, and to occupy not only the city itself, but the southern tract of Judaea (ver. 20). Those who had dwelt in the southern tract are to overrun and settle in Idumaea (ver. 19). The former inhabitants of the plain country are also to establish themselves in Philistia (ib.). To the north the tribe of Judah is to extend itself as far as the fields of Ephraim and Samaria, while Benjamin, thus displaced, takes possession of Gilead (ib.). The captives of the ten