

art of concealment and artifice, and courting the slight of open truth. St. Paul's language to Elymas is studiously directed to the reproof of the tricks of the religious impostor. The Apostle, full of the true Holy Ghost, looked steadily on the deceiver, spoke in the name of a God of light and righteousness and straightforward ways, and put forth the power of that God for the vindication of truth against Elymas. The punishment of Elymas was itself symbolical, and conveyed "teaching of the Lord." He had chosen to create a spiritual darkness around him; and now there fell upon him a mist and a darkness, and he went about, seeking some one to lead him by the hand. If on reading this account we refer to St. Peter's reproof of Simon Magus, we shall be struck by the differences as well as the resemblance which we shall observe. But we shall undoubtedly gain a stronger impression of this part of the Apostolic work, viz., the conflict to be waged between the Spirit of Christ and of the Church, and the evil spirits of a dark superstition to which men were surrendering themselves as slaves. We shall feel the worth and power of that candid and open temper in which alone St. Paul would commend his cause; and in the conversion of Sergius Paulus we shall see an exemplary type of many victories to be won by the truth over falsehood.

This point is made a special crisis in the history of the Apostle by the writer of the Acts. Saul now becomes Paul, and begins to take precedence of Barnabas. Nothing is said to explain the change of name. No reader could resist the temptation of supposing that there must be some connexion between Saul's new name and that of his distinguished Roman convert. But on reflection it does not seem probable that St. Paul would either have wished, or have consented, to change his own name for that of a distinguished convert. If we put Sergius Paulus aside, we know that it was exceedingly common for Jews to bear, besides their own Jewish name, another borrowed from the country with which they had become connected. (See Conybeare and Howson, i. p. 163, for full illustrations.) Thus we have Simeon also named Niger, Barsabas also named Justus, John also named Marcus. There is no reason therefore why Saul should not have borne from infancy the other name of Paul. In that case he would be Saul amongst his own countrymen, Paulus amongst the Gentiles. And we must understand St. Luke as wishing to mark strongly the transition point between Saul's activity amongst his own countrymen, and his new labours as the Apostle of the Gentiles, by calling him Saul only, during the first, and Paul only afterwards.

The conversion of Sergius Paulus may be said, perhaps, to mark the beginning of the work amongst the Gentiles; otherwise, it was not in Cyprus that any change took place in the method hitherto followed by Barnabas and Saul in preaching the Gospel. Their public addresses were as yet confined to the synagogues; but it was soon to be otherwise. From Paphos, "Paul and his company" set sail for the mainland, and arrived at Perga in Pamphylia. Here the heart of their companion John failed him, and he returned to Jerusalem. From Perga they travelled on to a place, obscure in secular history, but most memorable in the history of the Kingdom of Christ,—Antioch in Pisidia. [ANTIOCH IN PISIDIA.] Here "they went into the synagogue on the sabbath-day, and sat down." Small as the place was, it contained its colony of Jews, and with them proselytes who worshipped the God

of the Jews. The degree to which the Jews had spread and settled themselves over the world, and the influence they had gained over the more respectable of their Gentile neighbours, and especially over the women of the better class, are facts difficult to appreciate justly, but proved by undoubted evidence, and very important for us to bear in mind. This Pisidian Antioch may have been more Jewish than most similar towns, but it was not more so than many of much greater size and importance. What took place here in the synagogue and in the city, is interesting to us not only on account of its bearing on the history, but also because it represents more or less exactly what afterwards occurred in many other places.

It cannot be without design that we have single but detailed examples given us in the Acts, of the various kinds of addresses which St. Paul used to deliver in appealing to his different audiences. He had to address himself, in the course of his missionary labours, to Jews, knowing and receiving the Scriptures; to ignorant barbarians; to cultivated Greeks; to mobs enraged against himself personally; to magistrates and kings. It is an inestimable help in studying the Apostle and his work, that we have specimens of the tone and the arguments he was accustomed to use in all these situations. These will be noticed in their places. In what he said at the synagogue in Antioch, we recognize the type of the addresses in which he would introduce his message to his Jewish fellow-countrymen.

The Apostles of Christ sat still with the rest of the assembly, whilst the Law and the Prophets were read. They and their audience were united in reverence for the sacred books. Then the rulers of the synagogue sent to invite them, as strangers but brethren, to speak any word of exhortation which might be in them to the people. Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand, he spoke.—The speech is given in Acts xiii. 16-41. The characteristics we observe in it are these. The speaker begins by acknowledging "the God of this people Israel." He ascribes to Him the calling out of the nation and the conduct of its subsequent history. He touches on the chief points of that history up to the reign of David, whom he brings out into prominence. He then names JESUS as the promised Son of David. To convey some knowledge of Jesus to the minds of his hearers, he recounts the chief facts of the Gospel history; the preparatory preaching and baptism of John (of which the rumour had spread perhaps to Antioch), the condemnation of Jesus by the rulers "who knew neither Him nor the prophets," and His resurrection. That Resurrection is declared to be the fulfilment of all God's promises of Life, given to the fathers. Through Jesus, therefore, is now proclaimed by God Himself the forgiveness of sins and full justification. The Apostle concludes by drawing from the prophets a warning against unbelief. If this is an authentic example of Paul's preaching, it was impossible for Peter or John to start more exclusively from the Jewish covenant and promises than did the Apostle of the Gentiles. How entirely this discourse resembles those of St. Peter and of Stephen in the earlier chapters of the Acts! There is only one specially Pauline touch in the whole,—the words in ver. 39, "By Him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the Law of Moses." 'Evidently foisted in,' says Baur (p. 103), who thinks we are

jealing with a mere fiction, 'to prevent the speech from appearing too Petrine, and to give it a slightly Pauline air.' Certainly, it sounds like an echo of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians. But is there therefore the slightest incongruity between this and the other parts of the address? Does not 'that "forgiveness of sins" which St. Peter and St. Paul proclaimed with the most perfect agreement, connect itself naturally, in the thoughts of one exercised by the law as Saul of Tarsus had been, with justification not by the law but by grace? If we suppose that Saul had accepted just the faith which the older Apostles held in Jesus of Nazareth, the Messiah of the Jews, crucified and raised from the dead according to the teaching of the prophets, and in the remission of sins through Him confirmed by the gift of the Holy Ghost; and that he had also had those experiences, not known to the older Apostles, of which we see the working in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians; this speech, in all its parts, is precisely what we might expect; this is the very teaching which the Apostle of the Gentiles must have everywhere and always set forth, when he was speaking "God's word" for the first time to an assembly of his fellow-countrymen.

The discourse thus epitomized produced a strong impression; and the hearers (not "the Gentiles"), requested the Apostles to repeat their message on the next sabbath. During the week so much interest was excited by the teaching of the Apostles, that on the sabbath day "almost the whole city came together, to hear the Word of God." It was this concern of the Gentiles which appears to have first alienated the minds of the Jews from what they had heard. They were filled with envy. They probably felt that there was a difference between those efforts to gain Gentile proselytes in which they had themselves been so successful, and this new preaching of a Messiah in whom a justification which the Law could not give was offered to men. The eagerness of the Gentiles to hear may have confirmed their instinctive apprehensions. The Jewish envy once roused became a power of deadly hostility to the Gospel; and these Jews at Antioch set themselves to oppose bitterly the words which Paul spoke.—We have here, therefore, a new phase in the history of the Gospel. In these foreign countries it is not the Cross or Nazareth which is most immediately repulsive to the Jews in the proclaiming of Jesus. It is the wound given to Jewish importance in the association of Gentiles with Jews as the receivers of the good tidings. If the Gentiles had been asked to become Jews, no offence would have been taken. But the proclamation of the Christ could not be thus governed and restrained. It overleapt, by its own force, these narrowing methods. It was felt to be addressed not to one nation only, but to mankind.

The new opposition brought out new action on the part of the Apostles. Rejected by the Jews, they became bold and outspoken, and turned from them to the Gentiles. They remembered and declared what the prophets had foretold of the enlightening and deliverance of the whole world. In speaking to the Gentiles, therefore, they were simply fulfilling the promise of the Covenant. The gift, we observe, of which the Jews were depriving themselves, and which the Gentiles who believed were accepting, is described as "eternal life" (*ἡ αἰώνιος ζωῆς*). It was the life of which the risen Jesus was the fountain, which Peter and John had declared at Jerusalem, and of which all acts of

healing were set forth as signs. This was now poured out largely upon the Gentiles. The word of the Lord was published widely, and had much to be their commission,—not the less to present it to message to Jews first; but in the absence of an adequate Jewish medium to deal directly with the Gentiles. But this expansion of the Gospel work brought with it new difficulties and dangers. At Antioch now, as in every city afterwards, the adherents amongst the Gentiles, and especially the women of the higher class, and the aristocracy or the populace to persecute the authorities and to drive them from the place.

With their own spirits raised, and amidst much enthusiasm of their disciples, Paul and Barnabas now travelled on to Iconium, where the occurrences at Antioch were repeated, and from thence to the Lycæonian country which contained the cities Lystra and Derbe. Here they had to deal with unscrupulous heathens. At Lystra the healing of a cripple took place, the narrative of which runs very parallel to the account of the similar act done by Peter and John at the gate of the Temple. The agreement becomes closer, if we insert here, with Lactantius, before "Stand upright on thy feet," the words "I say unto thee in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ." The parallel leads us to observe more distinctly that every messenger of Jesus Christ was a herald of life. The spiritual life—the *ζωὴ αἰώνιος*—which was of faith, is illustrated and expounded by the invigoration of impotent limbs. The same truth was to be conveyed to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the heathens of Lycæonia. The act was received naturally by these pagans. They took the Apostles for gods, calling Barnabas, who was of the more imposing presence, Zeus (Jupiter), and Paul, who was the chief speaker, Hermes (Mercurius). This mistake, followed up by the attempt to offer sacrifices to them, gives occasion to the recording of an address, in which we see a type of what the Apostles would say to an ignorant pagan audience. Appeals to the Scriptures, references to the God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, would have been out of place. The Apostles name the Living God, who made heaven and earth and the sea and all things therein, the God of the whole world and all the nations in it. They declare themselves to be His messengers. They expatiate upon the tokens of Himself which the Father of men had not withheld, in that He did them good, sending rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, the supporters of His and joy. They protest that in restoring the cripple they had only acted as instruments of the Living God. They themselves were not gods, but human beings of like passions with the Lycæonians. The Living God was now manifesting Himself more clearly to men, desiring that henceforth the nations should not walk in their own ways, but His. They therefore call upon the people to give up the vanities of idol worship, and to turn to the Living God (comp. 1 Thess. i. 9, 10). In this address, the name of Jesus does not occur. It is easy to understand that the Apostles preached Him as the Son of that Living God to whom they bore witness, telling the people of His death and resurrection, and announcing His coming again.

Although the people of Lystra had been so ready to worship Paul and Barnabas, the repulse of their idolatrous instincts appears to have provoked them, and they allowed themselves to be persuaded into

hostility by Jews who came from Antioch and Iconium, so that they attacked Paul with stones, and thought they had killed him. He recovered, however, as the disciples were standing round him, and went again into the city. The next day he left it with Barnabas, and went to Derbe, and thence they returned once more to Lystra, and so to Iconium and Antioch, renewing their exhortations to the disciples, bidding them not to think their trials strange, but to recognize them as the appointed door through which the kingdom of Heaven, into which they were called, was to be entered. In order to establish the Churches after their departure, they solemnly appointed "elders" in every city. Then they came down to the coast, and from Attalia they sailed home to Antioch in Syria, where they related the successes which had been granted to them, and especially the "opening of the door of faith to the Gentiles." And so the First Missionary Journey ended.

The Council at Jerusalem. (Acts xv. Galatians ii.)—Upon that missionary journey follows most naturally the next important scene which the historian sets before us,—the council held at Jerusalem to determine the relations of Gentile believers to the Law of Moses. In following this portion of the history, we encounter two of the greater questions which the biographer of St. Paul has to consider. One of these is historical, What were the relations between the Apostle Paul and the Twelve? The other is critical, How is Galatians ii. to be connected with the narrative of the Acts?

The relations of St. Paul and the Twelve will best be set forth in the narrative. But we must explain here why we accept St. Paul's statements in the Galatian Epistle as additional to the history in Acts xv. The first impression of any reader would be a supposition that the two writers might be referring to the same event. The one would at least bring the other to his mind. In both he reads of Paul and Barnabas going up to Jerusalem, reporting the Gospel preached to the uncircumcised, and discussing with the older Apostles the terms to be imposed upon Gentile believers. In both the conclusion is announced, that these believers should be entirely free from the necessity of circumcision. These are main points which the narratives have in common. On looking more closely into both, the second impression upon the reader's mind may possibly be that of a certain incompatibility between the two. Many joints and members of the transaction as given by St. Luke, do not appear in St. Paul. Others in one or two cases are substituted. Further, the visit to Jerusalem is the 3rd mentioned in the Acts, after Saul's conversion; in Galatians, it is apparently mentioned as the 2nd. Supposing this sense of incompatibility to remain, the reader will go on to inquire whether the visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Galatians coincides better (ii. 20) or the 4th (xviii. 22). He will, in all probability, conclude without hesitation that it does refer to a visit not recorded in the Acts at all. This is a perfectly legitimate hypothesis; and it is commended by the vigorous sense of Paley. But where are we to place the visit? The only possible place for it is some short time before the visit of ch. xv. But it can scarcely be denied, that the language recorded was the first said by Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem, after their great success in preaching the Gospel amongst the Gentiles.

We suppose the reader, therefore, to recur to his first impression. He will then have to ask himself, "Granting the considerable differences, are there after all any plain contradictions between the two narratives, taken to refer to the same occurrences?" The answer must be, "There are no plain contradictions." And this, he will perceive, is a very weighty fact. When it is recognized, the resemblances first observed will return with renewed force to the mind.

We proceed then to combine the two narratives.—Whilst Paul and Barnabas were staying at Antioch, "certain men from Judaea" came there and taught the brethren that it was necessary for the Gentile converts to be circumcised. This doctrine was vigorously opposed by the two Apostles, and it was determined that the question should be referred to the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem. Paul and Barnabas themselves, and certain others, were selected for this mission. In Gal. ii. 2, St. Paul says that he went up "by revelation" (κατ' ἀποκάλυψιν), so that we are to understand him as receiving a private intimation from the Divine Spirit, as well as a public commission from the Church at Antioch. On their way to Jerusalem, they announced to the brethren in Phoenicia and Samaria the conversion of the Gentiles; and the news was received with great joy. "When they were come to Jerusalem, they were received by the Church, and by the Apostles and elders, and they declared all things that God had done with them" (Acts xv. 4). St. Paul adds that he communicated his views "privately to them which were of reputation," through anxiety as to the success of his work (Gal. ii. 2). The Apostles and the Church in general, it appears, would have raised no difficulties; but certain believers who had been Pharisees thought fit to maintain the same doctrine which had caused the disturbance at Antioch. In either place, St. Paul would not give way to such teaching for a single hour (Gal. ii. 5). It became necessary, therefore, that a formal decision should be come to upon the question. The Apostles and elders came together, and there was much disputing. Arguments would be used on both sides; but when the persons of highest authority spoke, they appealed to what was stronger than arguments,—the course of facts, through which the will of God had been manifestly shown. St. Peter, reminding his hearers that he himself had been first employed to open the door of faith to Gentiles points out that God had Himself bestowed on the uncircumcised that which was the seal of the highest calling and fellowship in Christ, the gift of the Holy Ghost. "Why do you not acquiesce in this token of God's will? Why impose upon Gentile believers ordinances which we ourselves have found a heavy burden? Have not we Jews left off trusting in our Law, to depend only on the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ?"—Then, carrying out the same appeal to the will of God as shown in facts, Barnabas and Paul relate to the silent multitude the wonders with which God had accompanied their preaching amongst the Gentiles. After they had done, St. James, with inimitable simplicity and wisdom, binds up the testimony of recent facts with the testimony of ancient prophecy, and gives a practical judgment upon the question.

The judgment was a decisive one. The injunction that the Gentiles should abstain from pollutions of idols and from fornication explained itself. The abstinence from things strangled and from blood is desired as a concession to the customs of

the Jews who were to be found in every city, and for whom it was still right, when they had believed in Jesus Christ, to observe the Law. St. Paul had completely gained his point. The older Apostles, James, Cephas, and John, perceiving the grace which had been given him (his effectual Apostleship), gave to him and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship. At this point it is very important to observe precisely what was the matter at stake between the contending parties (compare Prof. Jowett on "St. Paul and the Twelve," in *St. Paul's Epistles*, i. 417). St. Peter speaks of a heavy yoke; St. James of troubling the Gentile converts. But we are not to suppose that they mean merely the outward trouble of conforming to the Law of Moses. That was not what St. Paul was protesting against. The case stood thus: Circumcision and the ordinances of the Law were witnesses of a separation of the chosen race from other nations. The Jews were proud of that separation. But the Gospel of the Son of Man proclaimed that the time had come in which the separation was to be done away, and God's goodwill manifested to all nations alike. It spoke of a union with God, through trust, which gave hope of a righteousness that the Law had been powerless to produce. Therefore to insist upon Gentiles being circumcised would have been to deny the Gospel of Christ. If there was to be simply an enlarging of the separated nation by the receiving of individuals into it, then the other nations of the world remained as much on the outside of God's covenant as ever. Then there was no Gospel to mankind; no justification given to men. The loss, in such a case, would have been as much to the Jew as to the Gentile. St. Paul felt this the most strongly; but St. Peter also saw that if the Jewish believers were thrown back on the Jewish Law, and gave up the free and absolute grace of God, the Law became a mere burden, just as heavy to the Jew as it would be to the Gentile. The only hope for the Jew was in a Saviour who *must* be the Saviour of mankind.

It implied therefore no difference of belief when it was agreed that Paul and Barnabas should go to the heathen, while James and Cephas and John undertook to be the Apostles of the Circumcision. St. Paul, wherever he went, was to preach "to the Jew first;" St. Peter was to preach to the Jews as free a Gospel, was to teach the admission of the Gentiles without circumcision as distinctly as St. Paul himself. The unity of the Church was to be preserved unbroken; and in order to nourish this unity the Gentiles were requested to remember their poorer brethren in Palestine (Gal. ii. 10). How zealously St. Paul cherished this beautiful witness of the common brotherhood we have seen in part already (Acts xi. 29, 30), but it is yet to appear more strikingly.

The judgment of the Church was immediately recorded in a letter addressed to the Gentile brethren in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia. That this letter might carry greater authority it was entrusted to "chosen men of the Jerusalem Church, Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren." The letter speaks affectionately of Barnabas and Paul (with the elder Church Barnabas still retained the precedence, xv. 12, 25) as "men who have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ." So Judas and Silas come down with Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, and comfort the Church there with their message, and when Judas returned "it pleased Silas to abide there still."

It is usual to connect with this period of the history that rebuke of St. Peter which St. Paul records in Gal. ii. 11-14. The connexion of subject, place, although it is possible that it took place before the meeting at Jerusalem, and perhaps most probable* that it did not occur till later, when St. Paul returned from his long tour in Greece to Antioch (Acts xvii. 22, 23). St. Peter was at Antioch, and had shown no scruple about "eating with the Gentiles," until "certain came from James." These Jerusalem Christians brought their weaker and more timid mood came upon him, and through fear of his stricter friends he too began to withdraw himself from his former free association with the Gentiles. Such an example had a dangerous weight, and Barnabas and the other Jews at Antioch were being seduced by it. It was an occasion for the intrepid faithfulness of St. Paul. He did not conceal his anger at such weak dissembling, and he publicly remonstrated with his elder fellow-Apostle. "If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" (Gal. ii. 14). St. Peter had abandoned the Jewish exclusiveness, and deliberately claimed common ground with the Gentile: why should he be separating himself from the uncircumcised, requiring the Gentiles to qualify themselves for full communion by accepting circumcision? This "withstanding" of St. Peter was no opposition of Petrine to Petrine views; it was a faithful rebuke of blameable moral weakness.

Second Missionary Journey.—The most resolute courage, indeed, was required for the work to which St. Paul was now publicly pledged. He would not associate with himself in that work one who had already shown a want of constancy. This was the occasion of what must have been a most painful difference between him and his comrade in the faith and in past perils, Barnabas. After remaining awhile at Antioch, Paul proposed to Barnabas to revisit the brethren in the countries of their former journey. Hereupon Barnabas desired that his nephew, John Mark should go with them. But John had deserted them in Pamphylia, and St. Paul would not try him again. "And the contention was so sharp between them that they departed asunder one from the other; and so Barnabas chose Silas, and sailed unto Cyprus; and Paul chose Silas, and departed." Silas, or Silvanus, becomes now a chief companion of the Apostle. The two went together through Syria and Cilicia, visiting the churches, and so came to Derbe and Lystra. Here they find and so come to a disciple of the Apostle, and who so attracted the esteem and love of St. Paul that "he would have him go forth with him." Him St. Paul took and circumcised. If this fact had been omitted here and stated in another narrative, how utterly irreconcilable it would have been, in the eyes of some critics, with the history in the Acts! Paul and Silas were actually delivering the Jerusalem decree to all the churches they visited. They were no doubt triumphing in the freedom secured to the Gentiles. Yet at this very time our Apostle had the wisdom and largeness of heart to consult the

* The presence of St. Peter, and the growth of Jewish prejudice, are more easily accounted for, if we suppose St. Paul to have left Antioch for a long time.

feelings of the Jews by circumcising Timothy. There were many Jews in those parts, who knew that Timothy's father was a Greek, his mother a Jewess. That St. Paul should have had, as a chief companion, one who was uncircumcised, would of itself have been a hindrance to him in preaching to Jews; but it would have been a still greater stumbling-block if that companion were half a Jew by birth, and had professed the Jewish faith. Therefore in this case St. Paul "became unto the Jews as a Jew that he might gain the Jews."

St. Luke now steps rapidly over a considerable space of the Apostle's life and labours. "They went throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia" (xvi. 6). At this time St. Paul was founding "the churches of Galatia" (Gal. i. 2). He himself gives us hints of the circumstances of his preaching in that region, of the reception he met with, and of the ardent, though unstable, character of the people, in the following words: "Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh (*ὄτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός*) I preached the Gospel unto you at the first (*τὸ πρῶτον*), and my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not nor rejected, but received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye spake of (*ὁ μακαρισμὸς ἡμῶν*)? for I bear you record that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me" (iv. 13). It is not easy to decide as to the meaning of the words *δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκός*. Undoubtedly their grammatical sense implies that "weakness of the flesh"—an illness—was the occasion of St. Paul's preaching in Galatia; and De Wette and Alford adhere to this interpretation, understanding St. Paul to have been detained by illness, when otherwise he would have gone rapidly through the country. On the other hand, the form and order of the words are not what we should have expected if the Apostle meant to say this; and Professor Jowett prefers to assume an inaccuracy of grammar, and to understand St. Paul as saying that it was in weakness of the flesh that he preached to the Galatians. In either case St. Paul must be referring to a more than ordinary pressure of that bodily infirmity which he speaks of elsewhere as detracting from the influence of his personal address. It is hopeless to attempt to determine positively what this infirmity was. But we may observe here—(1) that St. Paul's sensitiveness may have led him to exaggerate this personal disadvantage; and (2) that, whatever it was, it allowed him to go through sufferings and hardships such as few ordinary men could bear. And it certainly did not repel the Galatians; it appeared rather to have excited their sympathy and turned their affection towards the Apostle.

St. Paul at this time had not indulged the ambitions of preaching his Gospel in Europe. His views were limited to the peninsula of Asia Minor. Having gone through Phrygia and Galatia he intended to visit the western coast [ASIA]; but "they were forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach in Asia," there. Then, being on the borders of Mysia, they thought of going back to the north-east into Bithynia; but again "the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not." So they passed by Mysia, and came down to Troas. Here the Spirit of Jesus, having checked them on other sides, revealed to them in what direction they were to go. St. Paul

saw in a vision a man of Macedonia, who besought him, saying, "Come over into Macedonia and help us." The vision was at once accepted as a heavenly intimation; the help wanted by the Macedonians was believed to be the preaching of the Gospel. It is at this point that the historian, speaking of St. Paul's company, substitutes "we" for "they." He says nothing of himself; we can only infer that St. Luke, to whatever country he belonged, became a companion of St. Paul at Troas. It is perhaps not too arbitrary a conjecture, that the Apostle, having recently suffered in health, derived benefit from the medical skill and attendance of "the beloved physician." The party, thus reinforced, immediately set sail from Troas, touched at Samothrace, then landed on the continent at Neapolis, and from thence journeyed to Philippi. They hastened to carry the "help" that had been asked to the first considerable city in Macedonia. Philippi was no inapt representative of the western world. A Greek city, it had received a body of Roman settlers, and was politically a Colonia. We must not assume that to Saul of Tarsus, the Roman citizen, there was anything very novel or strange in the world to which he had now come. But the name of Greece must have represented very imposing ideas to the Oriental and the Jew; and we may silently imagine what it must have been to St. Paul to know that he was called to be the herald of his Master, the Crucified Jesus, in the centre of the world's highest culture, and that he was now to begin his task. He began, however, with no flourish of trumpets, but as quietly as ever, and in the old way. There were a few Jews, if not many, at Philippi; and when the Sabbath came round, the Apostolic company joined their countrymen at the place by the river-side where prayer was wont to be made. The narrative in this part is very graphic: "We sat down," says the writer (xvi. 13), "and spoke to the women who had come together." Amongst these women was a proselyte from Thyatira (*σεβομένη τὸν Θεόν*), named Lydia, a dealer in purple. As she listened "the Lord opened her heart" to attend to what Paul was saying. The first convert in Macedonia was but an Asiatic woman who already worshipped the God of the Jews; but she was a very earnest believer, and besought the Apostle and his friends to honour her by staying in her house. They could not resist her urgency, and during their stay at Philippi they were the guests of Lydia (ver. 40).

But a proof was given before long that the preachers of Christ were come to grapple with the powers in the spiritual world to which heathenism was then doing homage. A female slave, who brought gain to her masters by her powers of prediction when she was in the possessed state, besought Paul and his company, following them as they went to the place of prayer, and crying out, "These men are servants of the Most High God, who publish to you (or to us) the way of salvation." Paul was vexed by her cries, and addressing the spirit in the girl, he said, "I command thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her." Comparing the confession of this "spirit of divination" with the analogous confessions made by evil spirits to our Lord, we see the same singular character of a true acknowledgment extorted as if by force, and rendered with a certain insolence which implied that the spirits, though subject, were not willingly subject. The cries of the slave-girl may have sounded like sneers, mimicking what she had heard from

¹ May not this mean "your calling me blessed" — making me as one of the μακαροὶ θεοί.

the Apostles themselves, until St. Paul's exorcism, "in the name of Jesus Christ," was seen to be effectual. Then he might be recognized as in truth a servant of the Most High God, giving an example of the salvation which he brought, in the deliverance of this poor girl herself from the spirit which degraded her.

But the girl's masters saw that now the hope of their gains was gone. Here at Philippi, as afterwards at Ephesus, the local trade in religion began to suffer from the manifestation of the Spirit of Christ, and an interested appeal was made to local and national feelings against the dangerous innovations of the Jewish strangers. Paul and Silas were dragged before the magistrates, the multitude clamouring loudly against them, upon the vague charge of "troubling the city," and introducing observances which were unlawful for Romans. If the magistrates had desired to act justly they might have doubted how they ought to deal with the charge. On the one hand Paul and Silas had abstained carefully, as the preachers of Christ always did, from disturbing public order, and had as yet violated no express law of the state. But on the other hand, the preaching of Jesus as King and Lord was unquestionably revolutionary, and aggressive upon the public religion, in its effects; and the Roman law was decided, in general terms, against such innovations (see *ref.* in *Conyb.* and *Hows.* i. 324). But the praetors or duumviri of Philippi were very unworthy representatives of the Roman magistracy. They yielded without inquiry to the clamour of the inhabitants, caused the clothes of Paul and Silas to be torn from them, and themselves to be beaten, and then committed them to prison. The jailer, having received their commands, "thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks." This cruel wrong was to be the occasion of a signal appearance of the God of righteousness and deliverance. It was to be seen which were the true servants of such a God, the magistrates or these strangers. In the night Paul and Silas, sore and sleepless, but putting their trust in God, prayed and sang praises so loudly that the other prisoners could hear them. Then suddenly the ground beneath them was shaken, the doors were opened, and every prisoner's bands were struck off (compare the similar openings of prison-doors in *xii.* 6-10, and *v.* 19). The jailer awoke and sprang up, saw with consternation that the prison-doors were open, and, concluding that the prisoners were all fled, drew his sword to kill himself. But Paul called to him loudly, "Do thyself no harm; we are all here." The jailer's fears were then changed to an overwhelming awe. What could this be? He called for lights, sprang in and fell trembling before the feet of Paul and Silas. Bringing them out from the inner dungeon, he exclaimed, "Sirs, what must I do to be saved?" (*τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ*). They answered, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house." And they went on to speak to him and to all in his house "the word of the Lord." The kindness he now showed them reminds us of their miseries. He washed their wounds, took them into his own house, and spread a table before them. The same night he received baptism, "he and all his" (including slaves), and rejoiced in his new-found faith in God.

In the morning the magistrates, either having heard of what had happened, or having repented of their injustice, or having done all they meant to do by way of pacifying the multitude, sent word to

the prison that the men might be let go. But *lygd* justice was to be more clearly vindicated in the persons of these men, who had been charged with subverting public order. St. Paul denounced plainly the unlawful acts of the magistrates, informing them moreover that those whom they had beaten and imprisoned without trial were Roman citizens. "And now do they thrust us out privily? Nay, verily, but let them come themselves and fetch us out." The magistrates, in great alarm, saw the necessity of humbling themselves ("Faciens ut vincirer civem Romanum, scelus verberari," *Cicero, to leave the city.* Paul and Silas consented to do so, and, after paying a visit to "the brethren" in the house of Lydia, they departed.

The Church thus founded at Philippi, as the first-fruits of the Gospel in Europe, was called, as we have seen, in the name of a spiritual deliverer, of a God of justice, and of an equal Lord of freemen and slaves. That a warm and generous feeling distinguished it from the first, we learn from a testimony of St. Paul in the Epistle written long after to this Church. "In the beginning of the Gospel," as soon as he left them, they began to send him gifts, some of which reached him at Thessalonica others afterwards (*Phil.* iv. 15, 16). Their partnership in the Gospel (*κοινωνία εἰς τὸ εὐγγέλιον*) had gladdened the Apostle from the first day (*Phil.* i. 5).

Leaving St. Luke, and perhaps Timothy for a short time, at Philippi, Paul and Silas travelled through Amphipolis and Apollonia, and stopped again at Thessalonica. At this important city there was a synagogue of the Jews. True to his custom, St. Paul went in to them, and for three Sabbath-days proclaimed Jesus to be the Christ, as he would have done in a city of Judaea. As usual, the proselytes were those who heard him most gladly, and among them were many women of station. *Arcia*, as in *Psidian* Antioch, the envy of the Jew, was excited. They contrived to stir up the lower class of the city to tumultuary violence by representing the preachers of Christ as revolutionary disturbers, who had come to proclaim one Jesus as king instead of Caesar. The mob assaulted the house of Jason, with whom Paul and Silas were staying as guests, and, not finding them, dragged Jason himself and some other brethren before the magistrates. In this case the magistrates, we are told, and the people generally, were "troubled" by the rumours and accusations which they heard. But they seem to have acted wisely and justly, in taking security of Jason and the rest, and letting them go. After these signs of danger the brethren immediately sent away Paul and Silas by night.

The Epistles to the Thessalonians were written very soon after the Apostle's visit, and contain particulars of his work in founding that Church than we find in any other Epistle. The whole of these letters ought to be read for the information they thus supply. St. Paul speaks to the Thessalonian Christians as being mostly Gentiles. He reminds them that they had turned from idols to serve the living and true God, and to wait for His Son from heaven, whom He raised from the dead, "Jesus who delivers us from the coming wrath" (*1 Thess.* i. 9, 10). The Apostle had evidently spoken much of the coming and presence of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of that wrath which was already descending upon the Jews (*ii.* 16, 19, &c.). His message had had a wonderful power amongst them.

because they had known it to be really the word of a God who also wrought in them, having hid his hands towards this conviction in the zeal and disinterestedness and affection with which St. Paul (notwithstanding his recent shameful treatment at Philippi) proclaimed his Gospel amongst them (ii. 8-13). He had purposely wrought with his own hands, even night and day, that his disinterestedness might be more apparent (1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8). He exhorted them not to be drawn away from patient industry by the hopes of the kingdom into which they were called, but to work quietly, and to cultivate purity and brotherly love (1 Thess. iv. 3, 8, 11). Connecting these allusions to the preaching in the synagogue (Acts xvii. 3), we see clearly how the teaching of St. Paul turned upon the person of Jesus Christ as the Son of the Living God, prophesied of in the Scriptures, suffering and dying, raised up and exalted to a kingdom, and about to appear as the Giver of light and life, to the destruction of his enemies and the saving of those who trusted in him.

When Paul and Silas left Thessalonica they came to Berea. Here they found the Jews more noble (*εὐγενέστεροι*)—more disposed to receive the news of a rejected and crucified Messiah, and to examine the Scriptures with candour—than those at Thessalonica had been. Accordingly they gained many converts, both Jews and Greeks; but the Jews of Thessalonica, hearing of it, sent emissaries to stir up the people, and it was thought best that St. Paul should himself leave the city, whilst Silas and Timothy remained behind. Some of "the brethren" went with St. Paul as far as Athens, where they left him, carrying back a request to Silas and Timothy that they would speedily join him. He apparently did not like to preach alone, and intended to rest from his apostolic labour until they should come up to him: but how could he refrain himself, with all that was going on at Athens round him? There he witnessed the most profuse idolatry side by side with the most pretentious philosophy. Either of these would have been enough to stimulate his spirit. To idolaters and philosophers he felt equally urged to proclaim his Master and the Living God. So he went to his own countrymen and the proselytes in the synagogue and declared to them that the Messiah had come; but he also spoke, like another Socrates, with people in the market, and with the followers of the two great schools of philosophy, Epicureans and Stoics, aiming to all Jesus and the Resurrection. The philosophers encountered him with a mixture of enmity and contempt. The Epicurean, teaching himself to seek for tranquil enjoyment as the chief object of life, heard of One claiming to be the Lord of men, who had shown them the glory of dying to self, and had promised to those who fought the good fight bravely a nobler bliss than the comforts and isolated moral independence, heard of One whose own righteousness was proved by submission to the Father in heaven, and who had promised to give His righteousness to those who trusted not in themselves, but in Him. To all, the announcement of a Person was much stranger than the publishing of any theories would have been. So far as they thought the preacher anything but a silly trifler, he seemed to them, not a philosopher, but "a setter forth of strange gods" (*ξένων δαιμονίων καταγγελάς*). But any one with a novelty was welcome to those who "spent their time in nothing else but

either to hear or to tell some new thing." They brought him therefore to the Areopagus, that he might make a formal exposition of his doctrine to an assembled audience.

We are not to think here of the Council or Court, renowned in the oldest Athenian history, which took its name from Mars's Hill, but only of the elevated spot where the council met, not covered in, but arranged with benches and steps of stone, so as to form a convenient place for a public address. Here the Apostle delivered that wonderful discourse, reported in Acts xvii. 22-31, which seems as fresh and instructive for the intellect of the 19th century as it was for the intellect of the first. In this we have the Pauline Gospel as it addressed itself to the speculative mind of the cultivated Greeks. How the "report" was obtained by the writer of the history we have no means of knowing. Possibly we have in it notes written down before or after the delivery of this address by St. Paul himself. Short as it is, the form is as perfect as the matter is rich. The loftiness and breadth of the theology, the dignity and delicacy of the argument, the absence of self, the straightforward and reverent nature of the testimony delivered—all the characteristics so strikingly displayed in this speech—help us to understand what kind of a teacher had now appeared in the Grecian world. St. Paul, it is well understood, did not begin with calling the Athenians "too superstitious." "I perceive you," he said, "to be eminently religious."* He had observed an altar inscribed *Ἄγνωστον Θεῶν*, "To the unknown God." It meant, no doubt, "To some unknown God." "I come," he said, "as the messenger of that unknown God." And then he proceeds to speak of God in terms which were not altogether new to Grecian ears. They had heard of a God who had made the world and all things therein, and even of One who gave to all life, and breath, and all things. But they had never learnt the next lesson which was now taught them. It was a special truth of the new dispensation, that "God had made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined the times assigned to them, and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him."

Comparing it with the teaching given to other audiences, we perceive that it laid hold of the deepest convictions which had ever been given to Greeks, whilst at the same time it encountered the strongest prejudices of Greeks. We see, as at Lystra, that an Apostle of Christ had no need to refer to the Jewish Scriptures, when he spoke to those who had not received them. He could speak to men as God's children, and subjects of God's educating discipline, and was only bringing them further tidings of Him whom they had been always feeling after. He presented to them the Son of Man as acting in the power of Him who had made all nations, and who was not far from any single man. He began to speak of Him as risen from the dead, and of the power of a new life which was in Him for men; but his audience would not hear of Him who thus claimed their personal allegiance. Some mocked, others, more courteously, talked of hearing him again another time. The Apostle gained but few converts at Athens, and he soon took his departure and came to Corinth.

* See, in confirmation, passages quoted from ancient authors in Conybeare and Howson, I. 389 &c.

Athens still retained its old intellectual predominance; but Corinth was the political and commercial capital of Greece. It was in places of living activity that St. Paul laboured longest and most successfully, as formerly at Antioch, now at Corinth, and afterwards at Ephesus. The rapid spread of the Gospel was obviously promoted by the preaching of it in cities where men were continually coming and going; but besides this consideration, we may be sure that the Apostle escaped gladly from dull ignorance on the one side, and from philosophical dilettantism on the other, to places in which the real business of the world was being done. The Gospel, though unworldly, was yet a message to practical and inquiring men, and it had more affinity to work of any kind than to torpor or to intellectual frivolity. One proof of the wholesome agreement between the following of Christ and ordinary labour was given by St. Paul himself during his stay at Corinth. Here, as at Thessalonica, he chose to earn his own subsistence by working at his trade of tent-making. This trade brought him into close connexion with two persons who became distinguished as believers in Christ, Aquila and Priscilla. They were Jews, and had lately left Rome, in consequence of an edict of Claudius [see CLAUDIUS]; and as they also were tent-makers, St. Paul "abode with them and wrought." Labouring thus on the six days, the Apostle went to the synagogue on the Sabbath, and there by expounding the Scriptures sought to win both Jews and proselytes to the belief that Jesus was the Christ.

He was testifying with unusual effort and anxiety (*συνελίχοντο τῷ λόγῳ*), when Silas and Timothy came from Macedonia, and joined him. We are left in some uncertainty as to what the movements of Silas and Timothy had been, since they were with Paul at Beroea. From the statements in the Acts (xvii. 15, 16) that Paul, when he reached Athens, desired Silas and Timotheus to come to him with all speed, and waited for them there, compared with those in 1 Thess. (iii. 1, 2), "When we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at Athens alone, and sent Timotheus, our brother, and minister of God, and our fellow-labourer in the Gospel of Christ, to establish you and to comfort you concerning your faith,"—Paley (*Horae Paulinae*, 1 Thess. No. iv.) reasonably argues that Silas and Timothy had come to Athens, but had soon been despatched thence, Timothy to Thessalonica, and Silas to Philippi, or elsewhere. From Macedonia they came together, or about the same time, to Corinth; and their arrival was the occasion of the writing of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians.

This is the first extant example of that work by which the Apostle Paul has served the Church of all ages in as eminent a degree as he laboured at the founding of it in his lifetime. All commentators upon the New Testament have been accustomed to notice the points of coincidence between the history in the Acts, and these Letters. Paley's *Horae Paulinae* is famous as a special work upon this subject. But more recently, important attempts have been made to estimate the Epistles of St. Paul more broadly, by considering them in their mutual

^a Ewald believes, rather capriciously, that the Second Ep. to the Thess. was written first, and was sent from Beroea (*Die Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus*, pp. 17, 18).

¹ Amongst these, the works of Prof. Jowett (*Epistles to*

order and relations, and in their bearing upon the question of the development of the writer's understanding. Such attempts must lead to a better understanding of the Epistles themselves, and to a more appreciation of the Apostle's nature and work. It is notorious that the order of the Epistles in the book of the N. T. is not their real, or chronological order. The mere placing of them in their true sequence throws considerable light upon the history; and happily the time of composition of the more important Epistles can be stated with sufficient certainty. The two Epistles to the Thessalonians belong,—and these alone,—to the present Missionary Journey. The Epistles to the Galatians, Romans, and Corinthians, were written during the next journey. Those to Philemon, the Colossians, the Ephesians, and the Philippians, belong to the captivity at Rome. With regard to the Pastoral Epistles, there are considerable difficulties, which require to be discussed separately.

Two general remarks relating to St. Paul's Letters may find a place here. (1.) There is no reason to assume that the extant Letters are all that the Apostle wrote. On the contrary, there is a strong presumption, and some slight positive evidence, that he wrote many which have not been preserved (Jowett, i. p. 195-201, 2nd ed.). (2.) We must be on our guard against concluding too much from the contents and style of any Epistle, as to the fixed bent of the Apostle's whole mind at the time when it was written. We must remember that the Epistles to the Thessalonians were written whilst St. Paul was deeply absorbed in the peculiar circumstances of the Corinthian Church; and that the Epistles to the Corinthians were written between those to the Galatians and the Romans. These facts are sufficient to remind us of the versatility of the Apostle's mind;—to show us how thoroughly the feelings and ideas suggested to him by the circumstances upon which he was dwelling had the power to mould his utterances.

The First Epistle to the Thessalonians was probably written soon after his arrival at Corinth, and before he turned from the Jews to the Gentiles. It was drawn from St. Paul by the arrival of Silas and Timothy. [THESSALONIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.] The largest portion of it consists of an impassioned recalling of the facts and feelings of the time when the Apostle was personally with them. But we perceive gradually that those expectations which he had taught them to entertain of the appearing and presence of the Lord Jesus Christ had undergone some corruption. There were symptoms in the Thessalonian church of a restlessness which, speculated on the times and seasons of the future, and found present duties flat and unimportant. This evil tendency St. Paul seeks to correct, by reviving the first spirit of faith and hope and mutual fellowship, and by setting forth the appearing of Jesus Christ—not indeed as distant, but as the full shining of a day of which all believers in Christ were already children. The ethical characteristics apparent in this letter, the degree in which St. Paul identified himself with his friends, the entire surrender of his anxiety to his calling as a preacher of Christ, his anxiety for the good fame and well-being of his converts, are the same which will reappear continually.

the *Thess.*, *Gal.*, and *Rom.*], of Ewald (*Die Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus*), of Dr. Wordsworth (*Epistles of St. Paul*), and of many others.

What interval of time separated the Second Letter to the Thessalonians from the First, we have no means of judging, except that the later one was certainly written before St. Paul's departure from Corinth. [THESSALONIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.] The Thessalonians had been disturbed by announcements of those convulsions of the world which all Christians were taught to associate with the coming of Christ, were immediately impending. To meet these assertions, St. Paul delivers express predictions in a manner not usual with him elsewhere; and whilst re-affirming all he had ever taught the Thessalonians to believe respecting the early coming of the Saviour and the blessedness of waiting patiently for it, he informs them that certain events, of which he had spoken to them, must run their course before the full manifestation of Jesus Christ could come to pass. At the end of this epistle St. Paul guards the Thessalonians against pretended letters from him, by telling them that every genuine letter, even if not written by his hand throughout, would have at least an autograph salutation at the close of it.

We return now to the Apostle's preaching at Corinth. When Silas and Timotheus came, he was testifying to the Jews with great earnestness, but with little success. So "when they opposed themselves and blasphemed, he shook out his raiment," and said to them, in words of warning taken from their own prophets (Ezek. xxxiii. 4); "Your blood be upon your own heads; I am clean, and henceforth will go to the Gentiles." The experience of Pisdian Antioch was repeating itself. The Apostle went, as he threatened, to the Gentiles, and began to preach in the house of a proselyte named Justus. Already one distinguished Jew had become a believer, Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, mentioned (1 Cor. i. 14) as baptized by the Apostle himself: and many of the Gentile inhabitants were receiving the Gospel and being baptized. The envy and rage of the Jews, therefore, were excited in an unusual degree, and seem to have pressed upon the spirit of St. Paul. He was therefore encouraged by a vision of the Lord, who appeared to him by night, and said, "Be not afraid, but speak, and hold not thy peace: for I am with thee, and no man shall set on thee, to hurt thee; for I have much people in this city." Corinth was to be an important seat of the Church of Christ, distinguished, not only by the number of believers, but also by the variety and the fruitfulness of the teaching to be given there. At this time St. Paul himself stayed there for a year and six months, "teaching the word of God amongst them."

Corinth was the chief city of the province of Achaia, and the residence of the proconsul. During St. Paul's stay, we find the proconsular office held by Gallio, a brother of the philosopher Seneca. Before him the Apostle was summoned by his Jewish enemies, who hoped to bring the Roman authority to bear upon him as an innovator in religion. But Gallio perceived at once, before Paul could "open his mouth" to defend himself, that the movement was due to Jewish prejudice, and refused to go into the question. "If it be a question of words and names and of your law," he said to the Jews, speaking with the tolerance of a Roman magistrate, "look ye to it; for I will be no judge of such matters." Then a singular scene occurred. The Corinthian spectators, either favouring St. Paul, or actuated only by anger against the Jews, seized on the principal person of those who had brought the charge, and beat him before the

judgment-seat. (See on the other hand Ewald, *Geschichte*, vi. 463-466.) Gallio left these religious quarrels to settle themselves. The Apostle therefore was not allowed to be "hurt," and remained some time longer at Corinth unmolested.

We do not gather from the subsequent Epistles to the Corinthians many details of the founding of the Church at Corinth. The main body of the believers consisted of Gentiles,—("Ye know that ye were Gentiles," 1 Cor. xii. 2). But, partly from the number who had been proselytes, partly from the mixture of Jews, it had so far a Jewish character, that St. Paul could speak of "our fathers" as having been under the cloud (1 Cor. x. 1). The tendency to intellectual display, and the traffic of sophists in philosophical theories, which prevailed at Corinth, made the Apostle more than usually anxious to be independent in his life and simple in bearing his witness. He wrought for his living that he might not appear to be taking fees of his pupils (1 Cor. ix. 18); and he put the Person of Jesus Christ, crucified and risen, in the place of all doctrines (1 Cor. ii. 1-5, xv. 3, 4). What gave infinite significance to his simple statements, was the nature of the Christ who had been crucified, and His relation to men. Concerning these mysteries St. Paul had uttered a wisdom, not of the world, but of God, which had commended itself chiefly to the humble and simple. Of these God had chosen and called not a few "into the fellowship of His Son Jesus Christ the Lord of men" (1 Cor. ii. 6, 7, i. 27, 9).

Having been the instrument of accomplishing this work, St. Paul took his departure for Jerusalem, wishing to attend a festival there. Before leaving Greece, he cut off his hair^k at Cenchreae, in fulfilment of a vow. We are not told where or why he had made the vow; and there is considerable difficulty in reconciling this act with the received customs of the Jews. [Vows.] A passage in Josephus, if rightly understood (*B. J.* ii. 15, §1), mentions a vow which included, besides a sacrifice, the cutting of the hair and the beginning of an abstinence from wine 30 days before the sacrifice. If St. Paul's was such a vow, he was going to offer up a sacrifice in the Temple at Jerusalem, and the "shearing of his head" was a preliminary to the sacrifice. The principle of the vow, whatever it was, must have been the same as that of the Nazarite vow, which St. Paul afterwards countenanced at Jerusalem. [NAZARITE, p. 472.] There is therefore no difficulty in supposing him to have followed in this instance, for some reason not explained to us, a custom of his countrymen.—When he sailed from the Isthmus, Aquila and Priscilla went with him as far as Ephesus. Paul paid a visit to the synagogue at Ephesus, but would not stay. He was anxious to be at Jerusalem for the approaching feast, but he promised, God willing, to return to them again. Leaving Ephesus, he sailed to Caesarea, and from thence went up to Jerusalem, and "saluted the Church." It is argued (Wieseler, pp. 48-50), from considerations founded on the suspension of navigation during the winter months, that the festival was probably the Pentecost. From Jerusalem, almost immediately, the Apostle went down to Antioch, thus returning to the same place from which he had started with Silas.

Third Missionary Journey, including the stay at

^k Acts xviii. 18. The act may be that of Aquila, but the historian certainly seems to be speaking not of him, but of St. Paul.

Ephesus (Acts xviii. 23-xxi. 17).—Without inventing facts or discussions for which we have no authority, we may connect with this short visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem a very serious raising of the whole question, What was to be the relation of the new kingdom of Christ to the law and covenant of the Jews? Such a Church as that at Corinth, with its affiliated communities, composed chiefly of Gentile members, appeared likely to overshadow by its importance the Mother Church in Judaea. The jealousy of the more Judaical believers, not extinguished by the decision of the council at Jerusalem, began now to show itself everywhere in the form of an active and intriguing party-spirit. This disastrous movement could not indeed alienate the heart of St. Paul from the law or the calling or the people of his fathers—his antagonism is never directed against these; but it drew him into the great conflict of the next period of his life, and must have been a sore trial to the intense loyalty of his nature. To vindicate the freedom, as regarded the Jewish law, of believers in Christ; but to do this, for the very sake of maintaining the unity of the Church;—was to be the earnest labour of the Apostle for some years. In thus labouring he was carrying out completely the principles laid down by the elder Apostles at Jerusalem; and may we not believe that, in deep sorrow at appearing, even, to disprove the law and the covenant, he was the more anxious to prove his fellowship in spirit with the Church in Judaea, by “remembering the poor,” as “James, Cephas, and John” had desired that he would? (Gal. ii. 10.) The prominence given, during the journeys upon which we are now entering, to the collection to be made amongst his Churches for the benefit of the poor at Jerusalem, seems to indicate such an anxiety. The great Epistles which belong to this period, those to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans, show how the “Judaizing” question exercised at this time the Apostle’s mind.

St. Paul “spent some time” at Antioch, and during this stay, as we are inclined to believe, his collision with St. Peter (Gal. ii. 11-14), of which we have spoken above, took place. When he left Antioch, he “went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples,” and giving orders concerning the collection for the saints (1 Cor. xvi. 1). It is probable that the *Epistle to the Galatians* was written soon after this visit. [GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.] When he was with them he had found the Christian communities infested by Judaizing teachers. He had “told them the truth” (Gal. iv. 16), he had warned them against the deadly tendencies of Jewish exclusiveness, and had re-affirmed the simple Gospel, concerning Jesus Christ the Son of God, which he had preached to them on his first visit (τὸ πρότερον, Gal. iv. 13). But after he left them the Judaizing doctrine raised its head again. The only course left to its advocates was to assail openly the authority of St. Paul; and this they did. They represented him as having derived his commission from the older Apostles, and as therefore acting disloyally if he opposed the views ascribed to Peter and James. The fickle minds of the Galatian Christians were influenced by these hardy assertions; and the Apostle heard, when he had come down to Ephesus, that his work in Galatia was being undone, and his converts were being seduced from the true faith in Christ. He therefore writes the *Epistle to remonstrate* with them—an *Epistle* full of indignation, of warning, of direct and impassioned teaching. He

recalls to their minds the Gospel which he had preached amongst them, and asserts in solemn and even awful language its absolute truth (1. 8, 9). He declares that he had received it directly from Jesus Christ the Lord, and that his position towards the other Apostles had always been that of an independent fellow-labourer. He sets before them Jesus the Crucified, the Son of God, as the fulfilment of the promise made to the fathers, and as the pledge and giver of freedom to men. He declares that in Him, and by the power of the Spirit of sonship sent down through Him, men have inherited the rights of adult sons of God; that the condition represented by the Law was the inferior and preparatory stage of boyhood. He then, most earnestly and tenderly, impresses upon the Galatians the responsibilities of their fellowship with Christ the Crucified, urging them to fruitfulness in all the graces of their spiritual calling, and especially to brotherly consideration and unity.

This Letter was, in all probability, sent from Ephesus. This was the goal of the Apostle’s journeyings through Asia Minor. He came down upon Ephesus from the upper districts (τὰ ὑψηλὰ μέρη) of Phrygia. What Antioch was for “the region of Syria and Cilicia,” what Corinth was for Greece, what Rome was,—we may add,—for Italy and the West, that Ephesus was for the important province called Asia. Indeed, with reference to the spread of the Church Catholic, Ephesus occupied the central position of all. This was the meeting place of Jew, of Greek, of Roman, and of Oriental. Accordingly, the Apostle of the Gentiles was to stay a long time here, that he might found a strong Church, which should be a kind of mother-church to Christian communities in the neighbouring cities of Asia.

A new element in the preparation of the world for the kingdom of Christ presents itself at the beginning of the Apostle’s work at Ephesus. He finds there certain disciples (τινὰς μαθητὰς),—about twelve in number—of whom he is led to inquire, “Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed?” They answered, No, we did not even hear of there being a Holy Ghost. Unto what then, asked Paul, were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John’s baptism. Then said Paul, John baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying to the people that they should believe on him who was coming after him, that is, on Jesus. Hearing this, they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus, and when Paul had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came upon them, and they began to speak with tongues and to prophesy (Acts, xix. 1-7). It is obvious to compare this incident with the Apostolic act of Peter and John in Samaria, and to see in it an assertion of the full Apostolic dignity of Paul. But besides this bearing of it, we see in it indications which suggest more than they distinctly express, as to the spiritual movements of that night. These twelve disciples are mentioned immediately after Apollos, who also had been at Ephesus before St. Paul’s arrival, and who had taught diligently concerning Jesus (τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ), knowing only the baptism of John. But Apollos was of Alexandria, trained in the intelligent and inquiring study of the Hebrew Scriptures, which had been fostered by the Greek culture of that capital. We are led to suppose therefore that a knowledge of the baptism of John and of the ministry of Jesus had spread widely, and had been received with favour by some of those who knew the Scriptures and thoroughly, before the message concerning the

of the Holy Ghost had been received. What the exact belief of the twelve "disciples" was concerning the character and work of Jesus, we have no means of knowing. But we gather that it was wanting in a recognition of the full lordship of Jesus and of the gift of the Holy Ghost. The Pentecostal faith was communicated to Aquila and Priscilla, and to the other disciples of the Baptist by St. Paul.

The Apostle now entered upon his usual work. He went into the synagogue, and for three months he spoke openly, disputing and persuading concerning "the kingdom of God." At the end of this time the obstinacy and opposition of some of the Jews led him to give up frequenting the synagogue, and he established the believers as a separate society, meeting "in the school of Tyrannus." This continued (though we may probably allow for an occasional absence of St. Paul) for two years. During this time many things occurred, of which the historian of the Acts chooses two examples, the triumph over magical arts, and the great disturbance raised by the silversmiths who made shrines for Artemis; and amongst which we are to note further the writing of the First Epistle to the Corinthians.

"God wrought special miracles," we are told (*θηραὶς οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας*), "by the hands of Paul." "It is evident that the arts of sorcery and magic—all those arts which betoken the belief in the presence of a spirit, but not of a Holy Spirit—were flourishing here in great luxuriance. Everything in the history of the Old or New Testament would suggest the thought that the exhibitions of Jewish power took a more startling form where superstitions grounded mainly on the reverence for diabolical power were prevalent; that they were the proclamations of a beneficent and orderly government, which had been manifested to counteract and overcome one that was irregular and malevolent" (Maurice, *Unity of the New Testament*, p. 315). The powers of the new kingdom took a form more nearly resembling the wonders of the kingdom of darkness than was usually adopted, when handkerchiefs and aprons from the body of Paul (like the shadow of Peter, v. 15) were allowed to be used for the healing of the sick and the casting out of devils. But it was to be clearly seen that all was done by the healing power of the Lord Jesus Himself. Certain Jews, and among them the seven sons of one Sceva (not unlike Simon Magus in Samaria), fancied that the effect was due to a magic formula, an *ἐπαφή*. They therefore attempted to exercise, by saying, "We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth." But the evil spirit, having a voice given to it, cried out, "Jesus I know, and Paul I know, but who are ye?" And exorcists and drove them forth. The result of this testimony was that fear fell upon all the inhabitants of Ephesus, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. And the impression produced bore for its *ἑρῆσια γράμματα*, forms of incantation, which were sold at a high price. Many of those who had these books brought them together and burned them before all men, and when the cost of business was computed it was found to be 50,000 drachmas—177*l.* "So mightily grew the word of the Lord, and prevailed." Whilst St. Paul was at Ephesus his communications with the Church in Achaia were not alto-

gether suspended. There is strong reason to believe that a personal visit to Corinth was made by him, and a letter sent, neither of which is mentioned in the Acts. The visit is inferred from several allusions in the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians. "Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you" (2 Cor. xii. 14). "This is the third time I am coming to you" (2 Cor. xiii. 1). The visit he is contemplating is plainly that mentioned in Acts xx. 2, which took place when he finally left Ephesus. If that was the *third*, he must have paid a *second* during the time of his residence at Ephesus. It seems far-fetched, with Paley (*Horae Paulinae*, 2 Cor. No. xi.), to conclude that St. Paul is only affirming a *third intention*, and that the *second intention* had not been carried out. The context, in both cases, seems to refer plainly to *visits*, and not to intentions. Again, "I determined this with myself, that I would not come again to you in *heaviness*" (*πάλιν ἐν λύπῃ*): 2 Cor. ii. 1. Here St. Paul is apparently speaking of a previous visit which he had paid in sorrow of heart. He expresses an apprehension (2 Cor. xii. 21) lest "again when I come, my God should humble me among you" (*μὴ πάλιν ἐλθόντος μου ταπεινώσει με*—the *πάλιν* appearing certainly to refer to *ταπεινώσει* as much as to *ἐλθόντος*). The words in 2 Cor. xiii. 2, *προεῖρηκα καὶ προλέγω, ὡς παρὼν τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἅπῶν ὑν*, may be translated, either "as if present the second time," or "as when present the second time." In the latter case we have here a distinct confirmation of the supposed visit. The former rendering seems at first sight to exclude it; but if we remember that the thought of his special *admonition* is occupying the Apostle's mind, we should naturally understand it, "I forewarn you now in my absence, as if I were present a second time to do it in person;" so that he would be speaking of the supposed visit as a *first*, with reference to the purpose which he has in his mind. The *primâ facie* sense of these passages implies a short visit, which we should place in the first half of the stay at Ephesus. And there are no strong reasons why we should not accept that *primâ facie* sense. St. Paul, we may imagine, heard of disorders which prevailed in the Corinthian Church. Apollon had returned to Ephesus some time before the 1st Epistle was written (1 Cor. xvi. 12), and it may have been from him that St. Paul learnt the tidings which distressed him. He was moved to go himself to see them. He stayed but a short time, but warned them solemnly against the licentiousness which he perceived to be creeping in amongst them. If he went directly by sea to Corinth and back, this journey would not occupy much time. It was very natural, again, that this visit should be followed up by a letter. Either the Apostle's own reflections after his return, or some subsequent tidings which reached him, drew from him, it appears, a written communication in which he gave them some practical advice. "I wrote unto you in the Epistle not to keep company with fornicators" (*ἐγράψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ*): 1 Cor. v. 9. Then, at some point not defined in the course of the stay at Ephesus, St. Paul announced to his friends a plan of going through Macedonia and Achaia, and afterwards visiting Jerusalem; adding, "After I have been there, I must also see Rome." But he put off for a while his own departure, and sent before him Timothy and Erastus to the churches in Macedonia and Achaia, "to bring them into remembrance of his ways which were in Christ" (1 Cor. iv. 17).

Whether the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians was written before or after the tumult excited by Demetrius cannot be positively asserted. He makes an allusion, in that Epistle, to a "battle with wild beasts" fought at Ephesus (*ἑθνηριμάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*: 1 Cor. xv. 32), which it is usual to understand figuratively, and which is by many connected with that tumult. But this connexion is arbitrary, and without much reason.²⁵ And as it would seem from Acts xx. 1 that St. Paul departed immediately after the tumult, it is probable that the Epistle was written before, though not long before, the raising of this disturbance. Here then, while the Apostle is so earnestly occupied with the teaching of believers and inquirers at Ephesus and from the neighbouring parts of "Asia," we find him throwing all his heart and soul into the concerns of the Church at Corinth. [CORINTHIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE.]

There were two external inducements for writing this Epistle. (1.) St. Paul had received information from members of Chloe's household (*ἐθελῶθι μοι ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης*, i. 11) concerning the state of the Church at Corinth. (2.) That Church had written him a letter, of which the bearers were Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus, to ask his judgment upon various points which were submitted to him (vii. 1, xvi. 17). He had learnt that there were divisions in the Church; that parties had been formed which took the names of Paul, of Apollos, of Cephas, and of Christ (i. 11, 12); and also that moral and social irregularities had begun to prevail, of which the most conspicuous and scandalous example was that a believer had taken his father's wife, without being publicly condemned by the Church (v. 1, vi. 7, xi. 17-22, xiv. 33-40). To these evils we must add one doctrinal error, of those who said "that there was no resurrection of the dead" (xv. 12). It is probable that the teaching of Apollos the Alexandrian, which had been characteristic and highly successful (Acts xviii. 27, 28), had been the first occasion of the "divisions" in the Church. We may take it for granted that his adherents did not form themselves into a party until he had left Corinth, and therefore that he had been some time with St. Paul at Ephesus. But after he was gone, the special *Alexandrian* features of his teaching were remembered by those who had delighted to hear him. Their Grecian intellect was captivated by his broader and more spiritual interpretation of the Jewish Scriptures. The connexion which he taught them to perceive between the revelation made to Hebrew rulers and prophets and the wisdom by which other nations, and especially their own, had been enlightened, dwelt in their minds. That which especially occupied the Apollos school must have been a *philosophy of the Scriptures*. It was the tendency of this party which seemed to the Apostle particularly dangerous amongst the Greeks. He hardly seems to refer specially in his letter to the other parties, but we can scarcely doubt that in what he says about "the wisdom which the Greeks sought" (i. 22), he is referring not only to the general tendency of the Greek mind, but to that tendency as it had been caught and influenced by the teaching of Apollos. It gives him an occasion of delivering his most characteristic testimony. He recognizes wisdom, but it is the wisdom of God; and that wisdom was not

²⁵ The manner of the allusion, *ἐθνηριμάχησα ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*, may imply as Ewald (*Send schreiben*, 214) sug-

only *ἡ σοφία* or a *λόγος* through which God had always spoken to all men; it had been perfectly manifested in Jesus the Crucified. Christ crucified was both the Power of God and the Wisdom of God. To receive Him required a spiritual discernment unlike the wisdom of the great men of the world; manifesting itself in sympathy with humiliation and in love.

For a detailed description of the Epistles the reader is referred to the special articles upon each. But it belongs to the history of St. Paul to notice the personal characteristics which appear in them. We must not omit to observe therefore, in this Epistle, how loyally the Apostle represents Jesus Christ the Crucified as the Lord of men, the Head of the body with many members, the Centre of Unity, the Bond of men to the Father. We should mark at the same time how invariably he connects the Power of the Spirit with the Name of the Lord Jesus. He meets all the evils of the Corinthian Church, the intellectual pride, the party spirit, the loose morality, the disregard of decency and order, the false belief about the Resurrection, by recalling their thoughts to the Person of Christ and to the Spirit of God as the Breath of a common life to the whole body.

We observe also here, more than elsewhere, the *tact*, universally recognized and admired, with which the Apostle discusses the practical problems brought before him. The various questions relating to marriage (ch. vii.), the difficulty about meats offered to idols (ch. viii., x.), the behaviour proper for women (ch. xi., xiv.), the use of the gifts of prophesying and speaking with tongues (ch. xiv.), are made examples of a treatment which may be applied to all such questions. We see them all discussed with reference to first principles; the object, in every practical conclusion, being to guard and assert some permanent principle. We see St. Paul no less a lover of order and subordinations than of freedom. We see him claiming for himself, and prescribing to others, great variety of conduct in varying circumstances, but under the strict obligation of being always true to Christ, and always seeking the highest good of men. Such a character, so steadfast in motive and aim, so versatile in action it would be difficult indeed to find elsewhere in history.

What St. Paul here tells us of his own doings and movements refers chiefly to the nature of his preaching at Corinth (i. ii.); to the hardships and dangers of the apostolic life (iv. 9-13); to his cherished custom of working for his own living (ii.); to the direct revelations he had received (xi. 25); to the direct revelations he had received (xvi.). He bids xv. 8); and to his present plans (xvi.). He bids the Corinthians raise a collection for the Church at Jerusalem by laying by something on the first day of the week, as he had directed the churches in Galatia to do. He says that he shall tarry at Ephesus till Pentecost, and then set out on a journey towards Corinth through Macedonia, so as possibly to spend the winter with them. He expresses his joy at the coming of Stephanas and his companions, and commends them to the respect of the Church.

Having despatched this Epistle he stayed on at Ephesus, where "a great door and effectual was opened to him, and there were many adversaries."

gests, that he had mentioned this conflict to the Corinthians in the previous non-extant letter

The affairs of the Church of Corinth continued to be an object of the gravest anxiety to him, and to give him occupation at Ephesus: but it may be most convenient to put off the further notice of these till we come to the time when the 2nd Epistle was written. We have now no information as to the work of St. Paul at Ephesus, until that tumult occurred which is described in Acts xix. 24-41. The whole narrative may be read there. We learn that "this Paul" had been so successful, not only in Ephesus, but "almost throughout all Asia," in turning people from the worship of gods made with hands, that the craft of silversmiths, who made little shrines for Artemis, were alarmed for their manufacture. They raised a great tumult, and not being able, apparently, to find Paul, laid hands on two of his companions and dragged them into the theatre. Paul himself, not willing that his friends should suffer in his place, wished to go amongst the people: but the disciples, supported by the urgent request of certain magistrates called Asiarchs, dissuaded him from his purpose. The account of the proceedings of the mob is highly graphic, and the address with which the town-clerk finally quiets the people is worthy of a discreet and experienced magistrate. His statement that "these men are neither robbers of churches, nor yet blasphemers of your goddess," is an incidental testimony to the temperance of the Apostle and his friends in their attacks on the popular idolatry. But St. Paul is only personally concerned in this tumult in so far as it proves the deep impression which his teaching had made at Ephesus, and the daily danger in which he lived.

He had been anxious to depart from Ephesus, and this interruption of the work which had kept him there determined him to stay no longer. He set out therefore for Macedonia, and proceeded first to Thras (2 Cor. ii. 12), where he might have preached the Gospel with good hope of success. But a restless anxiety to obtain tidings concerning the Church at Corinth urged him on, and he advanced into Macedonia, where he met Titus, who brought him the news for which he was thirsting. The receipt of this intelligence drew from him a letter which reveals to us what manner of man St. Paul was when the fountains of his heart were stirred to their inmost depths. [CORINTHIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE.] How the agitation which expresses itself in every sentence of this Letter was mutual, is one of the most interesting questions we have to consider. Every reader may perceive that, as passing from the First Epistle to the Second, the scene is almost entirely changed. In the *First*, the faults and difficulties of the Corinthian Church are before us. The Apostle writes of these, with spirit and emotion, as he always does, but without passion or disturbance. He calmly asserts his own authority over the Church, and threatens to deal severely with offenders. In the *Second*, he writes as one whose personal relations with those whom he addresses have undergone a most painful shock. The acute pain given by former tidings, the comfort yielded by the account which Titus brought, the vexation of a sensitive mind at the necessity of self-restraint, contend together for utterance. What had occasioned this excitement?

We have seen that Timothy had been sent from Ephesus to Macedonia and Corinth. He had returned to St. Paul when he wrote this Second Epistle, and he is associated with him in the salutation (2 Cor. i. 1). We have no account, either in the Acts or

in the Epistles, of this journey of Timothy, and some have thought it probable that he never reached Corinth. Let us suppose, however, that he arrived there soon after the First Epistle, conveyed by Stephanas and others, had been received by the Corinthian Church. He found that a movement had arisen in the heart of that Church which threw (let us suppose) the case of the incestuous person (1 Cor. v. 1-5) into the shade. This was a deliberate and sustained attack upon the Apostolic authority and personal integrity of the Apostle of the Gentiles. The party-spirit which, before the writing of the First Epistle, had been content with underrating the powers of Paul compared with those of Apollos, and with protesting against the laxity of his doctrine of freedom, had been fanned into a flame by the arrival of some person or persons who came from the Judæan Church, armed with letters of commendation, and who openly questioned the commission of him whom they proclaimed to be a self-constituted Apostle (2 Cor. iii. 1, xi. 4, 12-15). As the spirit of opposition and detraction grew strong, the tongue of some member of the Church (more probably a Corinthian than the stranger himself) was loosed. He scoffed at St. Paul's courage and constancy, pointing to his delay in coming to Corinth, and making light of his threats (i. 17, 23). He demanded proofs of his Apostleship (xii. 11, 12). He derided the weakness of his personal presence and the simplicity of his speech (x. 10). He even threw out insinuations touching the personal honesty and self-devotion of St. Paul (i. 12, xii. 17, 18). When some such attack was made openly upon the Apostle, the Church had not immediately called the offender to account; the better spirit of the believers being cowed, apparently, by the confidence and assumed authority of the assailants of St. Paul. A report of this melancholy state of things was brought to the Apostle by Timothy or by others; and we can imagine how it must have wounded his sensitive and most affectionate nature, and also how critical the juncture must have seemed to him for the whole Western Church. He immediately sent off Titus to Corinth, with a letter containing the sharpest rebukes, using the authority which had been denied, and threatening to enforce it speedily by his personal presence (ii. 2, 3, vii. 8). As soon as the letter was gone—how natural a trait!—he began to repent of having written it. He must have hated the appearance of claiming homage to himself; his heart must have been sore at the requital of his love; he must have felt the deepest anxiety as to the issue of the struggle. We can well believe him therefore when he speaks of what he had suffered:—"Out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote to you with many tears" (ii. 4); "I had no rest in my spirit" (ii. 13); "Our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side; without were fightings, within were fears" (vii. 5). It appears that he could not bring himself to hasten to Corinth so rapidly as he had intended (i. 15, 16); he would wait till he heard news which might make his visit a happy instead of a painful one (ii. 1). When he had reached Macedonia, Titus, as we have seen, met him with such reassuring tidings. The offender had been rebuked by the Church, and had made submission (ii. 6, 7); the old spirit of love and reverence towards St. Paul had been awakened, and had poured itself forth in warm expressions of shame and grief and penitence. The cloud was now dispelled; fear and pain gave place to hope and tenderness and thankfulness. But

even now the Apostle would not start at once for Corinth. He may have had important work to do in Macedonia. But another letter would smooth the way still more effectually for his personal visit; and he accordingly wrote the Second Epistle, and sent it by the hands of Titus and two other brethren to Corinth.

When the Epistle is read in the light of the circumstances we have supposed, the symptoms it displays of a highly wrought personal sensitiveness, and of a kind of ebb and flow of emotion, are as intelligible as they are noble and beautiful. Nothing but a temporary interruption of mutual regard could have made the joy of sympathy so deep and fresh. If he had been the object of a personal attack, how natural for the Apostle to write as he does in ii. 5-10. In vii. 12, "he that suffered wrong" is Paul himself. All his protestations relating to his Apostolic work, and his solemn appeals to God and Christ, are in place; and we enter into his feelings as he asserts his own sincerity and the openness of the truth which he taught in the Gospel (iii., iv.). We see what sustained him in his self-assertion; he knew that he did not preach himself, but Christ Jesus the Lord. His own weakness became an argument to him, which he can use to others also, of the power of God working in him. Knowing his own fellowship with Christ, and that this fellowship was the right of other men too, he would be persuasive or severe, as the cause of Christ and the good of men might require (iv., v.). If he was appearing to set himself up against the churches in Judaea, he was the more anxious that the collection which he was making for the benefit of those churches should prove his sympathy with them by its largeness. Again he would recur to the maintenance of his own authority as an Apostle of Christ, against those who impeached it. He would make it understood that spiritual views, spiritual powers, were real; that if he knew no man after the flesh, and did not war after the flesh, he was not the less able for the building up of the Church (x.). He would ask them to excuse his anxious jealousy, his folly and excitement, whilst he gloried in the practical proofs of his Apostolic commission, and in the infirmities which made the power of God more manifest; and he would plead with them earnestly that they would give him no occasion to find fault or to correct them (xi., xii., xiii.).

The hypothesis upon which we have interpreted this Epistle is not that which is most commonly received. According to the more common view, the offender is the incestuous person of 1 Cor. v., and the letter which proved so sharp but wholesome a medicine, the First Epistle. But this view does not account so satisfactorily for the whole tone of the Epistle, and for the particular expressions relating to the offender; nor does it find places so consistently for the missions of Timothy and Titus. It does not seem likely that St. Paul would have treated the sin of the man who took his father's wife as an offence against himself, nor that he would have spoken of it by preference as a *wrong* (*ἀδικία*) done to another (supposed to be the father). The view we have adopted is said, in De Wette's *Exegetisches Handbuch*, to have been held, in whole or in part, by Bleek, Credner, Olshausen, and Neander. More recently it has been advocated with great force by Ewald, in his *Send-schreiben des A. P.* pp. 223-232. The ordinary account is retained by Stanley, Alford, and Davidson, and with some hesitation by Conybeare and Howson.

The particular nature of this Epistle, as an appeal to facts in favour of his own Apostolic authority, leads to the mention of many interesting features of St. Paul's life. His summary, in xi. 23-28, of the hardships and dangers through which he had gone, proves to us how little the history in the Acts is to be regarded as a complete account of what he did and suffered. Of the particular facts stated in the following words, "Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one; thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep,"—we know only of one, the beating by the magistrates at Philippi, from the Acts. The daily burden of "the care of all the churches" seems to imply a wide and constant range of communication, by visits, messengers, and letters, of which we have found it reasonable to assume examples in his intercourse with the Church of Corinth. The mention of "visions and revelations of the Lord," and of the "thorn (or rather stake) in the flesh," side by side, is peculiarly characteristic both of the mind and of the experiences of St. Paul. As an instance of the visions, he alludes to a trance which had befallen him fourteen years before, in which he had been caught up into paradise, and had heard unspeakable words. Whether this vision may be identified with any that is recorded in the Acts must depend on chronological considerations: but the very expressions of St. Paul in this place would rather lead us not to think of an occasion in which words that could be reported were spoken. We observe that he speaks with the deepest reverence of the privilege thus granted to him; but he distinctly declines to ground anything upon it as regards other men. Let them judge him, he says, not by any such pretensions, but by facts which were cognizable to them (xii. 1-6). And he would not, even inwardly with himself, glory in visions and revelations without remembering how the Lord had guarded him from being puffed up by them. A stake in the flesh (*σκόλοψ τῆ σαρκί*) was given him, a messenger of Satan to buffet him, lest he should be exalted above measure. The different interpretations which have prevailed of this *σκόλοψ* have a certain historical significance. (1) Roman Catholic divines have inclined to understand by it strong sensual temptation. (2) Luther and his followers take it to mean temptations to unbelief. But neither of these would be "infirmities" in which St. Paul could "glory." (3) It is almost the unanimous opinion of modern divines—and the authority of the ancient fathers on the whole is in favour of it—that the *σκόλοψ* represents some vexatious bodily infirmity (see especially Stanley *in loco*). It is plainly what St. Paul refers to in Gal. iv. 14: "My temptation in Paul refers to in Gal. iv. 14: "My temptation in my flesh ye despised not nor rejected." This infirmity distressed him so much that he besought the Lord thrice that it might depart from him. But the Lord answered, "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect in weakness." We are to understand therefore the affliction as remaining; but Paul is more than displaying it, he even glories in it as a means of displaying more purely the power of Christ in him. That we are to understand the Apostle, in accordance with this passage, as labouring under some degree of ill-health, is clear enough. But we must remember that his constitution was at least strong enough, as a matter of fact, to carry him through the hardships and anxieties and toils which he himself de-

writes to us, and to sustain the pressure of the long imprisonment at Caesarea and in Rome.

After writing this Epistle, St. Paul travelled through Macedonia, perhaps to the borders of Illyricum (Rom. xv. 19), and then carried out the intention of which he had spoken so often, and arrived himself at Corinth. The narrative in the Acts tells us that "when he had gone over those parts (Macedonia), and had given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months" (xx. 2, 3). There is only one incident which we can connect with this visit to Greece, but that is a very important one—the writing of another great Epistle, addressed to the Church at Rome. [ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE.] That this was written at this time from Corinth appears from passages in the Epistle itself, and has never been doubted.

It would be unreasonable to suppose that St. Paul was inseparable to the mighty associations which connected themselves with the name of Rome. The seat of the imperial government to which Jerusalem itself, with the rest of the world, was then subject, must have been a grand object to the thoughts of the Apostle from his infancy upwards. He was himself a citizen of Rome; he had come repeatedly under the jurisdiction of Roman magistrates; he had enjoyed the benefits of the equity of the Roman law, and the justice of Roman administration. And, besides its universal supremacy, Rome was the natural head of the Gentile world, as Jerusalem was the head of the Jewish world. In this august city Paul had many friends and brethren. Romans who had travelled into Greece and Asia, strangers from Greece and Asia who had gone to settle at Rome, had heard of Jesus Christ and the kingdom of Heaven from Paul himself or from other preachers of Christ, and had formed themselves into a community, of which a good report had gone forth throughout the Christian world. We are not surprised therefore to hear that the Apostle was very anxious to visit Rome. It was his fixed intention to go to Rome, and from Rome to fix his journeys as far as Spain (Rom. xv. 24, 28). He would bear his witness, both in the capital and to the extremities of the Western or Gentile world. For the present he could not go on from Corinth to Rome, because he was drawn by a special errand to Jerusalem—where indeed he was likely enough to meet with dangers and delays (xv. 25-32). But from Jerusalem he proposed to turn Romewards. In the meanwhile he would write them a letter from Corinth.

The letter is a substitute for the personal visit which he had longed "for many years" to pay; and, as he would have made the visit, so now he writes the letter, because he is the Apostle of the Gentiles. Of this office, to speak in common language, St. Paul was proud. All the labours and dangers of it he would willingly encounter; and he would also jealously maintain its dignity and its powers. He held it of Christ, and Christ's commission should not be dishonoured. He represents himself grandly as a priest, appointed to offer up the faith of the Gentile world as a sacrifice to God (xv. 16). And he then proceeds to speak with the full extent and independence of his Apostolic authority of the Roman Church as consisting mainly of Gentiles: but we find that he speaks to them as to persons deeply interested in Jewish questions (see Prof. Jowett's and Bp. Colenso's Instructions to the Epistle).

To the Church thus composed, the Apostle of the Gentiles writes to declare and commend the Gospel which he everywhere preaches. That Gospel was invariably the announcement of Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Lord of men, who was made man, died, and was raised again, and whom His heralds present to the faith and obedience of mankind. Such a *κήρυγμα* might be variously commended to different hearers. In speaking to the Roman Church, St. Paul represents the chief value of it as consisting in the fact that, through it, the righteousness of God, as a righteousness not for God only, but also for men, was revealed. It is natural to ask what led him to choose and dwell upon this aspect of his proclamation of Jesus Christ. The following answers suggest themselves:—(1.) As he looked upon the condition of the Gentile world, with that *coup d'œil* which the writing of a letter to the Roman Church was likely to suggest, he was struck by the awful wickedness, the utter dissolution of moral ties, which has made that age infamous. His own terrible summary (i. 21-32) is well known to be confirmed by other contemporary evidence. The profligacy which we shudder to read of was constantly under St. Paul's eye. Along with the evil he saw also the beginnings of God's judgment upon it. He saw the miseries and disasters, begun and impending, which proved that God in heaven would not tolerate the unrighteousness of men. (2.) As he looked upon the condition of the Jewish people, he saw them claiming an exclusive righteousness, which, however, had manifestly no power to preserve them from being really unrighteous. (3.) Might not the thought also occur to him, as a Roman citizen, that the empire which was now falling to pieces through unrighteousness had been built up by righteousness, by that love of order and that acknowledgment of rights which were the great endowment of the Roman people? Whether we lay any stress upon this or not, it seems clear that to one contemplating the world from St. Paul's point of view, no thought would be so naturally suggested as that of the need of the true Righteousness for the two divisions of mankind. How he expounds that God's own righteousness was shown, in Jesus Christ, to be a righteousness which men might trust in—sinners though they were—and by trusting in it submit to it, and so receive it as to show forth the fruits of it in their own lives; how he declares the union of men with Christ as subsisting in the Divine idea and as realized by the power of the Spirit,—may be seen in the Epistle itself. The remarkable exposition contained in ch. ix., x., xi., illustrates the personal character of St. Paul, by showing the intense love for his nation which he retained through all his struggles with unbelieving Jews and Judaizing Christians, and by what hopes he reconciled himself to the thought of their unbelief and their punishment. Having spoken of this subject, he goes on to exhibit in practical counsels the same love of Christian unity, moderation, and gentleness, the same respect for social order, the same tenderness for weak consciences, and the same expectation of the Lord's coming and confidence in the future, which appear more or less strongly in all his letters.

Before his departure from Corinth, St. Paul was joined again by St. Luke, as we infer from the change in the narrative from the third to the first person. We have seen already that he was bent on making a journey to Jerusalem, for a special purpose and with-

in a limited time. With this view he was intending to go by sea to Syria. But he was made aware of some plot of the Jews for his destruction, to be carried out through this voyage; and he determined to evade their malice by changing his route. Several brethren were associated with him in this expedition, the bearers, no doubt, of the collections made in all the Churches for the poor at Jerusalem. These were sent on by sea, and probably the money with them, to Troas, where they were to await St. Paul. He, accompanied by St. Luke, went northwards through Macedonia. The style of an eye-witness again becomes manifest. "From Philippi," says the writer, "we sailed away after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days, where we abode seven days." The marks of time throughout this journey have given occasion to much chronological and geographical discussion, which brings before the reader's mind the difficulties and uncertainties of travel in that age, and leaves the *precise* determination of the dates of this history a matter for reasonable conjecture rather than for positive statement. But no question is raised by the times mentioned which need detain us in the course of the narrative. During the stay at Troas there was a meeting on the first day of the week "to break bread," and Paul was discoursing earnestly and at length with the brethren. He was to depart the next morning, and midnight found them listening to his earnest speech, with many lights burning in the upper chamber in which they had met, and making the atmosphere oppressive. A youth named Eutychus was sitting in the window, and was gradually overpowered by sleep, so that at last he fell into the street or court from the third story, and was taken up dead. The meeting was interrupted by this accident, and Paul went down and fell upon him and embraced him, saying, "Be not disturbed, his life is in him." His friends then appear to have taken charge of him, whilst Paul went up again, first presided at the breaking of bread, afterwards took a meal, and continued conversing until day-break, and so departed.

Whilst the vessel which conveyed the rest of the party sailed from Troas to Assos, Paul gained some time by making the journey by land. At Assos he went on board again. Coasting along by Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Trogyllium, they arrived at Miletus. The Apostle was thus passing by the chief Church in Asia; but if he had gone to Ephesus he might have arrived at Jerusalem too late for the Pentecost, at which festival he had set his heart upon being present. At Miletus, however, there was time to send to Ephesus; and the elders of the Church were invited to come down to him there. This meeting is made the occasion for recording another characteristic and *representative* address of St. Paul (Acts xx. 18-35). This spoken address to the elders of the Ephesian Church may be ranked with the Epistles, and throws the same kind of light upon St. Paul's Apostolical relations to the Churches. Like several of the Epistles, it is in great part an appeal to their memories of him and of his work. He refers to his labours in "serving the Lord" amongst them, and to the dangers he incurred from the plots of the Jews, and asserts emphatically the *unreserve* with which he had taught them. He then mentions a fact which will come before us again presently, that he was receiving inspired warnings, as he advanced from city to city, of the bonds and afflictions awaiting him at

Jerusalem. It is interesting to observe that the Apostle felt it to be his duty to press on in spite of these warnings. Having formed his plan on good grounds and in the sight of God, he did not see, in dangers which might even touch his life, however clearly set before him, reasons for changing it. Other arguments might move him from a final purpose—not dangers. His one guiding principle was, to discharge the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God. Speaking to his present audience as to those whom he was seeing for the last time, he proceeds to exhort them with unusual earnestness and tenderness, and expresses in conclusion that anxiety as to practical industry and literacy which has been increasingly occupying his mind. In terms strongly resembling the language of the Epistles to the Thessalonians and Corinthians, he pleads his own example, and entreats them to follow it, in "labouring for the support of the weak." "And when he had thus spoken he kneeled down and prayed with them all; and they all wept, and fell on Paul's neck, and kissed him, sorrowing most of all for the words which he spake, that they should see his face no more. And they accompanied him to the ship." . . . This is the kind of narrative in which some learned men think they can detect the signs of a moderately clever fiction.

The course of the voyage from Miletus was by Coos and Rhodes to Patara, and from Patara in another vessel past Cyprus to Tyre. Here Paul and his company spent seven days; and there were disciples "who said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem." Again there was a sorrowful parting: "They all brought us on our way, with wives and children, till we were out of the city; and we kneeled down on the shore and prayed." From Tyre they sailed to Ptolemais, where they spent one day, and from Ptolemais proceeded, apparently by land, to Caesarea. In this place was settled Philip the Evangelist, one of the seven, and he became the host of Paul and his friends. Philip had four unmarried daughters, who "prophesied," and who repeated, no doubt, the warnings already heard. Caesarea was within an easy journey of Jerusalem, and Paul may have thought it prudent not to be too long in Jerusalem before the festival; otherwise it might seem strange that, after the former haste, they now "tarried many days" at Caesarea. During this interval the prophet Agabus (Acts xi. 28) came down from Jerusalem, and crowned the previous intimations of danger with a prediction expressively delivered. It would seem as if the approaching imprisonment were intended to be conspicuous in the eyes of the Church, as an agency for the accomplishment of God's designs. At this stage a final effort was made to dissuade Paul from going up to Jerusalem, by the Christians of Caesarea, and by his travelling companions. But "Paul answered, What mean ye to weep and to break mine heart? I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus. And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done." So, after a while, they went up to Jerusalem, and were gladly received by the brethren. This is St. Paul's fifth and last visit to Jerusalem.

St. Paul's Imprisonment: Jerusalem and Caesarea.—He who was thus conducted into Jerusalem by a company of anxious friends had become by this time a man of considerable fame amongst his

countrymen. He was widely known as one who had taught with pre-eminent boldness that a way into God's favour was opened to the Gentiles, and that this way did not lie through the door of the Jewish Law. He had moreover actually founded numerous and important communities, composed of Jews and Gentiles together, which stood simply on the name of Jesus Christ, apart from circumcision and the observance of the Law. He had thus raised against himself the bitter enmity of that unshakable Jewish pride which was almost as strong in some of those who had professed the faith of Jesus, as in their unconverted brethren. This enmity had for years been vexing both the body and the spirit of the Apostle. He had no rest from its persecutions; and his joy in proclaiming the free grace of God to the world was mixed with a constant sorrow that in so doing he was held to be disloyal to the calling of his fathers. He was now approaching a crisis in the long struggle, and the shadow of it had been made to rest upon his mind throughout his journey to Jerusalem. He came "ready to die for the name of the Lord Jesus," but he came expressly to prove himself a faithful Jew, and this purpose emerges at every point of the history.

St. Luke does not mention the contributions brought by Paul and his companions for the poor at Jerusalem. But it is to be assumed that their first act was to deliver these funds into the proper hands. This might be done at the interview which took place on the following day with "James and all the elders." As on former occasions, the believers at Jerusalem could not but glorify God for what they heard; but they had been alarmed by the prevalent feeling concerning St. Paul. They said to him, "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe; and they are all zealous of the law; and they are informed of thee that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs." This report, as James and the elders assume, was not a true one; it was a perversion of Paul's real teaching, which did not, in fact, differ from theirs. In order to dispel such rumours they ask him to do publicly an act of homage to the Law and its observances. They had four men who were under the Nazirite vow. The completion of this vow involved (Num. vi. 13-21) a considerable expense for the offerings to be presented in the Temple; and it was a meritorious act to provide these offerings for the poorer Nazarites. St. Paul was requested to put himself under the vow with those other four, and to supply the cost of their offerings. He at once accepted the proposal, and on the next day, having performed some ceremony which implied the adoption of the vow, he went into the Temple, announcing that the due offerings for each Nazirite were about to be presented and the period of the vow terminated. It appears that the whole process undertaken by St. Paul required seven days to complete it. Towards the end of this time certain Jews from "Asia," who had come up for the Pentecostal Feast, and who had a personal knowledge both of Paul himself and of his companion Trophimus, a Gentile from Ephesus, saw Paul in the Temple. They immediately set upon him, and urged up the people against him, crying out, "Men of Israel, help: this is the man that teacheth us every where against the people, and the

law, and this place; and further brought Greeks also into the Temple, and hath polluted this holy place." The latter charge had no more truth in it than the first; it was only suggested by their having seen Trophimus with him, not in the Temple, but in the city. They raised, however, a great commotion: Paul was dragged out of the Temple, of which the doors were immediately shut, and the people, having him in their hands, were proposing to kill him. But tidings were soon carried to the commander of the force which was serving as a garrison in Jerusalem, that "all Jerusalem was in an uproar;" and he, taking with him soldiers and centurions, hastened to the scene of the tumult. Paul was rescued from the violence of the multitude by the Roman officer, who made him his own prisoner, causing him to be chained to two soldiers, and then proceeded to inquire who he was and what he had done. The inquiry only elicited confused outcries, and the "chief captain" seems to have imagined that the Apostle might perhaps be a certain Egyptian pretender who had recently stirred up a considerable rising of the people. The account in the Acts (xxi. 34-40) tells us with graphic touches how St. Paul obtained leave and opportunity to address the people in a discourse which is related at length.

This discourse was spoken in Hebrew; that is, in the native dialect of the country, and was on that account listened to with the more attention. It is described by St. Paul himself, in his opening words, as his "defence," addressed to his brethren and fathers. It is in this light that it ought to be regarded. As we have seen, the desire which occupied the Apostle's mind at this time, was that of vindicating his message and work as those of a faithful Jew. The discourse spoken to the angry people at Jerusalem is his own justification of himself. He adopts the historical method, after which all the recorded appeals to Jewish audiences are framed. He is a servant of facts. He had been from the first a zealous Israelite like his hearers. He had changed his course because the God of his fathers had turned him from one path into another. It is thus that he is led into a narrative of his Conversion. We have already noticed the differences, in the statement of bare facts, between this narrative and that of the 9th chapter. The business of the student, in this place, is to see how far the purpose of the Apostle will account for whatever is special to this address. That purpose explains the detailed reference to his rigorously Jewish education, and to his history before his Conversion. It gives point to the announcement that it was by a direct operation from without upon his spirit, and not by the gradual influence of other minds upon his, that his course was changed. Incidentally, we may see a reason for the admission that his companions "heard not the voice of him that spake to me" in the fact that some of them, not believing in Jesus with their former leader, may have been living at Jerusalem, and possibly present amongst the audience. In this speech, the Apostle is glad to mention, what we were not told before, that the Ananias who interpreted the will of the Lord to him more fully at Damascus, was "a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the Jews which dwelt there," and that he made his communication in the name of Jehovah, the God of Israel, saying, "The God of our fathers hath chosen thee, that thou shouldst know his will, and see the righteous One, and hear a voice out of his mouth; for thou

shalt be a witness for him unto all men of what thou hast seen and heard." Having thus claimed, according to his wont, the character of a simple instrument and witness, St. Paul goes on to describe another revelation of which we read nothing elsewhere. He had been accused of being an enemy to the Temple. He relates that after the visit to Damascus he went up again to Jerusalem, and was praying once in the Temple itself, till he fell into a trance. Then he saw the Lord, and was bidden to leave Jerusalem quickly, because the people there would not receive his testimony concerning Jesus. His own impulse was to stay at Jerusalem, and he pleaded with the Lord that there it was well known how he had persecuted those of whom he was now one,—implying, it would appear, that at Jerusalem his testimony was likely to be more impressive and irresistible than elsewhere; but the Lord answered with a simple command, "Depart: for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles."

Until this hated word, of a mission to the Gentiles, had been spoken, the Jews had listened to the speaker. They could bear the name of the Nazarene, though they despised it; but the thought of that free declaration of God's grace to the Gentiles, of which Paul was known to be the herald, stung them to fury. Jewish pride was in that generation becoming hardened and embittered to the utmost; and this was the enemy which St. Paul had come to encounter in its stronghold. "Away with such a fellow from the earth," the multitude now shouted: "it is not fit that he should live." The Roman commander, seeing the tumult that arose, might well conclude that St. Paul had committed some heinous offence; and carrying him off, he gave orders that he should be forced by scourging to confess his crime. Again the Apostle took advantage of his Roman citizenship to protect himself from such an outrage. To the rights of that citizenship, he, a free-born Roman, had a better title than the chief captain himself; and if he had chosen to assert it before, he might have saved himself from the indignity of being manacled.

The Roman officer was bound to protect a citizen, and to suppress tumult; but it was also a part of his policy to treat with deference the religion and the customs of the country. St. Paul's present history is the resultant of these two principles. The chief captain set him free from bonds, but on the next day called together the chief priests and the Sanhedrim, and brought Paul as a prisoner before them. We need not suppose that this was a regular legal proceeding: it was probably an experiment of policy and courtesy. If, on the one hand, the commandant of the garrison had no power to convoke the Sanhedrim; on the other hand he would not give up a Roman citizen to their judgment. As it was, the affair ended in confusion, and with no semblance of a judicial termination. The incidents selected by St. Luke from the history of this meeting form striking points in the biography of St. Paul, but they are not easy to understand. The difficulties arising here, not out of a comparison of two independent narratives, but out of a single narrative which must at least have appeared consistent and intelligible to the writer himself, are a warning to the student not to draw unfavourable inferences from all apparent discrepancies.—St. Paul appears to have been put upon his defence, and with the peculiar habit, mentioned elsewhere also (Acts xiii. 9), of looking steadily when about to speak (*ἀνέμινας*), he began to say "Men and brethren, I have

lived in all good conscience (or, to give the force of *πεπολιτευμαι*, I have lived a conscientiously legal life) unto God, until this day." Here the High-Priest Ananias commanded them that stood by him to smite him on the mouth. With a fearless indignation, Paul exclaimed: "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall: for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten after the law?" The bystanders said, "Revilist thou God's High-Priest?" Paul answered, "I know not, brethren, that he was the High-Priest; for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people." The evidence furnished by this apology, of St. Paul's respect both for the Law and for the high priesthood, was probably the reason for the writer thought that outburst culpable or not, does not appear. St. Jerome (*contra Pelag.* iii., quoted by Baur) draws an unfavourable contrast between the vehemence of the Apostle and the meekness of his Master; and he is followed by many critics, as amongst others De Wette and Alford. But it is to be remembered that He who was led as a lamb to the slaughter, was the same who spoke of "whited sepulchres," and exclaimed, "Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how shall ye escape the damnation of hell?" It is by no means certain, therefore, that St. Paul would have been a true follower of Jesus if he had held his tongue under Ananias's lawless outrage. But what does his answer mean? How was it possible for him not to know that he who spoke was the High Priest? Why should he have been less willing to rebuke an iniquitous High Priest than any other member of the Sanhedrim, "sitting to judge him after the Law?" These are difficult questions to answer. It is not likely that Ananias was personally unknown to St. Paul; still less so, that the High Priest was not distinguished by dress or place from the other members of the Sanhedrim. The least objectionable solutions seem to be that for some reason or other,—either because his sight was not good, or because he was looking another way,—he did not know whose voice it was that ordered him to be smitten; and that he wished to correct the impression which he saw was made upon some of the audience by his threatening protest, and therefore took advantage of the fact that he really did not know the speaker to be the High-Priest, to explain the deference he felt to be due to the person holding that office. The next incident which St. Luke records seems to some, who cannot think of the Apostle as remaining still a Jew, to cast a shadow upon his rectitude. He perceived, we are told, that the council was divided into two parties, the Sadducees and Pharisees, and therefore he cried out, "Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee; concerning the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question." This declaration, whether so intended or not, had the effect of stirring up the party spirit of the assembly to such a degree that a fierce dissension arose, and some of the Pharisees actually took Paul's side, saying, "We find no evil in this man; suppose a spirit or an angel has spoken to him?"—Those who impugn the authenticity of the Acts point triumphantly to this scene as an utterly impossible one: others consider that the Apostle is to be blamed for using a dissenuous artifice. But it is not so clear that St. Paul was using an artifice at all, at least for his own interest, in identifying himself as he did with the professions of the Pharisees. He had act some

in Jerusalem to escape out of the way of danger, nor was the course he took on this occasion the wisest he could have chosen. Two objects, we must remember, were dearer to him than his life: (1) to testify of Him whom God had raised from the dead, and (2) to prove that in so doing he was a faithful Jew. He may well have thought that both these objects might be promoted by an appeal to the noble professions of the Pharisees. The creed of the Pharisee as distinguished from that of the Sadducee, was unquestionably the creed of St. Paul. His belief in Jesus seemed to him to supply the ground and fulfilment of that creed. He wished to lead his brother Pharisees into a deeper and more living apprehension of their own faith.

Whether such a result was in any degree attained, we do not know: the immediate consequence of the discussion which occurred in the assembly was that Paul was like to be torn in pieces, and was carried off by the Roman soldiers. In the night he had a vision, as at Corinth (xviii. 9, 10) and on the Voyage to Rome (xxvii. 23, 24), of the Lord standing by him, and encouraging him. "Be of good cheer, Paul," said his Master; "for as thou hast testified of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome." It was not safety that the Apostle longed for, but opportunity to bear witness of Christ.

Probably the factious support which Paul had gained by his manner of bearing witness in the council died away as soon as the meeting was dissolved. On the next day a conspiracy was formed, which the historian relates with a singular fulness of details. More than forty of the Jews bound themselves under a curse neither to eat nor to drink until they had killed Paul. Their plan was, to persuade the Roman commandant to send down Paul once more to the council, and then to set upon him by the way and kill him. This conspiracy became known in some way to a nephew of St. Paul's, his sister's son, who was allowed to see his uncle, and inform him of it, and by his desire was taken to the captain, who was thus put on his guard against the plot. This discovery baffled the conspirators; and it is to be feared that they obtained some dispersion from their vow. The consequence to St. Paul was that he was hurried away from Jerusalem. The chief captain, Claudius Lysias, the governor, or procurator, of Judaea. He therefore put him in charge of a strong guard of soldiers, who took him by night as far as Antipatris. From thence a smaller detachment conveyed him to Caesarea, where they delivered up their prisoner into the hands of the governor, together with a letter, in which Claudius Lysias had explained to Felix his reason for sending Paul, and had announced that his accusers would follow. Felix, St. Luke tells us with that particularity which marks this portion of his narrative, asked of what province the prisoner was; and being told that he was of Cilicia, he proposed to give him a hearing when his accusers should come. In the meantime he ordered him to be guarded,—chained probably, to a soldier,—in the government-house, which had been the palace of Herod the Great.

Imprisonment at Caesarea.—St. Paul was henceforth, to the end of the period embraced in the Acts, if not to the end of his life, in Roman custody. This custody was in fact a protection to him, without which he would have fallen a victim to the animosity of the Jews. He seems to have

been treated throughout with humanity and consideration. His own attitude towards Roman magistrates was invariably that of a respectful but independent citizen; and whilst his franchise secured him from open injustice, his character and conduct could not fail to win him the goodwill of those into whose hands he came. The governor before whom he was now to be tried, according to Tacitus and Josephus, was a mean and dissolute tyrant. [FELIX.] "Per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit" (Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 9). But these characteristics, except perhaps the *servile ingenium*, do not appear in our history. The orator or counsel retained by the Jews and brought down by Ananias and the elders, when they arrived in the course of five days at Caesarea, begins the proceedings of the trial professionally by complimenting the governor. The charge he goes on to set forth against Paul shows precisely the light in which he was regarded by the fanatical Jews. He is a pestilent fellow (*λοιμός*); he stirs up divisions amongst the Jews throughout the world; he is a ringleader of the sect (*αἰρέσεως*) of the Nazarenes. His last offence had been an attempt to profane the Temple. St. Paul met the charge in his usual manner. He was glad that his judge had been for some years governor of a Jewish province; "because it is in thy power to ascertain that, not more than twelve days since, I came up to Jerusalem to worship." The emphasis is upon his coming up to worship. He denied positively the charges of stirring up strife and of profaning the Temple. But he admitted that "after the way (*τὴν ὁδόν*) which they call a sect, or a heresy,"—so he worshipped the God of his fathers, believing all things written in the law and in the prophets. Again he gave prominence to the hope of a resurrection, which he held, as he said, in common with his accusers. His loyalty to the faith of his fathers he had shown by coming up to Jerusalem expressly to bring alms for his nation and offerings, and by undertaking the ceremonies of purification in the Temple. What fault then could any Jew possibly find in him?—The Apostle's answer was straightforward and complete. He had not violated the law of his fathers; he was still a true and loyal Israelite. Felix, it appears, knew a good deal about "the way" (*τῆς ὁδοῦ*), as well as about the customs of the Jews, and was probably satisfied that St. Paul's account was a true one. He made an excuse for putting off the matter, and gave orders that the prisoner should be treated with indulgence, and that his friends should be allowed free access to him. After a while, Felix heard him again. His wife Drusilla was a Jewess, and they were both curious to hear the eminent preacher of the new faith in Christ. But St. Paul was not a man to entertain an idle curiosity. He began to reason concerning righteousness, temperance, and the coming judgment, in a manner which alarmed Felix and caused him to put an end to the conference. He frequently saw him afterwards, however, and allowed him to understand that a bribe would procure his release. But St. Paul would not resort to this method of escape, and he remained in custody until Felix left the province. The unprincipled governor had good reason to seek to ingratiate himself with the Jews; and to please them, he handed over Paul, as an untried prisoner, to his successor Festus.

At this point, as we shall see hereafter, the history of St. Paul comes into its closest contact with external chronology. Festus, like Felix, has a place

in secular history, and he bears a much better character. Upon his arrival in the province, he went up without delay from Caesarea to Jerusalem, and the leading Jews seized the opportunity of asking that Paul might be brought up there for trial, intending to assassinate him by the way. But Festus would not comply with their request. He invited them to follow him on his speedy return to Caesarea, and a trial took place there, closely resembling that before Felix. Festus saw clearly enough that Paul had committed no offence against the law, but he was anxious at the same time, if he could, to please the Jews. "They had certain questions against him" Festus says to Agrippa, "of their own superstition (or religion), and of one Jesus, who was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. And being puzzled for my part as to such inquiries, I asked him whether he would go to Jerusalem to be tried there." This proposal, not a very likely one to be accepted, was the occasion of St. Paul's appeal to Caesar. In dignified and independent language he claimed his rights as a Roman citizen. We can scarcely doubt that the prospect of being forwarded by this means to Rome, the goal of all his desires, presented itself to him and drew him onwards, as he virtually protested against the indecision and impotence of the provincial governor, and exclaimed, I appeal unto Caesar. Having heard this appeal, Festus consulted with his assessors, found that there was no impediment in the way of its prosecution, and then replied, "Hast thou appealed to Caesar? To Caesar thou shalt go."

Properly speaking, an appeal was made from the sentence of an inferior court to the jurisdiction of a higher. But in St. Paul's case no sentence had been pronounced. We must understand, therefore, by his appeal, a demand to be tried by the imperial court, and we must suppose that a Roman citizen had the right of electing whether he would be tried in the province or at Rome. [APPEAL.]

The appeal having been allowed, Festus reflected that he must send with the prisoner a report of "the crimes laid against him." And he found that it was no easy matter to put the complaints of the Jews in a form which would be intelligible at Rome. He therefore took advantage of an opportunity which offered itself in a few days to seek some help in the matter. The Jewish prince Agrippa arrived with his sister Berenice on a visit to the new governor. To him Festus communicated his perplexity, together with an account of what had occurred before him in the case. Agrippa, who must have known something of the sect of the Nazarenes, and had probably heard of Paul himself, expressed a desire to hear him speak. The Apostle therefore was now called upon to bear the name of his Master "before Gentiles, and kings." The audience which assembled to hear him was the most dignified which he had yet addressed, and the state and ceremony of the scene proved that he was regarded as no vulgar criminal. Festus, when Paul had been brought into the council-chamber, explained to Agrippa and the rest of the company the difficulty in which he found himself, and then expressly referred the matter to the better knowledge of the Jewish king. Paul therefore was to give an account of himself to Agrippa; and when he had received from him a courteous permission to begin, he stretched forth his hand and made his defence.

In this discourse (Acts xxvi.), we have the second explanation from St. Paul himself of the manner in which he had been led, through his Conversion, to

serve the Lord Jesus instead of persecuting His disciples; and the third narrative of His Conversion itself. Speaking to Agrippa as to one thoroughly versed in the customs and questions prevailing amongst the Jews, Paul appeals to the well-known Jewish and even Pharisaical strictness of his youth and early manhood. He reminds the king of the great hope which sustained continually the warriors of the Jewish nation,—the hope of a deliverer, promised by God Himself, who should be a conqueror of death. He had been led to see that this promise was fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth; he proclaimed His resurrection to be the pledge of a new and immortal life. What was there in this of disloyalty to the traditions of his fathers?—Did his countrymen disbelieve in this Jesus as the Messiah? he had he once disbelieved in Him; and had thought it his duty to be earnest in hostility against His name. But his eyes had been opened: he would tell how and when. The story of the Conversion is modified in this address as we might fairly expect it to be. We have seen that there is no absolute contradiction between the statements of this and the other narratives. The main points,—the light, the protection, the voice from heaven, the instructions from Jesus,—are found in all three. But in this account, the words, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," are followed by a fuller explanation, as if then spoken by the Lord, of what the work of the Apostle was to be. The other accounts defer this explanation to a subsequent occasion. But when we consider how fully the mysterious communication made at the moment of the Conversion included what was afterwards conveyed, through Ananias and in other ways, to the mind of Paul; and how needless it was for Paul, in his present address before Agrippa, to mark the stages by which the whole lesson was taught, it seems merely capricious to base upon the method of this account a charge of disagreement between the different parts of this history. They bear, on the contrary, a striking mark of genuineness in the degree in which they approach contradiction without reaching it. It is most natural that a story told on different occasions should be told differently; and if in such a case we find no contradiction as to the facts, we gain all the firmer impression of the substantial truth of the story. The particulars added to the former accounts by the present narrative are, that the words of Jesus were spoken in Hebrew, and that the first question to Saul was followed by the saying, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goads." (This saying is omitted by the best authorities in the ixth chapter.) The language of the commission which St. Paul says he received from Jesus deserves close study, and will be found to bear a striking resemblance to a passage in Colossians (i. 12-14). The ideas of light, redemption, forgiveness, inheritance and faith in Christ, belong characteristically to the Gospel which Paul preached amongst the Gentiles. Not less striking is it to observe the older terms in which he describes to Agrippa his obedience to the heavenly vision. He had made it his business, he says, to proclaim to all men "that they should repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance." Words such as John the Baptist uttered, but not less truly as Pauline. And he finally reiterates that the money on account of which the Jews sought to kill him was in exact agreement with Moses and the prophets. They had taught men to expect that the Christ should suffer, and that He should be the first that should rise from the dead, and should above

light unto the people and to the Gentiles. Of such a Messiah Saul was the servant and preacher.*

At this point Festus began to apprehend what seemed to him a manifest absurdity. He interrupted the Apostle discourteously, but with a contempt contained in his loud remonstrance. "Thou art mad, Paul; thy much learning is turning thee mad." The phrase τὰ πολλὰ γράμματα may possibly have been suggested by the allusion to Moses and the prophets; but it probably refers to the looks with which St. Paul had been supplied, and which he was known to study, during his imprisonment. As a biographical hint, this phrase is not to be overlooked. "I am not mad," replied Paul, "most noble Festus: they are words of truth and soberness which I am uttering." Then, with an appeal of mingled dignity and solicitude, he turns to the king. He was sure the king understood him. "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets?—I know that thou believest." The answer of Agrippa can hardly have been the serious and encouraging remark of our English version. Literally rendered, it appears to be, "You are briefly persuading me to become a Christian; and it is generally supposed to have been spoken ironically. 'I would to God,'" is Paul's earnest answer, "that whether by a brief process or by a long one, not only thou but all who hear me to-day might become such as I am, with the exception of these bonds." He was wearing a chain upon the hand he held up in addressing them. With this prayer, it appears, the conference ended. Festus and the king, and their companions, consulted together, and came to the conclusion that the accused was guilty of nothing that deserved death or imprisonment. And Agrippa's final answer to the inquiry of Festus was, "This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar."

The Voyage to Rome.—No formal trial of St. Paul had yet taken place. It appears from Acts xxiii. 18, that he knew how favourable the judgment of the provincial governor was likely to be. But the vehement opposition of the Jews, together with his desire to be conveyed to Rome, might well induce him to claim a trial before the imperial court. After a while arrangements were made to carry "Paul and certain other prisoners," in the custody of a centurion named Julius, into Italy; and amongst the company, whether by favour or from any other reason, we find the historian of the Acts. The narrative of this voyage is accordingly minute and circumstantial in a degree which has excited much attention. The nautical and geographical details of St. Luke's account have been submitted to an apparently thorough investigation by several competent critics, especially by Mr. Smith of Jerdanhill, in an important treatise devoted to this subject, and by Mr. Howson. The result of this investigation has been, that several errors in the received version have been corrected, that the course of the voyage has been laid down to a very accurate degree with great certainty, and that the accurate eye-witness, not himself a professional seaman, but well acquainted with nautical matters. We shall hasten lightly over this voyage, referring the reader to the works above mentioned, and to

* There never was any that understood the Old Testament so well as St. Paul, except John the Baptist, and John the Divine. . . . Oh, he dearly loved Moses and Isalah. The words and things of St. Paul are taken out of Moses

the articles in this Dictionary on the names of places and the nautical terms which occur in the narrative.

The centurion and his prisoners, amongst whom Aristarchus (Col. iv. 10) is named, embarked at Caesarea on board a ship of Adramyttium, and set sail for the coast of Asia. On the next day they touched at Sidon, and Julius began a course of kindly and respectful treatment by allowing Paul to go on shore to visit his friends. The westerly winds still usual at the time of year (late in the summer) compelled the vessel to run northwards under the lee of Cyprus. Off the coast of Cilicia and Pamphylia they would find northerly winds, which enabled them to reach Myra in Lycia. Here the voyagers were put on board another ship, which was come from Alexandria and was bound for Italy. In this vessel they worked slowly to windward, keeping near the coast of Asia Minor, till they came over against Cnidus. The wind being still contrary, the only course was now to run southwards, under the lee of Crete, passing the headland of Salmone. They then gained the advantage of a weather shore, and worked along the coast of Crete as far as Cape Matala, near which they took refuge in a harbour called Fair Havens, identified with one bearing the same name to this day.

It became now a serious question what course should be taken. It was late in the year for the navigation of those days. The fast of the day of expiation (Lev. xxiii. 27-29), answering to the autumnal equinox, was past, and St. Paul gave it as his advice that they should winter where they were. But the master and the owner of the ship were willing to run the risk of seeking a more commodious harbour, and the centurion followed their judgment. It was resolved, with the concurrence of the majority, to make for a harbour called Phoenix, sheltered from the S.W. winds, as well as from the N.W. (The phrase βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα is rendered either "looking down the S.W." [Smith and Alford], or "looking towards the S.W." when observed from the sea and towards the land enclosing it [Howson].) A change of wind occurred which favoured the plan, and by the aid of a light breeze from the south they were sailing towards Phoenix (now Lutro), when a violent N.E. wind [EUROCLYDUS] came down from the land (κατ' ἀνῆς, scil. Κρήτης), caught the vessel, and compelled them to let her drive before the wind. In this course they arrived under the lee of a small island called Claudia, about 20 miles from Crete, where they took advantage of comparatively smooth water to get the boat on board, and to undergird, or frap, the ship. There was a fear lest they should be driven upon the Syrtis on the coast of Africa, and they therefore "lowered the gear," or sent down upon deck the gear connected with the fair-weather sails, and stood out to sea "with storm-sails set and on the starboard tack" (Smith). The bad weather continued, and the ship was lightened on the next day of her cargo, on the third of her loose furniture and tackling. For many days neither sun nor stars were visible to steer by, the storm was violent, and all began to despair of safety. The general discouragement was aggravated by the abstinence

and the prophets" (Luther's *Table Talk*, ccccxxviii, Engl. Trans.). Another striking remark of Luther's may be added here: "Whoso reads Paul may, with a safe conscience, build upon his words" (*Table Talk*, xxiii.).

caused by the difficulty of preparing food, and the spoiling of it; and in order to raise the spirits of the whole company Paul stood forth one morning to relate a vision which had occurred to him in the night. An angel of the God "whose he was and whom he served" had appeared to him and said, "Fear not, Paul: thou must be brought before Caesar; and behold, God hath given thee all them that sail with thee." At the same time he predicted that the vessel would be cast upon an island and be lost.

This shipwreck was to happen speedily. On the fourteenth night, as they were drifting through the sea [ADRIA], about midnight, the sailors perceived indications, probably the roar of breakers, that land was near. Their suspicion was confirmed by soundings. They therefore cast four anchors out of the stern, and waited anxiously for daylight. After a while the sailors lowered the boat with the professed purpose of laying out anchors from the bow, but intending to desert the ship, which was in imminent danger of being dashed to pieces. St. Paul, aware of their intention, informed the centurion and the soldiers of it, who took care, by cutting the ropes of the boat, to prevent its being carried out. He then addressed himself to the task of encouraging the whole company, assuring them that their lives would be preserved, and exhorting them to refresh themselves quietly after their long abstinence with a good meal. He set the example himself, taking bread, giving thanks to God, and beginning to eat in presence of them all. After a general meal, in which there were 276 persons to partake, they further lightened the ship by casting out what remained of the provisions on board (*τὸν σῖτον* is commonly understood to be the "wheat" which formed the cargo, but the other interpretation seems more probable). When the light of the dawn revealed the land, they did not recognize it, but they discovered a creek with a smooth beach, and determined to run the ship aground in it. So they cut away the anchors, unloosed the rudder-paddles, raised the foresail to the wind, and made for the beach. When they came close to it they found a narrow channel between the land on one side, which proved to be an islet, and the shore; and at this point, where the "two seas met," they succeeded in driving the fore part of the vessel fast into the clayey beach. The stern began at once to go to pieces under the action of the breakers; but escape was now within reach. The soldiers suggested to their commander that the prisoners should be effectually prevented from gaining their liberty by being killed; but the centurion, desiring to save Paul, stopped this proposition, and gave orders that those who could swim should cast themselves first into the sea and get to land, and that the rest should follow with the aid of such spars as might be available. By this creditable combination of humanity and discipline the deliverance was made as complete as St. Paul's assurances had predicted it would be.

The land on which they had been cast was found to belong to Malta. [MELITA.] The very point of the stranding is made out with great probability by Mr. Smith. The inhabitants of the island received the wet and exhausted voyagers with no ordinary kindness, and immediately lighted a fire to warm them. This particular kindness is recorded on account of a curious incident connected with it. The Apostle was helping to make the fire, and had gathered a bundle of sticks and laid

them on the fire, when a viper came out of the heat, and fastened on his hand. When the natives saw the creature hanging from his hand they believed him to be poisoned by the bite, and amongst themselves, "No doubt this man is a murderer, whom, though he has escaped from the sea, yet Vengeance suffers not to live." But when they saw that no harm came of it they changed their minds and said that he was a god. This circumstance, as well as the honour in which he was held by Julius, would account for St. Paul being held with some others to stay at the house of the chief man of the island, whose name was Publius. By him they were courteously entertained for three days. The father of Publius happened to be ill of fever and dysentery, and was healed by St. Paul; and when this was known many other sick persons were brought to him and were healed. So there was a pleasant interchange of kindness and benefit. The people of the island showed the Apostle and his company much honour, and when they were about to leave loaded them with such things as they would want. The Roman soldiers would carry with them to Rome a deepened impression of the character and the powers of the kingdom of which Paul was the herald.

After a three months' stay in Malta the soldiers and their prisoners left in an Alexandrian ship for Italy. They touched at Syracuse, where they stayed three days, and at Rhegium, from which place they were carried with a fair wind to Puteoli, where they left their ship and the sea. At Puteoli they found "brethren," for it was an important place, and especially a chief port for the traffic between Alexandria and Rome; and by these brethren they were exhorted to stay awhile with them. Permission seems to have been granted by the centurion; and whilst they were spending seven days at Puteoli news of the Apostle's arrival was sent on to Rome. The Christians at Rome, on their part, sent forth some of their number, who met St. Paul at Appii Forum and Tres Tabernæ; and on this first introduction to the Church at Rome the Apostle felt that his long desire was fulfilled at last—"He thanked God and took courage."

St. Paul at Rome.—On their arrival at Rome the centurion delivered up his prisoners into the proper custody, that of the prætorian prefect. Paul was at once treated with special consideration, and was allowed to dwell by himself with the soldiers who guarded him. He was not released from this galling annoyance of being constantly chained to a keeper; but every indulgence compatible with this necessary restraint was readily allowed him. He was now therefore free "to preach the Gospel to them that were at Rome also," and proceeded without delay to act upon his rule—"to the Jew first." He invited the chief persons amongst the Jews to come to him, and explained to them that though he was brought to Rome to answer charges made against him by the Jews in Palestine, he had really done nothing disloyal to his nation or his Law, nor desired to be considered as hostile to his fellow-countrymen. On the contrary, he was in custody for maintaining that "the hope of Israel" had been fulfilled. The Roman Jews replied that they had received no tidings of his preaching, but they knew to be everywhere spoken against; but they were willing to hear what he had to say, if it has been thought strange that such an attitude should be taken towards the faith of Christ by the

Jews at Rome, where a flourishing branch of the Church had existed for some years; and an argument has been drawn from this representation against the authenticity of the Acts. But it may be accounted for without violence from what we know and may probably conjecture. (1.) The Church at Rome consisted mainly of Gentiles, though it must be supposed that they had been previously for the most part Jewish proselytes. (2.) The real Jews at Rome had been persecuted and sometimes entirely banished, and their unsettled state may have checked the contact and collision which would have been otherwise likely. (3.) St. Paul was possibly known by name to the Roman Jews, and curiosity may have persuaded them to listen to him. Even if he were not known to them, here, as in other places, his courteous bearing and strong expressions of adhesion to the faith of his fathers would win a hearing from them. A day was therefore appointed, on which a large number came expressly to hear him expound his belief; and from morning till evening he bore witness of the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus, both out of the Law of Moses and out of the prophets. So the Apostle of the Gentiles had not yet undervalued the original Apostolic method. The hope of Israel was still his subject. But, as of old, the reception of his message by the Jews was not favourable. They were slow of heart to believe, at Rome as at Pisidian Antioch. The judgment pronounced by Isaiah was come, Paul testified, upon the people. They had made themselves blind and deaf and gross of heart. The Gospel must be proclaimed to the Gentiles, amongst whom it would find a better welcome. He turned therefore again to the Gentiles, and for two years he dwelt in his own hired house, and received all who came to him, proclaiming the kingdom of God and teaching concerning the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him.

These are the last words of the Acts. This history of the planting of the kingdom of Christ in the world brings us down to the time when the Gospel was openly proclaimed by the great Apostle in the Gentile capital, and stops short of the mighty revolution which was shortly to pronounce that kingdom established as the Divine commonwealth for all men. The work of St. Paul belonged to the preparatory period. He was not to live through the time when the Son of Man came in the destruction of the Holy City and Temple, and in the throes of the New Age. The most significant part of his work was accomplished when in the Imperial City he had declared his Gospel "to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile." But his career is not abruptly closed. Before he himself fades out of our sight in the twilight of ecclesiastical tradition, we have letters written by himself, which contribute some particulars to his external biography, and give us a far more precious insight into his convictions and sympathies.

Period of the Later Epistles.—We might naturally expect that St. Paul, tied down to one spot at Rome, and yet free to speak and write to whom he pleased, would pour out in Letters his love and anxiety for distant Churches. It seems entirely reasonable to suppose that the author of the extant Epistles wrote very many which are not extant. To suppose this, aids us perhaps a little in the difficult endeavour to contemplate St. Paul's Epistles as living Letters. It is difficult enough to connect in our minds the *writing* of these Epistles with the

external conditions of a human life; to think of Paul, with his incessant chain and soldier, sitting down to write or dictate, and producing for the world an inspired Epistle. But it is almost more difficult, to imagine the Christian communities of those days, samples of the population of Macedonia or Asia Minor, receiving and reading such Letters. But the Letters were actually written; and they must of necessity be accepted as representing the kind of communications which marked the intercourse of the Apostle and his fellow-Christians. When he wrote, he wrote out of the fullness of his heart; and the ideas on which he dwelt were those of his daily and hourly thoughts. To that imprisonment to which St. Luke has introduced us,—the imprisonment which lasted for such a tedious time, though tempered by much indulgence,—belongs the noble group of Letters to Philemon, to the Colossians, to the Ephesians, and to the Philippians. The three former of these were written at one time and sent by the same messengers. Whether that to the Philippians was written before or after these, we cannot determine; but the tone or it seems to imply that a crisis was approaching, and therefore it is commonly regarded as the latest of the four.

St. Paul had not himself founded the Church at Colossae. But during his imprisonment at Rome he had for an associate—he calls him a "fellow-prisoner" (Philemon 23)—a chief teacher of the Colossian Church named Epaphras. He had thus become deeply interested in the condition of that Church. It happened that at the same time a slave named Onesimus came within the reach of St. Paul's teaching, and was converted into a zealous and useful Christian. This Onesimus had run away from his master; and his master was a Christian of Colossae. St. Paul determined to send back Onesimus to his master; and with him he determined also to send his old companion Tychicus (Acts xx. 4), as a messenger to the Church at Colossae and to neighbouring Churches. This was the occasion of the letter to Philemon, which commended Onesimus, in language of singular tenderness and delicacy, as a faithful and beloved brother, to his injured master; and also of the two letters to the Colossians and Ephesians. That to the Colossians, being drawn forth by the most special circumstances, may be reasonably supposed to have been written first. It was intended to guard the Church at Colossae from false teaching, which the Apostle knew to be infesting it. For the characteristics of this Epistle, we must refer to the special article. [COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.] The end of it (iv. 7-18) names several friends who were with St. Paul at Rome, as Aristarchus, Marcus (St. Mark), Epaphras, Luke, and Demas. For the writing of the Epistle to the Ephesians, there seems to have been no more special occasion, than that Tychicus was passing through Ephesus. [EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.] The highest characteristic which these two Epistles, to the Colossians and Ephesians, have in common, is that of a presentation of the Lord Jesus Christ, fuller and clearer than we find in previous writings, as the Head of creation and of mankind. All things created through Christ, all things coherent in Him, all things reconciled to the Father by Him, the eternal purpose to restore and complete all things in Him,—such are the ideas which grew richer and more distinct in the mind of the Apostle as he meditated on the Gospel which he had been preaching, and the truths implied in it. In the Epistle to the Colossians this Divine Headship of Christ is main-

tained as the safeguard against the fancies which filled the heavens with secondary divinities, and which laid down rules for an artificial sanctity of men upon the earth. In the Epistle to the Ephesians the eternity and universality of God's redeeming purpose in Christ, and the gathering of men unto Him as His members, are set forth as gloriously revealed in the Gospel. In both, the application of the truth concerning Christ as the Image of God and the Head of men to the common relations of human life is dwelt upon in detail.

The Epistle to the Philippians resembles the Second to the Corinthians in the effusion of personal feeling, but differs from it in the absence of all soreness. The Christians at Philippi had regarded the Apostle with love and reverence from the beginning, and had given him many proofs of their affection. They had now sent him a contribution towards his maintenance at Rome, such as we must suppose him to have received from time to time for the expenses of "his own hired house." The bearer of this contribution was Epaphroditus, an ardent friend and fellow-labourer of St. Paul, who had fallen sick on the journey or at Rome (Phil. ii. 27). The Epistle was written to be conveyed by Epaphroditus on his return, and to express the joy with which St. Paul had received the kindness of the Philippians. He dwells therefore upon their fellowship in the work of spreading the Gospel, a work in which he was even now labouring, and scarcely with the less effect on account of his bonds. His imprisonment had made him known, and had given him fruitful opportunities of declaring his Gospel amongst the Imperial guard (i. 13), and even in the household of the Caesar (iv. 22). He professes his undiminished sense of the glory of following Christ, and his expectation of an approaching time in which the Lord Jesus should be revealed from heaven as a deliverer. There is a *gracious* tone running through this Epistle, expressive of humility, devotion, kindness, delight in all things fair and good, to which the favourable circumstances under which it was written gave a natural occasion, and which helps us to understand the kind of ripening which had taken place in the spirit of the writer. [PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.]

In this Epistle St. Paul twice expresses a confident hope that before long he may be able to visit the Philippians in person (i. 25, οἶδα κ.τ.λ. ii. 24, πέποιθα κ.τ.λ.). Whether this hope was fulfilled or not, belongs to a question which now presents itself to us, and which has been the occasion of much controversy. According to the general opinion, the Apostle was liberated from his imprisonment and left Rome, soon after the writing of the letter to the Philippians, spent some time in visits to Greece, Asia Minor, and Spain, returned again as a prisoner to Rome, and was put to death there. In opposition to this view it is maintained by some, that he was never liberated, but was put to death at Rome at an earlier period than is commonly supposed. The arguments adduced in favour of the common view are, (1.) the hopes expressed by St. Paul of visiting Philippi (already named) and Colossae (Philemon 22); (2.) a number of allusions in the Pastoral Epistles, and their general character; and (3.) the testimony of ecclesiastical tradition. The arguments in favour of the single imprisonment appear to be wholly negative, and to aim simply at showing that there is no proof of a liberation, or departure from Rome. It is contended that St. Paul's expectations were not always realized, and

that the passages from Philemon and Philippians are effectually neutralized by Acts xx. 25, "I know that ye all (at Ephesus), shall see my face no more;" inasmuch as the supporters of the ordinary view hold that St. Paul went again to Ephesus. This is a fair answer. The argument from the Pastoral Epistles is met most simply by a denial of their genuineness. The tradition of ecclesiastical antiquity is affirmed to have no real weight.

The decision must turn mainly upon the view taken of the Pastoral Epistles. It is true that there are many critics, including Wieseler and Dr. Davison, who admit the genuineness of these Epistles, and yet, by referring 1 Timothy and Titus to an earlier period, and by strained explanations of the allusions in 2 Timothy, get rid of the evidence they are generally understood to give in favour of a second imprisonment. The voyages required by the two former Epistles, and the writing of them, are placed within the three years spent chiefly at Ephesus (Acts xx. 31). But the hypothesis of voyages during that period not recorded by St. Luke is just as arbitrary as that of a release from Rome, which is objected to expressly because it is arbitrary; and such a distribution of the Pastoral Epistles is shown by overwhelming evidence to be untenable. The whole question is discussed in a masterly and decisive manner by Alford in his Prolegomena to the Pastoral Epistles. If, however, these Epistles are not accepted as genuine, the main ground for the belief in a second imprisonment is cut away. For a special consideration of the Epistles, let the reader refer to the articles on TIMOTHY and TITUS.

The difficulties which have induced such critics as De Wette and Ewald to reject these Epistles, are not inconsiderable, and will force themselves upon the attention of the careful student of St. Paul. But they are overpowered by the much greater difficulties attending any hypothesis which assumes these Epistles to be spurious. We are obliged therefore to recognize the modifications of St. Paul's style, the developments in the history of the Church, and the movements of various persons, which have appeared suspicious in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, as nevertheless historically true. And this without encroaching on the domain of conjecture, we draw the following conclusions. (1.) St. Paul must have left Rome, and visited Asia Minor and Greece; for he says to Timothy (1 Tim. i. 3), "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I was setting out for Macedonia." After being once at Ephesus, he was purposing to go there again (1 Tim. iv. 13), and he spent a considerable time at Ephesus (2 Tim. i. 18). (2.) He paid a visit to Crete, and left Titus to organize Churches there (Titus i. 5). He was intending to spend a winter at one of the places named Nicopolis (Tit. iii. 12). (3.) He travelled by Miletus (2 Tim. iv. 20), Troas (2 Tim. iv. 13), where he left a cloak or case, and some books, and Corinth (2 Tim. iv. 20). (4.) He is a prisoner at Rome, "suffering unto bonds as an evildoer" (2 Tim. ii. 9), and expecting to be soon condemned to death (2 Tim. iv. 6). At this time he felt deserted and solitary, having only Luke of his old associates, to keep him company; and he was very anxious that Timothy should come to him without delay from Ephesus, and bring Mark with him (2 Tim. i. 15, iv. 16, 9-12). These facts may be amplified by probable additions from conjecture and tradition. There are strong reasons for placing the three Epistles at an advanced date as possible, and not far from real

rather. The peculiarities of style and diction by which these are distinguished from all his former Epistles, the affectionate anxieties of an old man and the glances frequently thrown back on earlier times and scenes, the disposition to be hortatory rather than speculative, the references to a more complete and settled organization of the Church, the signs of a condition tending to moral corruption, and resembling that described in the apocalyptic letters to the seven Churches—would incline us to adopt the latest date which has been suggested for the death of St. Paul, so as to interpose as much time as possible between the Pastoral Epistles and the former group. Now the earliest authorities for the date of St. Paul's death are Eusebius and Jerome, who place it, the one (*Chron. Ann.* 2083) in the 13th, the other (*Cat. Script. Eccl.* "Paulus") in the 14th year of Nero. These dates would allow some four or five years between the First Imprisonment and the Second. During these years, according to the general belief of the early Church, St. Paul accomplished his old design (Rom. xv. 28) and visited Spain. Ewald, who denies the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles, and with it the journeyings in Greece and Asia Minor, believes that St. Paul was liberated and paid this visit to Spain (*Geschichte*, vi. pp. 621, 631, 632); yielding upon this point to the testimony of tradition. The first writer quoted in support of the journey to Spain is one whose evidence would indeed be irresistible, if the language in which it is expressed were less obscure. Clement of Rome, in a hortatory and rather rhetorical passage (*Ep. 1 ad Cor.* c. 5) refers to St. Paul as an example of patience, and mentions that he preached *ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει*, and that before his martyrdom he went *εἰς τὸ τέμα τῆς δύσεως*. It is probable, but can hardly be said to be certain, that by this expression, "the goal of the west," Clement was describing Spain, or some country yet more to the west. The next testimony labours under a somewhat similar difficulty from the imperfection of the text, but it at least names unambiguously a "profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis." This is from Muratori's Fragment on the Canon (*Routh, Rel. Sac.* iv. p. 1-12). (See the passage quoted and discussed in Wieseler, *Chron. Apost.* *Zelt.* p. 536, &c., or Alford, iii. p. 93.) Afterwards Cyprian says simply, *Μετὰ τὸ γένεσθαι ἐν Τυβί, πάλιν εἰς τὴν Σπανίαν ἀπῆλθεν* (on 2 Tim. iv. 20); and Jerome speaks of St. Paul as set free by Nero, that he might preach the Gospel of Christ "in Occidentis quoque partibus" (*Cat. Script. Eccl.* "Paulus"). Against these assertions nothing is produced, except the absence of allusions to a journey to Spain in passages from some of the fathers where such allusions might more or less be expected. Dr. Davidson (*Introd. New Test.* iii. 15, 84) gives a long list of critics who believe in St. Paul's release from the first imprisonment. Wieseler (p. 521) mentions some of these, with references, and adds some of the more eminent German critics who believe with him in but one imprisonment. These include Schrader, Hensen, Winer, and Baur. The only English name of any weight to be added to this list is that of Dr. Davidson.

We conclude then, that after a wearing imprisonment of two years or more at Rome, St. Paul

was set free, and spent some years in various journeyings eastwards and westwards. Towards the close of this time he pours out the warnings of his less vigorous but still brave and faithful spirit in the Letters to Timothy and Titus. The first to Timothy and that to Titus were evidently written at very nearly the same time. After these were written, he was apprehended again and sent to Rome. As an eminent Christian teacher St. Paul was now in a far more dangerous position than when he was first brought to Rome. The Christians had been exposed to popular odium by the false charge of being concerned in the great Neronian conflagration of the city, and had been subjected to a most cruel persecution. The Apostle appears now to have been treated, not as an honourable state-prisoner, but as a felon (2 Tim. ii. 9). But he was at least allowed to write this Second Letter to his "dearly beloved son" Timothy; and though he expresses a confident expectation of his speedy death, he yet thought it sufficiently probable that it might be delayed for some time, to warrant him in urging Timothy to come to him from Ephesus. Meanwhile, though he felt his isolation, he was not in the least daunted by his danger. He was more than ready to die (iv. 6), and had a sustaining experience of not being deserted by his Lord. Once already, in this second imprisonment, he had appeared before the authorities; and "the Lord then stood by him and strengthened him," and gave him a favourable opportunity for the one thing always nearest to his heart, the public declaration of his Gospel.

This Epistle, surely no unworthy utterance at such an age and in such an hour even of a St. Paul, brings us, it may well be presumed, close to the end of his life. For what remains, we have the concurrent testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity, that he was beheaded at Rome, about the same time that St. Peter was crucified there. The earliest allusion to the death of St. Paul is in that sentence from Clemens Romanus, already quoted, *ἐπὶ τὸ τέμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου*, which just fails of giving us any particulars upon which we can conclusively rely. The next authorities are those quoted by Eusebius in his *H. E.* ii. 25. Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (A.D. 170), says that Peter and Paul went to Italy and taught there together, and suffered martyrdom about the same time. This, like most of the statements relating to the death of St. Paul, is mixed up with the tradition, with which we are not here immediately concerned, of the work of St. Peter at Rome. Caius of Rome, supposed to be writing within the 2nd century, names the grave of St. Peter on the Vatican, and that of St. Paul on the Ostian way. Eusebius himself entirely adopts the tradition that St. Paul was beheaded under Nero at Rome. Amongst other early testimonies, we have that of Tertullian, who says (*De Praescr. Haeret.* 36) that at Rome "Petrus passioni Dominicæ adequatur, Paulus Johannis [the Baptist] exitu conatur;" and that of Jerome (*Cat. Sc. Paulus*), "Hic ergo 14^{to} Neronis anno (eodem die quo Petrus) Romæ pro Christo capite truncatus sepultusque est, in via Ostiensi." It would be useless to enumerate further testimonies of what is undisputed.

* For THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS, see the article more than head. The close observation of the life of St. Paul would lead, we think, to the conclusion, that the

thoughts and beliefs of that Epistle, to whomsoever this composition of it be attributed, are by no means alien to the Apostle's habits of mind.

It would also be beyond the scope of this article to attempt to exhibit the traces of St. Paul's Apostolic work in the history of the Church. But there is one indication, so exceptional as to deserve special mention, which shows that the difficulty of understanding the Gospel of St. Paul and of reconciling it with a true Judaism was very early felt. This is in the Apocryphal work called the Clementines (*τὰ Κλημენტια*), supposed to be written before the end of the 2nd century. These curious compositions contain direct assaults (for though the name is not given, the references are plain and undisguised), upon the authority and the character of St. Paul. St. Peter is represented as the true Apostle, of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews, and St. Paul as *ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος*, who opposes St. Peter and St. James. The portions of the Clementines which illustrate the writer's view of St. Paul will be found in Stanley's *Corinthians* (Intro. to 2 Cor.); and an account of the whole work, with references to the treatises of Schliemann and Baur, in Gieseler, *Ecol. Hist.* i. §58.

Chronology of St. Paul's Life.—It is usual to distinguish between the internal or absolute, and the external or relative, chronology of St. Paul's life. The former is that which we have hitherto followed. It remains to mention the points at which the N. T. history of the Apostle comes into contact with the outer history of the world. There are two principal events which serve as fixed dates for determining the Pauline chronology—the death of Herod Agrippa, and the accession of Festus; and of these the latter is by far the more important. The time of this being ascertained, the particulars given in the Acts enable us to date a considerable portion of St. Paul's life. Now it has been proved almost to certainty that Felix was recalled from Judaea and succeeded by Festus in the year 60 (Wieseler, pp. 66, &c.; Conybeare and Howson, ii. note C). In the autumn, then, of A.D. 60 St. Paul left Caesarea. In the spring of 61 he arrived at Rome. There he lived two years, that is, till the spring of 63, with much freedom in his own hired house. After this we depend upon conjecture; but the Pastoral Epistles give us reasons, as we have seen, for deferring the Apostle's death until 67, with Eusebius, or 68, with Jerome. Similarly we can go backwards from A.D. 60. St. Paul was two years at Caesarea (Acts xxiv. 27); therefore he arrived at Jerusalem on his last visit by the Pentecost of 58. Before this he had wintered at Corinth (Acts xx. 2, 3), having gone from Ephesus to Greece. He left Ephesus, then, in the latter part of 57, and as he stayed 3 years at Ephesus (Acts xx. 31), he must have come thither in 54. Previously to this journey he had spent "some time" at Antioch (Acts xviii. 23), and our chronology becomes indeterminate. We can only add together the time of a hasty visit to Jerusalem, the travels of the great second missionary journey, which included 1½ year at Corinth, another indeterminate stay at Antioch, the important third visit to Jerusalem, another "long" residence at Antioch (Acts xiv. 28), the first missionary journey, again an indeterminate stay at Antioch (Acts xii. 25)—until we come to the second visit to Jerusalem, which nearly synchronised with the death of Herod Agrippa, in A.D. 44 (Wieseler, p. 130). Within this interval of some 10 years the most important date to fix is that of the third visit to Jerusalem; and there is a great concurrence of the best authorities in placing this visit in either 50 or 51.

St. Paul himself (Gal. ii. 1) places this visit "14 years after" either his conversion or the first visit of the conversion. The conversion was followed by 3 years (Gal. i. 18) spent in Arabia and Jerusalem; and the space between the first visit (40 or 41) and the second (44 or 45) is filled up by an indeterminate time, presumably 2 or 3 years, at Tarsus (Acts ix. 30), and 1 year at Antioch (Acts xi. 26). The date of the martyrdom of Stephen can only be conjectured, and is very variously placed between A.D. 30 and the year of St. Paul's conversion. In the account of the death of St. Paul St. Paul is called "a young man" (Acts xiv. 34). It is not improbable therefore that he was born between A.D. 0 and A.D. 5, so that he might be past 60 years of age when he calls himself "Paul the aged" in Philemon 9. More detailed conjectures will be found in almost every writer on St. Paul. *Comparative* chronological tables (showing the opinions of 30 and 34 critics) are given by Wieseler and Davidson; tables of events only by Conybeare and Howson, Alford, Jowett, and many others.

Personal Appearance and Character of St. Paul.

—We have no very trustworthy sources of information as to the personal appearance of St. Paul. Those which we have are referred to and quoted in Conybeare and Howson (i. ch. 7, end). They are the early pictures and mosaics described by Mr. Jameson, and passages from Malalas, Nicephorus, and the apocryphal *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (concerning which see also Conybeare and Howson, i. 197). They all agree in ascribing to the Apostle a short stature, a long face with high forehead, an aquiline nose, close and prominent eyebrows. Other characteristics mentioned are baldness, gray eyes, a clear complexion, and a winning expression. Of his temperament and character St. Paul is himself the best painter. His speeches and letters convey to us, as we read them, the truest impressions of those qualities which helped to make him the great Apostle. We perceive the warmth and ardour of his nature, his deeply affectionate disposition, the tenderness of his sense of honour, the courtesy and personal dignity of his bearing, his perfect frankness, his heroic endurance; we perceive the rare combination of subtlety, tenacity, and versatility in his intellect; we perceive also a practical wisdom which we should have associated with a cooler temperament, and a tolerance which is seldom united with such impetuous convictions. And the principle which harmonised all these endowments and directed them to a practical end was, beyond dispute, a knowledge of Jesus Christ in the Divine Spirit, personal allegiance to Christ as to a living Master, with a growing insight into the relation of Christ to each man and to the world, carried the Apostle forwards on a straight course through every vicissitude of personal fortunes and amidst the various habits of thought which he had to encounter. The conviction that he had been entrusted with a Gospel concerning a Lord and Deliverer of men was what sustained and purified his love for his own people, whilst it created in him such a love for mankind that he only knew himself as the servant of others for Christ's sake.

A remarkable attempt has recently been made by Professor Jowett, in his Commentary on some of the Epistles, to qualify what he considers to be the blind and indiscriminating admiration of St. Paul

by representing him as having been, with all his excellences, a man "whose appearance and discourse made an impression of feebleness," "out of harmony with life and nature," a confused thinker, uttering himself "in broken words and hesitating forms of speech, with no beauty or comeliness of style," and so undecided in his Christian belief that he was preaching, in the 14th year after his conversion, a Gospel concerning Christ which he himself, in four years more, confessed to have been incorrect. In these paradoxical views, however, Professor Jowett stands almost alone: the result of the present, as of the most reverent, of the numerous recent studies of St. Paul and his works (amongst which Professor Jowett's own Commentary is one of the most interesting) having been only to add an independent tribute to the ancient admiration of Christianity. Those who judge St. Paul as they would judge any other remarkable man confess him unanimously to have been "one of the greatest spirits of all time," whilst those who believe him to have been appointed by the Lord of mankind, and inspired by the Holy Ghost, to do a work in the world of almost unequalled importance, are lost in wonder as they study the gifts with which he was endowed for that work, and the sustained devotion with which he gave himself to it.

Modern Authorities.—It has not been thought necessary to load the pages of this article with references to the authors about to be mentioned, because in each of them it is easy for the student to turn at once to any part of St. Paul's life or writings with regard to which he may desire to consult them. A very long catalogue might be made of authors who have written on St. Paul; amongst whom the following may be recommended as of some independent value. In English, the work of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, on the *Lives and Epistles of St. Paul*, is at once the most comprehensive and the most popular. Amongst Commentaries, those of Professor Jowett on the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans, and of Professor Stanley on the Epistles to the Corinthians, are expressly designed to throw light on the Apostle's character and work. The general Commentaries of Dean Alford and Dr. Wordsworth include abundant matter upon everything relating to St. Paul. So does Dr. Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament*, which gives also in great profusion the opinions of all former critics, English and foreign. Paley's well-known *Briefs Paulinae*; Mr. Smith's work on the *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*; Mr. Tate's *Continuous History of St. Paul*; and Mr. Lewin's *St. Paul*, are exclusively devoted to Pauline subjects. Of the older works by commentators and others, which are thoroughly sifted by more recent writers, it may be sufficient to mention a book that had a great reputation in the last century, *Paul*, amongst German critics and historians the following may be named:—Ewald, in his *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. vi., and his *Sendschreiben des Apostels Paulus*; Wieseler, *Chronologie des*

Apostolischen Zeitalters, which is universally accepted as the best work on the chronology of St. Paul's life and times; De Wette, in his *Einleitung und his Exegetisches Handbuch*; Neander, *Pflanzung und Leitung der Christl. Kirche*; works on *Paulus*, by Baur, Hensen, Schrader, Schneckenburger; and the Commentaries of Olshausen, Meyer &c. In French, the work of Salvador on *Jésus Christ et sa Doctrine*, in the chapter *St. Paul et l'Eglise*, gives the view of a modern Jew; and the *Discourses on St. Paul*, by M. de Pressensé, are able and eloquent. [J. L. D.]

PAVEMENT. [GABBATHĀ.]

PAVILION. 1. *Sôc*,^a properly an enclosed place, also rendered "tabernacle," "covert," and "den," once only "pavilion" (Ps. xxvii. 5).

2. *Succâh*,^b usually "tabernacle" and "booth." [SUCCOTH.]

3. *Shaphrîr*,^c and *Shaphrîr*, a word used once only in Jer. xliii. 10, to signify glory or splendour, and hence probably to be understood of the splendid covering of the royal throne. It is explained by Jarchi and others "a tent." [TENT.] [H. W. P.]

PEACOCKS (טַרְשִׁישׁ and תּוּצִיִּיִם, *tucciyim*: τᾶῶνες: *pavi*). Amongst the natural products of the land of Tarshish which Solomon's fleet brought home to Jerusalem mention is made of "peacocks:" for there can, we think, be no doubt at all that the A. V. is correct in thus rendering *tucciyim*, which word occurs only in 1 K. x. 22, and 2 Chr. ix. 21; most of the old versions, with several of the Jewish Rabbis being in favour of this translation. Some writers have, however, been dissatisfied with the rendering of "peacocks," and have proposed "parrots," as Huet (*Diss. de Nav. Sal.* 7, §6) and one or two others. Keil (*Diss. de Ophir*, p. 104, and *Comment. on 1 K. x. 22*), with a view to support his theory that Tarshish is the old Phœnician Tartessus in Spain, derives the Hebrew name from *Tucca*, a town of Mauretania and Numidia, and concludes that the "Aves Numidicæ" (Guinea fowls) are meant: which birds, however, in spite of their name, never existed in Numidia, nor within a thousand miles of that country!

There can be no doubt that the Hebrew word is of foreign origin. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1502) cites many authorities to prove that the *tucci* is to be traced to the Tamul or Malabaric *togei*, "peacock:" which opinion has been recently confirmed by Sir E. Tennent (*Ceylon*, ii, p. 102, and i, p. xx. 3rd ed.), who says, "It is very remarkable that the terms by which these articles (ivory, apes, and peacocks) are designated in the Hebrew Scriptures, are identical with the Tamil names, by which some of them are called in Ceylon to the present day,—*tukeyim* may be recognized in *togei*, the modern name for these birds." Thus Keil's objection "that this supposed *togei* is not yet itself sufficiently ascertained" (*Comment. on 1 K. x. 22*) is satisfactorily met.^d

Peacocks are called "Persian birds" by Aristophanes, *Aves*, 484; see also *Acharn.* 63; *Diod. Sic.* ii. 53.

^d The Hebrew names for apes and ivory are clearly traceable to the Sanscrit; but though *togei* does not appear in Sanscrit, it has been derived from the Sanscrit word *s'ikhi*, meaning furnished with a crest. (Max Müller, *Science of Language*, p. 190).

^a טַרְשִׁישׁ, "enclose" (Ges. 952); *σκηνή*; *tabernaculum*.

^b טַרְשִׁישׁ, from same root; *σκηνή*; *tabernaculum*; also *tabernaculum*. In 1 K. xx. 16, *Σοκχῶθ*.

^c טַרְשִׁישׁ, as 1 Keri טַרְשִׁיר (Ges. 1169).

Peacocks were doubtless introduced into Persia from India or Ceylon; perhaps their first introduction dates from the time of Solomon; and they gradually extended into Greece, Rome, and Europe generally. The ascription of the quality of vanity to the peacock is as old as the time of Aristotle, who says (*Hist. An. i. 1, §15*), "Some animals are jealous and vain like the peacock." The A. V. in Job xxxix. 13, speaks of "the goodly wings of the peacocks;" but this is a different Hebrew word, and has undoubted reference to the "ostrich." [W. H.]

PEARL (פֶּרֶל, *gâbîsh*: γαβίς: *eminentia*).

The Heb. word occurs, in this form, only in Job xxviii. 18, where the price of wisdom is contrasted with that of *râmôth* ("coral") and *gâbîsh*; and the same word, with the addition of the syllable *el* (לֵ), is found in Ez. xiii. 11, 13, xxxviii. 22, with *abné*, "stones," i. e. "stones of ice." The ancient versions contribute nothing by way of explanation. Schultens (*Comment. in Job, l. c.*) leaves the word untranslated: he gives the signification of "pearls" to the Heb. term *penîm* (A. V. "rubies") which occurs in the same verse. Gesenius, Fürst, Rosenmüller, Maurer, and commentators generally, understand "crystal" by the term, on account of its resemblance to ice. Lee (*Comment. on Job, l. c.*) translates *râmôth vegâbîsh* "things high and massive." Carey renders *gâbîsh* by "mother-of-pearl," though he is by no means content with this explanation. On the whole the balance of probability is in favour of "crystal," since *gâbîsh* denotes "ice" (not "hailstones," as Carey supposes, without the addition of *abné*, "stones") in the passages of Ezekiel where the word occurs. There is nothing to which ice can be so well compared as to crystal. The objection to this interpretation is that crystal is not an article of much value; but perhaps reference may here be made to the beauty and pure lustre of rock crystal, or this substance may by the ancient Orientals have been held in high esteem.

Pearls (μαργαρίται), however, are frequently mentioned in the N. T.: comp. Matt. xiii. 45, 46, where the kingdom of heaven is likened unto "a merchant-man seeking goodly pearls." Pearls formed part of women's attire (1 Tim. ii. 9; Rev. xvii. 4). "The twelve gates" of the heavenly Jerusalem were twelve pearls (Rev. xxi. 21); perhaps "mother-of-pearl" is here more especially intended.

Pearls are found inside the shells of various species of *Mollusca*. They are formed by the deposit of the nacreous substance around some foreign body as a nucleus. The *Unio margaritifera*, *Mytilus edulis*, *Ostrea edulis*, of our own country, occasionally furnish pearls; but "the pearl of great price" is doubtless a fine specimen yielded by the pearl oyster (*Avicula margaritifera*) still found in abundance in the Persian Gulf, which has long been celebrated for its pearl fisheries. In Matt. vii. 6 pearls are used metaphorically for any thing of value; or perhaps more especially for "wise sayings," which in Arabic, according to Schultens (*Hariri Consess. i. 12, ii. 102*), are called pearls. (See Parkhurst, *Gr. Lex. s. v. Μαργαρίτης*. As to פֶּרֶלִים, see RUBIES.) [W. H.]

PED'AHHEL (פֶּדְאֵהֶל: פֶּדְאָהֶל: *Phedaël*). The son of Ammihud, and prince of the tribe of Naphtali (Num. xxiv. 28). one of the twelve appointed

to divide the land west of Jordan among the nine and a half tribes.

PEDAH'ZUR (פֶּדְאָזֹר: פֶּדְאָזֹר: *Phadassur*). Father of Gamaliel, the chief of the tribe of Manasseh at the time of the Exodus (Num. i. 10, ii. 20, vii. 54, 59, x. 23).

PEDAIAH (פֶּדְאִיָּה: פֶּדְאִיָּה: *Alex. Elephadai*: *Phadaia*). 1. The father of Zebudah, mother of king Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiii. 36). He is described as "of Rumah," which has not with certainty been identified.

2. (פֶּדְאִיָּה). The brother of Salathiel, or Shealtiel, and father of Zerubbabel, who is usually called the "son of Shealtiel," being, as Lord A. Henry (*Genealogies, p. 100*) conjectures, in reality, his uncle's successor and heir, in consequence of the failure of issue in the direct line (1 Chr. iii. 17-19).

3. (פֶּדְאִיָּה). Son of Parosh, that is, one of the family of that name, who assisted Nehemiah in repairing the walls of Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 25).

4. (פֶּדְאִיָּה). Apparently a priest; one of those who stood on the left hand of Ezra, when he read the law to the people (Neh. viii. 4). In 1 Esdr. ii. 44, he is called PHALDAIUS.

5. (פֶּדְאִיָּה; F. A. פֶּדְאִיָּה). A Benjaminite, ancestor of Sallu (Neh. xi. 7).

6. (פֶּדְאִיָּה). A Levite in the time of Nehemiah appointed by him one of the "treasurers over the treasury," whose office it was "to distribute unto their brethren" (Neh. xiii. 13).

7. (פֶּדְאִיָּה: פֶּדְאִיָּה; *Alex. פֶּדְאִיָּה*). The father of Joel, prince of the half tribe of Manasseh in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxvii. 20).

PEKAH (פֶּקַח: פֶּקַח: *Phacias, Joseph. Phaceae*), son of Remaliah, originally a captain of Pekahiah king of Israel, murdered his master, seized the throne, and became the 18th sovereign (and but not one) of the northern kingdom. His native country was probably Gilead, as fifty Gileadites joined him in the conspiracy against Pekahiah; and if so, he furnishes an instance of the same undaunted energy which distinguished, for good or evil, so many of the Israelites who sprang from that country, of which Jephthah and Elijah were the most famous examples (Stanley, *S. & P. 327*). [ELIJAH.] Under his predecessors Israel had been much weakened through the payment of enormous tribute to the Assyrians (see especially 2 K. xv. 20), and by internal wars and conspiracies. Pekah seems steadily to have applied himself to the restoration of its power. For this purpose he sought for the support of a foreign alliance, and fixed his mind on the plunder of the sister kingdom of Judah. He must have made the treaty by which he proposed to share its spoil with Rezin king of Damascus, when Jotham was still on the throne of Jerusalem (2 K. xv. 37); but its execution was long delayed, probably in consequence of that prince's righteous and vigorous administration (2 Chr. xxvii.). When, however, his weak son Ahaz succeeded to the crown of the siege of Jerusalem no longer hesitated, and formed the alliance with salem. The history of the war, which is detailed under AHAS, is found in 2 K. xvi. and 2 Chr. xxviii.; and in the latter (ver. 6) we read that Pekah "slew in Judah one hundred and twenty thousand in one day, which were all valiant men," a statement which, even if we should be obliged to diminish the number now read in the text, from the uncertainty as to numbers attaching to our present

MS. of the books of Chronicles (ABIJAH; CHRONICLES; Kennicott, *Hebrew Text of the Old Testament Considered*, p. 532), proves that the character of his warfare was in full accordance with Gileadite precedents (Judg. xi. 33, xii. 6). The war is famous as the occasion of the great prophecies of Isaiah vii.-ix. Its chief result was the capture of the Jewish port of Elath on the Red Sea; but the unnatural alliance of Damascus and Samaria was terminated through the final overthrow of the ferocious confederates by Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, whom Ahaz called to his assistance, and who seized the opportunity of adding to his own dominions and crushing a union which might have been dangerous. The kingdom of Damascus was finally suppressed, and Rezin put to death, while Pekah was deprived of at least half of his kingdom, including all the northern portion, and the whole district to the west of Jordan. For though the writer in 2 K. xv. 29 tells us that Tiglath-pileser "took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maschah, and Janoah, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali," yet from comparing 1 Chr. v. 26, we find that Gilead must include "the Reubenites and the Gadites and half the tribe of Manasseh." The inhabitants were carried off, according to the usual practice, and settled in remote districts of Assyria. Pekah himself, now fallen into the position of an Assyrian vassal, was of course compelled to abstain from further attacks on Judah. Whether his continued tyranny exhausted the patience of his subjects, or whether his weakness emboldened them to attack him, we do not know; but, from one or the other cause, Hoshea the son of Elah conspired against him, and put him to death. Josephus says that Hoshea was his friend (φίλου τινός ἐπιβουλόμενος αὐτῷ, *Ant.* ix. 13, §1). Comp. Is. vi. 16, which prophecy Hoshea was instrumental in fulfilling. [HOSHEA.] Pekah ascended the throne B.C. 757. He must have begun to war against Judah B.C. 740, and was killed B.C. 737. The order of events above given is according to the scheme of Ewald's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol. iii. p. 692. Mr. Rawlinson (*Bampton Lectures for 1859*, Lect. iv.) seems wrong in assuming two invasions of Israel by the Assyrians in Pekah's time, the one corresponding to 2 K. xv. 29, the other to 2 K. xvii. 7-9. Both these narratives refer to the same event, which in the first place is mentioned briefly in the short sketch of Pekah's reign, while, in the second passage, additional details are given in the longer biography of Ahaz. It would have been scarcely possible for Pekah, when deprived of half his kingdom, to make an alliance with Rezin, and to attack Ahaz. We learn further from Mr. Rawlinson that the conquests of Tiglath-pileser are mentioned in an Assyrian fragment, though there is a difficulty, from the occurrence of the name *Mouabek* in the inscription, which may have proceeded from a mistake of the engraver. Comp. *Is.* i. 26, and see Rawlinson, note 35 on *Is.* i. 26. As may be inferred from Pekah's alliance with Rezin, his government was no improvement, morally and religiously, on that of his predecessors.

PEKAHIAH (פִּקְחִיָּהוּ, פִּקְחִיָּהוּ; Alex.: *Phaceja*), son and successor of Menahem, was the 17th king of the separate kingdom of Israel. After a brief reign of scarcely two years, a conspiracy was organized against him by "one of his

servants" (probably of his body guard), Pekah, son of Remaliah, and who, at the head of fifty Gileadites, attacked him in his palace, murdered him and his friends Argob and Arieh, and seized the throne. The date of his accession is B.C. 759, of his death 757. His reign was no better than those which had gone before; and the calf-worship was retained (2 K. xv. 22-26). [G. E. L. C.]

PEKO'D (פִּקְוֹד, פִּקְוֹד; Alex.: *Phakod*), an appellative applied to the Chaldaeans. It occurs only twice, viz. in Jer. l. 21, and Ez. xxiii. 23, in the latter of which it is connected with Shoa and Koa, as though these three were in some way subdivisions of "the Babylonians and all the Chaldaeans." Authorities are undecided as to the meaning of the term. It is apparently connected with the root *pakad*, "to visit," and in its secondary senses "to punish," and "to appoint a ruler:" hence Pekod may be applied to Babylon in Jer. l. as significant of its impending punishment, as in the margin of the A. V. "visitation." But this sense will not suit the other passage, and hence Gesenius here assigns to it the meaning of "prefect" (*Thes.* p. 1121), as though it were but another form of *pakid*. It certainly is unlikely that the same word would be applied to the same object in two totally different senses. Hitzig seeks for the origin of the word in the Sanscrit *bhavanā*, "noble"—Shoa and Koa being respectively "prince" and "lord;" and he explains its use in Jer. l. as a part for the whole. The LXX. treats it as the name of a district (φακούκ; Alex. φούδ) in Ezekiel, and as a verb (ἐκδικησον) in Jeremiah. [W. L. B.]

PELAI'AH (פִּלְאִיָּהוּ; LXX. om. in Neh. viii., *Phelia*; Alex. *Phelēia*; *Phalāia*). 1. A son of Eli-senai, one of the last members of the royal line of Judah (1 Chr. iii. 24).

2. One of the Levites who assisted Ezra in expounding the law (Neh. viii. 7). He afterwards sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 10). He is called BIATAS in 1 Esdr. ix. 48.

PELALI'AH (פִּלְאִיָּהוּ; *Phalalia*; *Phelolia*). The son of Amzi, and ancestor of Adaiiah a priest at Jerusalem after the return from Babylon (Neh. xi. 12).

PELATI'AH (פִּלְטִיָּהוּ; *Phaltias*; *Pheltias*).

1. Son of Hananiah the son of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. iii. 21). In the LXX. and Vulg. he is further described as the father of Jesiah.

2. (*Phalattias*; Alex. *Phalattia*). One of the captains of the marauding band of five hundred Simeonites, who in the reign of Hezekiah made an expedition to Mount Seir and smote the fugitive Amalekites (1 Chr. iv. 42).

3. (*Phaltia*; *Pheltia*). One of the heads of the people, and probably the name of a family, who sealed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 22).

4. (*Phaltias*; *Pheltias*). The son of Benaiah, and one of the princes of the people against whom Ezekiel was directed to utter the words of doom recorded in Ez. xi. 5-12. The prophet in spirit saw him stand at the east gate of the Temple, and, as he spoke, the same vision showed him Pelatiah's sudden death (Ez. xi. 1, 13).

PELEG (פֶּלֶג; *Phaleg*, *Phalek*; *Phaleg*), a son of Eber, and brother of Joktan (Gen. x. 25, xi. 16). The only incident connected with his history is the statement that "in his days was the earth divided"—an event which was embodied in his name,

Peleg meaning "division." This notice refers, not to the general dispersion of the human family subsequently to the Deluge, but to a division of the family of Eber himself, the younger branch of whom (the Joktanids) migrated into southern Arabia, while the elder remained in Mesopotamia. The occurrence of the name *Phaliga* for a town at the junction of the Chaboras with the Euphrates is observable in consequence of the remark of Winer (*Realob.*) that there is no geographical name corresponding to Peleg. At the same time the late date of the author who mentions the name (Isidorus of Charax) prevents any great stress being laid upon it. The separation of the Joktanids from the stock whence the Hebrews sprang, finds a place in the Mosaic table, as marking an epoch in the age immediately succeeding the Deluge. [W. L. B.]

PELET (פֶּלֶט; פאלֶק; Alex. פאלֶט; *Phalet*).

1. A son of Jahdai in an obscure genealogy (1 Chr. ii. 47).

2. (Ἰωφάλητ; Alex. Φάλλητ; *Phallet*). The son of Azmaveth, that is, either a native of the place of that name, or the son of one of David's heroes. He was among the Benjamites who joined David in Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 3).

PELETH (פֶּלֶת; פאלֶת; *Phleth*). 1. The father of On the Reubenite, who joined Dathan and Abiram in their rebellion (Num. xvi. 1). Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 2. §2), omitting all mention of On, calls Peleth Φαλαούς, apparently identifying him with PHALLU the son of Reuben. In the LXX. Peleth is made the son of Reuben, as in the Sam. text and version, and one Heb. MS. supports this rendering.

2. (*Phaleth*). Son of Jonathan and a descendant of Jerahmeel through Onam, his son by Atarah (1 Chr. ii. 33).

PELETHITES (פֶּלְתִי; פֶּלְתִי; *Phlethi*),

mentioned only in the phrase הַכְּרֵתִי וְהַפְּלִי, rendered in the A. V. "the Cherethites and the Pelethites." These two collectives designate a force that was evidently David's body-guard. Their names have been supposed either to indicate their duties, or to be gentile nouns. Gesenius renders them "executioners and runners," comparing the הַכְּרֵתִי, "executioners and runners" of a later time (2 K. xi. 4, 19); and the unused roots כָּרַת and פָּלַת, as to both of which we shall speak later, admit this sense. In favour of this view, the supposed parallel phrase, and the duties in which these guards were employed, may be cited. On the other hand, the LXX. and Vulg. retain their names untranslated; and the Syriac and Targ. Jon. translate them differently from the rendering above and from each other. In one place, moreover, the Gittites are mentioned with the Cherethites and Pelethites among David's troops (2 Sam. xv. 18); and elsewhere we read of the Cherethim, who bear the same name in the plural, either as a Philistine tribe or as Philistines themselves (1 Sam. xxx. 14; Ez. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5). Gesenius objects that David's body-guard would scarcely have been chosen from a nation so hateful to the Israelites as the Philistines. But it must be remembered that David in his later years may have mistrusted his Israelite soldiers, and relied on the Philistine troops, some of whom, with Ittai the Gittite, who was evidently a Philistine, and not an Israelite from Gath [יִטָּי],

were faithful to him at the time of Absalom's rebellion. He also argues that it is improbable that two synonymous appellations should be thus used together; but this is on the assumption that both names signify Philistines, whereas they may designate Philistine tribes. (See *Theo.* pp. 719, 720.)

The Egyptian monuments throw a fresh light upon this subject. From them we find that kings of the sixth and seventh dynasties had in their service mercenaries of a nation called SHAYRETANA, which Rameses III. conquered, under the name "SHAYRETANA of the Sea." This king fought a naval battle with the SHAYRETANA of the Sea, in alliance with the TOKKAREE, who were evidently, from their physical characteristics, a kindred people to them, and to the PELESATU, or Philistines, also conquered by him. The TOKKAREE and the PELESATU both wear a peculiar dress. We thus learn that there were two peoples of the Mediterranean kindred to the Philistines, one of which supplied mercenaries to the Egyptian kings of the sixth and seventh dynasties. The name SHAYRETANA, of which the first letter was also pronounced KH, is almost letter for letter the same as the Hebrew Cherethim; and since the SHAYRETANA were evidently cognate to the Philistines, their identity with the Cherethim cannot be doubted. But if the Cherethim supplied mercenaries to the Egyptian kings in the thirteenth century B.C., according to our reckoning, it cannot be doubted that the same name in the designation of David's body-guard denotes the same people or tribe. The Egyptian SHAYRETANA of the Sea are probably the Cretans. The Pelethites, who, as already remarked, are not mentioned except with the Cherethites, have not yet been similarly traced in Egyptian geography, and it is rash to suppose their name to be the same as that of the Philistines.

פֶּלְתִי, for פֶּלְשֶׁתִי; for, as Gesenius remarks, this contraction is not possible in the Semitic languages. The similarity, however, of the two names would favour the idea which is suggested by the mention together of the Cherethites and Pelethites, that the latter were of the Philistine stock as well as the former. As to the etymology of the names, both may be connected with the migration of the Philistines. As already noticed, the former has been derived from the root כָּרַת, "he cut, cut off, destroyed," in Niphal "he was cut off from his country, driven into exile, or expelled," so that we might as well read "exiles" as "executioners." The latter, from פָּלַת, an unused root, the Arab.

פָּלַת, "he escaped, fled," both being cognate to פָּלַט, "he was smooth," thence "he slipped away, escaped, and caused to escape," where the rendering "the fugitives" is at least as admissible as "the runners." If we compare these two names so rendered with the gentile name of the Philistine nation itself, פֶּלְשֶׁתִי, "a wanderer, stranger," from the unused root פָּלַט, "he wandered or emigrated," these previous inferences seem to become irresistible. The appropriateness of the names of these tribes to the duties of David's body-

* Michaelis Philistacos פֶּלְתִי dictos esse censet, nō pote assules (v. 161. Niph. no. 3) ut idem valere quod Ἀλλόφυλοι (*Theo.* p. 719).

... would then be accidental, though it does not seem unlikely that they should have given rise to the adoption in later times of other appellations for the royal body-guard, definitely signifying "executioners and runners." If, however, the Hebrew **הַפְּרִי הַרְצִי** meant nothing but executioners and runners, it is difficult to explain the change to **הַפְּרִי הַרְצִי**. [R. S. P.]

PELIAS (Πεδίας; Alex. Παιδείας: Pelias). A corruption of BEDEIAH (1 Esd. ix. 34; comp. Est. i. 35). Our translators followed the Vulgate.

PELICAN (Πηλίκαν, *káath*: πελεκάν, ὄρνειον, χαμαλίαν, καταβάκτης: *onocrotalus*, *pelican*). Amongst the unclean birds mention is made of the *káath* (Lev. xi. 18; Deut. xiv. 17). The suppliant psalmist compares his condition to "a *káath* in the wilderness" (Ps. cii. 6). As a mark of the desolation that was to come upon Edom, it is said that "the *káath* and the bittern should possess it" (Is. xxxiv. 11). The same words are spoken of Nineveh (Zeph. ii. 14). In these two last places the A. V. has "cormorant" in the text, and "pelican" in the margin. The best authorities are in favour of the pelican being the bird denoted by *káath*. The etymology of the name, from a word meaning "to vomit," lends also to the same conclusion, for it doubtless has reference to the habit which this bird has of pressing its under mandible against its breast, in order to assist it to disgorge the contents of its capacious pouch for its young. This is, with good reason, supposed to be the origin of the fable about the pelican feeding its young with its own blood, the red nail on the upper mandible serving to complete the delusion.*

The expression "pelican of the wilderness" has, with no good reason, been supposed by some to share that the *káath* cannot be denoted by this bird. Shaw (*Tour*, ii. 303, 8vo. ed.) says "the pelican must of necessity starve in the desert," as it is essentially a water bird. In answer to this objection, it will be enough to observe that the term *midbar* ("wilderness") is by no means restricted to barren sandy spots destitute of water. "The idea," says Prof. Stanley, "is that of a wide open space, with or without actual pasture; the country of the nomads, as distinguished from that of the agricultural and settled people" (*S. & P.* p. 486, 5th ed.).^b Pelicans (*Pelecanus onocrotalus*) are often seen associated in large flocks; at other times single individuals may be observed sitting in lonely and remote silence on the ledge of some rock a few feet above the surface of the water. (See Kitto, *Pict. Bib.* on Ps. cii. 6.) It is not quite clear what is the particular point in the nature or character of the pelican with which the psalmist compares his present condition. Some have supposed that it connotes any nightingale of the bird: compare "the voice that reference is made to its general aspect as it sits in apparent melancholy mood, with its bill resting on its breast. There is, we think, little doubt but that

the pelican is the *káath* of the Hebrew Scriptures. Oedmann's opinion that the *Pelecanus graculus*, the shag cormorant (*Verm. Sam. m. iii. 57*), and Bochart's, that the "bittern" is intended, are unsupported by any good evidence. The *P. onocrotalus* (common



Pelecanus onocrotalus.

pelican) and the *P. crispus* are often observed in Palestine, Egypt, &c. Of the latter Mr. Tristram observed an immense flock swimming out to sea within sight of Mount Carmel (*Ibis*, i. 37).^c [W. H.]

PEL'ONITE, THE (פֶּלֹנִי: δ φελωνί

Alex. δ φαλλωνί, 1 Chr. xi. 27; δ φελλωνί, 1 Chr. xi. 36; δ ἐκ φαλλοῦς, 1 Chr. xxvii. 10: *Phalonites*, *Phelonites*, *Phallonites*). Two of David's mighty men, Helez and Ahijah, are called Pelonites (1 Chr. xi. 27, 36). From 1 Chr. xxvii. 10, it appears that the former was of the tribe of Ephraim, and "Pelonite" would therefore be an appellation derived from his place of birth or residence. But in the Targum of R. Joseph it is evidently regarded as a patronymic, and is rendered in the last mentioned passage "of the seed of Pelan." In the list of 2 Sam. xxiii. Helez is called (ver. 26) "the Paltite," that is, as Bertheau (on 1 Chr. xi.) conjectures, of Beth-Palet, or Beth-Phelet, in the south of Judah. But it seems probable that "Pelonite" is the correct reading. [See PALTITE.] "Ahijah the Pelonite" appears in 2 Sam. xxiii. 34 as "Eliam the son of Ahithophel the Gilonite," of which the former is a corruption; "Ahijah" forming the first part of "Ahithophel," and "Pelonite" and "Gilonite" differing only by **ד** and **ל**. If we follow the LXX. of 1 Chr. xxvii. the place from which Helez took his name would be of the form Phallu, but there is no trace of it elsewhere, and the LXX. must have had a differently pointed text. In Heb. *pelóni* corresponds to the Greek δ φελωνί, "such a one;" it still

filled its pouch with fish and mollusks, often does retire miles inland away from water, to some spot where it consumes the contents of its pouch.

^c "P. crispus breeds in vast numbers in the flat plain of the Dobrukscha (in European Turkey); its habits there bear out your remark of the pelican retiring inland to digest its food."—H. B. TRISTRAM.

* The reader is referred to a curious work by a Scotch divine, Archibald Simson by name, entitled 'Hieroglyphica Animalium, Vegetabilium et Metallorum, quæ in Scrip-turis veteris testamenti reperitur.' Edinb. 1622, 4to. In this work are some wild fancies about the pelican, which serve to show the state of zoology, &c., at the period in which the writer lived.

^b As a matter of fact, however, the pelican, after having

exists in Arabic and in the Spanish *Don Fulano*, "Mr. So-and-so."

PEN. [WRITING.]

PEN'IEL (פְּנִיֵּאל, Samar. פְּנִיֵּאל: εἶδος θεοῦ: *Phanuel*, and so also *Peshito*). The name which Jacob gave to the place in which he had wrestled with God: "He called the name of the place 'Face of El,' for I have seen Elohim face to face" (Gen. xxxii. 30). With that singular correspondence between the two parts of this narrative which has been already noticed under MAHANAIM, there is apparently an allusion to the bestowal of the name in xxxiii. 10, where Jacob says to Esau, "I have seen thy face as one sees the face of Elohim." In xxxii. 31, and the other passages in which the name occurs, its form is changed to PENUEL. On this change the lexicographers throw no light. It is perhaps not impossible that Penuel was the original form of the name, and that the slight change to Peniel was made by Jacob or by the historian to suit his allusion to the circumstance under which the patriarch first saw it. The Samaritan Pentateuch has Penu-el in all. The promontory of the *Ras-es-Shukah*, on the coast of Syria above *Beirút*, was formerly called *Theou-prosôpon*, probably a translation of Peniel, or its Phœnician equivalent. [G.]

PENIN'NAH (פְּנִינָה: *Phennana*), one of the two wives of Elkanah, the other being Hannah, the mother of Samuel (1 Sam. i. 2).

PENNY, PENNYWORTH. In the A. V., in several passages of the N. T., "penny," either alone or in the compound "pennyworth," occurs as the rendering of the Greek *δηνάριον*, the name of the Roman *denarius* (Matt. xx. 2, xxii. 19; Mark vi. 37, xii. 15; Luke xx. 24; John vi. 7; Rev. vi. 6). The denarius was the chief Roman silver coin, from the beginning of the coinage of the city to the early part of the third century. Its name continued to be applied to a silver piece as late as the time of the earlier Byzantines. The states that arose from the ruins of the Roman empire imitated the coinage of the imperial mints, and in general called their principal silver coin the denarius, whence the French name *denier* and the Italian *denaro*. The chief Anglo-Saxon coin, and for a long period the only one, corresponded to the denarius of the Continent. It continued to be current under the Normans, Plantagenets, and Tudors, though latterly little used. It is called penny, denarius, or denier, which explains the employment of the first word in the A. V. [R. S. P.]

PENTATEUCH, THE. The Greek name given to the five books commonly called the Five Books of Moses (ἡ πεντάτευχος σ. βιβλος; Pentateuchus sc. liber; the fivefold book; from *τεῦχος*, which meaning originally "vessel, instrument," &c., came in Alexandrine Greek to mean "book"). In the time of Ezra and Nehemiah it was called "the Law of Moses" (Ezr. vii. 6); or "the book of the Law of Moses" (Neh. viii. 1); or simply "the book of Moses" (Ezr. vi. 18; Neh. xiii. 1; 2 Chr. xxv. 4, xxxv. 12). This was beyond all reasonable doubt our existing Pentateuch. The book which was discovered in the temple in the reign of Josiah, and which is entitled (2 Chr. xxxiv. 14), "the book of the Law of Jehovah by the hand of Moses," was substantially it would seem the same volume, though it may have undergone some revision by Ezra. In 2 Chr. xxxiv. 30, it is styled

PENTATEUCH, THE

"the book of the Covenant," and so also in 2 K. xxiii. 2, 21, whilst in 2 K. xxii. 8 Hilkiah says, "I have found 'the book of the Law.'" Still earlier in the reign of Jehoshaphat we find a "book of the Law of Jehovah" in use (2 Chr. xvii. 9). And this "Law" is mentioned in Deuteronomy (xxii. 19), though it is questionable whether the name as there used refers to the whole Pentateuch, or only to Deuteronomy; probably, as we shall see, it applies only to the latter. The present Jews usually call the whole by the name of *Torah*, i. e. "the Law," or *Torah Mosheh*, "the Law of Moses." The Rabbinical title is תּוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה חֲמִישָׁה הַתּוֹרָה "the five-fifths of the Law." In the preface to the *Wisdom of Jesus* the son of Sirach, it is called "the Law," which is also a usual name for it in the New Testament (Matt. xii. 5, xxii. 36, 40; Luke x. 26; John vii. 5, 17). Sometimes the name of Moses stands briefly for the whole work ascribed to him (Luke xxiv. 27). Finally, the whole Old Testament is sometimes called a *potiori parte*, "the Law" (Matt. v. 18; Luke xvi. 17; John vii. 49, x. 34, xii. 34). In John xv. 25; Rom. iii. 19, words from the Psalms, and in 1 Cor. xiv. 21 from Isaiah, are quoted as words of the Law.

The division of the whole work into five parts has by some writers been supposed to be original. Others (as Leusden, Hävernick and v. Lengelke), with more probability think that the division was made by the Greek translators. For the titles of the several books are not of Hebrew but of Greek origin. The Hebrew names are merely taken from the first words of each book, and in the first instance only designated particular sections and not whole books. The MSS. of the Pentateuch form a single roll or volume, and are divided not into books, but into the larger and smaller sections called *Parshiyoth* and *Sedarim*. Besides this, the Jews distribute all the laws in the Pentateuch under the two heads of affirmative and negative precepts. Of the former they reckon 248; because, according to the anatomy of the Rabbins, so many are the parts of the human body: of the latter they make 613, which is the number of days in the year, and also the number of veins in the human body. Accordingly the Jews are bound to the observance of 613 precepts: and in order that these precepts may be perpetually kept in mind, they are wont to carry a piece of cloth foursquare, at the four corners of which they have fringes consisting of 8 threads a-piece, fastened in 5 knots. These fringes are called צִיצִית, a word which in numbers denotes 600: add to this the 8 threads and the 5 knots, and we get the 613 precepts. (See Bab. Talmud, note the five books of Moses. (See Bab. Talmud, Maccoth, sect. 3; Maimon. *Pref. to Joel* *Ebra. chazakah*; Lunsden, *Phlol.* p. 33.) Both *Palla* (cf. *Abraham*, ad *init.*) and Josephus (c. *Apion.* l. 8) recognise the division now current. As no reason for this division can satisfactorily be found in the structure of the work itself, Vainger supposes that the symbolical meaning of the number five led to its adoption. For ten is the symbol of completion or perfection, as we see in the ten commandments [and so in Genesis we have ten "generations"] and therefore five is a number which as it were confesses imperfection and prophesies completion. The Law is not perfect without the Prophets, for the Prophets are in a special sense the bearers of the Promise; and it is the Promise which completes

the Law. This is questionable. There can be no doubt, however, that this division of the Pentateuch influenced the arrangement of the Psalter in five books. The same may be said of the five Megillot of the Hagiographa (Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, and Esther), which in many Hebrew Bibles are placed immediately after the Pentateuch.

For the several names and contents of the Five Books we refer to the articles on each Book, where questions affecting their integrity and genuineness are also discussed. In the article on Genesis the scope and design of the whole work is pointed out. We need only briefly observe here that this work beginning with the record of Creation and the history of the primitive world, passes on to deal more especially with the early history of the Jewish family. It gives at length the personal history of the three great Fathers of the family: it then describes how the family grew into a nation in Egypt, tells us of its oppression and deliverance, of its forty years' wandering in the wilderness, of the giving of the Law, with all its enactments both civil and religious, of the construction of the tabernacle, of the numbering of the people, of the rights and duties of the priesthood, as well as of many important events which befell them before their entrance into the Land of Canaan, and finally concludes with Moses' last discourses and his death. The unity of the work in its existing form is now generally recognized. It is not a mere collection of loose fragments carelessly put together at different times, but bears evident traces of design and purpose in its composition. Even those who discover different authors in the earlier books, and who deny that Deuteronomy was written by Moses, are still of opinion that the work in its present form is a connected whole, and was at least reduced to its present shape by a single reviser or editor.^a

The question has also been raised, whether the Book of Joshua does not, properly speaking, constitute an integral portion of this work. To this question Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 175), Knobel (*Genesis*, Verh. §1, 2), Lengerke (*Kanaan*, lxxiii.), and Stähelin (*Krit. Unters.* p. 91) give a reply in the affirmative. They seem to have been led to do so, partly because they imagine that the two documents, the Elohistic and Jehovistic, which characterize the earlier books of the Pentateuch, may still be traced, like two streams, the waters of which never wholly mingle though they flow in the same channel, running on through the book of Joshua; and partly because the same work which contains the promise of the land (Gen. xv.) must contain also—the promise—the fulfilment of the promise. But such grounds are far too arbitrary and uncertain to support the hypothesis which rests upon them. All that seems probable is, that the book of Joshua received a final revision at the hands of Ezra, or some earlier prophet, at the same time with the books of the Law.

The fact that the Samaritans, who it is well

^a See Ewald, *Geschichte*, i. 175; and Stähelin, *Kritisch.* lxxv. p. 1.

^b It is strange to see how widely the misconception which we are anxious to obviate extends. A learned writer, in a recent publication, says, in reference to the supposed existence of different documents in the Pentateuch: "This exclusive use of the one Divine Name in some portions, and of the other in other portions, it is not characteristic of two different authors living at different times; and consequently Genesis is composed of two dif-

ferent documents, the one Elohistic, the other Jehovistic, which moreover differ in statement; and consequently this book was not written by Moses, and is neither inspired nor trustworthy" (*Aids to Faith*, p. 190). How it follows that a book is neither inspired nor trustworthy because its authorship is unknown we are at a loss to conceive. A large part of the canon must be sacrificed, if we are only to receive books whose authorship is satisfactorily ascertained.

known did not possess the other books of Scripture, have besides the Pentateuch a book of Joshua (see *Chronicon Samaritanum*, &c., ed. Junybol, Lugd. Bat. 1848), indicates no doubt an early association of the one with the other; but is no proof that they originally constituted one work, but rather the contrary. Otherwise the Samaritans would naturally have adopted the canonical recension of Joshua. We may therefore regard the Five Books of Moses as one separate and complete work. For a detailed view of the several books we must refer, as we have said, to the Articles where they are severally discussed. The questions which we have left for this article are those connected with the authorship and date of the Pentateuch as a whole.

It is necessary here at the outset to state the exact nature of the investigation which lies before us. Many English readers are alarmed when they are told, for the first time, that critical investigation renders it doubtful whether the whole Pentateuch in its present form was the work of Moses. On this subject there is a strange confusion in many minds. They suppose that to surrender the recognized authorship of a sacred book is to surrender the truth of the book itself. Yet a little reflection should suffice to correct such an error. For who can say now who wrote the books of Samuel, or Ruth, or Job, or to what authorship many of the Psalms are to be ascribed? We are quite sure that these books were not written by the persons whose names they bear. We are scarcely less sure that many of the Psalms ascribed to David were not written by him, and our own translators have signified the doubtfulness of the inscriptions by separating them from the Psalms, of which in the Hebrew text they were made to form a constituent part. These books of Scripture, however, and these divine poems, lose not a whit of their value or of their authority because the names of their authors have perished. Truth is not a thing dependent on names. So likewise, if it should turn out that portions of the Pentateuch were not written by Moses, neither their inspiration nor their trustworthiness is thereby diminished. All will admit that one portion at least of the Pentateuch—the 34th chapter of Deuteronomy, which gives the account of Moses' death—was not written by him. But in making this admission the principle for which we contend is conceded. Common sense compels us to regard this chapter as a later addition. Why then may not other later additions have been made to the work? If common sense leads us to such a conclusion in one instance, critical examination may do so on sufficient grounds in another.^b

At different times suspicions have been entertained that the Pentateuch as we now have it is not the Pentateuch of the earliest age, and that the work must have undergone various modifications and additions before it assumed its present shape.

So early as the second century we find the author of the Clementine Homilies calling in question the authenticity of the Mosaic writings. According to

ferent documents, the one Elohistic, the other Jehovistic, which moreover differ in statement; and consequently this book was not written by Moses, and is neither inspired nor trustworthy" (*Aids to Faith*, p. 190). How it follows that a book is neither inspired nor trustworthy because its authorship is unknown we are at a loss to conceive. A large part of the canon must be sacrificed, if we are only to receive books whose authorship is satisfactorily ascertained.

him the Law was only given orally by Moses to the seventy elders, and not consigned to writing till after his death; it subsequently underwent many changes, was corrupted more and more by means of the false prophets, and was especially filled with erroneous anthropomorphic conceptions of God, and unworthy representations of the characters of the Patriarchs (Hom. ii. 38, 43, iii. 4, 47; Neander, *Gnost. Systeme*, 380). A statement of this kind, unsupported, and coming from an heretical, and therefore suspicious source, may seem of little moment: it is however remarkable, so far as it indicates an early tendency to cast off the received traditions respecting the books of Scripture; whilst at the same time it is evident that this was done cautiously, because such an opinion respecting the Pentateuch was said to be for the advanced Christian only, and not for the simple and unlearned.

Jerome, there can be little doubt, had seen the difficulty of supposing the Pentateuch to be altogether, in its present form, the work of Moses; for he observes (*contra Helvid.*): "Sive Mosen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi sive Esram ejusdem instauratorem operis," with reference apparently to the Jewish tradition on the subject. Aben Ezra (†1167), in his *Comm.* on Deut. i. 1, threw out some doubts as to the Mosaic authorship of certain passages, such as Gen. xii. 6, Deut. iii. 10, 11, xxxi. 9, which he either explained as later interpolations, or left as mysteries which it was beyond his power to unravel. For centuries, however, the Pentateuch was generally received in the Church without question as written by Moses. The age of criticism had not yet come. The first signs of its approach were seen in the 17th century. In the year 1651 we find Hobbes writing: "Videtur Pentateuchus potius de Mose quam a Mose scriptus" (*Leviathan*, c. 33). Spinoza (*Tract. Theol.-Polit.* c. 8, 9, published in 1679), set himself boldly to controvert the received authorship of the Pentateuch. He alleged against it (1) later names of places, as Gen. xiv. 14 comp. with Judg. xviii. 29; (2) the continuation of the history beyond the days of Moses, Exod. xvi. 35 comp. with Josh. v. 12; (3) the statement in Gen. xxvi. 31, "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." Spinoza maintained that Moses issued his commands to the elders, that by them they were written down and communicated to the people, and that later they were collected and assigned to suitable passages in Moses' life. He considered that the Pentateuch was indebted to Ezra for the form in which it now appears. Other writers began to suspect that the book of Genesis was composed of written documents earlier than the time of Moses. So Vitringa (*Observ. Sacr.* i. 3); Le Clerc (*de Script. Pentateuchi*, §11), and R. Simon (*Hist. Critique du V. T.* lib. i. c. 7, Rotterdam, 1685). According to the last of these writers, Genesis was composed of earlier documents, the Laws of the Pentateuch were the work of Moses, and the greater portion of the history was written by the public scribe who is mentioned in the book. Le Clerc supposed that the priest who, according to 2 K. xvii. 27, was sent to instruct the Samaritan colonists, was the author of the Pentateuch.

But it was not till the middle of the last century that the question as to the authorship of the Pentateuch was handled with anything like a discerning criticism. The first attempt was made by a layman, whose studies we might have supposed would scarcely have led him to such an investigation. In the year 1753, there appeared at Brussels a work,

entitled: "Conjectures sur les Mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le Livre de Genèse." It was written in his first year by Astruc, Doctor and Professor of Medicine at the Royal College at Paris, and Court Physician to Louis XIV. His critical eye had observed that throughout the book of Genesis, and as far as the 6th chapter of Exodus, traces were to be found of two original documents, each characterised by a distinct use of the names of God; the one by the name Elohim, and the other by the name Jehovah. Besides these two principal documents, he supposed Moses to have made use of ten others in the composition of the earlier part of his work. Astruc was followed by several German writers on the path which he had traced; by Jerusalem in his *Letters on the Mosaic Writings and Philosophy*; by Schultens, in his *Dissertatio quæ disquirat, unde Moyses res in libro Geneseo descriptas didicerit, unde Moyses res in libro Geneseo descriptas didicerit, unde Moyses res in libro Geneseo descriptas didicerit, unde Moyses res in libro Geneseo descriptas didicerit*; and with considerable learning and critical acumen by Ilgen (*Urkunden der Jerusalemischen Tempelzerstörung*, 1^{re} Theil, Halle, 1798), and Eichhorn (*Einkleitung in d. A. T.*).

But this "documentary hypothesis," as it is called, was too conservative and too rational for some critics. Vater, in his *Commentar zu den Pentateuch*, 1815, and A. T. Hartmann, in his *Linguist. Einl. in d. Stud. der Bücher des A. Test.* 1818, maintained that the Pentateuch consisted merely of a number of fragments loosely strung together without order or design. The former supposed a collection of laws, made in the times of David and Solomon, to have been the foundation of the whole; that this was the book discovered in the reign of Josiah, and that its fragments were afterwards incorporated in Deuteronomy. All the rest, consisting of fragments of history and of laws written at different periods up to this time, were, according to him, collected and shaped into their present form between the times of Josiah and the Babylonish Exile. Hartmann also brings down the date of the existing Pentateuch as late as the Exile. This has been called the "Fragmentary hypothesis." Both of these have now been superseded by the "Supplementary hypothesis," which has been adopted with various modifications by De Wette, Bleek, Stähelin, Tuch, Lengerke, Hoppfeld, Knobel, Bunsen, Kurtz, Delitzsch, Schultz, Vaihinger, and others. They all alike recognise two Documents in the Pentateuch. They suppose the narrative of the Elohist, the more ancient writer, to have been the foundation of the work, and that the Jehovist or later writer making use of this document, added to and commented upon it, sometimes transcribing portions of it intact, and sometimes incorporating the substance of it into his own work.

But though thus agreeing in the main, they differ widely in the application of the theory. Thus, for instance, De Wette distinguishes between the Elohist and the Jehovist in the first four Books, and attributes Deuteronomy to a different writer altogether (*Einl. ins A. T.* §150 ff.). So also Lengerke, though with some differences of detail in the portions he assigns to the two editors. The last places the Elohist in the time of Solomon, and the Jehovist first under Saul, and the second under Solomon. Stähelin, on the other hand, declares for the identity of the Deuteronomist and the Jehovist; and supposes the last to have written in the reign of Saul, and the Elohist in the time of the Judges. Hoppfeld (*die Quellen der Genesis*) finds, in Genesis at least, traces of three authors, an earlier and a later Elohist,

as well as the Jehovist. He is peculiar in regarding the Jehovistic portion as an altogether original document, written in entire independence, and without the knowledge even of the Elohist record. A later editor or compiler, he thinks, found the two books, and threw them into one. Vaihinger (in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*) is also of opinion that portions of three original documents are to be found in the first four books, to which he adds some fragments of the fifth and sixth chapters of Deuteronomy. The Fifth Book, according to him, is by a different and much later writer. The Pre-elohist he supposes to have flourished about 1200 B.C., the Elohist some 200 years later, the Jehovist in the first half of the 8th century B.C., and the Deuteronomist in the reign of Hezekiah.

Delitzsch agrees with the writers above mentioned in recognizing two distinct documents as the basis of the Pentateuch, especially in its earlier portions; but he entirely severs himself from them in maintaining that Deuteronomy is the work of Moses. His theory is this: the kernel or first foundation of the Pentateuch is to be found in the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xix.-xxiv.), which was written by Moses himself, and afterwards incorporated into the body of the Pentateuch, where it at present stands. The rest of the Laws given in the wilderness, till the people reached the plains of Moab, were communicated orally by Moses and taken down by the priests, whose business it was thus to provide for their preservation (Deut. xvii. 11, comp. xxiv. 8, xxiii. 10; Lev. x. 11, comp. xvi. 31). Inasmuch as Deuteronomy does not pre-suppose the existence in writing of the entire earlier legislation, but on the contrary recapitulates it with the greatest freedom, we are not obliged to assume that the proper codification of the Law took place during the forty years' wandering in the Desert. This was done, however, shortly after the occupation of the land of Canaan. On that sacred soil was the first definite portion of the history of Israel written; and the writing of the history itself necessitated a full and complete account of the Mosaic legislation. A man, such as Eleazar the son of Aaron, the priest (see Num. xxvi. 1, xxxi. 21), wrote the great work beginning with the first words of Genesis, including in it the Book of the Covenant, and perhaps gave only a short notice of the last discourses of Moses, because Moses had written them down with his own hand. A second—who may have been Joshua (see especially Deut. xxxii. 44; Josh. xxiv. 26, and comp. as the other hand 1 Sam. x. 25), who was a prophet, and spoke as a prophet, or one of the elders on whom Moses' spirit rested (Num. xi. 25), and many of whom survived Joshua (Josh. xxiv. 31)—completed the work, taking Deuteronomy, which Moses had written, for his model, and incorporating it into his own book. Somewhat in this manner arose the *Torah* (or Pentateuch), each narrator further availing himself when he thought proper of other written documents.

Such is the theory of Delitzsch, which is in many respects worthy of consideration, and which has been adopted in the main by Kurtz (*Gesch. d. A. B.* i. § 30, and ii. § 99, 6), who formerly was opposed to the theory of different documents, and sided rather with Hengstenberg and the critics of the extreme conservative school. There is this difference, however, that Kurtz objects to the view that Deuteronomy existed before the other books, and believes that the rest of the Pentateuch was committed to writing before, not after, the occupation of

the Holy Land. Finally, Schultz, in his recent work on Deuteronomy, recognizes two original documents in the Pentateuch, the Elohist being the base and groundwork of the whole, but contends that the Jehovistic portions of the first four books, as well as Deuteronomy, except the concluding portion, were written by Moses. Thus he agrees with Delitzsch and Kurtz in admitting two documents and the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy, and with Stähelin in identifying the Deuteronomist with the Jehovist. That these three writers more nearly approach the truth than any others who have attempted to account for the phenomena of the existing Pentateuch, we are convinced. Which of the three hypotheses is best supported by facts and by a careful examination of the record we shall see hereafter.

One other theory has, however, to be stated before we pass on.

The author of it stands quite alone, and it is not likely that he will ever find any disciple bold enough to adopt his theory: even his great admirer Bunsen forsakes him here. But it is due to Ewald's great and deserved reputation as a scholar, and to his uncommon critical sagacity, briefly to state what that theory is. He distinguishes, then, seven different authors in the great Book of Origines or Primitive History (comprising the Pentateuch and Joshua). The oldest historical work, of which but a very few fragments remain, is the Book of the Wars of Jehovah. Then follows a biography of Moses, of which also but small portions have been preserved. The third and fourth documents are much more perfect: these consist of the Book of the Covenant, which was written in the time of Samson, and the Book of Origines, which was written by a priest in the time of Solomon. Then comes, in the fifth place, the third historian of the primitive times, or the first prophetic narrator, a subject of the northern kingdom in the days of Elijah or Joel. The sixth document is the work of the fourth historian of primitive times, or the second prophetic narrator, who lived between 800 and 750. Lastly comes the fifth historian, or third prophetic narrator, who flourished not long after Joel, and who collected and reduced into one corpus the various works of his predecessors. The real purposes of the history, both in its prophetic and its legal aspects, began now to be discerned. Some steps were taken in this direction by an unknown writer at the beginning of the 7th century B.C.; and then in a far more comprehensive manner by the Deuteronomist, who flourished in the time of Manasseh, and lived in Egypt. In the time of Jeremiah appeared the poet who wrote the Blessing of Moses, as it is given in Deuteronomy. A somewhat later editor incorporated the originally independent work of the Deuteronomist, and the lesser additions of his two colleagues, with the history as left by the fifth narrator, and thus the whole was finally completed. "Such," says Ewald (and his words, seriously meant, read like delicate irony), "were the strange fortunes which this great work underwent before it reached its present form."

Such is a brief summary of the views which have been entertained by a large number of critics, many of them men of undoubted piety as well as learning, who have found themselves compelled, after careful investigation, to abandon the older doctrine of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and to adopt, in some form or other, the theory of a compilation from earlier documents.

On the other side, however, stands an array of names scarcely less distinguished for learning, who maintain not only that there is a unity of design in the Pentateuch—which is granted by many of those before mentioned—but who contend that this unity of design can only be explained on the supposition of a single author, and that this author could have been none other than Moses. This is the ground taken by Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Drechsler, Ranke, Welte, and Keil. The first mentioned of these writers has no doubt done admirable service in reconciling and removing very many of the alleged discrepancies and contradictions in the Pentateuch; but his zeal carries him in some instances to attempt a defence the very ingenuity of which betrays how unsatisfactory it is; and his attempt to explain the use of the Divine Names, by showing that the writer had a special design in the use of the one or the other, is often in the last degree arbitrary. Drechsler, in his work on the *Unity and Genuineness of Genesis* (1838), fares no better, though his remarks are the more valuable because in many cases they coincide, quite independently, with those of Hengstenberg. Later, however, Drechsler modified his view, and supposed that the several uses of the Divine Names were owing to a didactic purpose on the part of the writer, according as his object was to show a particular relation of God to the world, whether as Elohim or as Jehovah. Hence he argued that, whilst different streams flowed through the Pentateuch, they were not from two different fountain-heads, but varied according to the motive which influenced the writer, and according to the fundamental thought in particular sections; and on this ground, too, he explained the characteristic phraseology which distinguishes such sections. Ranke's work (*Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch*) is a valuable contribution to the exegesis of the Pentateuch. He is especially successful in establishing the inward unity of the work, and in showing how inseparably the several portions, legal, genealogical, and historical, are interwoven together. Kurtz (in his *Einheit der Genesis*, 1846, and in the first edition of his first volume of the *Geschichte des Alten Bundes*) followed on the same side; but he has since abandoned the attempt to explain the use of the Divine Names on the principle of the different meanings which they bear, and has espoused the theory of two distinct documents. Keil, also, though he does not despair of the solution of the problem, confesses (*Luther. Zeitschr.* 1851-2, p. 235) that "all attempts as yet made, notwithstanding the acumen which has been brought to bear to explain the interchange of the Divine Names in Genesis on the ground of the different meanings which they possess, must be pronounced a failure." Ebrard (*Das Alter des Jehovanamens*) and Tiele (*Stud. und Krit.* 1852-1) make nearly the same admission. This manifest doubtfulness in some cases, and desertion in others from the ranks of the more conservative school, is significant. And it is certainly unfair to claim consistency and unanimity of opinion for one side to the prejudice of the other. The truth is that diversities of opinion are to be found among those

* Delitzsch, however, will not allow that סֵפֶר means in the already existing book, but in one which was to be taken for the occasion; and he refers to Num. v. 23, 1 Sam. x. 25, 2 Sam. xi. 15, for a similar use of the article. סֵפֶר he takes here, as in Is. xxx. 8, to mean a separate leaf or plate on which the record was to be made. But the

who are opposed to the theory of different documents, as well as amongst those who advocate it. Nor can a theory which has been adopted by Delitzsch, and to which Kurtz has been adopted by vert, be considered as either irrational or irregular. It may not be established beyond doubt, but the presumptions in its favour are strong; nor, when properly stated, will it be found open to any serious objection.

II. We ask in the next place what is the testimony of the Pentateuch itself with regard to its authorship?

1. We find on reference to Ex. xxiv. 3, 4, that "Moses came and told the people all the words of Jehovah and all the judgments," and that he subsequently "wrote down all the words of Jehovah." These were written on a roll called "the book of the covenant" (ver. 7), and "read in the audience of the people." These "words" and "judgments" were no doubt the Sinaitic legislation so far as it had as yet been given, and which constituted in fact the covenant between Jehovah and the people. Upon the renewal of this covenant after the idolatry of the Israelites, Moses was again commanded by Jehovah to "write these words" (xxxiv. 27). "And," it is added, "he wrote upon the tables the words of the covenant, the ten commandments." Leaving Deuteronomy aside for the present, there are only two other passages in which mention is made of the writing of any part of the Law, and those are Ex. xvii. 14, where Moses is commanded to write the defeat of Amalek in a book (or rather in the book, one already in use for the purpose*); and Num. xxxiii. 2, where we are informed that Moses wrote the journeyings of the children of Israel in the desert and the various stations at which they encamped. It obviously does not follow from these statements that Moses wrote all the rest of the first four books which bear his name. Nor on the other hand does this specific testimony with regard to certain portions justify us in coming to an opposite conclusion. So far nothing can be determined positively one way or the other. But it may be said that we have an express testimony to the Mosaic authorship of the Law in Deut. xxxi. 9-12, where we are told that "Moses wrote this Law" ($\text{כָּתַב מֹשֶׁה אֶת־הַתּוֹרָה}$), and delivered it to the custody of the priests with a command that it should be read before all the people at the end of every seven years, on the Feast of Tabernacles. In ver. 24 it is further said, that when he "had made an end of writing the words of this Law in a book till they were finished," he delivered it to the Levites to be placed in the side of the ark of the covenant of Jehovah, that it might be preserved as a witness against the people. Such a statement is no doubt decisive, but the question is, how far does it extend. Do the words "this Law" comprise all the Mosaic legislation as contained in the last four books of the Pentateuch? or must they be confined only to Deuteronomy? The last is apparently the only tenable view. In Deut. xvii. 18, the direction is given that the king on his accession "shall write him a copy of this Law in a book out of that which is before the

three passages to which he refers do not help him. In the first two a particular book kept for the purpose is probably intended; and in 2 Sam. xi. 15, the book or leaf meant which had already been mentioned in the previous verse. Hence the article is indispensable.

prints the Levites." The words "copy of this Law," are literally "repetition of this Law" (כְּתִיבֵהוּ הַזֶּה), which is another name for the book of Deuteronomy, and hence the LXX. render here τὸ δευτερονόμιον τοῦτο, and Philo τῆν ἐπισημῆν, and although it is true that Onkelos uses מִשְׁנֵה (Mishneh) in the sense of "copy," and the Talmud in the sense of "duplicate" (Carpzov on Schickard's *Jus reg. Hebraeor.* pp. 82-84), yet as regards the passage already referred to in xxxi. §, &c., it was in the time of the second Temple received as an unquestionable tradition that Deuteronomy only, and not the whole Law was read at the end of every seven years, in the year of release.

The words are הוֹמֵשׁ אֱלֹהֵי הַדְּבָרִים, "from the beginning of Deuteronomy" (*Sota*, c. 7; Maimon. *Jad hu-chazakah* in Hilchoth Chagiga, c. 3; Heland, *Antiq. Sac.* p. iv. §11).^d

Besides, it is on the face of it very improbable that the whole Pentateuch should have been read at a national feast, whereas that Deuteronomy, summing up, spiritualizing, and at the same time enforcing the Law should so have been read, is in the highest degree probable and natural. It is in confirmation of this view that all the later literature, and especially the writings of the Prophets, are full of references to Deuteronomy as the book with which they might expect the most intimate acquaintance on the part of their hearers. So in other passages in which a written law is spoken of we are driven to conclude that only some part and not the whole of the Pentateuch is meant. Thus in chap. xxvii. 8, Moses commands the people to write "all the words of this Law very plainly" on the stones set up on Mount Ebal. Some have supposed that only the Decalogue, others, that the blessings and curses which immediately follow, were so to be inscribed. Others again (as Schulz, *Deuteron.* p. 87) think that some summary of the Law may have been intended; but it is at any rate quite clear that the expression "all the words of this Law" does not refer to the whole Pentateuch. This is confirmed by Josh. viii. 32. There the history tells us that Joshua wrote upon the stones of the altar which he had built on Mount Ebal "a copy of the Law of Moses (*mishneh torath Mosheh*—the same expression which we have in Deut. xvii. 18), which he wrote in the presence of the children of Israel. . . . And afterward he read all the words of the Law, the blessings and cursings, according to all that is written in the book of the Law." On this we observe, first, that "the blessings and the cursings" here specified as having been engraven on the plaster with which the stones were covered, are those recorded in Deut. xxvii., xxviii., and next that the language of the writer renders it probable that other portions of the Law were added. If any reliance is to be placed on what is apparently the oldest Jewish tradition (see below note ^d), and if the words rendered in our version "copy of the Law," mean "repetition of the Law," i. e. the book of Deuteronomy, then it was this which was engraven upon the stones and read in the hearing of Israel. It seems clear that the whole of the existing Pentateuch

cannot be meant, but either the book of Deuteronomy only, or some summary of the Mosaic legislation. In any case nothing can be argued from any of the passages to which we have referred as to the authorship of the first four books. Schultz, indeed, contends that with chap. xxx. the discourses of Moses end, and that therefore whilst the phrase "this law," whenever it occurs in chaps. i.-xxx., means only Deuteronomy, yet in chap. xxxi. where the narrative is resumed and the history of Moses brought to a conclusion, "this law" would naturally refer to the whole previous legislation. Chapter xxxi. brings as he says, to a termination, not Deuteronomy only, but the previous books as well; for without it they would be incomplete. In a section therefore which concludes the whole, it is reasonable to suppose that the words "this law" designate the whole. He appeals, moreover (against Delitzsch), to the Jewish tradition, and to the words of Josephus, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ σταβῆς . . . ἀναγινώσκῃ τοὺς νόμους πάνσι, and also to the absence of the article in xxxi. 24, where Moses is said to have made an end of writing the Law in a Book (עַל סֵפֶר), whereas when different portions are spoken of, they are said to have been written in the Book already existing (Ex. xvii. 14; 1 Sam. x. 25; Josh. xxiv. 26). It is scarcely conceivable, he says, that Moses should have provided so carefully for the safe custody and transmission of his own sermons on the Law, and have made no like provision for the Law itself, though given by the mouth of Jehovah. Even therefore if "this Law" in xxxi. 9, 24, applies in the first instance to Deuteronomy, it must indirectly include, if not the whole Pentateuch, at any rate the whole Mosaic legislation. Deuteronomy everywhere supposes the existence of the earlier books, and it is not credible that at the end of his life the great Legislator should have been utterly regardless of the Law which was the text, and solicitous only about the discourses which were the comment. The one would have been unintelligible apart from the other. There is no doubt some force in these arguments; but as yet they only render it probable that if Moses were the author of Deuteronomy, he was the author of a great part at least of the three previous books.

So far then the direct evidence from the Pentateuch itself is not sufficient to establish the Mosaic authorship of every portion of the Five Books. Certain parts of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, and the whole of Deuteronomy to the end of chap. xxx., is all that is expressly said to have been written by Moses.

Two questions are yet to be answered. Is there evidence that parts of the work were not written by Moses? Is there evidence that parts of the work are later than his time?

2. The next question we ask is this: Is there any evidence to show that he did not write portions of the work which goes by his name? We have already referred to the last chapter of Deuteronomy which gives an account of his death. Is it probable that Moses wrote the words in Ex. xi. 3, "Moreover the man Moses was very great in the land of Egypt, in the sight of Pharaoh's servants, and in

^d "The passage of the *Sifra*," says Delitzsch on Genesis, p. 61, "one of the oldest Midrashim of the school of Rabs (+200) on Deut. xvii. 18, to which Raschi refers on *Sota* 11", is as clear as it is important: "Let him (the king) repetition of the Law," i. e. the book of Deuteronomy, then it was this which was engraven upon the stones and read in the hearing of Israel. It seems clear that the whole of the existing Pentateuch

has inherited from his ancestors. מִשְׁנֵה means nothing else but מִשְׁנֵה תּוֹרָה (Deuteronomy). Not this exclusively, however, because in ver. 19 is said, to observe all the words of this Law. If so, then why is Deuteronomy only mentioned? Because on the day of assembly Deuteronomy only was read."

the sight of the people;”—or these in Num. xii. 3, “Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth?” On the other hand, are not such words of praise just what we might expect from the friend and disciple—for such perhaps he was—who pronounced his eulogium after his death—“And there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom Jehovah knew face to face” (Deut. xxxiv. 10)?

3. But there is other evidence, to a critical eye not a whit less convincing, which points in the same direction. If, without any theory casting its shadow upon us, and without any fear of consequences before our eyes, we read thoughtfully only the Book of Genesis, we can hardly escape the conviction that it partakes of the nature of a compilation. It has indeed a unity of plan, a coherence of parts, a shapeliness and an order, which satisfy us that as it stands it is the creation of a single mind. But it bears also manifest traces of having been based upon an earlier work; and that earlier work itself seems to have had embedded in it fragments of still more ancient documents. Before proceeding to prove this, it may not be unnecessary to state, in order to avoid misconception, that such a theory does not in the least militate against the divine authority of the book. The history contained in Genesis could not have been narrated by Moses from personal knowledge; but whether he was taught it by immediate divine suggestion, or was directed by the Holy Spirit to the use of earlier documents, is immaterial in reference to the inspiration of the work. The question may therefore be safely discussed on critical grounds alone.

We begin, then, by pointing out some of the phenomena which the Book of Genesis presents. At the very opening of the book, peculiarities of style and manner are discernible, which can scarcely escape the notice of a careful reader even of a translation, which certainly are no sooner pointed out than we are compelled to admit their existence.

The language of chapter i. 1-ii. 3 (where the first chapter ought to have been made to end) is totally unlike that of the section which follows, ii. 4-iii. 23. This last is not only distinguished by a peculiar use of the Divine Names—for here and nowhere else in the whole Pentateuch, except Ex. ix. 30, have we the combination of the two, Jehovah Elohim—but also by a mode of expression peculiar to itself. It is also remarkable for preserving an account of the Creation distinct from that contained in the first chapter. It may be said, indeed, that this account does not contradict the former, and might therefore have proceeded from the same pen. But, fully admitting that there is no contradiction, the representation is so different that it is far more natural to conclude that it was derived from some other, though not antagonistic source. It may be argued that here we have, not as in the first instance the Divine idea and method of Creation, but the actual relation of man to the world around him, and especially to the vegetable and animal kingdoms; that this is therefore only a resumption and explanation of some things which had been mentioned more broadly and generally before. Still in any case it cannot be denied that this second account has the character of a supplement; that it is designed, if not to correct, at least to explain the other. And this fact, taken in connexion with the peculiarities of the phraseology and the use of the Divine Names in the same section, is quite sufficient to justify the supposition that we

have here an instance, not of independent narrative but of compilation from different sources.

To take another instance. Chapter xiv. is beyond all doubt an ancient monument—papyrus-roll it may have been, or inscription on stone, which has been copied and transplanted in its original form into our present Book of Genesis. Archaic it is in its whole character: distinct too, again, from the rest of the book in its use of the name of God. Here we have El 'Elyon, “the Most High God,” used by Melchizedec first, and then by Abraham, who adopts it and applies it to Jehovah, as if to show that it was one God whom he worshipped and whom Melchizedec acknowledged, though they knew Him under different appellations.

We believe, then, that at least these two portions of Genesis—chap. ii. 4-iii. 24, and chap. xiv.—are original documents, preserved, it may have been like the genealogies, which are also a very prominent feature of the book, in the tents of the patriarchs, and made use of either by the Elohist or the Jehovist for his history. Indeed Eichhorn seems to be not far from the truth when he observes, “The early portion of the history was composed merely of separate small notices; whilst the family history of the Hebrews, on the contrary, runs on in two continuous narratives: these, however, again have not only here and there some passages inserted from other sources, as chap. xiv., xxxiii. 18-xxiv. 31, xxxvi. 1-43, xlix. 1-27, but even where the authors wrote more independently they often bring together traditions which in the course of time had taken a different form, and merely give them as they had received them, without intimating which is to be preferred” (*Einkl. in A. T.* iii. 91, §412).

We come now to a more ample examination of the question as to the distinctive use of the Divine Names. Is it the fact, as Astruc was the first to surmise, that this early portion of the Pentateuch, extending from Gen. i. to Ex. vi., does contain two original documents characterised by their separate use of the Divine Names and by other peculiarities of style? Of this there can be no reasonable doubt. We do find, not only scattered verses, but whole sections thus characterised. Throughout this portion of the Pentateuch the name יהוה (Jehovah) prevails in some sections, and אלהים (Elohim) in others. There are a few sections where both are employed indifferently; and there are, finally, sections of some length in which neither the one nor the other occurs. A list of these has been given in another article. [GENESIS.] And we find more- over that in connexion with this use of the Divine Names there is also a distinctive and characteristic phraseology. The style and idiom of the Jehovist sections is not the same as the style and idiom of the Elohim sections. After Ex. vi. 2-vii. 7, the name Elohim almost ceases to be characteristic of whole sections; the only exceptions to this rule being Ex. xiii. 17-19 and chap. xviii. Such a phenomenon as this cannot be without significance. If Hengstenberg and those who agree with him would persuade us, the use of the Divine Names is to be accounted for throughout by a reference to their etymology—if the author uses the one when his design is to speak of God as the Creator and the Judge, and the other when his object is to set forth God as the Redeemer—then it still cannot but appear remarkable that only up to a particular point do these names stamp separate sections of the narrative, whereas afterwards all such distinctive criterion fails. How is this fact to be accounted

for? Why is it that up to Ex. vi. each name has its own province in the narrative, broad and clearly defined, whereas in the subsequent portions the name Jehovah prevails, and Elohim is only interchanged with it here and there? But the alleged design in the use of the Divine Names will not bear a close examination. It is no doubt true that throughout the story of Creation in i. 1-ii. 3 we have Elohim—and this squares with the hypothesis. There is some plausibility also in the attempt to explain the compound use of the Divine Names in the next section, by the fact that here we have the transition from the History of Creation to the History of Redemption; that here consequently we should expect to find God exhibited in both characters, as the God who made and the God who redeems the world. That after the Fall it should be Jehovah who speaks in the history of Cain and Abel is on the same principle intelligible, viz. that this name harmonises best with the features of the narrative. But when we come to the history of Noah the criterion fails us. Why, for instance, should it be said that "Noah found grace in the eyes of Jehovah" (vi. 8), and that "Noah walked with Elohim" (vi. 9)? Surely on the hypothesis it should have been, "Noah walked with Jehovah," for Jehovah, not Elohim, is His Name as the God of covenant and grace and self-revelation. Hengstenberg's attempt to explain this phrase by an opposition between "walking with God" and "walking with the world" is remarkable only for its ingenuity. Why should it be more natural or more forcible even than to imply an opposition between the world and its Creator, than between the world and its Redeemer? The reverse is what we should expect. To walk with the world does not mean with the created things of the world, but with the spirit of the world; and the emphatic opposition to that spirit is to be found in the spirit which confesses its need and lays hold of the promise of Redemption. Hence to walk with *Jehovah* (not Elohim) would be the natural antithesis to walking with the world. So, again, how on the hypothesis of Hengstenberg, can we satisfactorily account for its being said in vi. 22, "Thus did Noah; according to all that God (*Elohim*) commanded him, so did he:" and in vii. 5, "And Noah did according unto all that *Jehovah* commanded him:" while again in vii. 9 Elohim occurs in the same phrase? The elaborate ingenuity by means of which Hengstenberg, Drechsler, and others, attempt to account for the specific use of the several names in these instances is in fact its own refutation. The stern constraint of a theory could alone have suggested it.

The fact to which we have referred that there is this distinct use of the names Jehovah and Elohim in the earlier portion of the Pentateuch, is no doubt to be explained by what we are told in Ex. vi. 2, "And Elohim spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am Jehovah: and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as El-Shaddai, but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them." Does this mean that the name Jehovah was literally unknown to the Patriarchs? that the first revelation of it was that made to Moses in chap. iii. 13, 14? where we read: "And Moses said unto God, Behold, when I come unto the children of Israel, and shall say unto them, The God of your fathers hath sent me unto you; and they shall say to me, What is His Name? what shall I say unto them? And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM and He said, Thus shalt thou say

unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you."

This is undoubtedly the first explanation of the name. It is now, and now first, that Israel is to be made to understand the full import of that Name. This they are to learn by the redemption out of Egypt. By means of the deliverance they are to recognize the character of their deliverer. The God of their fathers is not a God of power only, but a God of faithfulness and of love, the God who has made a covenant with His chosen, and who therefore will not forsake them. This seems to be the meaning of the "I AM THAT I AM" (אֲנִי אֲנִי אֲנִי), or as it may perhaps be better rendered, "I am He whom I prove myself to be." The abstract idea of self-existence can hardly be conveyed by this name; but rather the idea that God is what He is in relation to His people. Now, in this sense it is clear God had not fully made Himself known before.

The name Jehovah may have existed, though we have only two instances of this in the history,—the one in the name Moriah (Gen. xxii. 2), and the other in the name of the mother of Moses (Ex. vi. 20), who was called Jochebed; both names formed by composition from the Divine name Jehovah. It is certainly remarkable that during the patriarchal times we find no other instance of a proper name so compounded. Names of persons compounded with El and Shaddai we do find, but not with Jehovah. This fact abundantly shows that the name Jehovah was, if not altogether unknown, at any rate not understood. And thus we have "an undesigned coincidence" in support of the accuracy of the narrative. God says in Exodus, He was not known by that name to the patriarchs. The Jehovistic writer of the patriarchal history, whether Moses or one of his friends, uses the name freely as one with which he himself was familiar, but it never appears in the history and life of the Patriarchs as one which was familiar to them. On the other hand, passages like Gen. iv. 26, and ix. 26, seem to show that the name was not altogether unknown. Hence Astruc remarks: "Le passage de l'Exode bien entendu ne prouve point que le nom de Jehova fut un nom de Dieu inconnu aux Patriarches et révéle à Moïse le premier, mais prouve seulement que Dieu n'avoit pas fait connoître aux Patriarches toute l'étendue de la signification de ce nom, au lieu qu'il l'a manifestée à Moïse." The expression in Ex. vi. 3, "I was not known, or did not make myself known," is in fact to be understood with the same limitation as when (John i. 17) it is said, that "Grace and truth came by Jesus Christ" as in opposition to the Law of Moses, which does not mean that there was no Grace or Truth in the Old Covenant; or as when (John vii. 39) it is said, "The Holy Ghost was not yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified," which does not of course exclude all operation of the Spirit before.

Still this phenomenon of the distinct use of the Divine names would scarcely of itself prove the point, that there are two documents which form the groundwork of the existing Pentateuch. But there is other evidence pointing the same way. We find, for instance, the same story told by the two writers, and their two accounts manifestly interwoven; and we find also certain favourite words and phrases which distinguish the one writer from the other.

(1.) In proof of the first, it is sufficient to read the history of Noah.

In order to make this more clear, we will separate the two documents, and arrange them in parallel columns:—

JEHOVAH.

Gen. vi. 5. And Jehovah saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented Jehovah, &c.

7. And Jehovah said, I will blot out man whom I have created from off the face of the ground.

vii. 1. And Jehovah said to Noah These have I seen righteous before me in this generation.

vii. 2. Of all cattle which is clean thou shalt take to thee by sevens, male and his female, and of all cattle which is not clean, two, male and his female.

3. Also of fowl of the air by sevens, male and female, to preserve seed alive on the face of all the earth.

vii. 4. For in yet seven days I will send rain upon the earth forty days and forty nights, and I will blot out all the substance which I have made from off the face of the ground.

vii. 5. And Noah did according to all that Jehovah commanded him.

Without carrying this parallelism further at length, we will merely indicate by references the traces of the two documents in the rest of the narrative of the Flood:—vii. 1, 6, on the Jehovah side, answer to vi. 18, vii. 11, on the Elohim side; vii. 7, 8, 9, 17, 23, to vii. 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22; viii. 21, 22, to ix. 8, 9, 10, 11.

It is quite true that we find both in earlier and later writers repetitions, which may arise either from accident or from want of skill on the part of the author or compiler; but neither the one nor the other would account for the constant repetition which here runs through all parts of the narrative.

(2.) But again we find that these duplicate narratives are characterized by peculiar modes of expression; and that, generally, the Elohist and Jehovistic sections have their own distinct and individual colouring.

We find certain favourite phrases peculiar to the Elohist passages. Such, for instance, as אַחֲזָה, "possession;" אֶרֶץ מְנוּחָיִם, "land of sojourning;" לְדֹרוֹתֶיכֶם, or לְדֹרוֹתָם, "after your, or

ELOHIM.

Gen. vi. 12. And Elohim saw the earth, and behold it was corrupt; for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.

13. And Elohim said to Noah, The end of all flesh is come before me, for the earth is filled with violence because of them, and behold I will destroy them with the earth.

vi. 9. Noah a righteous man was perfect in his generation. With Elohim did Noah walk.

vi. 19. And of every living thing of all flesh, two of all shalt thou bring into the ark to preserve alive with thee: male and female shall they be.

20. Of fowl after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every thing that creepeth on the ground after his kind, two of all shall come unto thee that thou mayest preserve (them) alive.

vi. 17. And I, behold I do bring the flood, waters upon the earth, to destroy all flesh wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven, all that is in the earth shall perish.

vi. 22. And Noah did according to all that Elohim commanded him; so did he.

their, generations;" לְמִינֵהוּ, or לְמִינָהּ, "after his or her, kind;" בַּעֲצֵם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, "on the self same day;" פְּדָן אֲרָם, "Padan Aram"—for which in the Jehovistic portions we always find נַחְרָיִם, "Aram Naharaim," or simply אֲרָם, "Aram;" פְּרָה וּרְבָה, "be fruitful and multiply;" הַקִּים בְּרִית, "establish a covenant"—the Jehovistic phrase being בְּרַת בְּרִית, "to make (lit. 'cut') a covenant." So again we find אֹתוֹ בְּרִית עוֹלָם, "sign of the covenant;" בְּרִית עוֹלָם, "everlasting covenant;" זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה, "male and female" (instead of the Jehovistic אִישׁ וְאִשְׁתּוֹ); שָׂרָץ, "swarming or creeping thing;" and שָׂרָץ, and the common superscription of the genealogical portions, אֵלֶּה תּוֹלְדוֹת, "these are the generations of," &c., are, if not exclusively, yet almost exclusively, characteristic of those sections in which the name Elohim occurs.

There is therefore, it seems, good ground for concluding that, besides some smaller independent documents, traces may be discovered of two original historical works, which form the basis of the present book of Genesis and of the earlier chapters of Exodus.

Of these there can be no doubt that the Elohist is the earlier. The passage in Ex. vi. establishes this, as well as the matter and style of the document itself. Whether Moses himself was the author of either of these works is a different question. Both are probably in the main as old as his time; the Elohist certainly is, and perhaps older. But other questions must be considered before we can pronounce with certainty on this head.

4. But we may now advance a step further. There are certain references of time and place which prove clearly that the work, in its present form, is later than the time of Moses. Notices there are scattered here and there which can only be accounted for fairly on one of two suppositions—viz., either a later composition of the whole, or the revision of an editor who found it necessary to introduce occasionally a few words by way of explanation or correction. When, for instance, it is said (Gen. xii. 6, comp. xiii. 7), "And the Canaanite was then (אָז) in the land," the obvious meaning of such a remark seems to be that the state of things was different in the time of the writer; that now the Canaanite was there no longer; and the conclusion is that the words must have been written after the occupation of the land by the Israelites. In any other book, as Vaihinger justly remarks, we should certainly draw this inference.

The principal notices of time and place which have been alleged as bespeaking for the Pentateuch a later date are the following:—

(a.) References of time. Ex. vi. 26, 27, need not be regarded as a later addition, for it obviously sums up the genealogical register given just before and refers back to ver. 13. But it is more naturally and referably with some other authorship than that of Moses. Again, Ex. xvi. 33-36, though it must have been introduced after the rest of the book was written, may have been added by Moses himself, supposing him to have composed the rest of the book. Moses there directs Aaron to lay up the manna before Jehovah, and then we read: "As

Abraham commanded Moses, so Aaron laid it up before the Testimony (*i. e.* the Ark) to be kept. And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, until they came to a land inhabited; they did eat manna until they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan." Then follows the remark, "Now an omer is the tenth part of an ephah." It is clear then that this passage was written not only after the Ark was made, but after the Israelites had entered the Promised Land. The plain and obvious intention of the writer is to tell us when the manna ceased, not, as Hengstenberg contends, merely how long it continued. So it is said (Josh. v. 12), "And the manna ceased on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn of the land," &c. The observation, too, about the omer could only have been made when the omer as a measure had fallen into disuse, which it is hardly supposable could have taken place in the lifetime of Moses. Still these passages are not absolutely irreconcilable with the Mosaic authorship of the book. Verse 35 may be a later gloss only, as Le Clerc and Rosenmüller believed.

The difficulty is greater with a passage in the book of Genesis. The genealogical table of Esau's family (chap. xxxvi.) can scarcely be regarded as a later interpolation. It does not interrupt the order and connexion of the book; on the contrary, it is a most essential part of its structure; it is one of the ten "generations" or genealogical registers which form, so to speak, the backbone of the whole. Here we find the remark (ver. 31), "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." Le Clerc supposed this to be a later addition, and Hengstenberg confesses the difficulty of the passage (*Auth. d. Pentat.* ii. 202). But the difficulty is not set aside by Hengstenberg's remark that the reference is to the prophecy already delineated in xxiv. 11, "Kings shall come out of thy loins." No unprejudiced person can read the words, "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel," without feeling that when they were written, kings had already begun to reign over Israel. It is a simple historical fact that for centuries after the death of Moses no attempt was made to establish a monarchy amongst the Jews. Judah indeed (Judg. viii. 22, 23) might have become king, or perhaps rather military dictator, but was wise enough to decline with firmness the dangerous honour. His son Abimelech, less scrupulous and more ambitious, prevailed upon the Shechemites to make him king, and was acknowledged, after a turbulent reign of three years, to be unable to perpetuate his dynasty. Such facts are not indicative of any desire on the part of the Israelites at that time to be ruled by kings. There was no deep-rooted national tendency to monarchy which could account for the observation in Gen. xxxvi. that a monarchy was established. It is impossible not to feel in the words, as Ewald observes, that the Israelites at that time almost envied Edom because she had enjoyed the blessings of a regular well-ordered kingdom so long before Israel. An historical remark of this kind, it must be remembered, is widely different from the provision made in Deuteronomy

for the possible case that at some later time a monarchy would be established. It is one thing for a writer framing laws, which are to be the heritage of his people and the basis of their constitution for all time, to prescribe what shall be done when they shall elect a king to reign over them. It is another thing for a writer comparing the condition of another country with his own to say that the one had a monarchical form of government long before the other. The one might be the dictate of a wise sagacity forecasting the future; the other could only be said at a time when both nations alike were governed by kings. In the former case we might even recognise a spirit of prophecy: in the latter this is out of the question. Either then we must admit that the book of Genesis did not exist as a whole till the times of David and Solomon, or we must regard this particular verse as the interpolation of a later editor. And this last is not so improbable a supposition as Vaihinger would represent it. Perfectly true it is that the whole genealogical table could have been no later addition: it is manifestly an integral part of the book. But the words in question, ver. 31, may have been inserted later from the genealogical table in 1 Chr. i. 43; and if so, it may have been introduced by Ezra in his revision of the Law.*

Similar remarks may perhaps apply to Lev. xviii. 28: "That the land spue not you out also when ye defile it, as it spued out the nation that was before you." This undoubtedly assumes the occupation of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites. The great difficulty connected with this passage, however, is that it is not a supplementary remark of the writer's, but that the words are the words of God directing Moses what he is to say to the children of Israel (ver. 1). And this is not set aside even if we suppose the book to have been written, not by Moses, but by one of the elders after the entrance into Canaan.

(b.) In several instances older names of places give place to those which came later into use in Canaan. In Gen. xiv. 14, and in Deut. xxxiv. 1, occurs the name of the well-known city of Dan. But in Josh. xix. 47 we are distinctly told that this name was given to what was originally called Leshem (or Laish) by the children of Dan after they had wrested it from the Canaanites. The same account is repeated still more circumstantially in Judg. xviii. 27-29, where it is positively asserted that "the name of the city was Laish at the first." It is natural that the city should be called Dan in Deut. xxxiv., as that is a passage written beyond all doubt after the occupation of the Land of Canaan by the Israelites. But in Genesis we can only fairly account for its appearance by supposing that the old name Laish originally stood in the MS., and that Dan was substituted for it on some later revision. [DAN.]

In Josh. xiv. 15 (comp. xv. 13, 54) and Judg. i. 10 we are told that the original name of Hebron before the conquest of Canaan was Kirjath-Arba. In Gen. xxiii. 2 the older name occurs, and the explanation is added (evidently by some one who wrote later than the occupation of Canaan), "the same is Hebron." In Gen. xiii. 18 we find the name of Hebron standing alone and without any explanation. Hence Keil supposes that this was the

passages of Scripture to his quotation. Hence the LXX have transferred these passages from the Epistle into the Psalm, and have been followed by the Vulg. and Arab.

* Pades siv. furnishes a curious instance of the way in which a passage may be introduced into an earlier book. In Psal. cxviii. this psalm in Rom. iii. 10, subjoins other

original name, that the place came to be called Kirjath-Arba in the interval between Abraham and Moses, and that in the time of Joshua it was customary to speak of it by its ancient instead of its more modern name. This is not an impossible supposition; but it is more obvious to explain the apparent anachronism as the correction of a later editor, especially as the correction is actually given in so many words in the other passage (xxiii. 2).

Another instance of a similar kind is the occurrence of Hormah in Num. xiv. 45, xxi. 1-3, compared with Judg. i. 17. It may be accounted for, however, thus:—In Num. xxi. 3 we have the origin of the name explained. The book of Numbers was written later than this, and consequently, even in speaking of an earlier event which took place at the same spot, the writer might apply the name, though at that point of the history it had not been given. Then in Judg. i. 17 we have the *Canaanite* name Zephath (for the Canaanites naturally would not have adopted the Hebrew name given in token of their victory), and are reminded at the same time of the original Hebrew designation given in the Wilderness.

So far, then, judging the work simply by what we find in it, there is abundant evidence to show that, though the main bulk of it is Mosaic, certain detached portions of it are of later growth. We are not obliged, because of the late date of these portions, to bring down the rest of the book to later times. This is contrary to the express claim advanced by large portions at least to be from Moses, and to other evidence, both literary and historical, in favour of a Mosaic origin. On the other hand, when we remember how entirely during some periods of Jewish history the Law seems to have been forgotten, and again how necessary it would be after the seventy years of exile to explain some of its archaisms and to add here and there short notes to make it more intelligible to the people, nothing can be more natural than to suppose that such later additions were made by Ezra and Nehemiah.

III. We are now to consider the evidence lying outside of the Pentateuch itself, which bears upon its authorship and the probable date of its composition. This evidence is of three kinds: first, direct mention of the work as already existing in the later books of the Bible; secondly, the existence of a book substantially the same as the present Pentateuch amongst the Samaritans; and, lastly, allusions less direct, such as historical references, quotations, and the like, which presuppose its existence.

1. We have direct evidence for the authorship of the Law in Josh. i. 7, 8, "according to all the Law which Moses my servant commanded thee,"—"this book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth,"—and viii. 31, 34, xxiii. 6 (in xxiv. 26, "the book of the Law of God"), in all which places Moses is said to have written it. This agrees with what we have already seen respecting Deuteronomy and certain other portions of the Pentateuch which are ascribed in the Pentateuch itself to Moses. They cannot, however, be cited as proving that the Pentateuch in its present form and in all its parts is Mosaic.

The book of Judges does not speak of the book of the Law. A reason may be alleged for this difference between the books of Joshua and Judges. In the eyes of Joshua, the friend and immediate successor of Moses, the Law would possess unspeakable value. It was to be his guide as the Captain

of the people, and on the basis of the Law was to rest all the life of the people both civil and religious, in the land of Canaan. He had received, moreover, from God Himself, an express charge to observe and do according to all that was written in the Law. Hence we are not surprised at the prominent position which it occupies in the book which tells us of the exploits of Joshua. In the book of Judges on the other hand, where we see the nation departing widely from the Mosaic institutions, lapsing into idolatry and falling under the power of foreign oppressors, the absence of all mention of the Book of the Law is easily to be accounted for.

It is a little remarkable, however, that no direct mention of it occurs in the books of Samuel. Considering the express provision made for a monarchy in Deuteronomy, we should have expected that on the first appointment of a king some reference would have been made to the requirements of the Law. A prophet like Samuel, we might have thought, could not fail to direct the attention of the newly made king to the Book in accordance with which he was to govern. But if he did this, the history does not tell us so; though there are, it is true, allusions which can only be interpreted on the supposition that the Law was known. The first mention of the Law of Moses after the establishment of the monarchy is in David's charge to his son Solomon, on his death-bed (1 K. ii. 3). From that passage there can be no doubt that David had himself framed his rule in accordance with it, and was desirous that his son should do the same. The words "as it is written in the Law of Moses," show that some portion, at any rate, of our present Pentateuch is referred to, and that the Law was received as the Law of Moses. The allusion, too, seems to be to parts of Deuteronomy, and therefore favours the Mosaic authorship of that book. In viii. 9, we are told that "there was nothing in the ark save the two tables of stone which Moses put there at Horeb." In viii. 53, Solomon uses the words, "As Thou spakest by the hand of Moses Thy servant;" but the reference is too general to prove anything as to the authorship of the Pentateuch. The reference may be either to Ex. xii. 5, 6, or to Deut. xiv. 2.

In 2 K. xi. 12, "the testimony" is put into the hands of Joash at his coronation. This must have been a book containing either the whole of the Mosaic Law, or at least the Book of Deuteronomy, a copy of which, as we have seen, the king was expected to make with his own hand at the time of his accession.

In the Books of Chronicles far more frequent mention is made of "the Law of Jehovah," or "the book of the Law of Moses:"—a fact which may be accounted for partly by the priestly character of those books. Thus we find David's preparation for the worship of God is "according to the Law of Jehovah" (1 Chr. xvi. 40). In his charge to Solomon occur the words "the Law of Jehovah thy God, the statutes and the judgments which Jehovah charged Moses with concerning Israel" (xiii. 12, 13). In 2 Chr. xii. it is said that Rehoboam "forsook the Law of Jehovah;" in xiv. 4, that Asa commanded Judah "to seek Jehovah the God of their fathers, and to do the law and the commandment." In xv. 3, the prophet Azariah reminds Asa that "now for a long season Israel hath been without the true God, and without a teaching priest, and without Law;" and in xvii. 9, we find Jehoshaphat appointing certain princes

together with priests and Levites, to teach: "they taught in Judah, and had the book of the Law of Moses with them." In xxv. 4, Amaziah is said to have acted in a particular instance "as it is written in the Law of the book of Moses." In xxx. 3, 4, 21, Hezekiah's regulations are expressly said to have been in accordance with "the Law of the book of Moses." In xxxiii. 8, the writer is quoting the words of God in reference to the Temple:—"so that they will take heed to do all that I have commanded them, according to the whole Law and the statutes, and the ordinances by the hand of Moses." In xxxiv. 14, occurs the memorable passage in which Hezekiah the priest is said to have "found a book of the Law of Jehovah (given) by Moses." This happened in the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah. And accordingly we are told in xxxv. 26, that Josiah's life had been regulated in accordance with that which was "written in the Law of Jehovah."

In Ezra and Nehemiah we have mention several times made of the Law of Moses, and here there can be no doubt that our present Pentateuch is meant; for we have no reason to suppose that any later version of it took place. At this time, then, the existing Pentateuch was regarded as the work of Moses. Ezra iii. 2, "as it is written in the Law of Moses the man of God;" vi. 18, "as it is written in the book of Moses;" vii. 6, Ezra it is said "was a scribe in the Law of Moses." In Neh. i. 7, &c., "the commandments, judgments, &c., which Thou commandedst Thy servant Moses," viii. 1, &c., we have the remarkable account of the reading of "the book of the Law of Moses." See also ix. 3, x. 1, 1-3.

The Books of Chronicles, though undoubtedly based upon ancient records, are probably in their present form as late as the time of Ezra. Hence it might be supposed that if the reference is to the present Pentateuch in Ezra, the present Pentateuch must also be referred to in Chronicles. But this does not follow. The Book of Ezra speaks of the Law as it existed in the time of the writer; the books of Chronicles speak of it as it existed long before. Hence the author of the latter (who may have been Ezra) in making mention of the Law of Moses refers of course to that recension of it which existed at the particular periods over which his history travels. Substantially, no doubt, it was the same book; and there was no special reason why the Chronicler should tell us of any corrections and additions which in the course of time had been introduced into it.

In Dan. ix. 11, 13, the Law of Moses is mentioned, and here again, a book differing in nothing from our present Pentateuch is probably meant.

These are all the passages of the Old Testament in which "the Law of Moses," "the book of the Law" or such like expressions occur, denoting the existence of a particular book, the authorship of which was ascribed to Moses. In the Prophecy and in the Psalms, though there are many allusions to the Law, evidently as a written document, there are none as to its authorship. But the evidence hitherto adduced from the historical books is unquestionably strong; first, in favour of the early existence of the main body of the Pentateuch—more particularly of Genesis and the legal portions of the remaining books; and next, as showing a universal belief amongst the Jews that the work was written by Moses.

2. Conclusive proof of the early composition of the Pentateuch, it has been argued, exists in the fact that the Samaritans had their own copies of it, not differing very materially from those possessed by the Jews, except in a few passages which had probably been purposely tampered with and altered, such for instance as Ex. xii. 40; Deut. xxvii. 4. The Samaritans, it is said, must have derived their Book of the Law from the Ten Tribes, whose land they occupied; on the other hand it is out of the question to suppose that the Ten Tribes would be willing to accept religious books from the Two. Hence the conclusion seems to be irresistible that the Pentateuch must have existed in its present form before the separation of Israel from Judah; the only part of the O. T. which was the common heritage of both.

If this point could be satisfactorily established, we should have a limit of time in one direction for the composition of the Pentateuch. It could not have been later than the times of the earliest kings. It must have been earlier than the reign of Solomon, and indeed than that of Saul. The history becomes at this point so full, that it is scarcely credible that a measure so important as the codification of the Law, if it had taken place, could have been passed over in silence. Let us, then, examine the evidence. What proof is there that the Samaritans received the Pentateuch from the Ten Tribes? According to 2 K. xvii. 24-41, the Samaritans were originally heathen colonists belonging to different Assyrian and Arabian tribes, who were transplanted by Shalmaneser to occupy the room of the Israelites whom he had carried away captive. It is evident, however, that a considerable portion of the original Israelitish population must still have remained in the cities of Samaria. For we find (2 Chr. xxx. 1-20) that Hezekiah invited the remnant of the Ten Tribes who were in the land of Israel to come to the great Passover which he celebrated, and the different tribes are mentioned (vers. 10, 11) who did, or did not respond to the invitation. Later, Esarhaddon adopted the policy of Shalmaneser and a still further deportation took place (Ezr. iv. 2). But even after this, though the heathen element in all probability preponderated, the land was not swept clean of its original inhabitants. Josiah, it is true, did not like Hezekiah invite the Samaritans to take part in the worship at Jerusalem. But finding himself strong enough to disregard the power of Assyria, now on the decline, he virtually claimed the land of Israel as the rightful apportionment of David's throne, adopted energetic measures for the suppression of idolatry, and even exterminated the Samaritan priests. But what is of more importance as showing that some portion of the Ten Tribes was still left in the land, is the fact, that when the collection was made for the repairs of the Temple, we are told that the Levites gathered the money "of the hand of Manasseh and Ephraim, and of all the remnant of Israel," as well as "of Judah and Benjamin" (2 Chr. xxxiv. 9). And so also, after the disco-

with Sanballat in the government of Judaea, as well as the mention of Arabians in the army of Samaria ('Illustrations of Egyptian History,' &c., in the *Trans. of Roy Soc. Lit* 1860, part i. pp. 148, 149)

It is a curious and interesting fact, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to Sir H. Rawlinson, that Sargon transported far into the interior of Arabia, and carrying off several Arabian tribes, settled them in Samaria. This again how Geshem the Arabian came to be associated

very of the Book of the Law, Josiah bound not only "all who were present in Judah and Benjamin" to stand to the covenant contained in it, but he "took away all the abominations out of all the countries that pertained to the children of Israel, and made all that were present in Israel to serve, even to serve Jehovah their God. And all his days they departed not from serving Jehovah the God of their fathers" (2 Chr. xxxiv. 32, 33).

Later yet, during the vice-royalty of Gedaliah, we find still the same feeling manifested on the part of the Ten Tribes which had shown itself under Hezekiah and Josiah. Eighty devotees from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria, came with all the signs of mourning, and bearing offerings in their hand, to the Temple at Jerusalem. They thus testified both their sorrow for the desolation that had come upon it, and their readiness to take a part in the worship there, now that order was restored. And this, it may be reasonably presumed, was only one party out of many who came on a like errand. All these facts prove that, so far was the intercourse between Judah and the remnant of Israel from being embittered by religious animosities, that it was the religious bond that bound them together. Hence it would have been quite possible during any portion of this period for the mixed Samaritan population to have received the Law from the Jews.

This is far more probable than that copies of the Pentateuch should have been preserved amongst those families of the Ten Tribes who had either escaped when the land was shaven by the razor of the king of Assyria, or who had straggled back thither from their exile. If even in Jerusalem itself the Book of the Law was so scarce, and had been so forgotten, that the pious king Josiah knew nothing of its contents till it was accidentally discovered; still less probable is it that in Israel, given up to idolatry and wasted by invasions, any copies of it should have survived.

On the whole we should be led to infer that there had been a gradual fusion of the heathen settlers with the original inhabitants. At first the former, who regarded Jehovah as only a local and national deity like one of their own false gods, endeavoured to appease Him by adopting in part the religious worship of the nation whose land they occupied. They did this in the first instance, not by mixing with the resident population, but by sending to the king of Assyria for one of the Israelitish priests who had been carried captive. But, in process of time, the amalgamation of races became complete and the worship of Jehovah superseded the worship of idols, as is evident both from the wish of the Samaritans to join in the Temple-worship after the Captivity, and from the absence of all idolatrous symbols on Gerizim. So far, then, the history leaves us altogether in doubt as to the time at which the Pentateuch was received by the Samaritans. Copies of it *might* have been left in the northern kingdom after Shalmaneser's invasion, though this is hardly probable; or they might have been introduced thither during the religious reforms of Hezekiah or Josiah.

But the actual condition of the Samaritan Pentateuch is against any such supposition. It agrees so remarkably with the existing Hebrew Pentateuch, and that, too, in those passages which are manifestly interpolations and corrections as late as the time of Ezra, that we must look for some other period to which to refer the adoption of the Books of Moses by the Samaritans. This we find after

the Babylonish exile, at the time of the institution of the rival worship on Gerizim. Till the return from Babylon there is no evidence that the Samaritans regarded the Jews with any extraordinary dislike or hostility. But the manifest distrust and suspicion with which Nehemiah met their advances when he was rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem provoked their wrath. From this time forward, they were declared and open enemies. The quarrel between the two nations was further aggravated by the determination of Nehemiah to break off all marriages which had been contracted between Jews and Samaritans. Manasseh the brother of the high-priest (so Josephus calls him, *Ant.* xi. 7, §2), and himself acting high-priest, was one of the offenders. He refused to divorce his wife, and took refuge with his father-in-law Sanballat, who consoled him for the loss of his priestly privilege in Jerusalem by making him high-priest of the new Samaritan temple on Gerizim. With Manasseh many other apostate Jews who refused to divorce their wives, fled to Samaria. It seems highly probable that these men took the Pentateuch with them, and adopted it as the basis of the new religious system which they inaugurated. A full discussion of this question would be out of place here. It is sufficient merely to show how far the existence of a Samaritan Pentateuch, not materially differing from the Hebrew Pentateuch, bears upon the question of the antiquity of the latter. And we incline to the view of Prideaux (*Connect.* Book vi. chap. iii.) that the Samaritan Pentateuch was in fact a transcript of Ezra's revised copy. The same view is virtually adopted by Gesenius (*De Pent. Sam.* pp. 8, 9).

3. We are now to consider evidence of a more indirect kind, which bears not so much on the Mosaic authorship as on the early existence of the work as a whole. This last circumstance, however, if satisfactorily made out is, indirectly at least, an argument that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. Hengstenberg has tried to show that all the later books, by their allusions and quotations, presuppose the existence of the Books of the Law. He traces moreover the influence of the Law upon the whole life civil and religious of the nation after their settlement in the land of Canaan. He sees its spirit transfused into all the national literature, historical, poetic and prophetic: he argues that except on the basis of the Pentateuch as already existing before the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, the whole of their history after the occupation of the land becomes an inexplicable enigma. It is impossible not to feel that this line of proof is, if established, peculiarly convincing, just in proportion as it is indirect and informal, and beyond the reach of the ordinary weapons of criticism.

Now, beyond all doubt, there are numerous most striking references both in the Prophets and in the Books of Kings to passages which are found in the present Pentateuch. One thing at least is certain, that the theory of men like Von Bohlen, Vatke, and others, who suppose the Pentateuch to have been written in the times of the latest kings, is utterly absurd. It is established in the most convincing manner that the legal portions of the Pentateuch already existed in writing before the separation of the two kingdoms. Even as regards the historical portions, there are often in the later books almost verbal coincidences of expression, which render it more than probable that these also existed in writing. All this has been argued with much learning, the most indefatigable research, and in some instances

with great success by Hengstenberg in his *Authentic Pentateuch*. We will satisfy ourselves with pointing out some of the most striking passages in which the coincidences between the later books and the Pentateuch (omitting Deuteronomy for the present) appear.

In Joel, who prophesied only in the kingdom of Judah; in Amos, who prophesied in both kingdoms; and in Hosea, whose ministry was confined to Israel, we find references which imply the existence of a written code of laws. The following comparison of passages may satisfy us on this point:—Joel ii. 2 with Ex. x. 14; ii. 3 with Gen. ii. 8, 9 (comp. xiii. 17 with Num. xiv. 13; ii. 20 with Ex. x. 19; iii. 1 [ii. 28, E. V.] with Gen. vi. 12; ii. 13 with Ex. xxv. 6; iv. [iii.] 18 with Num. xxv. 1.—Again, Amos ii. 2 with Num. xxi. 28; ii. 7 with Ex. xxiii. 6, 7; ii. 8 with Ex. xxii. 25 &c.; ii. 9 with Num. xiii. 32 &c.; iii. 7 with Gen. xviii. 17; iv. 4 with Lev. xxiv. 3, and Deut. xiv. 28, xxvi. 12; v. 12 with Num. xxxv. 31 (comp. Ex. xxiii. 6 and Am. ii. 7); v. 17 with Ex. xii. 12; v. 21 &c. with Num. xxx. 35, Lev. xxiii. 36; vi. 1 with Num. i. 17; vi. 6 with Gen. xxxvii. 25 (this is probably the reference: Hengstenberg's is wrong); vi. 8 with Lev. xxvii. 19; vi. 14 with Num. xxxiv. 8; viii. 1 with Ex. xii. 2, Lev. xxv. 39; ix. 13 with Lev. xxi. 3-5 (comp. Ex. iii. 8).—Again, Hosea i. 2 with Lev. xx. 5-7; ii. 1 [i. 10] with Gen. xxii. 17, xxiii. 12; ii. 2 [i. 11] with Ex. i. 10; iii. 2 with Ex. xii. 32; iv. 8 with Lev. vi. 17 &c., and vii. 1 &c.; v. 10 with Lev. xxvi. 26; iv. 17 with Ex. xxxii. 9, 10; v. 6 with Ex. x. 9; vi. 2 with Gen. xvii. 18; vii. 8 with Ex. xxxiv. 12-16; xii. 6 [A. V. 5] with Ex. ii. 15; xii. 10 [9] with Lev. xxiii. 43; xii. 15 [14] with Gen. ix. 5.

In the Books of Kings we have also references as follows:—1 K. xx. 42 to Lev. xxvii. 29; xxi. 3 to Lev. xxi. 23, Num. xxxvi. 8; xxi. 10 to Num. xxx. 30, comp. Deut. xvii. 6, 7, xix. 15; xxii. 17 to 2 Sam. xxvii. 16, 17.—2 K. iii. 20 to Ex. xxix. 38 &c.; iv. 1 to Lev. xxv. 39 &c.; v. 27 to Ex. x. 8, Num. xii. 10; vi. 18 to Gen. xix. 11; vi. 28 to Lev. xxvi. 29; vii. 2, 19 to Gen. vii. 11; vii. 3 to Lev. xiii. 46 (comp. Num. v. 3).

But now if, as appears from the examination of all the extant Jewish literature, the Pentateuch is not a canonical book; if, moreover, it was a book so well known that its words had become household words among the people; and if the prophets could appeal to it as a recognized and well-known document,—how comes it to pass that in the reign of Josiah, one of the latest kings, its existence as a canonical book seems to have been almost forgotten? Yet such was evidently the case. The circumstances, as narrated in 2 Chr. xxxiv. 14, &c., were these:—In the eighteenth year of the reign, the king, who had already taken active measures for the suppression of idolatry, determined to make the necessary repairs of the Temple, which had become seriously dilapidated, and to restore the worship of Jehovah in its purity. He accordingly directed Hilkiah the high-priest to take charge of the monies that were contributed for the repairs. During the progress of the work, Hilkiah, who was busy in the Temple, came upon a copy of the Book of the Law—which must have long lain

neglected and forgotten—and told Shaphan the scribe of his discovery. The effect produced by this was very remarkable. The king, to whom Shaphan read the words of the book, was filled with consternation when he learnt for the first time how far the nation had departed from the Law of Jehovah. He sent Hilkiah and others to consult the prophetess Huldah, who only confirmed his fears. The consequence was that he held a solemn assembly in the house of the Lord, and “read in their ears all the words of the book of the covenant that was found in the house of the Lord.”

How are we to explain this surprise and alarm in the mind of Josiah, betraying as it does such utter ignorance of the Book of the Law, and of the severity of its threatenings—except on the supposition that as a written document it had well nigh perished? This must have been the case, and it is not so extraordinary a fact perhaps as it appears at first sight. It is quite true that in the reign of Jehoshaphat pains had been taken to make the nation at large acquainted with the Law. That monarch not only instituted “teaching priests,” but we are told that as they went about the country they had the Book of the Law with them. But that was 300 years before, a period equal to that between the days of Luther and our own; and in such an interval great changes must have taken place. It is true that in the reign of Ahaz the prophet Isaiah directed the people, who in their hopeless infatuation were seeking counsel of ventriloquists and necromancers, to turn “to the Law and to the Testimony;” and Hezekiah, who succeeded Ahaz, had no doubt reigned in the spirit of the prophet's advice. But the next monarch was guilty of outrageous wickedness, and filled Jerusalem with idols. How great a desolation might one wicked prince effect, especially during a lengthened reign! To this we must add, that at no time, in all probability, were there many copies of the Law existing in writing. It was probably then the custom, as it still is in the East, to trust largely to the memory for its transmission. Just as at this day in Egypt, persons are to be found, even illiterate in other respects, who can repeat the whole Kurán by heart, and as some modern Jews are able to recite the whole of the Five Books of Moses, so it probably was then: the Law, for the great bulk of the nation, was orally preserved and inculcated. The ritual would easily be perpetuated by the mere force of observance, though much of it doubtless became perverted, and some part of it perhaps obsolete, through the neglect of the priests. Still it is against the perfunctory and lifeless manner of their worship, not against their total neglect, that the burning words of the prophets are directed. The command of Moses, which laid upon the king the obligation of making a copy of the Law for himself, had of course long been disregarded. Here and there perhaps only some prophet or righteous man possessed a copy of the sacred book. The bulk of the nation were without it. Nor was there any reason why copies should be brought under the notice of the king. We may understand this by a parallel case. How easy it would have been in our own country, before the invention of printing, for a similar circumstance to have happened. How many

feeble lamp which on every other night of the year but this burns in front of the holy books. The two priests and a few of the people know the whole of the Torah by heart” (p. 346).

1. Mr. Grove's very interesting paper on Nablos and the Samaritans in *Vacation Tourists*, 1861. Speaking of the service of the *yon kippour* in the Samaritan synagogue, he says that the recitation of the Pentateuch was continued through the night, “without even the

copies, do we suppose of the Scriptures were made? Such as did exist would be in the hands of a few learned men, or more probably in the libraries of monasteries.^h Even after a translation, like Wiclif's, had been made, the people as a whole would know nothing whatever of the Bible; and yet they were a Christian people, and were in some measure at least instructed out of the Scriptures, though the volume itself could scarcely ever have been seen. Even the monarch, unless he happened to be a man of learning or piety, would remain in the same ignorance as his subjects. Whatever knowledge there was of the Bible and of religion would be kept alive chiefly by means of the Liturgies used in public worship. So it was in Judah. The oral transmission of the Law and the living witness of the prophets had superseded the written document, till at last it had become so scarce as to be almost unknown. But the hand of God so ordered it that when king and people were both zealous for reformation, and ripest for the reception of the truth, the written document itself was brought to light.

On carefully weighing all the evidence hitherto adduced, we can hardly question, without a literary scepticism which would be most unreasonable, that the Pentateuch is to a very considerable extent as early as the time of Moses, though it may have undergone many later revisions and corrections, the last of these being certainly as late as the time of Ezra. But as regards any direct and unimpeachable testimony to the composition of the whole work by Moses we have it not. Only one book out of the five—that of Deuteronomy—claims in express terms to be from his hand. And yet, strange to say, this is the very book in which modern criticism refuses most peremptorily to admit the claim. It is of importance therefore to consider this question separately.

All allow that the Book of the Covenant in Exodus, perhaps a great part of Leviticus and some part of Numbers, were written by Israel's greatest leader and prophet. But Deuteronomy, it is alleged, is in style and purpose so utterly unlike the genuine writings of Moses that it is quite impossible to believe that he is the author. But how then set aside the express testimony of the book itself? How explain the fact that Moses is there said to have written all the words of this Law, to have consigned it to the custody of the priests, and to have charged the Levites sedulously to preserve it by the side of the ark? Only by the bold assertion that the fiction was invented by a later writer, who chose to personate the great Lawgiver in order to give the more colour of consistency to his work! The author first feigns the name of Moses that he may gain the greater consideration under the shadow of his name, and then proceeds to re-enact, but in a broader and more spiritual manner, and with true prophetic inspiration, the chief portions of the earlier legislation.

But such an hypothesis is devoid of all probability. For what writer in later times would ever have presumed, unless he were equal to Moses, to correct or supplement the Law of Moses? And if he were equal to Moses why borrow his name (as Ewald supposes the Deuteronomist to have done) in order to lend greater weight and sanction to his

book? The truth is, those who make such a supposition import modern ideas into ancient writings. They forget that what might be allowable in a modern writer of fiction would not have been tolerated in one who claimed to have a Divine commission, who came forward as a prophet to rebuke and to reform the people. Which would be more worthy to win their obedience, "Thus saith Jehovah," or "Moses wrote all these words"?

It has been argued indeed that in thus assuming a feigned character the writer does no more than is done by the author of Ecclesiastes. He in like manner takes the name of Solomon that he may gain a better hearing for his words of wisdom. But the cases are not parallel. The Preacher only pretends to give an old man's view of life, as seen by one who had had a large experience and no common reputation for wisdom. Deuteronomy claims to be a Law imposed on the highest authority, and demanding implicit obedience. The first is a record of the struggles, disappointments, and victory of a human heart. The last is an absolute rule of life, to which nothing may be added, and from which nothing may be taken (iv. 2, xxxi. 1).

But, besides the fact that Deuteronomy claims to have been written by Moses, there is other evidence which establishes the great antiquity of the book.

1. It is remarkable for its allusions to Egypt, which are just what would be expected supposing Moses to have been the author. Without insisting upon it that in such passages as iv. 15-18, or vi. 8, xi. 18-20 (comp. Ex. xiii. 16), where the command is given to wear the Law after the fashion of an amulet, or xxvii. 1-8, where writing on stones covered with plaster is mentioned, are probable references to Egyptian customs, we may point to more certain examples. In xx. 5 there is an allusion to Egyptian regulations in time of war; in xxv. 2 to the Egyptian *bastinado*; in xi. 10 to the Egyptian mode of irrigation. The references which Delitzsch sees in xxii. 5 to the custom of the Egyptian priests to hold solemn processions in the masks of different deities, and in viii. 9 to Egyptian mining operations, are by no means so certain. Again, among the curses threatened are the sicknesses of Egypt, xxviii. 60 (comp. vii. 15). According to xxviii. 68, Egypt is the type of all the oppressors of Israel: "Remember that thou wast a slave in the land of Egypt," is an expression which is several times made use of as a motive in enforcing the obligations of the book (v. 15, xiv. 18, 22; see the same appeal in Lev. xix. 34, a passage occurring in the remarkable section Lev. xvii.-xx., which has so much affinity with Deuteronomy). Lastly, references to the sojourning in Egypt are numerous: "We were Pharaoh's bondsmen in Egypt," &c. (vi. 21-23; see also vii. 8, 18, xi. 3); and these occur even in the laws, as in the law of the king (xvii. 16), which would be very extraordinary if the book had only been written in the time of Manasseh.

The phraseology of the book, and the archaisms found in it, stamp it as of the same age with the rest of the Pentateuch. The form \aleph , instead of \aleph , for the feminine of the pronoun (which occurs in all 195 times in the Pentateuch), is found 36 times in Deuteronomy. Nowhere do we meet

^h That even in monasteries the Bible was a neglected and almost unknown book, is clear from the story of Luther's conversion.

ⁱ It is a significant fact that Ewald, who will have it

that Deuteronomy was written in the reign of Manasseh, is obliged to make his supposed author live in Egypt in order to account plausibly for the archaisms and Egyptian customs which is discernible in the book.

with **נָתַן** in this book, though in the rest of the Pentateuch it occurs 11 times. In the same way, like the other books, Deuteronomy has **נָעַר** of a masculine, instead of the feminine **נָעֲרָה**, which is only used once (xxii. 19). It has also the third pers. pret. **נָעַרְתִּי**, which in prose occurs only in the Pentateuch (Ewald, *Lehrbuch*, §142b). The demonstrative pronoun **הַהוּא**, which (according to Ewald, §183a, is characteristic of the Pentateuch) occurs in Deut. ii. 42, vii. 22, xix. 11, and nowhere else out of the books of Moses, except in the late book, 1 Chr. xx. 8, and the Aramaic Ezra, v. 15. The use of the **ה** and the Aramaic **ה** is comparatively rare in later writings, as is common to Deuteronomy with the other books of the Pentateuch; and so is the old and rare form of writing **תְּמַנְיָא**, and the termination of the future **תִּפְּ**. The last, according to König (*A. T. Stud.* 2. 2. 2) is more common in the Pentateuch than in any other book: it occurs 58 times in Deuteronomy. Twice even in the preterite, viii. 3, 16, a like termination presents itself; on the peculiarity of which Ewald (§190b, note) remarks, as being the original and fuller form. Other archaisms which are common to the whole five books are: the shortening of the Hiphil, **לָרֵאת**, i. 33; **לְעֵשֶׂר**, xxvi. 12, &c.; the use of **קָרָה** = "to meet"; the construction of the passive with **אָת** of the object (for instance, xi. 8); the interchange of the older **כָּשֶׁב** (xiv. 4) with the more usual **כָּבֵשׁ**; the use of **זָכוֹר** (instead of **זָכַר**), vi. 16, xx. 13, a form which disappears altogether after the Pentateuch; many ancient words, such as **אָבִיב**, **יָקוּם**, **שָׁנַר**, **שָׁנָר**, Ex. xiii. 12). Except these are some which occur besides only in the book of Joshua, or else in very late writers, like Ezekiel, who, as is always the case in the decay of a language, studiously imitated the oldest forms; some which are found afterwards only in poetry, as **אֲהַיְתִיב** (vii. 13, xxviii. 4, &c.), and **מָתִים**, so common in Deuteronomy. Again, this book has a number of words which have an archaic character. Such are, **הַרְחַטְתִּי** (for the later **מָנָא**, (instead of **מָנָה**), the old Canaanite **עֲשֵׂתֶרֶת הַצֹּאֵן**, "offspring of the flocks;" **יִשְׁרָן**, which as a name of Israel is borrowed, Is. xlv. 2; **הֵהִין**, i. 41, "to be silent;" **הַעֲנִיק** (xv. 14), "to give;" lit. "to put like a collar on the neck;" **הִתְרַחַק**, "to play the lord;" **מְרוּהוּ**, "sickness."

3. A fondness for the use of figures is another peculiarity of Deuteronomy. See xxix. 17, 18; xxxii. 10, 44; i. 31, 44; vii. 5; xxviii. 29, 49. Of similar comparisons there are but few (Delitzsch says but three) in the other books. The results are most striking when we compare Deuteronomy with the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xix.-xxiv.) on the one hand, and with Ps. xc. (which is said to be Mosaic) on the other. To cite but one example: the images of burning fire and of the bearing on eagles' wings were only in the Book of the Covenant and in Deut. i. 32; and Ex. xix. 4, with Deut. xxxii. 11. It is not to mention numberless undesigned coincidences between Ps. xc. and the book of Deuteronomy, especially chap. xxxii., we need only here cite

the phrase **מַעֲשֵׂה יָדַיִם** (Ps. xc. 17), "work of the hands," as descriptive of human action generally which runs through the whole of Deut. ii. 7, xiv. 29, xvi. 15, xxiv. 19, xxviii. 12, xxx. 9. The same close affinity, both as to matter and style, exists between the section to which we have already referred in Leviticus (ch. xvii.-xx.), so manifestly different from the rest of that book), the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xix.-xxiv.) and Deuteronomy.

In addition to all this, and very much more might be said—for a whole harvest has been gleaned on this field by Schultz in the Introduction to his work on Deuteronomy—in addition to all these peculiarities which are arguments for the Mosaic authorship of the Book, we have here, too, the evidence strong and clear of post-Mosaic times and writings. The attempt by a wrong interpretation of 2 K. xxii. and 2 Chr. xxxiv. to bring down Deuteronomy as low as the time of Manasseh fails utterly. A century earlier the Jewish prophets borrow their words and their thoughts from Deuteronomy. Amos shows how intimate his acquaintance was with Deuteronomy by such passages as ii. 9, iv. 11, ix. 7, whose matter and form are both coloured by those of that book. Hosea, who is richer than Amos in these references to the past, whilst, as we have seen, full of allusions to the whole Law (vi. 7, xii. 4 &c., xiii. 9, 10), in one passage, viii. 12, using the remarkable expression "I have written to him the ten thousand things of my Law," manifestly includes Deuteronomy (comp. xi. 8 with Deut. xxix. 22), and in many places shows that that book was in his mind. Comp. iv. 13 with Deut. xii. 2; viii. 13 with Deut. xxviii. 68; xi. 3 with Deut. i. 31; xiii. 6 with Deut. viii. 11-14. Isaiah begins his prophecy with the words, "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth," taken from the mouth of Moses in Deut. xxxii. 1. In fact, echoes of the tones of Deuteronomy are heard throughout the solemn and majestic discourse with which his prophecy opens. (See Caspari, *Beiträge zur Einl. in d. Buch Jesaja*, p. 203-210.) The same may be said of Micah. In his protest against the apostasy of the nation from the Covenant with Jehovah, he appeals to the mountains as the sure foundations of the earth, in like manner as Moses, Deut. xxxii. 1, to the heavens and the earth. The controversy of Jehovah with His people (Mic. vi. 3-5) is a compendium as it were of the history of the Pentateuch from Exodus onwards, whilst the expression **בֵּית עֲבָדַיִם**, "Slave-house" of Egypt is taken from Deut. vii. 8, xiii. 5. In vi. 8, there is no doubt an allusion to Deut. x. 12, and the threatenings of vi. 13-16 remind us of Deut. xxviii. as well as of Lev. xxvi.

Since, then, not only Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but Amos and Hosea, Isaiah and Micah, speak in the words of Deuteronomy, as well as in words borrowed from other portions of the Pentateuch, we see at once how untenable is the theory of those who, like Ewald, maintain that Deuteronomy was composed during the reign of Manasseh, or, as Vaihinger does, during that of Hezekiah.

But, in truth, the Book speaks for itself. No imitator could have written in such a strain. We scarcely need the express testimony of the work to its own authorship. But, having it, we find all the internal evidence conspiring to show that it came from Moses. Those magnificent discourses, the grand roll of which can be heard and felt even in a translation, came warm from the heart and fresh from

the lips of 'rael's Lawgiver. They are the outpourings of a solicitude which is nothing less than parental. It is the father uttering his dying advice to his children, no less than the Prophet counselling and admonishing his people. What book can vie with it either in majesty or in tenderness? What words ever bore more surely the stamp of genuineness? If Deuteronomy be only the production of some timorous reformer, who, conscious of his own weakness, tried to borrow dignity and weight from the name of Moses, then assuredly all arguments drawn from internal evidence for the composition of any work are utterly useless. We can never tell whether an author is wearing the mask of another, or whether it is he himself who speaks to us.

In spite therefore of the dogmatism of modern critics, we declare unhesitatingly for the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy.

Briefly, then, to sum up the results of our inquiry.

1. The Book of Genesis rests chiefly on documents much earlier than the time of Moses, though it was probably brought to very nearly its present shape either by Moses himself, or by one of the elders who acted under him.

2. The Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, are to a great extent Mosaic. Besides those portions which are expressly declared to have been written by him (see above), other portions, and especially the legal sections, were, if not actually written, in all probability dictated by him.

3. Deuteronomy, excepting the concluding part, is entirely the work of Moses, as it professes to be.

4. It is not probable that this was written before the three preceding books, because the legislation in Exodus and Leviticus as being the more formal is manifestly the earlier, whilst Deuteronomy is the spiritual interpretation and application of the Law. But the letter is always before the spirit; the thing before its interpretation.

5. The first composition of the Pentateuch as a whole could not have taken place till after the Israelites entered Canaan. It is probable that Joshua, and the elders who were associated with him, would provide for its formal arrangement, custody, and transmission.

6. The whole work did not finally assume its present shape till its revision was undertaken by Ezra after the return from the Babylonish captivity.

IV. Literature:

1. Amongst the earlier Patristic expositors may be mentioned—

Augustine, *De Genesi contra Manich.*; *De Genesi ad litteram*; *Locutiones (Gen.—Jud.)*; and *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*.

Jerome, *Liber Quaestionum Hebraicarum in Genesim*.

Chrysostom, *In Genesim, Homiliae et Sermones*. (Opp. Montfaucon, vol. vi. With these will also be found those of Severian of Gabala.)

Theodoret, *Quaestiones in Gen., Ex., Lev., Numer., Deut., &c.*

Ephraem Syrus, *Explanat. in Genesim*.

Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in libros Mosis*.

2. In the middle ages we have the Jewish commentators—Isaaki or Rashi (an abbreviation of his name Rabbi Solomon Isaaki, sometimes wrongly called Jarchi) of Troyes, in the 11th century; Aben-Ezra of Toledo in the 12th; David Kimchi of Narbonne in the 13th.

3. Of the Reformation period:—

The Commentary of Calvin on the Five Books is a masterpiece of exposition.

Luther wrote, both in German and in Latin Commentaries on Genesis, the last being finished but a short time before his death.

4. Later we have the Commentaries of Caltrius, in his *Biblia Illustrata*, and Mercerus, in *Genesim*; Rivetus, *Exercitationes in Genesim*, and *Commentarii in Exodum*, in his *Opp. Theolog.* vol. i. Roter. 1651; Grotius, *Annot. ad Vet. Test.* in *Opp.* vol. i.; Le Clerc (Clericus), *Mosis Prophetas, Lib. V.*; in the 1st vol. of his work on the Old Testament, Amst. 1710, with a special dissertation, *De Scriptore Pentateuchi Mose*; Spencer, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*.

5. The number of books written on this subject in Germany alone, during the last century, is very considerable. Reference may be made to the General Introductions of Michaelis, Eichhorn (5 vols. 1823), Jahn (1814), De Wette (7th ed. 1852), Kell (1st ed. 1853), Hävernick (1856), Bleek (1861), Stähelin (1862). Further, on the one hand, to Hengstenberg's *Authentic des Pentateuchs* (1836, 1839); Ranke's *Untersuchungen* (1834); Drechsler, *Einheit &c., der Genesis* (1838); König, *Alt. Stud.* (2 Hef, 1839); Kurtz, *Gesch. des Alten Bundes* (2nd ed. 1853); and on the other to Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israels*; Von Lengerke, *Kanaan* (1844); Stähelin, *Krit. Untersuchungen* (1843); Bertheau, *Die Sieben Gruppen, &c.*

As Commentaries on the whole or parts of the Pentateuch may be consulted—

(1) Critical:—Rosenmüller, *Scholia*, vol. i. 3rd ed. (1821); Knobel (on all the books), in the *Kurzgef. Exeget. Handbuch*; Tuch, *Die Genesis* (1838); Schumann, *Genesis* (1829); Bausen, *Bibelwerk*.

(2) Exegetical:—Baumgarten, *Theol. Comment.* (1843); Schröder, *Das Erste Buch Mose* (1846); Delitzsch, *Genesis* (3rd ed. 1861); Schultz, *Deuteronomium* (1859). Much will be found bearing on the general question of the authorship and date of the Pentateuch in the Introductions to the last two of these works.

In England may be mentioned Graves' *Lectures on the last four Books of the Pentateuch*, who argues strenuously for the Mosaic authorship. So also do Rawlinson on *The Pentateuch*, in *Aids to Faith*, 1862; and M^cCaul on the *Mosaic Cosmogony*, in the same volume; though the former admits that Moses made free use of ancient documents in compiling Genesis.

Davidson, on the other hand, in Horne's *Introduction*, vol. ii. (10th ed. 1856), argues for two documents, and supposes the Jehovist to have written in the time of the Judges, and the Elohist that of Joshua, and the two to have been incorporated in one work in the reign of Saul or David. He maintains, however, the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy.

The chief American writers who have treated of the Pentateuch are Stuart, *Introduction to the Old Testament*; and Bush, *Commentaries on the Five Books*. [J. J. S. P.]

PENTECOST (תִּשְׁבַּע הַבְּבִרִים מַעֲשֵׂי הַקָּצִיר)

(Ex. xxiii. 16); ἑσπθῆ θερισμοῦ πρωτοκροῦν; μαζῶν; solemnitas messis primitivorum; "the feast of harvest, the first fruits of thy labours;" חַג שִׁבְעַת הַיָּג שִׁבְעַת הַבְּבִרִים (Ex. xxiii. 22; Deut. xvi. 10); ἑβδομαδῶν; solemnitas hebdomadarum "the feast of weeks;" יוֹם הַבְּבִרִים (Num. xxviii. 26, et Lev. xxii. 17); ἡμέρα τῶν νέων; dies primitivorum;

"the day of first fruits." In later times it appears to have been called **יום חמשים** (see Joseph. B. J. i. 3. § 1); and hence, *ἡμέρα τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς* (Ibid. ii. 1; 2 Macc. xii. 32; Acts ii. 1, xx. 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 8). But the more common Jewish name was **עֵצְרוֹת** (in Chaldee, **עֵצְרוֹתָא**; **Ἀσαραθὰ**, in Joseph. Ant. iii. 10. § 6). The second of the great feasts of the Hebrews. It fell in due course on the sixth day of Sivan, and its rites, according to the Law, were restricted to a single day. The most important passages relating to it are, Ex. xxiii. 16, Lev. xxiii. 15-22, Num. xxviii. 26-31, Deut. xvi. 8-12.

The time of the festival was calculated from the second day of the Passover, the 16th of Nisan. The Law prescribes that a reckoning should be kept from "the morrow after the Sabbath" (Lev. xxiii. 15, 16) [PASSOVER, II. 3] to the morrow after the completion of the seventh week, which would of course be the fiftieth day (Lev. xxiii. 15, 16; Deut. xvi. 9). The fifty days formally included the period of grain-harvest, commencing with the offering of the first sheaf of the barley-harvest in the Passover, and ending with that of the two first ears which were made from the wheat-harvest, at this festival.

It was the offering of these two loaves which was the distinguishing rite of the day of Pentecost.

This word in the O. T. is applied to the seventh day of the Passover and the eighth day of Tabernacles, but not to the day of Pentecost. [PASSOVER, note 1, p. 714.] On its application to Pentecost, which is found in the Mishna (Sabbat. i. 2, and *Chagigah*, ii. 4, &c.), in the Targum (Sabb. xxvii. 26), in Josephus, and elsewhere (see § v.).

There has been from early times some difference of opinion as to the meaning of the words **מִחֻרַת הַשַּׁבָּת**.

It has however been generally held, by both Jewish and Christian writers of all ages, that the sabbath here spoken of is the first day of holy convocation of the Passover, the day of Sivan, mentioned Lev. xxiii. 7. In like manner the word **שַׁבָּת** is evidently used as a designation of the day of atonement (Lev. xxiii. 32); and **שַׁבְּתוֹן** (*sabbati observatio*) is applied to the first and eighth days of Tabernacles and to the Feast of Trumpets. That the LXX. understood the passage in question can hardly be doubted from their calling it "the morrow after the first week" (i. e. of the festival): *ἡ ἐραυριον τῆς πρώτης*. The word "used in the same manner as *σάββατα* in the N. T." (Lev. xxiii. 1; Luke xviii. 12; John xx. 1, &c.). But some have insisted on taking the Sabbath to mean nothing but the seventh day of the week, or "the sabbath of creation," which the Jewish writers have called it; and they see a difficulty in understanding the same word in the general sense of a period of seven days, contending that it can only mean a regular week, beginning with the first day, and ending with the Sabbath.

The (Sabbath) party, and in later times the Karaites, suppose that the omer was offered on the day following the Sabbath which might happen to fall within the seven days of the Passover. The day of Pentecost would then fall on the first day of the week. Hitzig and Prynge, Heidelberg, 1837) has put forth the opinion that the Hebrews regularly began a new week at the commencement of the year, so that the 7th, 14th, and 21st were always Sabbath days. He imagines that the omer was the 22nd day of the month, the day of the proper termination of the Passover. He is well supported by Bähr (*Symbolik*, ii. 620), who refers especially to Gen. i. 5, as proving, in connexion with the law of Lev. xxiii. 14, that the omer was offered on the 16th

They were to be leavened. Each loaf was to contain the tenth of an ephah (i. e. about 3½ quarts) of the finest wheat-flour of the new crop (Lev. xxiii. 17). The flour was to be the produce of the land.^d The loaves, along with a peace-offering of two lambs of the first year, were to be waved before the Lord and given to the priests. At the same time a special sacrifice was to be made of seven lambs of the first year, one young bullock and two rams, as a burnt-offering (accompanied by the proper meat and drink offerings), and a kid for a sin-offering (Lev. xxiii. 18, 19). Besides these offerings, if we adopt the interpretation of the Rabbinical writers, it appears that an addition was made to the daily sacrifice of two bullocks, one ram, and seven lambs, as a burnt-offering (Num. xxviii. 27).^e At this, as well as the other festivals, a free-will offering was to be made by each person who came to the sanctuary, according to his circumstances (Deut. xvi. 10). [PASSOVER, p. 714, note 1.] It would seem that its festive character partook of a more free and hospitable liberality than that of the Passover, which was rather of the kind which belongs to the mere family gathering. In this respect it resembled the Feast of Tabernacles. The Levite, the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, were to be brought within its influence (Deut. xvi. 11, 14). The mention of the gleanings to be left in the fields at harvest for "the poor and the stranger," in connexion with

of the month. It should be observed that the words in that passage, **עֵבוֹר הָאֵיִן**, mean merely *corn of the land*, not as in A. V. "the old corn of the land." "The morrow after the Passover" (**מִחֻרַת הַפֶּסַח**) might at first sight seem to express the 15th of Nisan; but the expression may, on the whole, with more probability, be taken as equivalent with "the morrow after the Sabbath," that is, the 16th day. See Keil on Josh. v. 11; Masius and Drusius, on the same text, in the *Crit. Sac.* Bähr, *Symb.* ii. 621; Seiden, *De Anno Civili*, ch. 7; Bartenora, in *Chagigah*, ii. 4; Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* xx.; Fagius, in *Lev.* xxiii. 15; Drusius, *Notae Majores* in *Lev.* xxiii. 16. It is worthy of remark that the LXX. omit *τῆ ἐραυριον τοῦ πάσχα*, according to the texts of Tischendorf and Thelae.

^c The **עֵשְׂרוֹן**, or *tenth* (in A. V. "tenth deal"), is explained in Num. v. 15, **עֵשְׂרִית הָאֵיִפָה**, "the tenth part of an ephah." It is sometimes called **עֹמֶר**, *omer*, literally, a *handful* (Ex. xvi. 36), the same word which is applied to the first sheaf of the Passover. (See Joseph. Ant. viii. 2, § 9.) [WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.]

^d This is what is meant by the words in Lev. xxiii. 17, and which stand in the A. V. "out of your habitations," and in the Vulgate, "ex omnibus habitaculis vestris." The Hebrew word is **בֵּית**, a *house*, as the *home of a family*, but **מוֹתֵב**, a *place of abode*, as the *territory of a nation*. The LXX. has, ἀπὸ τῆς κατοικίας ἡμῶν; Jonathan, "e loco habitacionum vestrum." See Drusius, in *Crit. Sac.*

^e The differing statements respecting the proper sacrifices for the day in Lev. xxiii. 18, and Num. xxviii. 27, are thus reconciled by the Jewish writers (Mishna, *Menachoth*, iv. 2, with the notes of Bartenora and Maimonides). Josephus appears to add the two statements together, not quite accurately, and does not treat them as relating to two distinct sacrifices (Ant. iii. 10. § 6). He enumerates, as the whole of the offerings for the day, a single loaf, two lambs for a peace-offering, three bullocks, two rams and fourteen lambs for a burnt-offering, and two kids for a sin-offering. Bähr, Winer, and other modern critics, regard the statements as discordant, and prefer that of Num. xxviii. as being most in harmony with the sacrifices which belong to the other festivals.

Pentecost, may perhaps have a bearing on the liberality which belonged to the festival (Lev. xxiii. 22). At Pentecost (as at the Passover) the people were to be reminded of their bondage in Egypt, and they were especially admonished of their obligation to keep the divine law (Deut. xvi. 12).

II. Of the information to be gathered from Jewish writers respecting the observance of Pentecost, the following particulars appear to be the best worthy of notice. The flour for the loaves was sifted with peculiar care twelve times over. They were made either the day before, or, in the event of a Sabbath preceding the day of Pentecost, two days before the occasion (*Menachoth*, vi. 7, xi. 9). They are said to have been made in a particular form. They were seven palms in length and four in breadth (*Menachoth*, xi. 4, with Maimonides' note). The two lambs for a peace-offering were to be waved by the priest, before they were slaughtered, along with the loaves, and afterwards the loaves were waved a second time along with the shoulders of the lambs. One loaf was given to the high-priest and the other to the ordinary priests who officiated^f (Maimon. in *Tamid*, c. 8, quoted by Otho). The bread was eaten that same night in the Temple, and no fragment of it was suffered to remain till the morning (Joseph. *B. J.* vi. 5, §3; *Ant.* iii. 10, §6).

Although, according to the Law, the observance of Pentecost lasted but a single day, the Jews in foreign countries, since the Captivity, have prolonged it to two days. They have treated the Feast of Trumpets in the same way. The alteration appears to have been made to meet the possibility of an error in calculating the true day.^g It is said by Bartenora and Maimonides that, while the Temple was standing, though the religious rites were confined to the day, the festivities, and the bringing in of gifts, continued through seven days (Notes to *Chagigah*, ii. 4). The Hallel is said to have been sung at Pentecost as well as at the Passover (Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, §5). The concourse of Jews who attended Pentecost in later times appears to have been very great (Acts ii.; Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 13, §14, xvii. 10, §2; *B. J.* ii. 3, §1).

No occasional offering of first-fruits could be made in the Temple before Pentecost (*Biccurim*, i. 3, 6). Hence probably the two loaves were designated "the first of the first-fruits" (Ex. xxiii. 19) [PASSOVER, p. 715, note ^g], although the offering of the omer had preceded them. The proper time for offering first-fruits was the interval between Pentecost and Tabernacles (*Bicc.* i. 6, 10; comp. Ex. xxiii. 16). [FIRST FRUITS.]

The connexion between the omer and the two

loaves of Pentecost appears never to have been lost sight of. The former was called by Philo, *ἀοιδόριος ἑτέρας ἑορτῆς μείζονος*^h (*De Sept.* §21, v. 25; comp. *De Decem Oraç.* iv. 302, ed. Tanch). The interval between the Passover and Pentecost was evidently regarded as a religious season.ⁱ The custom has probably been handed down from ancient times, which is observed by the modern Jews, of keeping a regular computation of the fifty days by a formal observance, beginning with a short prayer on the evening of the day of the omer, and continued on each succeeding day by a solemn declaration of its number in the succession, at evening prayer, while the members of the family are standing with respectful attention^k (*Buxt. Syn. Jud.* xx. p. 440).

III. Doubts have been cast on the common interpretation of Acts ii. 1, according to which the Holy Ghost was given to the Apostles on the day of Pentecost. Lightfoot contends that the passage, *ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς*, means, when the day of Pentecost had passed, and considers that this rendering is countenanced by the words of the Vulgate, "cum complementarius dies Pentecostes." He supposes that Pentecost fell that year on the Sabbath, and that it was on the ensuing Lord's day that *ἦσαν ἅπαντες ἀποθνήσκοντες ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ* (*Exercit. in Act.* ii. 1). Hitzig, on the other hand (*Ostern und Pfingsten*, Heidelberg, 1837), would render the words, "As the day of Pentecost was approaching its fulfilment." Neander has replied to the latter, and has maintained the common interpretation (*Planting of the Christian Church*, i. 5, Bohn's ed.).

The question on what day of the week this Pentecost fell, must of course be determined by the mode in which the doubt is solved regarding the day on which the Last Supper was eaten. [PASSOVER, III.] If it was the legal paschal supper, on the 14th of Nisan, and the Sabbath during which our Lord lay in the grave was the day of the omer, Pentecost must have followed on the Sabbath. But if the supper was eaten on the 13th, and He was crucified on the 14th, the Sunday of the Resurrection must have been the day of the omer, and Pentecost must have occurred on the first day of the week.

IV. There is no clear notice in the Scriptures of any historical significance belonging to Pentecost. But most of the Jews of later times have regarded the day as the commemoration of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai. It is made out from Ex. xix. that the Law was delivered on the fiftieth day after the deliverance from Egypt (Selden, *De Jur. Nat.*

^f In like manner, the leavened bread which was offered with the ordinary peace-offering was waved and given to the priest who sprinkled the blood (Lev. vii. 13, 14).

^g Lightfoot, *Exercit. Heb.* Act. ii. 1; Reland, *Ant.* iv. 4, 5; Selden, *De Ann. Civ.* c. vii.

^h He elsewhere mentions the festival of Pentecost with the same marked respect. He speaks of a peculiar feast kept by the Therapeutae as προέριος μεγίστης ἑορτῆς ἢ Πεντηκοστῆς (*De Vit. Contemp.* v. 334).

ⁱ According to the most generally received interpretation of the word *δευτερόπρωτος* (Luke vi. 1), the period was marked by a regularly designated succession of Sabbaths, similar to the several successions of Sundays in our own calendar. It is assumed that the day of the omer was called *δεύτερα* (in the LXX., Lev. xxiii. 11, ἡ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης). The Sabbath which came next after it was termed *δευτερόπρωτον*; the second, *δευτεροδεύτερον*; the third, *δευτερότριτον*; and so onwards, till Pentecost. This

explanation was first proposed by Scaliger (*De Emend. Temp.* lib. vi. p. 557), and has been adopted by Frischmuth, Petavius, Casaubon, Lightfoot, Godwyn, Carpano, and many others.

^k The less educated of the modern Jews regard the fifty days with strange superstition, and, it would seem, are always impatient for them to come to an end. In consequence of their continuance, they have a dread of sudden death, of the effect of malaria, and of the influence of evil spirits over their children. They relate with gross exaggeration the case of a doctor of the second century, at Jaffa. They do not rise, or drive, or go on the water, unless they are impelled by absolute necessity. They are careful not to whistle in the evening, lest it should bring ill luck. They scrupulously put off marriages till Pentecost. (Staehen, *La Vie Juive en Alsace* (Paris, 1860), p. 124; Mills, *British Jews*, p. 265.)

(Gen. iii. 11). It has been conjectured that a connection between the event and the festival may possibly be hinted at in the reference to the observance of the Law in Deut. xvi. 12. But neither Philo nor Josephus has a word on the subject. There is, however, a tradition of a custom which Schöttgen supposes to be at least as ancient as the apostolic times, that the night before Pentecost was especially appropriated for thanking God for the gift of the Law.¹ Several of the Fathers noticed the coincidence of the day of the giving of the Law with that of the festival, and made use of it. Thus Jerome says, "Suppetemus numerum, et inveniemus quinquagesimo die egressionis Israel ex Aegypto in vertice montis Sinai legem datam. Sole et Pentecostes celebratur solemnitas, et postea Evangelii sacramentum Spiritus Sancti descensione completitur" (*Epist. ad Fabiolam, Mansio XII.*). St. Augustine speaks in a similar manner: "Pentecostes etiam, id est, a passione et resurrectione Domini, quinquagesimum diem celebramus, quo dicitur Sanctum Spiritum Paracletum quem promissum misit: quod futurum etiam per Judaeorum verba significatum est, cum quinquagesimo die post celebrationem ovis occisae, Moyses digito Dei scriptam legem accepit in monte" (*Contra Fugistum, li. xiii. c. 12*). The later Rabbis spoke with evidence of the commemoration of the Law as a prime object in the institution of the feast. Maimonides says, "Festum septimanarum est dies ille, quo lex data fuit. Ad hujus diei honorem pertinet quod dies a praecedenti solenni festo (Pascha) ad hunc usque diem numerantur" (*Moré Netochim, li. 41*). Abarbanel recognises the fact, but denies that it had anything to do with the institution of the feast, observing, "lex divina non opus habet commemoratione diei, quo ejus memoria recolatur." He adds, "causa festi septimanarum est initium legis tributa" (*in Leg. 262*). But in general the Jewish writers of modern times have expressed themselves on the subject without hesitation, and, in the rites of the day, as it is now observed, the gift of the Law is kept prominently in view.²

If the feast of Pentecost stood without an organic connexion with any other rites, we should have no certain warrant in the Old Testament for regarding it as more than the divinely appointed solemn thanksgiving for the yearly supply of the most useful sort of food. Every reference to its meaning seems to bear immediately upon the completion of the grain-harvest. It might have been a national festival, having no proper reference to the nation of the chosen race. It might have taken a place in the religion of any people who merely felt that it is God who gives rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, and who fills our hearts with food and gladness (Acts xiv. 17). But it was, as we have seen, essentially linked on to the Passover, that festival which, above all others, expressed the fact of a race chosen and separated from other nations.

Philo expressly states that it was at the Feast of Pentecost that the giving of the Law was commemorated (*de Leg. c. 23*). [TEMPERS FEAST OF.]

Philo, in the occasion there spoken of were assembled together, in accordance with Jewish custom. They were to crown their heads with flowers, and to rejoice in the possession of the Law. They also were to be as milk, because the purity of the Law is likened to milk. (Compare the expression, "the above milk of the word," 1 Pet. ii. 2.)

It was not an insulated day. It stood as the culminating point of the Pentecostal season. If the offering of the omer was a supplication for the Divine blessing on the harvest which was just commencing, and the offering of the two loaves was a thanksgiving for its completion, each rite was brought into a higher significance in consequence of the omer forming an integral part of the Passover. It was thus set forth that He who had delivered His people from Egypt, who had raised them from the condition of slaves to that of free men in immediate covenant with Himself, was the same that was sustaining them with bread from year to year. The inspired teacher declared to God's chosen one, "He maketh peace in thy borders, He filleth thee with the finest of the wheat" (Ps. cxlvii. 14). If we thus regard the day of Pentecost as the solemn termination of the consecrated period, intended, as the seasons came round, to teach this lesson to the people, we may see the fitness of the name by which the Jews have mostly called it, עֵצֶרָה, *the concluding assembly*. [PASSOVER, p. 714, note 1.]

As the two loaves were leavened, they could not be offered on the altar, like the unleavened sacrificial bread. [PASSOVER, IV. 3 (b).] Abarbanel (*in Lev. xxiii.*) has proposed a reason for their not being leavened which seems hardly to admit of a doubt. He thinks that they were intended to represent the best produce of the earth in the actual condition in which it ministers to the support of human life. Thus they express, in the most significant manner, what is evidently the idea of the festival.

We need not suppose that the grain-harvest in the Holy Land was in all years precisely completed between the Passover and Pentecost. The period of seven weeks was evidently appointed in conformity with the Sabbatical number, which so frequently recurs in the arrangements of the Mosaic Law. [FEASTS; JUBILEE.] Hence, probably, the prevailing use of the name, "The Feast of Weeks," which might always have suggested the close religious connexion in which the festival stood to the Passover.

It is not surprising that, without any direct authority in the O. T., the coincidence of the day on which the festival was observed with that on which the Law appears to have been given to Moses, should have strongly impressed the minds of Christians in the early ages of the Church. The Divine Providence had ordained that the Holy Spirit should come down in a special manner, to give spiritual life and unity to the Church, on that very same day in the year on which the Law had been bestowed on the children of Israel which gave to them national life and unity. They must have seen that, as the possession of the Law had completed the deliverance of the Hebrew race wrought by the hand of Moses, so the gift of the Spirit perfected the work of Christ in the establishment of His kingdom upon earth.

It is a fact of some interest, though in no wise connected with the present argument, that, in the service of the synagogue, the book of Ruth is read through at Pentecost, from the connexion of its subject with harvest. (Buxt. *Syn. Jud.* xx.; *La Vie Juive en Akabe* pp. 129, 142.)

So Godwyn, Lightfoot, Reland, Bähr. The full name appears to have been עֵצֶרָה שֵׁל פֶּסַח, *the concluding assembly of the Passover*. The designation of the offering of the omer used by Philo, προσέφορος ἑτάρας ἰσραήλ μειζωρος, strikingly tends to the same purpose.

It may have been on this account that Pentecost was the last Jewish festival (as far as we know) which St. Paul was anxious to observe (Acts xx. 16, 1 Cor. xvi. 8), and that Whitsuntide came to be the first annual festival instituted in the Christian Church (Hessey's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 88, 96). It was rightly regarded as the Church's birthday, and the Pentecostal season, the period between it and Easter, bearing as it does such a clear analogy to the fifty days of the old Law, thus became the ordinary time for the baptism of converts (Tertullian, *De Bapt.* c. 19; Jerome, in *Zech.* xiv. 8).

(Carpov, *App. Crit.* iii. 5; Reland, *Ant.* iv. 4; Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, §3; *Exercit. in Act.* ii. 1; Bähr, *Symbolik*, iv. 3; Spencer, *De Leg. Heb.* i. ix. 2, iii. viii. 2; Meyer, *De Fest. Heb.* ii. 13; Hupfeld, *De Fest. Heb.* ii.; Iken, *De Duobus Panibus Pentecost.* Brem. 1729; Mishna, *Menachoth* and *Biccurim*, with the Notes in Surenhusius; Drusius, *Notae Majores in Lev.* xxiii. 15, 21 (*Crit. Sac.*); Otho, *Lex. Rab. s. Festa*; Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* c. xx.) [S. C.]

PENUEL (פְּנוּאֵל) in Gen. εἶδος θεοῦ, elsewhere Φανουήλ: *Phanuel*). The usual, and possibly the original, form of the name of a place which first appears under the slightly different form of PENIEL (Gen. xxiii. 30, 31). From this narrative it is evident that it lay somewhere between the torrent Jabbok and Succoth (comp. xxxii. 22 with xxxiii. 17). This is in exact agreement with the terms of its next occurrence, when Gideon, pursuing the hosts of the Midianites across the Jordan into the uplands of Gilead, arrives first at Succoth, and from thence mounts to Penuel (Judg. viii. 5, 8). It had then a tower, which Gideon destroyed on his return, at the same time slaying the men of the place because they had refused him help before (ver. 17). Penuel was rebuilt or fortified by Jeroboam at the commencement of his reign (1 K. xii. 25), no doubt on account of its commanding the fords of Succoth and the road from the east of Jordan to his capital city of Shechem, and also perhaps as being an ancient sanctuary. Succoth has been identified with tolerable certainty at *Sakût*, but no trace has yet been found of Penuel. [G.]

PE'OR (הַפְּעוֹר), "the Peor," with the def. article: τοῦ Φογώρ: *mons Phohor*). A mountain in Moab, from whence, after having without effect ascended the lower or less sacred summits of Bamoth-Baal and Pisgah, the prophet Balaam was conducted by Balak for his final conjurations (Num. xxiii. 28 only).

Peor—or more accurately, "the Peor"—was "facing Jeshimon." The same thing is said of Pisgah. But unfortunately we are as yet ignorant of the position of all three, so that nothing can be inferred from this specification.

In the *Onomasticon* ("Fogor;" "Bethphogor;" "Danaba") it is stated to be above the town of Libias (the ancient Beth-aram), and opposite Jericho. The towns of Bethpeor and Dinhaba were on the mountain, six miles from Libias, and seven from Heshbon, respectively. A place named *Fūkharah* is mentioned in the list of towns south of *Es-Salt* in the appendix to the 1st edit. of Dr. Robinson's *Bib. Res.* (iii. App. 169), and this is placed by Van de Velde at the head of the *Wady Eshteh*,

* The LXX. have here represented the Hebrew letter *sin* by *g*, as they have also in *Bagr-el*, *Gom'rrah*, *Athallah*, &c.

8 miles N. E. of *Heshbân*. But in our present ignorance of these regions all this must be mere conjecture. Gesenius (*Thes.* 1119 a) gives it as his opinion that Baal-Peor derived his name from the mountain, not the mountain from him.

A Peor, under its Greek garb of Phagor, appears among the eleven names added by the LXX. to the list of the allotment of Judah, between Bethlehem and Aitan (Etham). It was known to Eusebius and Jerome, and is mentioned by the latter in his translation of the *Onomasticon* as Phaura. It probably still exists under the name of *Beit Fâghâr* or *Kirbet Fâghâr*, 5 miles S.W. of Bethlehem, barely a mile to the left of the road from Hebron (Tobler, *3tte Wanderung*). It is somewhat singular that both Peor and Pisgah, names so prominently connected with the East of Jordan, should be found also on the West.

The LXX. also read the name, which in the Hebrew text is Pau and Pai, as Peor; since in both cases they have *Phogôr*.

2. (פְּעוֹר, without the article: φογώρ: *idolum Phohor*; *Phohor*; *Beel Phagor*). In four passages (Num. xxv. 18, twice; xxxi. 16; Josh. xxii. 17) Peor occurs as a contraction for Baal-peor; always in reference to the licentious rites of Sittim which brought such destruction on Israel. In the three first cases the expression is, the "matter," or "for the sake" (literally "word" in each) "of Peor;" in the fourth, "iniquity, or crime, of Peor." [G.]

PERA'ZIM, MOUNT הַר פְּרַצִּים: ὄρος ἀσβεβῶν*: *mons divisionum*). A name which occurs in Is. xxviii. 21 only,—unless the place which it designates be identical with the BAAL-PERAZIM mentioned as the scene of one of David's victories over the Philistines. Isaiah, as his manner was (comp. x. 26), is referring to some ancient triumphs of the arms of Israel as symbolical of an event shortly to happen—

Jehovah shall rise up as at Mount Perazim,
He shall be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon.

The commentators almost unanimously take his reference to be to David's victories, above alluded to, at Baal Perazim, and Gibeon (Gesenius; Strachey), or to the former of these on the one hand, and Joshua's slaughter of the Canaanites at Gibeon and Beth-horon on the other (Eichhorn; Rosenmüller; Michaelis). Ewald alone—perhaps with greater critical sagacity than the rest—doubts that David's victory is intended, "because the prophets of this period are not in the habit of choosing such examples from his history" (*Propheten*, i. 261).

If David's victory is alluded to in this passage of the prophet, it furnishes an example, similar to that noticed under OREB, of the slight and casual manner in which events of the gravest importance are sometimes passed over in the Bible narrative. But for this later reference no one would infer that the events reported in 2 Sam. v. 18-25, and 1 Chr. xiv. 8-17, had been important enough to serve as a parallel to one of Jehovah's most tremendous judgments. In the account of Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 4, §1), David's victory assumes much larger proportions than in Samuel and Chronicles. The attack is made not by the Philistines only, but by "all Syria and Phoenicia, with many other warlike nations besides." This is a good instance of the manner in

* Perhaps considering the word as derived from *peor* which the LXX. usually render by *ἀσβεβῶν*

which Josephus, apparently from records now lost to us, supplements and completes the scanty narrative of the Bible, in agreement with the casual references of the Prophets or Psalmists. He places the scene of the encounter in the "groves of weeping" as if alluding to the Baca of Ps. lxxxiv.

The title *Mount Perazim*, when taken in connection with the *Baal Perazim* of 2 Sam. v. seems to imply that it was an eminence with a heathen sanctuary of Baal upon it. [BAAL, vol. i. p. 148.] [G.]

PERESH (פֶּרֶשׁ) *Phares*: Phares. The son of Machir by his wife Maachah (1 Chr. vii. 16).

PEREZ (פֶּרֶז) *Phares*: Phares. The "children of Perez," or Pharez, the son of Judah, appear to have been a family of importance for many centuries. In the reign of David one of them was named as all the captains of the host for the first month (1 Chr. xvii. 3); and of those who returned from Babylon, to the number of 468, some occupied a prominent position in the tribe of Judah, and are mentioned by name as living in Jerusalem (Job. ii. 4, 6). [PHAREZ.]

PEREZ-UZZA (פֶּרֶז עֲזָא) *Peruzzah*: Διακοπή 'Οζά: *Oza* (1 Chr. xiii. 11; and

PEREZ-UZZAH (פֶּרֶז עֲזָה) *percussio Oza*, 2 Sam. vi. 8. The title which David conferred on the threshing-floor of Nachon, or Cidon, in commemoration of the sudden death of Uzzah: "And David was wroth because Jehovah had broken this breach on Uzzah and he called the place 'Uzzah's striking' unto this day." The word *perez* was a favorite with David on such occasions. He employs it to commemorate his having "broken up" the Philistine force in the valley of Rephaim (2 Sam. v. 20). [BAAL PERAZIM.] He also uses it in a subsequent reference to Uzzah's destruction in 1 Chr. xv. 13.

It is remarkable that the statement of the continued existence of the name should be found not only in Samuel and Chronicles, but also in Josephus, who says (*Ant.* vii. 4, §2), as if from his own observation, "the place where he died is even now (εἰτι νῦν) called 'the cleaving of Oza.'"

Determination of the spot is not known. [NACHON.] This statement of Josephus may be taken literally, and would however be worth while to make some search for traces of the name between Jerusalem and Jericho-jarim. [G.]

PERFUMES (קְטוֹרֶת). The free use of perfume was peculiarly grateful to the Orientals (*Ant.* xvii. 9), whose olfactory nerves are more usually sensitive to the offensive smells engendered by the heat of their climate (Burckhardt's *Arab.* ii. 85). The Hebrews manufactured their perfumes chiefly from spices imported from Arabia, though to a certain extent also from aromatic plants growing in their own country. [SPICES.] The mode in which they applied them were various: commonly a bunch of the plant itself was worn about the person as a nosegay, or enclosed in a bag (*Ant.* i. 13); or the plant was reduced to a powder and used in the way of fumigation (*Cant.* iii. 6); or the aromatic qualities were extracted by

distillation with equal accuracy, and perhaps more convenience, as called it, "that is, "it was called"—as in *Ant.* i. 4. [NARDIANTAN.]

קְטוֹרֶת; lit. "houses of the soul."

some process of boiling, and were then mixed with oil, so as to be applied to the person in the way of ointment (*John* xii. 3); or, lastly, the scent was carried about in smelling-bottles suspended from the girdle (*Is.* iii. 20). Perfumes entered largely into the Temple service, in the two forms of incense and ointment (*Ex.* xxx. 22-38). Nor were they less used in private life: not only were they applied to the person, but to garments (*Ps.* xlv. 8; *Cant.* iv. 11), and to articles of furniture, such as beds (*Prov.* vii. 17). On the arrival of a guest the same compliments were probably paid in ancient as in modern times; the rooms were fumigated; the person of the guest was sprinkled with rose-water; and then the incense was applied to his face and beard (*Dan.* ii. 46; *Lane's Mod. Eg.* ii. 14). When a royal personage went abroad in his litter, attendants threw up "pillars of smoke" about his path (*Cant.* iii. 6). Nor is it improbable that other practices, such as scenting the breath by chewing frankincense (*Lane,* i. 246), and the skin by washing in rose-water (*Burckhardt's Arab.* i. 68), and fumigating drinkables (*Lane,* i. 185; *Burckhardt,* i. 52), were also adopted in early times. The use of perfumes was omitted in times of mourning, whence the allusion in *Is.* iii. 24, "instead of sweet smell there shall be stink." The preparation of perfumes in the form either of ointment or incense was a recognised profession among the Jews (*Ex.* xxx. 25, 35; *Ecc.* x. 1). [W. L. B.]

PERGA (Πέργη), an ancient and important city of Pamphylia, situated on the river Cestius, at a distance of 60 stadia from its mouth, and celebrated in antiquity for the worship of Artemis (Diana), whose temple stood on a hill outside the town (*Strab.* xiv. 667; *Cic. Verr.* i. 20; *Plin.* v. 26; *Mela,* i. 14; *Ptol.* v. 5, §7). The goddess and the temple are represented in the coins of Perga. The Cestius was navigable to Perga; and St. Paul landed here on his voyage from Paphos (*Acts* xiii. 13). He visited the city a second time on his return from the interior of Pamphylia, and preached the Gospel there (*Acts* xiv. 25). For further details see PAMPHYLIA. There are still extensive remains of Perga at a spot called by the Turks *Eski-Kalesi*, (*Leake, Asia Minor,* p. 132; *Fellows, Asia Minor,* p. 190).

PERGAMOS (ἡ Πέργαμος, or τὸ Πέργαμον). A city of Mysia, about three miles to the N. of the river *Bakyr-tchai*, the Caicus of antiquity, and twenty miles from its present mouth. The name was originally given to a remarkable hill, presenting a conical appearance when viewed from the plain. The local legends attached a sacred character to this place. Upon it the Cabiri were said to have been witnesses of the birth of Zeus, and the whole of the land belonging to the city of the same name which afterwards grew up around the original Pergamos, to have belonged to these. The sacred character of the locality, combined with its natural strength, seems to have made it, like some others of the ancient temples, a bank for chiefs who desired to accumulate a large amount of specie; and Lysimachus, one of Alexander's successors, deposited there an enormous sum—no less than 9000 talents—in the care of an Asiatic eunuch named

"Quam rex semet in publico conspici patitur, turibula argentea ministri ferunt, totumque iter per quod ferri destinavit odoribus complent" (*Curtius* vii. 2, §23).

⁴ קְטוֹרֶת; A. V. "apothecary."

Philetaerus. In the troublous times which followed the break up of the Macedonian conquests, this officer betrayed his trust, and by successful temporizing, and perhaps judicious employment of the funds at his command, succeeded in retaining the treasure and transmitting it at the end of twenty years to his nephew Eumenes, a petty dynast in the neighbourhood. Eumenes was succeeded by his cousin Attalus, the founder of the Attalic dynasty of Pergamene kings, who by allying himself with the rising Roman power laid the foundation of the future greatness of his house. His successor, Eumenes II., was rewarded for his fidelity to the Romans in their wars with Antiochus and Perseus by a gift of all the territory which the former had possessed to the north of the Taurus range. The great wealth which accrued to him from this source he employed in laying out a magnificent residential city, and adorning it with temples and other public buildings. His passion, and that of his successor, for literature and the fine arts, led them to form a library which rivalled that of Alexandria; and the impulse given to the art of preparing sheepskins for the purpose of transcription, to gratify the taste of the royal dilettanti, has left its record in the name parchment (*charta pergamena*). Eumenes's successor, Attalus II., is said to have bid 600,000 sesterces for a picture by the painter Aristides, at the sale of the plunder of Corinth; and by so doing to have attracted the attention of the Roman general Mummus to it, who sent it off at once to Rome, where no foreign artist's work had then been seen. For another picture by the same artist he paid 100 talents. But the great glory of the city was the so-called Nicephorium, a grove of extreme beauty, laid out as a thank-offering for a victory over Antiochus, in which was an assemblage of temples, probably of all the deities, Zeus, Athenè, Apollo, Aesculapius, Dionysus, and Aphroditè. The temple of the last was of a most elaborate character. Its façade was perhaps inlaid after the manner of *pietra dura* work; for Philip V. of Macedonia, who was repulsed in an attempt to surprise Pergamos during the reign of Attalus II., vented his spite in cutting down the trees of the grove, and not only destroying the Aphrodisium, but injuring the stones in such a way as to prevent their being used again. At the conclusion of peace it was made a special stipulation that this damage should be made good.

The Attalic dynasty terminated B.C. 133, when Attalus III., dying at an early age, made the Romans his heirs. His dominions formed the province of *Asia propria*, and the immense wealth which was directly or indirectly derived from this legacy, contributed perhaps even more than the spoils of Carthage and Corinth to the demoralization of Roman statesmen.

The sumptuousness of the Attalic princes had raised Pergamos to the rank of the first city in Asia as regards splendour, and Pliny speaks of it as without a rival in the province. Its prominence, however, was not that of a commercial town, like Ephesus or Corinth, but arose from its peculiar features. It was a sort of union of a pagan cathedral city, an university town, and a royal residence, embellished during a succession of years by kings who all had a passion for expenditure and ample means of gratifying it. Two smaller streams, which flowed from the north, embracing the town between them, and then fell into the Caiicus, afforded ample means of storing water, without which, in those

latitudes, ornamental cultivation (or indeed cultivation of any kind) is out of the question. The larger of those streams—the *Pergama-ichai*, or Cetus of antiquity—has a fall of more than 150 feet between the hills to the north of Pergamos and its junction with the Caiicus, and it brings down a very considerable body of water. Both the Nicephorium, which has been spoken of above, and the Grove of Aesculapius, which became yet more celebrated in the time of the Roman empire, doubtless owed their existence to the means of irrigation thus available; and furnished the appliances for those licentious rituals of pagan antiquity which flourished wherever there were groves and hill-altars. Under the Attalic kings, Pergamos became a city of temples, devoted to a sensuous worship; and being in its origin, according to pagan notions, a sacred place, might not unnaturally be viewed by Jews and Jewish Christians, as one "where was the throne of Satan" (*ὄπου ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ*, Rev. ii. 13).

After the extinction of its independence, the sacred character of Pergamos seems to have been put even more prominently forward. Coins and inscriptions constantly describe the Pergamenes as *νεακόποι* or *νεακόποι πρῶτοι τῆς Ἀσίας*. This title always indicates the duty of maintaining a religious worship of some kind (which indeed naturally goes together with the usufruct of religious property). What the deities were to which this title has reference especially, it is difficult to say. In the time of Martial, however, Aesculapius had acquired so much prominence that he is called *Pergameus deus*. His grove was recognised by the Roman senate in the reign of Tiberius as possessing the rights of sanctuary. Pausanias, too, in the course of his work, refers more than once to the Aesculapian ritual at Pergamos as a sort of standard. From the circumstance of this notoriety of the Pergamene Aesculapius, from the title *Σωτήρ* being given to him, from the serpent (which Judaical Christians would regard as a symbol of evil) being his characteristic emblem, and from the fact that the medical practice of antiquity included charms and incantations among its agencies, it has been supposed that the expressions *ὁ θείος τοῦ Σατανᾶ* and *ὄπου ὁ Σατανᾶ κατοικεῖ* have an especial reference to this one pagan deity, and not to the whole city as a sort of focus of idolatrous worship. But although undoubtedly the Aesculapian worship of Pergamos was the most famous, and in later times became continually more predominant from the fact of its being combined with an excellent medical school (which among others produced the celebrated Galen), yet an inscription of the time of Marcus Antoninus distinctly puts Zeus, Athenè, Dionysus, and Asclepius in a co-ordinate rank, as all being special tutelary deities of Pergamos. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the expressions above quoted should be so interpreted as to isolate one of them from the rest.

It may be added, that the charge against a portion of the Pergamene Church that some among them were of the school of Balaam, whose policy was "to put a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, by inducing them *φαγεῖν εἰδωλίσθηρα καὶ ποτεῖν νεύρα*" (Rev. ii. 14), is in both its particulars very inappropriate to the Aesculapian ritual; and rather to the Dionysus and Aphroditè worship; and the sin of the Nicolaitans, which is condemned, seems to have consisted in a participation in this, arising out of a social amalgamation of themselves with the native population. Now, from the time of the war with Antiochus at least, it is certain that there was

considerable Jewish population in Pergamene territory. The decree of the Pergamenes quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10, §22), seems to indicate that the Jews had farmed the tolls in some of the portions of their territory, and likewise were holders of land. They are—in accordance with the expressed wishes of the Roman senate—allowed to levy port-duties upon all vessels except those belonging to king-pirates. The growth of a large and wealthy class naturally leads to its obtaining a share in political rights, and the only bar to the admission of Jews to citizenship in Pergamos would be their unwillingness to take any part in the religious ceremonies, which were an essential part of every relation of life in pagan times. The more lax, however, might regard such a proceeding as a purely formal act of civil obedience, and reconcile themselves to it. So Numan did to “bowing himself in the house of Mammon” when in attendance upon his sovereign. It is perhaps worth noticing, with reference to this inscription, that a Pergamene inscription published by Boeckh, mentions by two names (*Nicostratus*, who is also called *Trypho*) an individual who served the office of *gymnasiarch*. Of these two names the latter, a foreign one, is likely to have been borne by him among some special body to which he belonged, and the former to have been adopted when, by accepting the position of an official, he merged himself in the general Greek population.

(Strab. viii. 4; Joseph. *Ant.* xiv.; Martial, ix. 17; Plin. *H. N.* xxv. 4, 10; Liv. xxxii. 33, 4; Polyb. vi. 1, xxxii. 23; Boeckh, *Inscript.* Nos. 3538, 3539, 3533; Philostratus, *De Vit. Soph.* p. 45, 106; Niebuhr, *Asie Mineure*, p. 230; Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, ii. p. 304.) [J. W. B.]

PERIDA (פרידא; *Φερίδα*; Alex. *Φαριεῖδα*: *Pharida*). The children of Perida returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel (*Neh.* vii. 57). In *Ezr.* i. 5 the name appears as *PERUDA*, and in 1 *Esd.* v. 33 as *PHARIRA*. One of Kennicott's MSS. has “Perida” in *Neh.*

PERIZZITE, THE, and PERIZ'ZITES (פריזיטין, in all cases in the Heb. singular: *οἱ Φερεζιται*; in *Ezr.* only *οἱ Φερεζαῖ*: *Pherezaeus*).

One of the nations inhabiting the Land of Promise before and at the time of its conquest by Israel. They are not named in the catalogue of Gen. x.; so that their origin, like that of other small tribes, such as the *Amorites*, and the similarly named *Gerizzites*, is left in obscurity. They are continually mentioned in the Pentateuch as frequently occurring to express the Promised Land (*Gen.* xv. 20; *Ex.* iii. 8, 17, xxiii. 23, xxxiv. 11; *Deut.* vii. 1, xx. 17; *Josh.* iii. 10, i. 1, xiv. 11; *Judg.* iii. 5; *Ezr.* ix. 1; *Neh.* x. 3). They appear, however, with somewhat greater prominence on several occasions. On Abram's first entrance into the land it is said to have been occupied by “the Canaanite and the Perizzite” (*Gen.* xii. 6). Jacob also, after the massacre of the Shechemites, uses the same expression, complaining that the Canaanites “made him to stink among the inhabitants of the land, among the Canaanite and the Perizzite” (*xxiv.* 30). So also in the detailed records of the conquest given in the opening of the book of *Judges* (evidently from a distinct source to those in *Josh.*), *Judah* and *Simeon* are said to have found their territory occupied by “the Canaanite and the

Perizzite” (*Judg.* i. 4, 5), with *Bezek* (a place not yet discovered) as their stronghold, and *Adoni-bezek* their most noted chief. And thus too a late tradition, preserved in 2 *Esd.* i. 21, mentions only “the Canaanites, the Pheresites, and the Philistines,” as the original tenants of the country. The notice just cited from the book of *Judges* locates them in the southern part of the Holy Land. Another independent and equally remarkable fragment of the history of the conquest seems to speak of them as occupying, with the *Rephaim*, or giants, the “forest country” on the western flanks of Mount Carmel (*Josh.* xvii. 15-18). Here again the Canaanites only are named with them. As a tribe of mountaineers, they are enumerated in company with *Amorite*, *Hittite*, and *Jebeusite* in *Josh.* xi. 3, xii. 8; and they are catalogued among the remnants of the old population whom Solomon reduced to bondage, both in 1 *K.* ix. 20, and 2 *Chr.* viii. 7. By *Josephus* the *Perizzites* do not appear to be mentioned.

The signification of the name is not by any means clear. It possibly meant rustics, dwellers in open, unwall'd villages, which are denoted by a similar word.^b *Ewald* (*Geschichte*, i. 317) inclines to believe that they were the same people with the *Hittites*. But against this there is the fact that both they and the *Hittites* appear in the same lists; and that not only in mere general formulas, but in the records of the conquest, as above. *Redslob* has examined the whole of these names with some care (in his *Alttestam. Namen der Israelitenstaats*, 1846), and his conclusion (p. 103) is that, while the *Chavroth* were villages of tribes engaged in the care of cattle, the *Perazoth* were inhabited by peasants engaged in agriculture, like the *Fellahs* of the Arabs. [G.]

PERSEPOLIS (Περσέπολις; *Persepolis*) is mentioned only in 2 *Macc.* ix. 2, where we hear of *Antiochus Epiphanes* attempting to burn its temples, but provoking a resistance which forced him to fly ignominiously from the place. It was the capital of *Persia Proper*, and the occasional residence of the Persian court from the time of *Darius Hystaspis*, who seems to have been its founder, to the invasion of *Alexander*. Its wanton destruction by that conqueror is well known. According to *Q. Curtius* the destruction was complete, as the chief building material employed was cedar-wood, which caused the conflagration to be rapid and general (*De Rebus Alex. Magn.* v. 7). Perhaps the temples, which were of stone, escaped. At any rate, if ruined, they must have been shortly afterwards restored, since they were still the depositories of treasure in the time of *Epiphanes*.

Persepolis has been regarded by many as identical with *Pasargadae*, the famous capital of *Cyrus* (see *Niebuhr's Lectures on Ancient History*, i. 115; *Ouseley, Travels*, ii. 316-318). But the positions are carefully distinguished by a number of ancient writers (*Strab.* xv. 3, §6, 7; *Plin. H. N.* vi. 26; *Arrian, Exp. Alex.* vii. 1; *Ptolem.* vi. 4); and the ruins, which are identified beyond any reasonable doubt, show that the two places were more than 40 miles apart. *Pasargadae* was at *Murgab*, where the tomb of *Cyrus* may still be seen; *Persepolis* was 42 miles to the south of this, near *Istakher*, on the site now called the *Chehl-Minar*, or *Forty Pillars*. Here, on a platform hewn out of the solid rock, the sides of which face the four cardinal points,

to be alluded to, and translate accordingly. In *Josh.* xvi. 10 they add the *Perizzites* to the *Canaanites* as inhabitants of *Gezer*.

^a The *Masabee*, vol. ii. 220a.

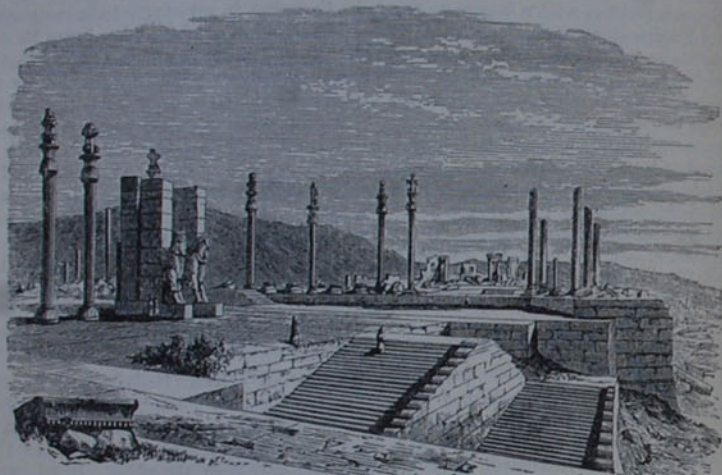
^b *Cyber* *hap-para*, A. V. “country villages” 1 Sam. x. 5; *ara hap-para*, “unwall'd towns” (*Leut.* iii. 5).

^c In both these passages the LXX. understand the *Perizzites*.

are the remains of two great palaces, built respectively by Darius Hystaspis and his son Xerxes, besides a number of other edifices, chiefly temples. These ruins have been so frequently described that it is unnecessary to do more than refer the reader to the best accounts which have been given of them (Niebuhr, *Reise*, ii. 121; Chardin, *Voyages*, ii. 245; Ker Porter, *Travels*, i. 576; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, i. 143-196; Rich, *Residence in Kurdistan*, vol. ii. pp. 218-222; Fergusson, *Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis Restored*, pp. 89-124, &c.). They are of great extent and magnificence, covering an area of many acres. At the foot of the rock on which they are placed, in the plain now called *Merdasht*, stood probably the ancient town, built chiefly of wood, and now altogether effaced.

Persepolis may be regarded as having taken the place of Pasargadae, the more ancient capital of

Persia Proper, from the time of Darius Hystaspis. No exact reason can be given for this change, which perhaps arose from mere royal caprice, Darius having taken a fancy to the locality, near which he erected his tomb. According to Athenæus the court resided at Persepolis during three months of each year (*Deipnosoph.* xii. p. 513, F.), but the conflicting statements of other writers (Xen. *Cyrop.* viii. 6, §22; Plut. *de Exil.* ii. p. 604; Zonar. iii. 26, &c.) make this uncertain. We cannot doubt, however, that it was one of the royal residences; and we may well believe the statement of Strabo, that in the later times of the empire, it was, next to Susa, the richest of all the Persian cities (*Geograph.* xv. 3, §6). It does not seem to have long survived the blow inflicted upon it by Alexander; for after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes it disappears altogether from history as an inhabited place. [G. R.]



Persepolis.

PERSEUS (Περσεύς: *Persēs*), the eldest (illegitimate or supposititious?) son of Philip V. and last king of Macedonia. After his father's death (B.C. 179) he continued the preparations for the renewal of the war with Rome, which was seen to be inevitable. The war, which broke out in B.C. 171, was at first ably sustained by Perseus; but in 168 he was defeated by L. Aemilius Paullus at Pydna, and shortly afterwards surrendered with his family to his conquerors. He graced the triumph of Paullus, and died in honourable retirement at Alba. The defeat of Perseus put an end to the independence of Macedonia, and extended even to Syria the terror of the Roman name (1 Macc. viii. 5). [B. F. W.]

PERSIA (پارس, *i. e.* *Pāras*: Περσίς: *Persis*) was strictly the name of a tract of no very large dimensions on the Persian Gulf, which is still known as *Fars*, or *Farsistan*, a corruption of the ancient appellation. This tract was bounded, on the west, by Susiana or Elam, on the north by Media, on the south by the Persian Gulf, and on the east by Carmania, the modern *Kerman*. It was, speaking generally, an arid and unproductive region (Herod. ix. 122; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* v. 4; Plat. *Leg.* iii. p. 695, A.); but contained some districts of considerable fertility. The worst part of the country was that towards the south, on the borders of the Gulf, which has a climate and soil like Arabia, being sandy and almost without streams, subject to pestilential winds, and in many places covered with particles of salt. Above this miserable region is a tract very far superior to it, consisting of rocky mountains—the continuation of Zagros, among which are found a good many fertile valleys and plains, especially towards the north, in the vicinity of Shiraz. Here is an important stream, the *Bendamis*, which flowing through the beautiful valley of *Merdasht*, and by the ruins of Persepolis, is then separated into numerous channels for the purpose of irrigation, and, after fertilizing a large tract of country (the district of *Kashan*), ends its course in the salt lake of *Esk*



Perseus, King of Macedonia.

Tetradrachm of Perseus (Attic talent). Obv. Head of King, r. bound with fillet. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣ. Eagle on thunderbolt; all within wreath.

from Vines, oranges, and lemons, are produced abundantly in this region; and the wine of Shiraz is celebrated throughout Asia. Further north an arid country again succeeds, the outskirts of the Great Desert, which extends from Kerinan to Mazenderan, and from Kashan to Lake Zerrah.

Ptolemy (*Geograph.* vi. 4) divides Persia into a number of provinces, among which the most important are Parætacéné on the north, which was sometimes reckoned to Media (Herod. i. 101; Steph. Byz. ad voc. Παράτακα), and Mardyené on the south coast, the country of the Mardi. The chief towns were Pasargadae, the ancient, and Persepolis, the later capital. Pasargadae was situated near the modern village of Murgaub, 42 miles nearly due north of Persepolis, and appears to have been the capital till the time of Darius, who chose the far more beautiful site in the valley of the Bendamir, where the *Chehl Minar* or "Forty Pillars" still stand. [See PERSEPOLIS.] Among other cities of less importance were Parætaca and Gabae in the mountain country, and Taocé upon the coast.

(See Strab. xv. 3, §1-8; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 25, 26; Ptolem. *Geog.* vi. 4; Kinneir's *Persian Empire*, pp. 54-80; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, 2. K- Porter, *Travels*, i. 458, &c.; Rich, *Journey from Bushire to Persepolis*, &c.)

While the district of *Fars* is the true original Persia, the name is more commonly applied, both in Scripture and by profane authors, to the entire tract which came by degrees to be included within the limits of the Persian Empire. This empire extended at one time from India on the east to Egypt and Thrace upon the west, and included, besides portions of Europe and Africa, the whole of Western Asia between the Black Sea, the Caucasus, the Caspian, and the Iuxartes upon the north, the Arabian desert, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean upon the south. According to Herodotus (iii. 89), it was divided into twenty governments, or satrapies; but from the inscriptions it would rather appear that the number varied at different times, and, when the empire was most flourishing, considerably exceeded twenty. In the inscription upon his tomb at *Nabhal-i-Rustam* Darius mentions no fewer than thirty countries as subject to him besides Persia Proper. These are—Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Zarangia, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandaria, India, Scythia, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Saparda, Ionia, (European) Scythia, the islands (of the Egean), the country of the Soudrae, (European) Ionia, the lands of the Tauri, the Budians, the Cushites or Ethiopians, the Marlians, and the Colchians.

The only passage in Scripture where Persia denotes the tract which has been called above "Persia Proper" is Ez. xxxviii. 5. Elsewhere the name is intended.

[G. R.]

PERSIANS (פָּרְסִי: Περσαι: *Persae*). The name of the people who inhabited the country called above "Persia Proper," and who thence conquered the Persians were of the same race as the Medes, both being branches of the great Arian stock, which under various names established their sway over the whole tract between Mesopotamia and Burma. The

native form of the name is *Parsa*, which the Hebrew פָּרְסִי fairly represents, and which remains but little changed in the modern "Parsee." It is conjectured to signify "the Tigers."

1. *Character of the nation.*—The Persians were a people of lively and impressive minds, brave and impetuous in war, witty, passionate, for Orientals truthful, not without some spirit of generosity, and of more intellectual capacity than the generality of Asiatics. Their faults were vanity, impulsiveness, a want of perseverance and solidity, and an almost slavish spirit of sycophancy and servility towards their lords. In the times anterior to Cyrus they were noted for the simplicity of their habits, which offered a strong contrast to the luxuriousness of the Medes; but from the date of the Median overthrow, this simplicity began to decline; and it was not very long before their manners became as soft and effeminate as those of any of the conquered peoples. They adopted the flowing Median robe (Fig. 1) which was probably of silk, in lieu of the old national costume



Fig. 1. Median dress.



Fig. 2. Old Persian dress.

(Fig. 2)—a close-fitting tunic and trousers of leather (Herod. i. 71; compare i. 135); beginning at the same time the practice of wearing on their persons chains, bracelets, and collars of gold, with which precious metal they also adorned their horses. Polygamy was commonly practised among them; and besides legitimate wives a Persian was allowed any number of concubines. They were fond of the pleasures of the table, indulging in a great variety of food, and spending a long time over their meals, at which they were accustomed to swallow large quantities of wine. In war they fought bravely, but without discipline, generally gaining their victories by the vigour of their first attack; if they were strenuously resisted, they soon flagged; and if they suffered a repulse, all order was at once lost, and the retreat speedily became a rout.

2. *Religion.*—The religion which the Persians brought with them into Persia Proper seems to have been of a very simple character, differing from

natural religion in little, except that it was deeply tainted with Dualism. Like the other Aryans, the Persians worshipped one Supreme God, whom they called *Auramazda* (*Oromasdes*)—a term signifying (as is believed) “the Great Giver of Life.” From *Oromasdes* came all blessings—“he gave the earth, he gave the heavens, he gave mankind, he gave life to mankind” (Inscriptions, *passim*)—he settled the Persian kings upon their thrones, strengthened them, established them, and granted them victory over all their enemies. The royal inscriptions rarely mention any other god. Occasionally, however, they indicate a slight and modified polytheism. *Oromasdes* is “the chief of the gods,” so that there are other gods besides him; and the highest of these is evidently *Mithra*, who is sometimes invoked to protect the monarch, and is beyond a doubt identical with “the sun.” To the worship of the sun as *Mithra* was probably attached, as in India, the worship of the moon, under the name of *Homa*, as the third greatest god. Entirely separate from these—their active resister and antagonist—was *Ahriman* (*Arimanius*) “the Death-dealing”—the powerful, and (probably) self-existing Evil Spirit, from whom war, disease, frost, hail, poverty, sin, death, and all other evils, had their origin. *Ahriman* was Satan, carried to an extreme—believed to have an existence of his own, and a real power of resisting and defying God. *Ahriman* could create spirits, and as the beneficent *Auramazda* had surrounded himself with good angels, who were the ministers of his mercies towards mankind, so *Ahriman* had surrounded himself with evil spirits, to carry out his malevolent purposes. Worship was confined to *Auramazda*, and his good spirits; *Ahriman* and his demons were not worshipped, but only hated and feared.

The character of the original Persian worship was simple. They were not destitute of temples, as Herodotus asserts (Herod. i. 131; compare *Beh. Inscr.* col. i. par. 14, §5); but they had probably no altars, and certainly no images. Neither do they appear to have had any priests. Processions were formed, and religious chants were sung in the temples, consisting of prayer and praise intermixed, whereby the favour of *Auramazda* and his good spirits was supposed to be secured to the worshippers. Beyond this it does not appear that they had any religious ceremonies. Sacrifices, apparently, were unknown; though thank-offerings may have been made in the temples.

From the first entrance of the Persians, as immigrants, into their new territory, they were probably brought into contact with a form of religion very different from their own. Magianism, the religion of the Scythic or Turanian population of Western Asia, had long been dominant over the greater portion of the region lying between Mesopotamia and India. The essence of this religion was worship of the elements—more especially, of the subtlest of all, fire. It was an ancient and imposing system, guarded by the venerable hierarchy of the Magi, boasting its fire-altars where from time immemorial the sacred flame had burnt without intermission, and claiming to some extent mysterious and miraculous powers. The simplicity of the Aryan religion was speedily corrupted by its contact with this powerful rival, which presented special attractions to a rude and credulous people. There was a short struggle for pre-eminence, after which the rival systems came to terms. Dualism was retained, together with the names of *Auramazda* and *Ahriman*, and the special worship of the sun and

moon under the appellations of *Mithra* and *Homa*, but to this was superadded the worship of the elements and the whole ceremonial of Magianism, including the divination to which the Magian priesthood made pretence. The worship of other deities as *Tanata* or *Anaitis*, was a still later addition to the religion, which grew more complicated as time went on, but which always maintained as its leading and most essential element that Dualistic principle whereon it was originally based.

3. *Language*.—The language of the ancient Persians was closely akin to the Sanskrit, or ancient language of India. We find it in its earliest stage in the *Zendavesta*—the sacred book of the whole Aryan race, where, however, it is corrupted by a large admixture of later forms. The inscriptions of the Achaemenian kings give us the language in its second stage, and, being free from these later additions, are of the greatest importance towards determining what was primitive, and what more recent in this type of speech. Modern Persian is its degenerate representative, being, as it is, a motley idiom, largely impregnated with Arabic; still, however, both in its grammar and its vocabulary, it is mainly Aryan; and historically, it must be regarded as the continuation of the ancient tongue, just as Italian is of Latin, and modern of ancient Greek.

4. *Division into tribes, &c.*—Herodotus tells us that the Persians were divided into ten tribes, of which three were noble, three agricultural, and four nomadic. The noble tribes were the *Pasargadae*, who dwelt, probably, in the capital and its immediate neighbourhood; the *Maraphians*, who are perhaps represented by the modern *Máfée*, a Persian tribe which prides itself on its antiquity; and the *Maspian*s, of whom nothing more is known. The three tribes engaged in agriculture were called the *Panthialaeans*, the *Derusiaeans*, and the *Germanians*, or (according to the true orthography) the *Carmenians*. These last were either the actual inhabitants of *Kerman*, or settlers of the same race, who remained in Persia while their fellow-tribesmen occupied the adjoining region. The nomadic tribes are said to have been the *Dahi*, who appear in Scripture as the “*Dehavites*” (Ezr. iv. 9), the *Mardi*, mountaineers famous for their thievish habits (Steph. Byz.), together with the *Sagartians* and the *Derbices* or *Dropici*, colonists from the regions east of the Caspian. The royal race of the *Achaemenidae* was a phratry or clan of the *Pasargadae* (Herod. i. 126); to which it is probable that most of the noble houses likewise belonged. Little is heard of the *Maraphians*, and nothing of the *Maspian*s, in history; it is therefore evident that their nobility was very inferior to that of the leading tribe.

5. *History*.—In remote antiquity it would appear that the Persians dwelt in the region east of the Caspian, or possibly in a tract still nearer India. The first *Fargard* of the *Vendidad* seems to describe their wanderings in these countries, and shows the general line of their progress to have been from east to west, down the course of the *Oxus*, and then, along the southern shores of the *Caspian Sea*, to *Rhages*, and *Media*. It is impossible to determine the period of these movements; but there can be no doubt that they were anterior to B.C. 880, at which time the *Assyrian* kings seem for the first time to have come in contact with Aryan tribes east of *Mount Zagros*. Probably the Persians accompanied the *Medes* in their migration from *Khorassan*, and, after the latter people took possession of the tract extending from the river *Kur* to *Ispahan*, proceeded still further

south, and occupied the region between Media and the Persian Gulf. It is uncertain whether they are to be identified with the *Bartsu* or *Partsu* of the Assyrian monuments. If so, we may say that from the middle of the 9th to the middle of the 8th century B.C. they occupied south-eastern Armenia, but by the end of the 8th century had removed into the country, which thenceforth went by their name. The leader of this last migration would seem to have been a certain Achaemenes, who was recognized as king of the newly-occupied territory, and founded the famous dynasty of the Achaemenidae, about B.C. 700. Very little is known of the history of Persia between this date and the accession of Cyrus the Great, near a century and a half later. The crown appears to have descended in a right line through four princes—Teispes, Cambyses I., Cyrus I., and Cambyses II., who was the father of Cyrus the Conqueror. Teispes must have been a prince of some repute, for his daughter, Atossa, married Darius, king of the distant Cappadocians (Diod. Sic. ap. Phot. *Bibliothec.* p. 1158). Later, however, the Persians found themselves unable to resist the growing strength of Media, and became tributary to that power about B.C. 630, or a little earlier. The line of native kings was continued on the throne, and the internal administration was probably untouched; but external independence was altogether lost until the revolt under Cyrus.

Of the circumstances under which this revolt took place we have no certain knowledge. The stories told by Herodotus (i. 108-129) and Nicolas of Damascus (*Fr.* 66) are internally improbable; and they are also a variance with the monuments, which prove Cyrus to have been the son of a Persian king. [See CYRUS.] We must therefore discard them, and be content to know that after about seventy or eighty years of subjection, the Persians revolted from the Medes, engaged in a bloody struggle with them, and finally succeeded, not only in establishing their independence, but in changing places with their masters, and becoming the ruling people. The probable date of the revolt is B.C. 558. Its success, by transferring to Persia the dominion previously in the possession of the Medes, placed her at the head of an empire, the bounds of which were the Halys upon the west, the Euxine upon the north, Babylonia upon the south, and upon the east the salt desert of Iran. As usual in the East, this success led on to others. Croesus the Lydian monarch, who had united most of Asia Minor under his sway, venturing to attack the newly-risen power, was first repulsed, and afterwards defeated and made prisoner by Cyrus, who took his capital, and added the Lydian empire to his dominions. This conquest was followed closely by the submission of the Greek settlements on the Asiatic coast, and by the reduction of Caria, Caunus, and Lycia. The empire was soon afterwards extended greatly towards the north-east and east. Cyrus rapidly overran the flat countries beyond the Caspian, planting a city, which he called after himself (*Arr. Exp. Alex.* iv. 3), on the Jaxartes (*Jyhan*); after which he seems to have pushed his conquests still further to the east, adding to his dominions the districts of Bactra, Cabul, Candahar, Seistan, and Beloochistan, which were thenceforth included in the empire. (*See Chron. Pers. Exc.* § 5, et seqq.; and compare *Proc. H. N.* vi. 23.) In B.C. 539 or 538, Babylon

was attacked, and after a stout defence fell before his irresistible hands. [BABYLON.] This victory first brought the Persians into contact with the Jews. The conquerors found in Babylon an oppressed race—like themselves, abhorers of idols—and professors of a religion in which to a great extent they could sympathize. This race, which the Babylonian monarchs had torn violently from their native land and settled in the vicinity of Babylon, Cyrus determined to restore to their own country; which he did by the remarkable edict recorded in the first chapter of Ezra (*Ezr.* i. 2-4). Thus commenced that friendly connexion between the Jews and Persians, which prophecy had already foreshadowed (*Is.* xliv. 28, xlv. 1-4), and which forms so remarkable a feature in the Jewish history. After the conquest of Babylon, and the consequent extension of his empire to the borders of Egypt, Cyrus might have been expected to carry out the design, which he is said to have entertained (*Herod.* i. 153), of an expedition against Egypt. Some danger, however, seems to have threatened the north-eastern provinces, in consequence of which his purpose was changed; and he proceeded against the Massagetae or the Derbices, engaged them, but was defeated and slain. He reigned, according to Herodotus, twenty-nine years.



Persian Warriors. (From Persepolis.)

Under his son and successor, Cambyses III., the conquest of Egypt took place (B.C. 525), and the Persian dominions were extended southward to Elephantine and westward to Euesperidae on the North-African coast. This prince appears to be the Ahasuerus of Ezra (iv. 6), who was asked to alter Cyrus's policy towards the Jews, but (apparently) declined all interference. We have in Herodotus (book iii.) a very complete account of his warlike expeditions, which at first resulted in the successes above mentioned, but were afterwards unsuccessful, and even disastrous. One army perished in an attempt to reach the temple of Ammon, while another was reduced to the last straits in an expedition against Ethiopia. Perhaps it was in consequence of these misfortunes that, in the absence of Cambyses with the army, a conspiracy was formed against him at court, and a Magian priest, Gomates (*Gaumata*) by name, professing to be Smerdis (*Bardiya*), the son of Cyrus, whom his brother, Cambyses, had put to death secretly, obtained quiet possession of the throne. Cambyses was in Syria when news reached him of this bold attempt; and there is reason to believe that, seized with a sudden disgust, and despairing of the recovery of his crown, he fled to the last resort of the unfortunate, and ended his life by suicide (*Behistun Inscription*, col. i. par. 11,

§10). His reign had lasted seven years and five months.

Gomates the Magian found himself thus, without a struggle, master of Persia (B.C. 522). His situation, however, was one of great danger and delicacy. There is reason to believe that he owed his elevation to his fellow-religionists, whose object in placing him upon the throne was to secure the triumph of Magianism over the Dualism of the Persians. It was necessary for him therefore to accomplish a religious revolution, which was sure to be distasteful to the Persians, while at the same time he had to keep up the deception on which his claim to the crown was professedly based, and to prevent any suspicion arising that he was not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. To combine these two aims was difficult; and it would seem that Gomates soon discarded the latter, and entered on a course which must have soon caused his subjects to feel that their ruler was not only no Achaemenian, but no Persian. He destroyed the national temples, substituting for them the fire-altars, and abolished the religious chants and other sacred ceremonies of the Oromasians. He reversed the policy of Cyrus with respect to the Jews, and forbade by an edict the further building of the Temple (Ezr. iv. 17-22). [ARTAXERXES.] He courted the favour of the subject-nations generally by a remission of tribute for three years, and an exemption during the same space from forced military service (Herod. iii. 67). Towards the Persians he was haughty and distant, keeping them as much as possible aloof from his person, and seldom showing himself beyond the walls of his palace. Such conduct made him very unpopular with the proud people which held the first place among his subjects, and the suspicion that he was a mere pretender having after some months ripened into certainty, a revolt broke out, headed by Darius, the son of Hystaspes, a prince of the blood-royal, which in a short time was crowned with complete success. Gomates quitted his capital, and having thrown himself into a fort in Media, was pursued, attacked, and slain. Darius, then, as the chief of the conspiracy, and after his father the next heir to the throne, was at once acknowledged king. The reign of Gomates lasted seven months.

The first efforts of Darius were directed to the re-establishment of the Oromasian religion in all its purity. He "rebuilt the temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, and restored to the people the religious chants and the worship of which Gomates the Magian had deprived them" (*Beh. Inscr.* col. i. par. 14). Appealed to, in his second year, by the Jews, who wished to resume the construction of their Temple, he not only allowed them, confirming the decree of Cyrus, but assisted the work by grants from his own revenues, whereby the Jews were able to complete the Temple as early as his sixth year (Ezr. vi. 1-15). During the first part of the reign of Darius the tranquillity of the empire was disturbed by numerous revolts. The provinces regretted the loss of those exemptions which they had obtained from the weakness of the Pseudo-Smerdis, and hoped to shake off the yoke of the new prince before he could grasp firmly the reins of government. The first revolt was that of Babylon, where a native, claiming to be Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabonadius, was made king; but Darius speedily crushed this revolt and executed the pretender. Shortly afterwards a far more extensive rebellion broke out. A Mede, named Phraortes, came forward and, announcing himself to be

"Xathrites, of the race of Cyaxares," assumed the royal title. Media, Armenia, and Assyria immediately acknowledged him—the Median soldiers at the Persian court revolted to him—Parthia and Hyrcania after a little while declared in his favour—while in Sagartia another pretender, making a similar claim of descent from Cyaxares, induced the Sagartians to revolt; and in Margiana, Arachotia, and even Persia Proper, there were insurrections against the authority of the new king. His courage and activity, however, seconded by the valour of his Persian troops and the fidelity of some satraps, carried him successfully through these and other similar difficulties; and the result was, that, after five or six years of struggle, he became as firmly seated on his throne as any previous monarch. His talents as an administrator were, upon this, brought into play. He divided the whole empire into satrapies, and organised that somewhat complicated system of government on which they were henceforth administered (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 555-568). He built himself a magnificent palace at Persepolis, and another at Susa [PERSEPOLIS, SHUSHAN]. He also applied himself, like his predecessors, to the extension of the empire; conducted an expedition into European Scythia, from which he returned without disgrace; conquered Thrace, Paeonia, and Macedonia towards the west, and a large portion of India on the east, besides (apparently) bringing into subjection a number of petty nations (see the *Nakhsh-i-Rustam* Inscription). On the whole he must be pronounced, next to Cyrus, the greatest of the Persian monarchs. The latter part of his reign was, however, clouded by reverses. The disaster of Mardonius at Mount Athos was followed shortly by the defeat of Datis at Marathon; and, before any attempt could be made to avenge that blow, Egypt rose in revolt (B.C. 486), massacred its Persian garrison, and declared itself independent. In the palace at the same time there was dissension; and when, after a reign of thirty-six years, the fourth Persian monarch died (B.C. 485), leaving his throne to a young prince of strong and ungoverned passions, it was evident that the empire had reached its highest point of greatness, and was already verging towards its decline.

Xerxes, the eldest son of Darius by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and the first son born to Darius after he mounted the throne, seems to have obtained the crown, in part by the favour of his father, over whom Atossa exercised a strong influence, in part by right, as the eldest male descendant of Cyrus the founder of the empire. His first act was to reduce Egypt to subjection (B.C. 484), after which he began at once to make preparations for his invasion of Greece. It is probable that he was the Ahasuerus of Esther. [AHASUERUS.] The great feast held in Shushan the palace in the third year of his reign, and the repudiation of Vasthi, fall into the period preceding the Grecian expedition, while it is probable that he kept open house for the "princes of the provinces," who would from time to time visit the court, in order to report the state of their preparations for the war. The marriage with Esther, in the seventh year of his reign, falls into the year immediately following his flight from Greece, when he undoubtedly returned to Susa, relinquishing warlike enterprises, and henceforth devoting himself to the pleasures of the seraglio. It is unnecessary to give an account of the well-known expedition against Greece, which ended so disastrously for the invaders. Persia was taught

by the defeat of Salamis and Plataea the danger of encountering the Greeks on their side of the Aegean, while she learned at Mycale the retaliation which she had to expect on her own shores at the hands of her infuriated enemies. For a while some vague idea of another invasion seems to have been entertained by the court; * but discreeter counsels prevailed, and, relinquishing all aggressive designs, Persia from this point in her history stood upon the defensive, and only sought to maintain her own territories intact, without anywhere trenching upon her neighbours. During the rest of the reign of Xerxes, and during part of that of his son and successor, Artaxerxes, she continued at war with the Greeks, who destroyed her fleets, plundered her coasts, and stirred up revolt in her provinces; but at last, in B.C. 449, a peace was concluded between the two powers, who then continued on terms of amity for half a century.

A conspiracy in the seraglio having carried off Xerxes (B.C. 465), Artaxerxes his son, called by the Greeks Μακρόχειρ, or "the Long-Handed," succeeded him, after an interval of seven months, during which the conspirator Artabanus occupied the throne. This Artaxerxes, who reigned forty years, is beyond a doubt the king of that name who stood in such a friendly relation towards Ezra (Ezr. vii. 11-28) and Nehemiah (Neh. ii. 1-9, &c.). [ARTAXERXES.] His character, as drawn by Ctesias, is mild but weak; and under his rule the disorders of the empire seem to have increased rapidly. An insurrection in Bactria, headed by his brother Hystaspes, was with difficulty put down in the first year of his reign (B.C. 464), after which a revolt broke out in Egypt, headed by Inarus the Libyan and Amyrtaeus the Egyptian, who, receiving the support of an Athenian fleet, maintained themselves for six years (B.C. 460-455) against the whole power of Persia, but were at last overcome by Megabyzus, satrap of Syria. This powerful and haughty noble soon afterwards (B.C. 447), on occasion of a difference with the court, himself became a rebel, and entered into a contest with his sovereign, which at once betrayed and increased the weakness of the empire. Artaxerxes is the last of the Persian kings who had any special connexion with the Jews, and the last but one mentioned in Scripture. His successors were Xerxes II., Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artabanus Ochus, and Darius Codomannus, who is probably the "Darius the Persian" of Nehemiah (Neh. ii. 22). These monarchs reigned from B.C. 424 to B.C. 330. None were of much capacity; and during their reigns the decline of the empire was severely arrested for a day, unless it were by Ochus, who reconquered Egypt, and gave some succour in his attempt. Had the younger Cyrus been, perhaps, possible. After his failure the seraglio rose at once more powerful and more cruel. Females and women governed the kings, and disfavoured the favours of the crown, and disapproved, as their interests or passions moved them. Patriotism and loyalty were alike dead, and the empire must have fallen many years before it did, had not the Persians early learnt to turn the swords of the Greeks against one another, and at the same time raised the character of their own armies by

the employment, on a large scale, of Greek mercenaries. The collapse of the empire under the attack of Alexander is well known, and requires no description here. On the division of Alexander's dominions among his generals Persia fell to the Seleucidæ, under whom it continued till after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the conquering Parthians advanced their frontier to the Euphrates, and the Persians came to be included among their subject-tribes (B.C. 164). Still their nationality was not obliterated. In A.D. 226, three hundred and ninety years after their subjection to the Parthians, and five hundred and fifty-six years after the loss of their independence, the Persians shook off the yoke of their oppressors, and once more became a nation. The kingdom of the Sassanidæ, though not so brilliant as that of Cyrus, still had its glories; but its history belongs to a time which scarcely comes within the scope of the present work.

(See, for the history of Persia, besides Herodotus, Ctesias, *Excerpta Persica*; Plutarch, *Vit. Artaxerx.*; Xenophon, *Anabasis*; Heeren, *Asiatic Nations*, vol. i.; Malcolm, *History of Persia from the Earliest Ages to the Present Times*, 2 vols. 4to., London, 1816; and Sir H. Rawlinson's *Memoir on the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Ancient Persia*, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, vols. x. and xi. For the religion see Hyde, *De Religione Veterum Persarum*; Brockhaus, *Vendidad-Sadé*; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, iii. 472-506; and Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 426-431. For the system of government, see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, ii. 555-568.) [G. R.]

PERSIS (Περσίς). A Christian woman at Rome (Rom. xvi. 12) whom St. Paul salutes, and commends with special affection on account of some work which she had performed with singular diligence (see Origen *in loco*). [W. T. B.]

PERUDA (פֶּרֻדָּא; Φαδουρά; *Pharuda*). The same as PERIDA (Ezr. ii. 55). The LXX. reading is supported by one of Kennicott's MSS.

PESTILENCE. [PLAGUE.]

PETER (Πέτρος, the Greek for כִּפֶּת, *Kephás*, *Cephas*, i. e. "a stone" or "rock," on which name see Note at the end of this article). His original name was Simon, שִׁמְעוֹן, i. e. "hearer." The two names are commonly combined, Simon Peter, but in the early part of his history, and in the interval between our Lord's death and resurrection, he is more frequently named Simon; after that event he bears almost exclusively the more honourable designation Peter, or, as St. Paul sometimes writes, *Cephas*. The notices of this Apostle's early life are few, but not unimportant, and enable us to form some estimate of the circumstances under which his character was formed, and prepared for his great work. He was the son of a man named Jonas (Matt. xvi. 17; John i. 43, xxi. 16), and was brought up in his father's occupation, a fisherman on the sea of Tiberias.* The occupation was of course a humble one, but not, as is often assumed, mean or servile, or incompatible with some degree of mental culture. His family were probably in easy circumstances. He and his brother Andrew were partners of John and James, the sons of Zebedee, who had hired servants; and from various indications in the sacred

* The stones collected in Pamphylia, which Cimon destroyed and dispersed (B.C. 466), seems to have been intended for aggressive purposes.

* There is a tradition that his mother's name was Johanna (Coteler, *Patt. Apost.* ii. 63).

narrative we are led to the conclusion that their social position brought them into contact with men of education. In fact the trade of fishermen, supplying some of the important cities on the coasts of that inland lake, may have been tolerably remunerative, while all the necessities of life were cheap and abundant in the singularly rich and fertile district where the Apostle resided. He did not live, as a mere labouring man, in a hut by the sea-side, but first at Bethsaida, and afterwards in a house at Capernaum, belonging to himself or his mother-in-law, which must have been rather a large one, since he received in it not only our Lord and his fellow-disciples, but multitudes who were attracted by the miracles and preaching of Jesus. It is certain that when he left all to follow Christ, he made what he regarded, and what seems to have been admitted by his Master, to have been a considerable sacrifice. The habits of such a life were by no means unfavourable to the development of a vigorous, earnest, and practical character, such as he displayed in after years. The labours, the privations, and the perils of an existence passed in great part upon the waters of that beautiful but stormy lake, the long and anxious watching through the nights, were calculated to test and increase his natural powers, his fortitude, energy, and perseverance. In the city he must have been brought into contact with men engaged in traffic, with soldiers, and foreigners, and may have thus acquired somewhat of the flexibility and geniality of temperament all but indispensable to the attainment of such personal influence as he exercised in after-life. It is not probable that he and his brother were wholly uneducated. The Jews regarded instruction as a necessity, and legal enactments enforced the attendance of youths in schools maintained by the community.^b The statement in Acts iv. 13, that "the council perceived they (*i. e.* Peter and John) were unlearned and ignorant men," is not incompatible with this assumption. The translation of the passage in the A. V. is rather exaggerated, the word rendered "unlearned" (*ἀδίδακτοι*) being nearly equivalent to "laymen," *i. e.* men of ordinary education, as contrasted with those who were specially trained in the schools of the Rabbis. A man might be thoroughly conversant with the Scriptures, and yet be considered ignorant and unlearned by the Rabbis, among whom the opinion was already prevalent that "the letter of Scripture was the mere shell, an earthen vessel containing heavenly treasures, which could only be discovered by those who had been taught to search for the hidden cabalistic meaning." Peter and his kinsmen were probably taught to read the Scriptures in childhood. The history of their country, especially of the great events of early days, must have been familiar to them as attendants at the synagogue, and their attention was there directed to those portions of Holy Writ from which the Jews derived their anticipations of the Messiah.

The language of the Apostles was of course the form of Aramaic spoken in northern Palestine, a sort of *patois*, partly Hebrew, but more nearly

^b A law to this effect was enacted by Simon ben-Shelach, one of the great leaders of the Pharisaic party under the Amonean princes. See Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, i. 246.

^c See E. Renan, *Histoire des Langues Sémitiques*, p. 224. The only extant specimen of that *patois* is the *Book of Adon* or 'Codex Nasiraeus,' edited by Norberg, Lond. Goth. 1816, 6.

^d See Buxtorf, *s. v.* פִּיִּלְיָא.

allied to the Syriac.^e Hebrew, even in its *chabral* form, was then spoken only by men of learning, the leaders of the pharisees and scribes.^d The men of Galilee were, however, noted for rough and inaccurate language, and especially for vulgarities of pronunciation.^e It is doubtful whether our Apostle was acquainted with Greek in early life. It is certain that there was more intercourse with foreigners in Galilee than in any district of Palestine, and Greek appears to have been a common, if not the principal, medium of communication. Within a few years after his call St. Peter seems to have conversed fluently in Greek with Cornelius, at least there is no intimation that an interpreter was employed, while it is highly improbable that Cornelius, a Roman soldier, should have used the language of Palestine. The style of both of St. Peter's Epistles indicates a considerable knowledge of Greek—it is pure and accurate, and in grammatical structure equal to that of St. Paul. That may, however, be accounted for by the fact, for which there is very ancient authority, that St. Peter employed an interpreter in the composition of his Epistles, if not in his ordinary intercourse with foreigners.^f There are no traces of acquaintance with Greek authors, or of the influence of Greek literature upon his mind, such as we find in St. Paul, nor could we expect it in a person of his station even had Greek been his mother-tongue. It is on the whole probable that he had some rudimentary knowledge of Greek in early life,^g which may have been afterwards extended when the need was felt, but not more than would enable him to discourse intelligently on practical and devotional subjects. That he was an affectionate husband, married in early life to a wife who accompanied him in his Apostolic journeys, are facts inferred from Scripture, while very ancient traditions, recorded by Clement of Alexandria (whose connexion with the church founded by St. Mark gives a peculiar value to his testimony) and by other early but less trustworthy writers, inform us that her name was Perpetua, that she bore a daughter, or perhaps other children, and suffered martyrdom. It is uncertain at what age he was called by our Lord. The general impression of the Fathers is that he was an old man at the date of his death, A. D. 64, but this need not imply that he was much older than our Lord. He was probably between thirty and forty years of age at the date of his call.

That call was preceded by a special preparation. He and his brother Andrew, together with their partners James and John, the sons of Zebedee, were disciples of John the Baptist (John i. 35). They were in attendance upon him when they were first called to the service of Christ. From the circumstances of that call, which are recorded with graphic minuteness by St. John, we learn some important facts touching their state of mind and the personal character of our Apostle. Two disciples, one named by the Evangelist St. Andrew, the other in all probability St. John himself, were standing with the Baptist at Bethany on the Jordan, when he pointed out Jesus as He walked, and said, Behold the

^e See Reuss, *Geschichte der H. S.* § 41.

^f Reuss (*l. c.* § 49) rejects this as a mere hypothesis, but gives no reason. The tradition rests on the authority of Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, and Tertullian. See the notes on Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39, v. 8, and vi. 25.

^g Even highly educated Jews, like Josephus, spoke Greek imperfectly (see *Ant.* xx. 11, § 2). On the antagonism to Greek influence, see Jost, *l. c.* i. 198, and M. Nicolas, *Les Doctrines religieuses des Juifs*, i. c. 2.

Lamb of God! That is, the antitype of the victims whose blood (as all true Israelites, and they more distinctly under the teaching of John,^a believed) satisfied under the atonement for sin. The two at once followed Jesus, and upon His invitation abode with Him that day. Andrew then went to his brother Simon, and saith unto him, We have found the Messiah, the anointed One, of whom they had read in the prophets. Simon went at once, and when Jesus looked on him He said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona; thou shalt be called Cephas. The change of name is of course deeply significant. As seen of Jona (a name of doubtful meaning, according to Lampe equivalent to Johanan or John, i. e. grace of the Lord; according to Lange, who has some striking but fanciful observations, signifying dove) he bore as a disciple the name Simon, i. e. hearer, but as an Apostle, one of the twelve on whom the Church was to be erected, he was hereafter (*κληθήσεται*) to be called Rock or Stone. It seems a natural impression that the words refer primarily to the original character of Simon: that our Lord saw in him a man firm, steadfast, not to be overthrown, though severely tried; and such was generally the view taken by the Fathers: but it is perhaps a deeper and truer inference that Jesus thus describes Simon, not as what he was, but as what he would become under His influence—a man with predispositions and capabilities not unfitted for the office he was to hold, but one whose permanence and stability would depend upon union with the living Rock. Thus we may expect to find Simon, as the natural man, at once rough, stubborn, and mutable, whereas Peter, identified with the Rock, will remain firm and unmovable unto the end.¹

This first call led to no immediate change in St. Peter's external position. He and his fellow disciples looked henceforth upon our Lord as their teacher, but were not commanded to follow him as regular disciples. There were several grades of disciples among the Jews, from the occasional hearer, to the follower who gave up all other pursuits in order to serve a master. At the time a recognition of His Person and office sufficed. They returned to Capernaum, where they pursued their usual business, waiting for a further intimation of His will.

The second call is recorded by the other three Evangelists; the narrative of St. Luke being apparently supplementary* to the brief, and so to speak, official accounts given by Matthew and Mark. It took place on the sea of Galilee near Capernaum—where the four disciples, Peter and Andrew, James and John, were fishing. Peter and Andrew were first called. Our Lord then entered Simon Peter's boat, and addressed the multitude on the shore; after the conclusion of the discourse He wrought the miracle by which He foreshadowed the success of the Apostles in the new, but analogous, occupation which was to be theirs, that of fishers of men. The call of James and John followed. From that time the four were certainly enrolled formally among His disciples, and although as yet invested with no official character, accompanied Him in

^a See Lücke, Tholuck, and Lange, on the Gospel of St. John.
Lücke describes this character well, as that firmness, without hardness of power, which, if not purified, easily becomes violence. The deepest and most beautiful observations are those of Origen on John, tom. ii. c. 30.
¹ This is a point of great difficulty, and hotly contested. Some writers of great weight hold the occurrences to be altogether distinct; but the generality of commentators,

His journeys, those especially in the north of Palestine.

Immediately after that call our Lord went to the house of Peter, where He wrought the miracle of healing on Peter's wife's mother, a miracle succeeded by other manifestations of divine power which produced a deep impression upon the people. Some time was passed afterwards in attendance upon our Lord's public ministrations in Galilee, Decapolis, Perea, and Judaea: though at intervals the disciples returned to their own city, and were witnesses of many miracles, of the call of Levi, and of their Master's reception of outcasts, whom they in common with their zealous but prejudiced countrymen had despised and shunned. It was a period of training, of mental and spiritual discipline preparatory to their admission to the higher office to which they were destined. Even then Peter received some marks of distinction. He was selected, together with the two sons of Zebedee, to witness the raising of Jairus' daughter.

The special designation of Peter, and his eleven fellow disciples took place some time afterwards, when they were set apart as our Lord's immediate attendants, and as His delegates to go forth wherever He might send them, as apostles, announcers of His kingdom, gifted with supernatural powers as credentials of their supernatural mission (see Matt. x. 2-4; Mark iii. 13-19, the most detailed account—Luke vi. 13). They appear then first to have received formally the name of Apostles, and from that time Simon bore publicly, and as it would seem all but exclusively, the name Peter, which had hitherto been used rather as a characteristic appellation than as a proper name.

From this time there can be no doubt that St. Peter held the first place among the Apostles, to whatever cause his precedence is to be attributed. There was certainly much in his character which marked him as a representative man; both in his strength and in his weakness, in his excellences and his defects he exemplifies the changes which the natural man undergoes in the gradual transformation into the spiritual man under the personal influence of the Saviour. The precedence did not depend upon priority of call, or it would have devolved upon his brother Andrew, or that other disciple who first followed Jesus. It seems scarcely probable that it depended upon seniority, even supposing, which is a mere conjecture, that he was older than his fellow disciples. The special designation by Christ, alone accounts in a satisfactory way for the facts that he is named first in every list of the Apostles, is generally addressed by our Lord as their representative, and on the most solemn occasions speaks in their name. Thus when the first great secession took place in consequence of the offence given by our Lord's mystic discourse at Capernaum (see John vi. 66-69), "Jesus said unto the twelve, Will ye also go away? Then Simon Peter answered Him, Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life: and we believe and are sure that Thou art that Christ, the Son of

including some of the most earnest and devout in Germany and England, appear now to concur in the view which I have here taken. Thus Trench *On the Parables*, Neander, Lücke, Lange, and Ebrard. The object of Strauss, who denies the identity, is to make out that St. Luke's account is a mere myth. The most satisfactory attempt to account for the variations is that of Spanheim, *Dubna Evangelica*, li. 341.

the living God." Thus again at Caesarea Philippi, soon after the return of the twelve from their first missionary tour, St. Peter (speaking as before in the name of the twelve, though, as appears from our Lord's words, with a peculiar distinctness of personal conviction) repeated that declaration, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." The confirmation of our Apostle in his special position in the Church, his identification with the rock on which that Church is founded, the ratification of the powers and duties attached to the apostolic office,^m and the promise of permanence to the Church, followed as a reward of that confession. The early Church regarded St. Peter generally, and most especially on this occasion, as the representative of the apostolic body, a very distinct theory from that which makes him their head, or governor in Christ's stead. Even in the time of Cyprian, when communion with the Bishop of Rome as St. Peter's successor for the first time was held to be indispensable, no powers of jurisdiction, or supremacy, were supposed to be attached to the admitted precedence of rank.ⁿ *Primus inter pares* Peter held no distinct office, and certainly never claimed any powers which did not belong equally to all his fellow Apostles.

This great triumph of Peter, however, brought other points of his character into strong relief. The distinction which he then received, and it may be his consciousness of ability, energy, zeal, and absolute devotion to Christ's person, seem to have developed a natural tendency to rashness and forwardness bordering upon presumption. On this occasion the exhibition of such feelings brought upon him the strongest reproof ever addressed to a disciple by our Lord. In his affection and self-confidence Peter ventured to reject as impossible the announcement of the sufferings and humiliation which Jesus predicted, and heard the sharp words—"Get thee behind me, Satan, thou art an offence

^m The accounts which have been given of the precise import of this declaration may be summed up under these heads:—1. That our Lord spoke of Himself, and not of St. Peter, as the rock on which the Church was to be founded. This interpretation expresses a great truth, but it is irreconcilable with the context, and could scarcely have occurred to an unbiassed reader, and certainly does not give the primary and literal meaning of our Lord's words. It has been defended, however, by candid and learned critics, as Glass and Dathe. 2. That our Lord addresses Peter as the type or representative of the Church, in his capacity of chief disciple. This is Augustine's view, and it was widely adopted in the early Church. It is hardly borne out by the context, and seems to involve a false metaphor. The Church would in that case be founded on itself in its type. 3. That the rock was not the person of Peter, but his confession of faith. This rests on much better authority, and is supported by stronger arguments. The authorities for it are given by Suicer, v. Πέτρος, §1, n. 3. Yet it seems to have been originally suggested as an explanation, rather than an interpretation, which it certainly is not in a literal sense. 4. That St. Peter himself was the rock on which the Church would be built, as the representative of the Apostles, as professing in their name the true faith, and as entrusted specially with the duty of preaching it, and thereby laying the foundation of the Church. Many learned and candid Protestant divines have acquiesced in this view (e. g. Pearson, Hammond, Bengel, Rosenmüller, Schleusner, Kulnoel, Bloomfield, &c.). It is borne out by the facts that St. Peter on the day of Pentecost, and during the whole period of the establishment of the Church, was the chief agent in all the work of the ministry, in preaching, in admitting both Jews and Gentiles, and laying down the

unto me—for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." That was Peter's first fall; a very ominous one; not a rock, but a stumbling stone,^o not a defender, but an antagonist and deadly enemy of the faith, when the spiritual should give place to the lower nature in dealing with the things of God. It is remarkable that on other occasions when St. Peter signalled his faith and devotion, he displayed at the time, or immediately afterwards, a more than usual deficiency in spiritual discernment and consistency. Thus a few days after that fall he was selected together with John and James to witness the transfiguration of Christ, but the words which he then uttered prove that he was completely bewildered, and unable at the time to comprehend the meaning of the transaction.^p Thus again, when his zeal and courage prompted him to leave the ship and walk on the water to go to Jesus (Matt. xiv. 29), a sudden failure of faith withdrew the sustaining power; he was about to sink when he was at once reproved and saved by his master. Such traits, which occur not unfrequently, prepare us for his last great fall, as well as for his conduct after the Resurrection, when his natural gifts were perfected and his deficiencies supplied by "the power from on High." We find a mixture of zeal and weakness in his conduct when called upon to pay tribute-money for himself and his Lord, but faith had the upper hand, and was rewarded by a significant miracle (Matt. xvii. 24-27). The question which about the same time Peter asked our Lord as to the extent to which forgiveness of sins should be carried, indicated a great advance in spirituality from the Jewish standing point, while it showed how far as yet he and his fellow disciples were from understanding the true principle of Christian love (Matt. xviii. 21). We find a similar blending of opposite qualities in the declaration recorded by the synoptical evangelists (Matt. ix.

terms of communion. This view is wholly incompatible with the Roman theory, which makes him the representative of Christ, not personally, but in virtue of an office essential to the permanent existence and authority of the Church. Passaglia, the latest and ablest controversialist, takes more pains to refute this than any other view; but wholly without success: it being clear that St. Peter did not retain, even admitting that he did at first hold, any primacy of rank after completing his own special work; that he never exercised any authority over or independently of the other Apostles; that he certainly did not transmit whatever position he ever held to any of his colleagues after his decease. At Jerusalem, even during his residence there, the chief authority rested with St. James; nor is there any trace of a central power or jurisdiction for centuries after the foundation of the Church. The same arguments, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to the keys. The promise was literally fulfilled when St. Peter preached at Pentecost, and received converts to baptism, confirmed the Samaritans, and received Cornelius, the representative of the Gentiles, into the Church. Whatever privileges may have belonged to him personally died with him. The authority required for the permanent government of the Church was believed by the Fathers to be deposited in the episcopate, as representing the apostolic body, and succeeding to its claims.

ⁿ See an admirable discussion of this question in Rothe's *Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche*.
^o Lightfoot suggests that such may have been the real meaning of the term "rock." An amusing instance of the blindness of party feeling. See *Horæ Heb.* on John. vol. xii. p. 237.
^p As usual, the least favourable view of St. Peter's conduct and feelings is given by St. Mark, i. c., by himself

St. Mark x. 28; Luke xviii. 28), Lo, we have said all and followed Thee. It certainly bespeaks a consciousness of sincerity, a spirit of self-devotion and self-sacrifice, though it conveys an impression of something like ambition; but in that instance the good undoubtedly predominated, as is shown by the Lord's answer. He does not reprove Peter, who spoke, as usual, in the name of the twelve, but takes that opportunity of uttering the strongest prediction touching the future dignity and paramount authority of the Apostles, a prediction recorded by St. Matthew only.

Towards the close of our Lord's ministry St. Peter's characteristics become especially prominent. Together with his brother, and the two sons of Zebedee, he listened to the last awful predictions and warnings delivered to the disciples in reference to the second advent (Matt. xxiv. 3; Mark xiii. 3, who alone mentions these names; Luke xxi. 7). At the last supper Peter seems to have been particularly earnest in the request that the traitor might be pointed out, expressing of course a general feeling, in which some inward consciousness of infirmity may have added force. After the supper his words drew out the meaning of the significant, almost sacramental act of our Lord in washing His disciples' feet, an occasion on which we find the same mixture of goodness and frailty, humility and deep affection, with a certain taint of self-will, which was at once yielded into submissive reverence by the voice of Jesus. Then too it was that he made those repeated protestations of unalterable fidelity, so soon to be falsified by his miserable fall. That event is, however, of such critical import in its bearings upon the character and position of the Apostle, that it cannot be dismissed without a careful, if not an extensive discussion.

Jesus had left the guest-chamber when St. Peter put the question, Lord, whither goest Thou? words which modern theologians generally represent as arising of idle curiosity, or presumption, but in which the early Fathers (as Chrysostom and Augustine) recognized the utterance of love and devotion. The answer was a promise that Peter should follow the Master, but accompanied with an intimation of great weakness in the disciple. Then came the repeated protestation, which elicited the sharp and stern rebuke, and distinct prediction of Peter's denial (John xiii. 36-38). From comparing this account with those of the other evangelists (Matt. xxvi. 33-34; Mark xiv. 29-31; Luke xxii. 33, 34), it seems evident that with some diversity of circumstances the protestation and warning were thrice repeated. The tempter was to sift all the disciples, and the Apostle's faith was to be preserved from failing by the special intercession of Christ, he being thus regarded either as the representative of the whole Church, or as seems more probable, because his character was one which had special need of superabundant aid. St. Mark, as usual, records two points which enhance the force of the warning and the fulfilment of Peter, viz., that the cock would crow twice, and that after such warning he repeated his promise with greater vehemence. Chrysostom, who stresses this vehemence to his fairness and candour, attributes to the delight which he felt when he saw the Apostle to his great love, and more especially to the delight which he felt when he saw the Apostle's admixture of forwardness and ambition in his protestation. The fiery trial soon came. After the agony of Gethsemane, when the three, Peter,

James, and John were, as on former occasions, selected to be with our Lord, the only witnesses of His passion, where also all three had alike failed to prepare themselves by prayer and watching, the arrest of Jesus took place. Peter did not shrink from the danger. In the same spirit which had dictated his promise he drew his sword, alone against the armed throng, and wounded the servant (*τὸν δοῦλον*, not a servant) of the high-priest, probably the leader of the band. When this bold but unauthorized attempt at rescue was reproved, he did not yet forsake his Master, but followed Him with St. John into the focus of danger, the house of the high-priest. There he sat in the outer hall. He must have been in a state of utter confusion: his faith, which from first to last was bound up with hope, his special characteristic, was for the time powerless against temptation. The danger found him unarmed. Thrice, each time with greater vehemence, the last time with blasphemous asseveration, he denied his Master. The triumph of Satan seemed complete. Yet it is evident that it was an obscuration of faith, not an extinction. It needed but a glance of his Lord's eye to bring him to himself. His repentance was instantaneous, and effectual. The light in which he himself regarded his conduct, is clearly shown by the terms in which it is related by St. Mark. The inferences are weighty as regards his personal character, which represents more completely perhaps than any in the New Testament, the weakness of the natural and the strength of the spiritual man: still more weighty as bearing upon his relations to the apostolic body, and the claims resting upon the assumption that he stood to them in the place of Christ.

On the morning of the resurrection we have proof that St. Peter, though humbled, was not crushed by his fall. He and St. John were the first to visit the sepulchre; he was the first who entered it. We are told by Luke (in words still used by the Eastern Church as the first salutation on Easter Sunday) and by St. Paul,³ that Christ appeared to him first among the Apostles—he who most needed the comfort was the first who received it, and with it, as may be assumed, an assurance of forgiveness. It is observable, however, that on that occasion he is called by his original name, Simon, not Peter; the higher designation was not restored until he had been publicly reinstated, so to speak, by his Master. That reinstatement took place at the sea of Galilee (John xxi.), an event of the very highest import. We have there indications of his best natural qualities, practical good sense, promptness and energy; slower than St. John to recognize their Lord, Peter was the first to reach Him: he brought the net to land. The thrice repeated question of Christ, referring doubtless to the three protestations and denials, were thrice met by answers full of love and faith, and utterly devoid of his hitherto characteristic failing, presumption, of which not a trace is to be discerned in his later history. He then received the formal commission to feed Christ's sheep: not certainly as one endued with exclusive or paramount authority, or as distinguished from his fellow-disciples, whose fall had been marked by far less aggravating circumstances; rather as one who had forfeited his place, and could not resume it without such an authorization. Then followed the

³ A fact very perplexing to the Tübingen school, being utterly irreconcilable with their theory of antagonism between the Apostles.

prediction of his martyrdom, in which he was to find the fulfilment of his request to be permitted to follow the Lord.

With this event closes the first part of St. Peter's history. It has been a period of transition, during which the fisherman of Galilee had been trained first by the Baptist, then by our Lord, for the great work of his life. He had learned to know the Person and appreciate the offices of Christ: while his own character had been chastened and elevated by special privileges and humiliations, both reaching their climax in the last recorded transactions. Henceforth, he with his colleagues were to establish and govern the Church founded by their Lord, without the support of His presence.

The first part of the Acts of the Apostles is occupied by the record of transactions, in nearly all of which Peter stands forth as the recognized leader of the Apostles; it being, however, equally clear that he neither exercises nor claims any authority apart from them, much less over them. In the first chapter it is Peter who points out to the disciples (as in all his discourses and writings drawing his arguments from prophecy) the necessity of supplying the place of Judas. He states the qualifications of an Apostle, but takes no special part in the election. The candidates are selected by the disciples, while the decision is left to the searcher of hearts. The extent and limits of Peter's primacy might be inferred with tolerable accuracy from this transaction alone. To have one spokesman, or foreman, seems to accord with the spirit of order and humility which ruled the Church, while the assumption of power or supremacy would be incompatible with the express command of Christ (see Matt. xxiii. 10). In the 2nd chapter again, St. Peter is the most prominent person in the greatest event after the resurrection, when on the day of Pentecost the Church was first invested with the plenitude of gifts and powers. Then Peter, not speaking in his own name, but with the eleven (see ver. 14), explained the meaning of the miraculous gifts, and shewed the fulfilment of prophecies (accepted at that time by all Hebrews as Messianic), both in the outpouring of the Holy Ghost and in the resurrection and death of our Lord. This discourse, which bears all the marks of Peter's individuality, both of character and doctrinal views, ends with an appeal of remarkable boldness.

It is the model upon which the apologetic discourses of the primitive Christians were generally constructed. The conversion and baptism of three thousand persons, who continued steadfastly in the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship, attested the power of the Spirit which spake by Peter on that occasion.

The first miracle after Pentecost was wrought by St. Peter (Acts iii.); and St. John was joined with him in that, as in most important acts of his ministry; but it was Peter who took the cripple by the hand, and bade him "in the name of Jesus of Nazareth rise up and walk," and when the people ran together to Solomon's porch, where the Apostles, following their Master's example were wont to teach, Peter was the speaker: he convinces the people of their sin, warns them of their danger, points out the fulfilment of prophecy, and the spe-

¹ See Schmid, *Biblische Theologie*, ii. 153; and Weiss, *Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff*, p. 19.

* This speech is at once strikingly characteristic of St. Peter, and a proof of the fundamental harmony between his teaching and the more developed and systematic doctrines of St. Paul: differing in form, to an extent utterly incompatible with the theory of Baur and Schwegler

cial objects for which God sent His Son first to the children of the old covenant.*

The boldness of the two Apostles, of Peter more especially as the spokesman, when "filled with the Holy Ghost" he confronted the full assembly, headed by Annas and Caiaphas, produced a deep impression upon those cruel and unscrupulous hypocrites; an impression enhanced by the fact that the words came from ignorant and unlearned men. The words spoken by both Apostles, when commanded not to speak at all nor teach in the name of Jesus, have ever since been the watchwords of martyrs (iv. 19, 20).

This first miracle of healing was soon followed by the first miracle of judgment. The first open and deliberate sin against the Holy Ghost, a sin combining ambition, fraud, hypocrisy, and blasphemy, was visited by death, sudden and awful as under the old dispensation. St. Peter was the minister in that transaction. As he had first opened the gate to penitents (Acts ii. 37, 38), he now closed it to hypocrites. The act stands alone, without a precedent or parallel in the Gospel; but Peter acted simply as an instrument, not pronouncing the sentence, but denouncing the sin, and that in the name of his fellow Apostles and of the Holy Ghost. Penalties similar in kind, though far different in degree, were inflicted, or commanded on various occasions by St. Paul. St. Peter appears, perhaps in consequence of that act, to have become the object of a reverence bordering, as it would seem, on superstition (Acts v. 15), while the numerous miracles of healing wrought about the same time, showing the true character of the power dwelling in the Apostles, gave occasion to the second persecution. Peter then came into contact with the noblest and most interesting character among the Jews, the learned and liberal tutor of St. Paul, Gamaliel, whose caution, gentleness, and dispassionate candour, stand out in strong relief contrasted with his colleagues, but make a faint impression compared with the steadfast and uncompromising principles of the Apostles, who after undergoing an illegal scourging, went forth rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for the name of Jesus. Peter is not specially named in connexion with the appointment of deacons, an important step in the organization of the Church; but when the Gospel was first preached beyond the precincts of the Judea, he and St. John were at once sent by the Apostles to confirm the converts at Samaria, a very important statement at this critical point, proving clearly his subordination to the whole body, of which he was the most active and able member.

Up to that time it may be said that the Apostles had one great work, viz., to convince the Jews that Jesus was the Messiah; in that work St. Peter was the master builder, the whole structure rested upon the doctrines of which he was the principal teacher: hitherto no words but his are specially recorded by the writer of the Acts. Henceforth he remains prominent, but not exclusively prominent, among the propagators of the Gospel. At Samaria he and St. John established the precedent for the most important rite not expressly enjoined in Holy Writ, viz., confirmation, which the Western Church has

touching the object of the writer of the Acts; identical in spirit, as issuing from the same source.

* Not so the Eastern, which combines the act with baptism, and leaves it to the officiating priest. It is one of the points upon which Photius and other Eastern controversialists lay special stress.

always held to belong exclusively to the functions of bishops as successors to the ordinary powers of the apostolate. Then also St. Peter was confronted with Simon Magus, the first teacher of heresy. [SIMON MAGUS.] As in the case of Ananias he had denounced the first sin against holiness, so in this case he first declared the penalty due to the sin called after Simon's name. About three years later (compare Acts ix. 26, and Gal. i. 17, 18) we have two accounts of the first meeting of St. Peter and St. Paul. In the Acts it is stated generally that St. Paul was at first distrusted by the disciples, and received by the Apostles upon the recommendation of Barnabas. From the Galatians we learn that St. Paul went to Jerusalem specially to see Peter; that he abode with him fifteen days, and that James was the only other Apostle present at the time. It is important to note that this account, which while it establishes the independence of St. Paul, marks the position of St. Peter as the most eminent of the Apostles, rests not on the authority of the writer of the Acts, but on that of St. Paul—as though it were intended to obviate all possible misconceptions touching the mutual relations of the Apostles of the Hebrews and the Gentiles. This interview was followed by other events marking Peter's position—a general apostolical tour of visitation to the Churches hitherto established (*διερχόμενον διὰ πόλεων*, Acts ix. 32), in the course of which two great miracles were wrought on Aeneas and Tabitha, and in connexion with which the most signal transactions after the day of Pentecost is recorded, the baptism of Cornelius. That was the crown and consummation of Peter's ministry. Peter who had first preached the resurrection to the Jews, baptized the first converts, confirmed the first Samaritans, saw, without the advice or co-operation of any of his colleagues, under direct communication from heaven, first threw down the barrier which separated proselytes of the gate^a from Israelites, first establishing principles which in their gradual application and full development issued in the complete fusion of the Gentile and Hebrew elements in the Church. The narrative of this event, which stands since in minute circumstantiality of incidents, and accumulation of supernatural agency, is twice recorded by St. Luke. The chief points to be noted are, first the peculiar fitness of Cornelius, both as a representative of Roman force and nationality, and as a devout and liberal worshipper, to be a recipient of such privileges; and secondly, the state of the Apostle's own mind. Whatever may have been his doubts or fears touching the heathen, the idea had certainly not yet crossed him that they could become Christians without first becoming Jews. As a typical and believing Hebrew he could not contemplate the removal of Gentile disqualifications, without which assurance that the enactments of the Jewish legislator were abrogated by the new dispensation. The vision could not therefore have been the product of a subjective impression. It was, strictly speaking, objective, presented to his mind by an eternal influence. Yet the will of the Apostle was not controlled, it was simply enlightened. The intimation in the state of trance did not overcome his reluctance. It was not until the consciousness was fully restored, and he had considered the meaning of the vision, that he perceived that the distinction of cleanness and unclean-

ness in outward things belonged to a temporary dispensation. It was no mere acquiescence in a positive command, but the development of a spirit full of generous impulses, which found utterance in the words spoken by Peter on that occasion—both in the presence of Cornelius, and afterwards at Jerusalem. His conduct gave great offence to all his countrymen (Acts xi. 2), and it needed all his authority, corroborated by a special manifestation of the Holy Ghost, to induce his fellow-Apostles to recognize the propriety of this great act, in which both he and they saw an earnest of the admission of Gentiles into the Church on the single condition of spiritual repentance. The establishment of a Church in great part of Gentile origin at Antioch, and the mission of Barnabas, between whose family and Peter there were the bonds of near intimacy, set the seal upon the work thus inaugurated by St. Peter.

This transaction was soon followed by the imprisonment of our Apostle. Herod Agrippa having first tested the state of feeling at Jerusalem by the execution of James, one of the most eminent Apostles, arrested Peter. The hatred, which at that time first showed itself as a popular feeling, may most probably be attributed chiefly to the offence given by Peter's conduct towards Cornelius. His miraculous deliverance marks the close of this second great period of his ministry. The special work assigned to him was completed. He had founded the Church, opened its gates to Jews and Gentiles, and distinctly laid down the conditions of admission. From that time we have no continuous history of Peter. It is quite clear that he retained his rank as the chief Apostle, equally so, that he neither exercised nor claimed any right to control their proceedings. At Jerusalem the government of the Church devolved upon James the brother of our Lord. In other places Peter seems to have confined his ministrations to his countrymen—as Apostle of the circumcision. He left Jerusalem, but it is not said where he went. Certainly not to Rome, where there are no traces of his presence before the last years of his life; he probably remained in Judea, visiting and confirming the Churches; some old but not trustworthy traditions represent him as preaching in Caesarea and other cities on the western coast of Palestine; six years later we find him once more at Jerusalem, when the Apostles and elders came together to consider the question whether converts should be circumcised. Peter took the lead in that discussion, and urged with remarkable cogency the principles settled in the case of Cornelius. Purifying faith and saving grace (xv. 9 and 11) remove all distinctions between believers. His arguments, adopted and enforced by James, decided that question at once and for ever. It is, however, to be remarked, that on that occasion he exercised no one power which Romanists hold to be inalienably attached to the chair of Peter. He did not preside at the meeting; he neither summoned nor dismissed it; he neither collected the suffrages, nor pronounced the decision.*

It is a disputed point whether the meeting between St. Paul and St. Peter, of which we have an account in the Galatians (ii. 1-10) took place at this time. The great majority of critics believe that it did, and this hypothesis, though not without difficulties, seems more probable than any other

^a A term to which objection has been made, but shewn by text to be strictly correct.

* In accordance with this representation. St. Paul names James before Cephas and John (Gal. ii. 9).

which has been suggested.⁷ The only point of real importance was certainly determined before the Apostles separated, the work of converting the Gentiles being henceforth specially entrusted to Paul and Barnabas, while the charge of preaching to the circumcision was assigned to the elder Apostles, and more particularly to Peter (Gal. ii. 7-9). This arrangement cannot, however, have been an exclusive one. St. Paul always addressed himself first to the Jews in every city: Peter and his old colleagues undoubtedly admitted and sought to make converts among the Gentiles. It may have been in full force only when the old and new Apostles resided in the same city. Such at least was the case at Antioch, where St. Peter went soon afterwards. There the painful collision took place between the two Apostles; the most remarkable, and, in its bearings upon controversies at critical periods, one of the most important events in the history of the Church. St. Peter at first applied the principles which he had lately defended, carrying with him the whole Apostolic body, and on his arrival at Antioch ate with the Gentiles, thus showing that he believed all ceremonial distinctions to be abolished by the Gospel: in that he went far beyond the strict letter of the injunctions issued by the Council.⁸ That step was marked and condemned by certain members of the Church of Jerusalem sent by James. It appeared to them one thing to recognize Gentiles as fellow Christians, another to admit them to social intercourse, whereby ceremonial defilement would be contracted under the law to which all the Apostles, Barnabas and Paul included, acknowledged allegiance.⁹ Peter, as the Apostle of the circumcision, fearing to give offence to those who were his special charge, at once gave up the point, suppressed or disguised his feelings,¹⁰ and separated himself not from communion, but from social intercourse with the Gentiles. St. Paul, as the Apostle of the Gentiles, saw clearly the consequences likely to ensue, and could ill brook the misapplication of a rule often laid down in his own writings concerning compliance with the prejudices of weak brethren. He held that Peter was infringing a great principle, withstood him to the face, and using the same arguments which Peter had urged at the Council, pronounced his conduct to be indefensible. The statement that Peter compelled the Gentiles to Judaize, probably means, not that he enjoined circumcision, but that his conduct, if persevered in, would have that effect, since they would naturally take any steps which might remove the barriers to familiar intercourse with the first Apostles of Christ. Peter was wrong, but it was an error of judgment; an act contrary to his own feelings and wishes, in

⁷ Lange (*Das apostolische Zeitalter*, ii. 378) fixes the date about three years after the Council. Wieseler has a long excursus to show that it must have occurred after St. Paul's second apostolic journey. He gives some weighty reasons, but wholly fails in the attempt to account for the presence of Barnabas, a fatal objection to his theory. See *Iber Brief an die Galater*, *Excursus*, p. 579. On the other side are Theodoret, Pearson, Eichhorn, Olshausen, Meyer, Neander, Howson, Schaff, &c.

⁸ This decisively overthrows the whole system of Baur, which rests upon an assumed antagonism between St. Paul and the elder Apostles, especially St. Peter. St. Paul grounds his reproof upon the inconsistency of Peter, not upon his Judaizing tendencies.

⁹ See Acts xviii. 18-21, xx. 16, xxii. 18-24, passages borne out by numerous statements in St. Paul's Epistles.

¹⁰ ἰσέσταν, συννεκρίθησαν, ὑπόκρισις, must be

deference to those whom he looked upon as representing the mind of the Church; that he was actuated by selfishness, national pride, or any mains of superstition, is neither asserted nor implied in the strong censure of St. Paul: nor, much as we must admire the earnestness and wisdom of St. Paul, whose clear and vigorous intellect was in this case stimulated by anxiety for his own special charge, the Gentile Church, should we overlook Peter's singular humility in submitting to public reproof from one so much his junior, or his magnanimity both in adopting St. Paul's conclusions (as we must infer that he did from the absence of all trace of continued resistance), and in remaining on terms of brotherly communion (as is testified by his own written words), to the end of his life (1 Pet. v. 10; 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16).

From this time until the date of his Epistles, we have no distinct notices in Scripture of Peter's abode or work. The silence may be accounted for by the fact that from that time the great work of propagating the Gospel was committed to the marvellous energies of St. Paul. Peter was probably employed for the most part in building up, and completing the organization of Christian communities in Palestine and the adjoining districts. There is, however, strong reason to believe that he visited Corinth at an early period; this seems to be implied in several passages of St. Paul's first epistle to that Church,^c and it is a natural inference from the statements of Clement of Rome (1 *Epistle to the Corinthians*, c. 4). The fact is positively asserted by Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (A.D. 180 at the latest), a man of excellent judgment, who was not likely to be misinformed, nor to make such an assertion lightly in an epistle addressed to the Bishop and Church of Rome.^d The reference to collision between parties who claimed Peter, Apollos, Paul, and even Christ for their chiefs, involves no opposition between the Apostles themselves, such as the fabulous Clementines and modern infidelity assume. The name of Peter as founder, or joint founder, is not associated with any local Church save those of Corinth, Antioch,^e or Rome, by early ecclesiastical tradition. That of Alexandria may have been established by St. Mark after Peter's death. That Peter preached the Gospel in the countries of Asia, mentioned in his first Epistle, appears from Origen's own words (κεκρηκέναι εἰκεν) to be a mere conjecture, not in itself improbable, but of little weight in the absence of all positive evidence, and of all personal reminiscences in the Epistle itself. From that Epistle, however, it is to be inferred that towards the end of his life, St. Peter either visited, or resided

understood in this sense. It was not hypocrisy in the sense of an affectation of holiness, but in that of an ostentatious deference to prejudices which certainly neither Peter nor Barnabas any longer shared.

^c See Routh, *Rel. Sacrae*, i. 179.

^d The attempt to set aside the evidence of Dionysius on the ground that he makes an evident mistake in attributing the foundation of the Corinthian Church to Peter and Paul, is futile. If Peter took any part in organizing the Church, he would be spoken of as a joint founder. Schaff supposes that Peter may have first visited Corinth on his way to Rome towards the end of his life.

^e It is to be observed that even St. Leo represents the relation of St. Peter to Antioch as precisely the same with that in which he stands to Rome (Ep. 92).

^f Origen, ap. Euseb. iii. 1, adopted by Epiphanius (*Iber* xvii.) and Jerome (*Catal.* c. 1).

at the same time at Babylon, which at that time, and for some hundreds of years afterwards was a chief seat of Jewish culture. This of course depends upon the assumption, which on the whole seems most probable, that the word Babylon is not used as a mystic designation of Rome, but as a proper name, and that not of an obscure city in Egypt, but of the ancient capital of the East. There were many inducements for such a choice of abode. The Jewish families formed there a separate community, they were rich, prosperous, and had established settlements in many districts of Asia Minor. Their language, probably a mixture of Hebrew and Nabatean, must have borne a near affinity to the Galilean dialect. They were on far more familiar terms than in other countries with their heathen neighbours, while their intercourse with Judea was carried on without intermission. Christianity certainly made considerable progress at an early time in that and the adjoining districts, the great Christian schools at Edessa and Nisibis probably owed their origin to the influence of Peter, the general base of the writers of that school is what is now commonly designated as Petrine. It is no unreasonable supposition that the establishment of Christianity in those districts may have been specially connected with the residence of Peter at Babylon. At that time there must have been some communications between the two great Apostles, Peter and Paul, thus stationed at the two extremities of the Christian world. St. Mark, who was certainly employed about that time by St. Paul, was with St. Peter when he wrote the Epistle. Silvanus, St. Paul's chosen companion, was the bearer, probably the amanuensis of St. Peter's Epistle: not improbably sent to Peter from Rome, and charged by him to deliver that epistle, written to support Paul's authority, to the Churches founded by that Apostle on his return.

More important in its bearings upon later controversies is the question of St. Peter's connexion with Rome.

It may be considered as a settled point that he did not visit Rome before the last year of his life. The much stress may perhaps be laid on the fact that there is no notice of St. Peter's labours or presence in that city in the Epistle to the Romans; but that negative evidence is not counterbalanced by any statement of undoubted antiquity. The fact given by Eusebius¹ rests upon a miscalculation, and is irreconcilable with the notices of St.

¹ In the other hand, the all but unanimous opinion of ancient commentators that Rome is designated has been upheld, and maintained with great ingenuity and some able arguments, by Schaff (*Geschichte der Christenheit*, p. 306), Neander, Steiger, De Wette, and others. Among ourselves, Pearson takes the name literally, though with some difference as to the fact or name.

² For many interesting and valuable notices see Jost, *Annuaire des Judenthums*, l. 337, li. 127.

³ He gives A.D. 42 in the *Chronicon* (i. e. in the Armenian text), and says that Peter remained at Rome twenty years. In this he is followed by Jerome, *Catal.* c. 1 (who gives twenty-five years), and by most Roman Catholic writers.

⁴ Which is the only exception. He belongs to the Protestant sect, which can scarcely be called Protestant. See *Les apostoliques Zeitalter*, p. 381, and by Schaff, *Christenheit*, p. 306.

⁵ The most ingenious attempt is that of Windischmann, *Annuaire Petrine*, p. 112 f. He assumes that Peter went

to Rome immediately after his deliverance from prison (Acts xii.), i. e. A.D. 44, and left in consequence of the Claudian persecution between A.D. 49 and 51.

Peter in the Acts of the Apostles. Protestant critics, with scarcely one exception,^k are unanimous upon this point, and Roman controversialists are far from being agreed in their attempts^m to remove the difficulty.

The fact, however, of St. Peter's martyrdom at Rome rests upon very different grounds. The evidence for it is complete, while there is a total absence of any contrary statement in the writings of the early Fathers. We have in the first place the certainty of his martyrdom, in our Lord's own prediction (John xxi. 18, 19). Clement of Rome, writing before the end of the first century, speaks of it,ⁿ but does not mention the place, that being of course well-known to his readers. Ignatius, in the undoubtedly genuine Epistle to the Romans (ch. iv.), speaks of St. Peter in terms which imply a special connexion with their Church. Other early notices of less weight coincide with this, as that of Papias (Euseb. ii. 15), and the apocryphal *Praedicatio Petri*, quoted by Cyprian. In the second century, Dionysius of Corinth, in the Epistle to Soter, bishop of Rome (ap. Euseb. H. E. ii. 25), states, as a fact universally known and accounting for the intimate relations between Corinth and Rome, that Peter and Paul both taught in Italy, and suffered martyrdom about the same time.^o Irenaeus, who was connected with St. John, being a disciple of Polycarp, a hearer of that Apostle, and thoroughly conversant with Roman matters, bears distinct witness to St. Peter's presence at Rome (*Adv. Haer.* iii. 1 and 3). It is incredible that he should have been misinformed. In the next century there is the testimony of Caius, the liberal and learned Roman presbyter (who speaks of St. Peter's tomb in the Vatican), that of Origen, Tertullian, and of the ante- and post-Nicene Fathers, without a single exception. In short, the Churches most nearly connected with Rome, and those least affected by its influence, which was as yet but inconsiderable in the East, concur in the statement that Peter was a joint founder of that Church, and suffered death in that city. What the early Fathers do not assert, and indeed implicitly deny, is that Peter was the sole Founder or resident head of that Church, or that the See of Rome derived from him any claim to supremacy: at the utmost they place him on a footing of equality with St. Paul.^p That fact is sufficient for all purposes of fair controversy. The denial of the statements resting on such evidence seems almost to indicate an uneasy consciousness

to Rome immediately after his deliverance from prison (Acts xii.), i. e. A.D. 44, and left in consequence of the Claudian persecution between A.D. 49 and 51.

^k μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν δεξιόμορον τόπον τῆς δόξης (1 Cor. v.). The first word might simply mean "bare public witness;" but the last is conclusive.

^l One of the most striking instances of the hypercritical scepticism of the Tübingen school is Baur's attempt to prove that this distinct and positive statement was a mere inference from the epistle of Clement. The intercourse between the two churches was unbroken from the Apostles' times.

^m Coteler has collected a large number of passages from the early Fathers, in which the name of Paul precedes that of Peter (*Pat. Apost.* i. 414: see also Valesius, *Eus. H. E.* iii. 21). Fabricius observes that this is the general usage of the Greek Fathers. It is also to be remarked that when the Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries—for instance, Chrysostom and Augustine—use the words ὁ Ἀπόστολος, or *Apostolus*, they mean Paul, not Peter. A very weighty fact.

ness, truly remarkable in those who believe that they have, and who in fact really have, irrefragable grounds for rejecting the pretensions of the Papacy.

The time and manner of the Apostle's martyrdom are less certain. The early writers imply, or distinctly state, that he suffered at, or about the same time (Dionysius, *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν*) with St. Paul, and in the Neronian persecution. All agree that he was crucified, a point sufficiently determined by our Lord's prophecy. Origen (ap. Eus. iii. 1), who could easily ascertain the fact, and though fanciful in speculation, is not inaccurate in historical matters, says that at his own request he was crucified with his head downwards. This statement was generally received by Christian antiquity: nor does it seem inconsistent with the fervent temperament and deep humility of the Apostle to have chosen such a death: one, moreover, not unlikely to have been inflicted in mockery by the instruments of Nero's wanton and ingenious cruelty.

The legend found in St. Ambrose is interesting, and may have some foundation in fact. When the persecution began, the Christians at Rome, anxious to preserve their great teacher, persuaded him to flee, a course which they had Scriptural warrant to recommend, and he to follow; but at the gate he met our Lord. Lord, whither goest thou? asked the Apostle, I go to Rome, was the answer, there once more to be crucified. St. Peter well understood the meaning of those words, returned at once and was crucified.³

Thus closes the Apostle's life. Some additional facts, not perhaps unimportant, may be accepted on early testimony. From St. Paul's words it may be inferred with certainty that he did not give up the ties of family life when he forsook his temporal calling. His wife accompanied him in his wanderings. Clement of Alexandria, a writer well informed in matters of ecclesiastical interest, and thoroughly trustworthy, says (*Strom.* iii. p. 448) that "Peter and Philip had children, and that both took about their wives, who acted as their coadjutors in ministering to women at their own homes; by their means the doctrine of the Lord penetrated without scandal into the privacy of women's apartments." Peter's wife is believed, on the same authority, to have suffered martyrdom, and to have been supported in the hour of trial by her husband's exhortation. Some critics believe that she is referred to in the salutation at the end of the first Epistle of St. Peter. The Apostle is said to have employed interpreters. Basilides, an early Gnostic, professed to derive his system from Glaucias, one of these interpreters. This shows at least the impression, that the Apostle did not understand Greek, or did not speak it with fluency. Of far more importance is the statement that St. Mark wrote his gospel under the teaching of Peter, or that he embodied in

that gospel the substance of our Apostles oral instructions. This statement rests upon such an amount of external evidence, and is corroborated by so many internal indications, that it would scarcely be questioned in the absence of a strong theological bias. The fact is doubly important in its bearings upon the Gospel, and upon the character of our Apostle. Chrysostom, who is followed by the most judicious commentators, seems first to have drawn attention to the fact, that in St. Mark's gospel every defect in Peter's character and conduct is brought out clearly, without the slightest extenuation, while many noble acts and peculiar marks of favour are either omitted, or stated with far less force than by any other Evangelist. Indications of St. Peter's influence, even in St. Mark's style, much less pure than that of St. Luke, are traced by modern criticism.⁴

The only written documents which St. Peter has left, are the First Epistle, about which no doubt has ever been entertained in the Church; and the Second, which has both in early times, and in our own, been a subject of earnest controversy.

FIRST EPISTLE.—The external evidence of authenticity is of the strongest kind. Referred to in the Second Epistle (iii. 1); known to Polycarp, and frequently alluded to in his Epistle to the Philippians; recognized by Papias (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 39); repeatedly quoted by Irenaeus, Clemens of Alexandria, Tertullian, and Origen; it was accepted without hesitation by the universal Church.⁵ The internal evidence is equally strong. Schwieger the most reckless, and De Wette the most vacillating of modern critics, stand almost alone in their denial of its authenticity.

It was addressed to the Churches of Asia Minor, which had for the most part been founded by St. Paul and his companions. Supposing it to have been written at Babylon (see above), it is a probable conjecture that Silvanus, by whom it was transmitted to those Churches, had joined St. Peter after a tour of visitation, either in pursuance of instructions from St. Paul, then a prisoner at Rome, or in the capacity of a minister of high authority in the Church, and that his account of the condition of the Christians in those districts determined the Apostle to write the Epistle. From the absence of personal salutations, and other indications, it may perhaps be inferred that St. Peter had not hitherto visited the Churches; but it is certain that he was thoroughly acquainted both with their external circumstances and spiritual state. It is clear that Silvanus is not regarded by St. Peter as one of his own coadjutors, but as one whose personal character he had sufficient opportunity of appreciating (v. 12). Such a testimony as the Apostle gives to the soundness of his faith, would of course have the greatest weight with the

³ See Tillemont, *Mém.* i. p. 187, and 555. He shows that the account of Ambrose (which is not to be found in the Bened. edit.) is contrary to the apocryphal legend. Later writers rather value it as reflecting upon St. Peter's want of courage or constancy. That St. Peter, like all good men, valued his life, and suffered reluctantly, may be inferred from our Lord's words (John xxi.); but his flight is more in harmony with the principles of a Christian than wilful exposure to persecution. Origen refers to the words then said to have been spoken by our Lord, but quotes an apocryphal work (*On St. John*, tom. ii.).

⁴ Papias and Clem. Alex., referred to by Eusebius, *H. E.* ii. 15; Tertullian, *c. Marc.* iv. c. 5; Irenaeus, iii. 1, and iv. 9. Petavins (on Epiphanius, p. 428) observes that

Papias derived his information from John the Presbyter. For other passages see Fabricius (*Bibl. Gr.* tom. ii. 187). The slight discrepancy between Eusebius and Papias indicates independent sources of information.

⁵ Gieseler, quoted by Davidson.

⁶ No importance can be attached to the omission in the mutilated fragment on the Canon, published by Merx, See Routh, *Rel. Sac.* i. 396, and the note of Freindall, which Routh quotes, p. 424. Theodorus of Mopsuestia, a shrewd but rash critic, is said to have rejected all, or some, of the Catholic epistles; but the statement is ambiguous. See Davidson (*Int.* iii. 391), whose translation is incorrect.

Hebrew Christians, to whom the Epistle appears to have been specially, though not exclusively addressed.* The assumption that Silvanus was employed in the composition of the Epistle is not borne out by the expression, "by Silvanus, I have written unto you," so the better than to the writer or amanuensis. It is highly probable that Silvanus, considering his rank, character, and special connexion with those Churches, and with their great Apostle and founder, would be consulted by St. Peter throughout, and that they would together read the Epistles of St. Peter, especially those addressed to the Churches in those districts: thus, partly with direct intention, partly it may be unconsciously, a Pauline colouring, amounting in passages to something like a studied imitation of St. Paul's representations of Christian truths, may have been introduced into the Epistle. It has been observed above that there is good reason to suppose that St. Peter was in the habit of employing an interpreter; nor is there anything incongruous with his position or character in the supposition that Silvanus, perhaps also St. Mark, may have assisted him in giving expression to the thoughts suggested to him by the Holy Spirit. We have thus at my rate, a not unsatisfactory solution of the difficulty arising from correspondences both of style and modes of thought in the writings of two Apostles who differed so widely in gifts and acquirements.

The objects of the Epistle, as deduced from its contents, coincide with these assumptions. They are:—1. To comfort and strengthen the Christians in a season of severe trial. 2. To enforce the practical and spiritual duties involved in their calling. 3. To warn them against special temptations attached to their position. 4. To remove all doubt as to the soundness and completeness of the religious system which they had already received. Such an attestation was especially needed by the Hebrew Christians, who were wont to appeal from St. Paul's authority to that of the elder Apostles, and above all to that of Peter. The last, which is perhaps the very principal object, is kept in view throughout the Epistle, and is distinctly stated, ch. v. ver. 12.

These objects may come out more clearly in a brief analysis.

The Epistle begins with salutations and general description of Christians (i. 1, 2), followed by a recitation of their present privileges and future inheritance (3-5); the bearings of that statement upon their conduct under persecution (6-9); reversion, according to the Apostle's wont, to provisions concerning both the sufferings of Christ and the salvation of His people (10-12); exhortations based upon those promises to earnestness, sobriety, obedience, and holiness, as results of knowledge of redemption, of atonement by the blood of Christ, and of the resurrection, and as proofs of spiritual regeneration by the word of God. Peculiar stress is laid upon the cardinal graces of faith, hope, and brotherly love, each connected with and resting upon the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel (13-25). Abstinance from the spiritual sins most

directly opposed to those graces is then enforced (ii. 1); spiritual growth is represented as dependent upon the nourishment supplied by the same Word which was the instrument of regeneration (2, 3); and then, by a change of metaphor, Christians are represented as a spiritual house, collectively and individually as living stones, and royal priests, elect, and brought out of darkness into light (4-10). This portion of the Epistle is singularly rich in thought and expression, and bears the peculiar impress of the Apostle's mind, in which Judaism is spiritualized, and finds its full development in Christ. From this condition of Christians, and more directly from the fact that they are thus separated from the world, pilgrims and sojourners, St. Peter deduces an entire system of practical and relative duties, self-control, care of reputation, especially for the sake of Gentiles; submission to all constituted authorities; obligations of slaves, urged with remarkable earnestness, and founded upon the example of Christ and His atoning death (11-25); and duties of wives and husbands (iii. 1-7). Then generally all Christian graces are commended, those which pertain to Christian brotherhood, and those which are especially needed in times of persecution, gentleness, forbearance, and submission to injury (8-17): all the precepts being based on imitation of Christ, with warnings from the history of the deluge, and with special reference to the baptismal covenant.

In the following chapter (iv. 1, 2) the analogy between the death of Christ and spiritual mortification, a topic much dwelt on by St. Paul, is urged with special reference to the sins committed by Christians before conversion, and habitual to the Gentiles. The doctrine of a future judgment is inculcated, both with reference to their heathen persecutors as a motive for endurance, and to their own conduct as an incentive to sobriety, watchfulness, fervent charity, liberality in all external acts of kindness, and diligent discharge of all spiritual duties, with a view to the glory of God through Jesus Christ (3-11).

This Epistle appears at the first draught to have terminated here with the doxology, but the thought of the fiery trial to which the Christians were exposed stirs the Apostle's heart, and suggests additional exhortations. Christians are taught to rejoice in partaking of Christ's sufferings, being thereby assured of sharing His glory, which even in this life rests upon them, and is especially manifested in their innocence and endurance of persecution: judgment must come first to cleanse the house of God, then to reach the disobedient: suffering according to the will of God, they may commit their souls to Him in well doing as unto a faithful Creator. Faith and hope are equally conspicuous in these exhortations. The Apostle then (v. 1-4) addresses the presbyters of the Churches, warning them as one of their own body, as a witness (*μάρτυς*) of Christ's sufferings, and partaker of future glory, against negligence, covetousness, and love of power: the younger members he exhorts to submission and humility, and concludes this part with a warning against their spiritual enemy, and a solemn and

observance (*nicht nach dem Cultus*). See also Weiss, *Der Petrinische Lehrbegriff*, p. 28, n. 2.

* The question has been thoroughly discussed by Hug, Ewald, Bertholdt, Weiss, and other critics. The most striking resemblances are perhaps 1 Pet. i. 3, with Eph. i. 3; ii. 18, with Eph. vi. 5; iii. 1, with Eph. v. 22; and v. 5, with v. 21: but allusions nearly as distinct are found to the Romans, Corinthians, Colossians, Thessalonians, and Philemon

* This is the general opinion of the ablest commentators. The ancient were nearly unanimous in holding that it was written for Hebrew converts. But several passages are evidently meant for Gentiles: e. g. i. 14, 18; ii. 9, 10; iii. 1, 2. Reuss, an original and able writer, is almost alone in the opinion that it was addressed chiefly to Gentile converts (p. 123). He takes *πάροικοι* and *παροικίαι* to mean "Israelites by faith, not by ceremonial

most beautiful prayer to the God of all grace. Lastly, he mentions Silvanus with special commendation, and states very distinctly what we have seen reason to believe was a principal object of the Epistle, viz., that the principles inculcated by their former teachers were sound, the true grace of God, to which they are exhorted to adhere. A salutation from the Church in Babylon and from St. Mark, with a parting benediction, closes the Epistle.

The harmony of such teaching with that of St. Paul is sufficiently obvious, nor is the general arrangement or mode of discussing the topics unlike that of the Apostle of the Gentiles; still the indications of originality and independence of thought are at least equally conspicuous, and the Epistle is full of what the Gospel narrative and the discourses in the Acts prove to have been characteristic peculiarities of St. Peter. He dwells more frequently than St. Paul upon the future manifestation of Christ, upon which he bases nearly all his exhortations to patience, self-control, and the discharge of all Christian duties. There is not a shadow of opposition here, the topic is not neglected by St. Paul, nor does St. Peter omit the Pauline argument from Christ's sufferings; still what the Germans call the eschatological element predominates over all others. The Apostle's mind is full of one thought, the realization of Messianic hopes. While St. Paul dwells with most earnestness upon justification by our Lord's death and merits, and concentrates his energies upon the Christian's present struggles, St. Peter fixes his eye constantly upon the future coming of Christ, the fulfilment of prophecy, the manifestation of the promised kingdom. In this he is the true representative of Israel, moved by those feelings which were best calculated to enable him to do his work as the Apostle of the circumcision. Of the three Christian graces hope is his special theme. He dwells much on good works, but not so much because he sees in them necessary results of faith, or the complement of faith, or outward manifestations of the spirit of love, aspects most prominent in St. Paul, St. James, and St. John, as because he holds them to be tests of the soundness and stability of a faith which rests on the fact of the resurrection, and is directed to the future in the developed form of hope.

But while St. Peter thus shows himself a genuine Israelite, his teaching is directly opposed to Judaizing tendencies. He belongs to the school, or, to speak more correctly, is the leader of the school, which at once vindicates the unity of the Law and the Gospel, and puts the superiority of the latter on its true basis, that of spiritual development. All his practical injunctions are drawn from Christian, not Jewish principles, from the precepts, example, life, death, resurrection, and future coming of Christ. The Apostle of the circumcision says not a word in this Epistle of the perpetual obligation, the dignity, or even the bearings of the Mosaic Law. He is full of the Old Testament; his style and thoughts are charged with its imagery, but he contemplates and applies its teaching in the light of the Gospel; he regards the privileges and glory of the ancient people of God entirely in their spiritual development in the Church of Christ. Only one who had been brought up as a Jew could have had his spirit so impregnated with these thoughts; only one who had been thoroughly emancipated by the Spirit of

Christ could have risen so completely above the prejudices of his age and country. This is a point of great importance, showing how utterly opposed the teaching of the original Apostles, whom St. Peter certainly represents, was to that Judaistic narrowness which speculative rationalism has imputed to all the early followers of Christ, with the exception of St. Paul. There are in fact more traces of what are called Judaizing views, more of sympathy with national hopes, not to say prejudices, in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, than in this work. In this we see the Jew who has been born again, and exchanged what St. Peter himself calls the unbearable yoke of the law for the liberty which is in Christ. At the same time it must be admitted that our Apostle is far from tracing his principles to their origin, and from drawing out their consequences with the vigour, spiritual discernment, internal sequence of reasoning, and systematic completeness which are characteristic of St. Paul. A few great facts, broad solid principles on which faith and hope may rest securely, with a spirit of patience, confidence, and love, suffice for his unspeculative mind. To him objective truth was the main thing; subjective struggles between the intellect and spiritual consciousness, such as we find in St. Paul, and the intuitions of a spirit absorbed in contemplation like that of St. John, though not by any means alien to St. Peter, were in him wholly subordinated to the practical tendencies of a simple and energetic character. It has been observed with truth, that both in tone and in form the teaching of St. Peter bears a peculiarly strong resemblance to that of our Lord, in discourses bearing directly upon practical duties. The great value of the Epistle to believers consists in this resemblance; they feel themselves in the hands of a safe guide, of one who will help them to trace the hand of their Master in both dispensations, and to confirm and expand their faith.

SECOND EPISTLE.—The Second Epistle of St. Peter presents questions of far greater difficulty than the former. There can be no doubt that, whether we consider the external or the internal evidence, it is by no means easy to demonstrate its genuineness. We have few references, and none of a very positive character, in the writings of the early Fathers; the style differs materially from that of the First Epistle, and the resemblance, amounting to a studied imitation, between this Epistle and that of St. Jude, seems scarcely reconcilable with the position of St. Peter. Doubts as to its genuineness were entertained by the greatest critics of the early Church; in the time of Eusebius it was reckoned among the disputed books, and was not formally admitted into the Canon until the year 393, at the Council of Hippo. The opinion of critics of what is called the liberal school, including all shades from Lücke to Baur, has been decidedly unfavourable, and that opinion has been adopted by some able writers in England. There are, however, very strong reasons why this verdict should be reconsidered. No one ground on which it rests is unassailable. The rejection of this book affects the authority of the whole Canon, which, in the opinion of one of the keenest and least scrupulous critics (Reuss) of modern Germany, is free from any other error. It is not a question as to the possible authorship of a work like that of the Hebrews, which does not bear

7 The reading *σήμε* is in all points preferable to that of the *textus receptus*, *ιστηκατε*.

* Thus Reuss, *Pierre n'a pas de système*. See also Brückner and Weiss, pp. 14, 17.

the writer's name: this Epistle must either be dismissed as a deliberate forgery, or accepted as the last production of the first among the Apostles of Christ. The Church, which for more than fourteen centuries has received it, has either been imposed upon by what must in that case be regarded as a diabolical device, or derived from it spiritual instruction of the highest importance. If received, it bears attestation to some of the most important facts in our Lord's history, casts light upon the feelings of the apostolic body in relation to the elder Church and to each other, and, while it confirms many doctrines generally inculcated, is the chief, if not the only, voucher for eschatological views touching the destruction of the framework of creation, which from an early period have been prevalent in the Church.

The contents of the Epistle seem quite in accordance with its asserted origin.

The customary opening salutation is followed by an enumeration of Christian blessings and exhortation to Christian duties, with special reference to the maintenance of the truth which had been already communicated to the Church (i. 1-13). Referring then to his approaching death, the Apostle assigns as grounds of assurance for believers his own personal testimony as eye-witness of the transfiguration, and the sure word of prophecy, that is the testimony of the Holy Ghost (14-21). The danger of being misled by false prophets is dwelt upon with great earnestness throughout the second chapter, their covetousness and gross sensuality combined with pretences to spiritualism, in short all the permanent and fundamental characteristics of Antinomianism, are described, while the overthrow of all opponents of Christian truth is predicted (ii. 1-29) in connexion with prophecies touching the second advent of Christ, the destruction of the world by fire, and the promise of new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. After an exhortation to attend to St. Paul's teaching, in accordance with the less explicit admonition in the previous Epistle, and an emphatic warning, the Epistle closes with the customary ascription of glory to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

We may now state briefly the answers to the objections above stated.

1. With regard to its recognition by the early Church, we observe that it was not likely to be quoted frequently; it was addressed to a portion of the Church not at that time much in intercourse with the rest of Christendom: the documents of the primitive Church are far too scanty to give weight to the argument (generally a questionable one) from omission. Although it cannot be proved to have been referred to by any author earlier than Origen, yet passages from Clement of Rome, Hermas, Justin Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, and Irenaeus, suggest an acquaintance with this Epistle: to these may be added a probable reference in the Martyrdom of Ignatius, quoted by Westcott, *On the Canon*, p. 87, and another in the Apology of Melito, published in France by Dr. Cureton. It is also distinctly stated by Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 14, and by Photius, *cod.*

^a Eusebius's observations on the Epistle of St. James are at least equally applicable to this. It would be, compared with the Jewish party gradually died out, and was not at any time mixed up with the general movement of the Church. The only literary documents of the Hebrew Christians were written by Ebionites, to whom this Epistle would be most distasteful. Had the book not been supported by

109, that Clement of Alexandria wrote a commentary on all the disputed Epistles, in which this was certainly included. It is quoted twice by Origen, but unfortunately in the translation of Rufinus, which cannot be relied upon. Didymus refers to it very frequently in his great work on the Trinity. It was certainly included in the collection of Catholic Epistles known to Eusebius and Origen, a very important point made out by Olshausen, *Opuscula Theol.* p. 29. It was probably known in the third century in different parts of the Christian world: in Cappadocia to Firmilian, in Africa to Cyprian, in Italy to Hippolytus, in Phoenicia to Methodius. A large number of passages has been collected by Dieblein, which, though quite insufficient to prove its reception, add somewhat to the probability that it was read by most of the early Fathers. The historical evidence is certainly inconclusive, but not such as to require or to warrant the rejection of the Epistle. The silence of the Fathers is accounted for more easily than its admission into the Canon after the question as to its genuineness had been raised. It is not conceivable that it should have been received without positive attestation from the Churches to which it was first addressed. We know that the autographs of Apostolic writings were preserved with care. It must also be observed that all motive for forgery is absent. This Epistle does not support any hierarchical pretensions, nor does it bear upon any controversies of a later age.

2. The difference of style may be admitted. The only question is, whether it is greater than can be satisfactorily accounted for, supposing that the Apostle employed a different person as his amanuensis. That the two Epistles could not have been composed and written by the same person is a point scarcely open to doubt. Olshausen, one of the fairest and least prejudiced of critics, points out eight discrepancies of style, some perhaps unimportant, but others almost conclusive, the most important being the appellations given to our Saviour, and the comparative absence of references to the Old Testament in this Epistle. If, however, we admit that some time intervened between the composition of the two works, that in writing the first the Apostle was aided by Silvanus, and in the second by another, perhaps St. Mark, that the circumstances of the Churches addressed by him were considerably changed, and that the second was written in greater haste, not to speak of a possible decay of faculties, the differences may be regarded as insufficient to justify more than hesitation in admitting its genuineness. The resemblance to the Epistle of St. Jude may be admitted without affecting our judgment unfavourably. Supposing, as some eminent critics have believed, that this Epistle was copied by St. Jude, we should have the strongest possible testimony to its authenticity; but if, on the other hand, we accept the more general opinion of modern critics, that the writer of this Epistle copied St. Jude, the following considerations have great weight. It seems quite

strong external credentials, its general reception or circulation seem unaccountable.

^b The passages are quoted by Guerike, *Einleitung*, p. 462.

^c See Dr. Wordsworth's Commentary on 2 Peter. His chief ground is that St. Peter predicts a state of affairs which St. Jude describes as actually existing. A very strong ground, admitting the authenticity of both Epistles

incredible that a forger, personating the chief among the Apostles, should select the least important of all the Apostolical writings for imitation; whereas it is probable that St. Peter might choose to give the stamp of his personal authority to a document bearing so powerfully upon practical and doctrinal errors in the Churches which he addressed. Considering, too, the characteristics of our Apostle, his humility, his impressionable mind, so open to personal influences, and his utter forgetfulness of self when doing his Master's work, we should hardly be surprised to find that part of the Epistle which treats of the same subjects coloured by St. Jude's style. Thus in the First Epistle we find everywhere, especially in dealing with kindred topics, distinct traces of St. Paul's influence. This hypothesis has moreover the advantage of accounting for the most striking, if not all the discrepancies of style between the two Epistles.

3. The doubts as to its genuineness appear to have originated with the critics of Alexandria, where, however, the Epistle itself was formally recognised at a very early period. Those doubts, however, were not quite so strong as they are now generally represented. The three greatest names of that school may be quoted on either side. On the one hand there were evidently external credentials, without which it could never have obtained circulation; on the other, strong subjective impressions, to which these critics attached scarcely less weight than some modern inquirers. They rested entirely, so far as can be ascertained, on the difference of style. The opinions of modern commentators may be summed up under three heads. Many, as we have seen, reject the Epistle altogether as spurious, supposing it to have been directed against forms of Gnosticism prevalent in the early part of the second century. A few⁴ consider that the first and last chapters were written by St. Peter or under his dictation, but that the second chapter was interpolated. So far, however, is either of these views from representing the general results of the latest investigations, that a majority of names,⁵ including nearly all the writers of Germany opposed to Rationalism, who in point of learning and ability are at least upon a par with their opponents, may be quoted in support of the genuineness and authenticity of this Epistle. The statement that all critics of eminence and impartiality concur in rejecting it is simply untrue, unless it be admitted that a belief in the reality of objective revelation is incompatible with critical impartiality, that belief being the only common point between the numerous defenders of the canonicity of this document. If it were a question now to be decided for the first time upon the external or internal evidences still accessible, it may be admitted that it would be far more difficult to maintain this than any other document in the New Testament; but the judgment of the early Church is not to be reversed without far stronger arguments than have been adduced, more especially as the Epistle is entirely free from objections which might be brought, with more show of reason, against others now all but universally received: inculcating no new doctrine, bearing on no controversies of post-

Apostolical origin, supporting no hierarchical innovations, but simple, earnest, devout, and eminently practical, full of the characteristic graces of the Apostle, who, as we believe, bequeathed this last proof of faith and hope to the Church.

Some Apocryphal writings of very early date obtained currency in the Church as containing the substance of the Apostle's teaching. The fragments which remain are not of much importance, nor could they be conveniently discussed in this notice. The Preaching (*κήρυγμα*) or Doctrine (*διδασχὴ*) of Peter, probably identical with a work called the Preaching of Paul, or of Paul and Peter, quoted by Lactantius, may have contained some traces of the Apostle's teaching, if, as Grabe, Ziegler, and others supposed, it was published soon after his death. The passages, however, quoted by Clement of Alexandria are for the most part wholly unlike St. Peter's mode of treating doctrinal or practical subjects.⁶ Another work, called the Revelation of Peter (*ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου*), was held in much esteem for centuries. It was commented on by Clement of Alexandria, quoted by Theodotus in the *Eclogue*, named together with the Revelation of St. John in the Fragment on the Canon published by Muratori (but with the remark, "quam quidam ex nostris legi in Ecclesia nolunt"), and according to Scaliger (*E. H.* vii. 19) was read once a year in some Churches of Palestine. It is said, but not on good authority, to have been preserved among the Coptic Christians. Eusebius looked on it as spurious, but not of heretic origin. From the fragments and notices it appears to have consisted chiefly of denunciations against the Jews, and predictions of the fall of Jerusalem, and to have been of a wild fanatical character. The most complete account of this curious work is given by Lücke in his general introduction to the Revelation of St. John, p. 47.

The legends of the Clementines are wholly devoid of historical worth; but from those fictions, originating with an obscure and heretical sect, have been derived some of the most mischievous speculations of modern rationalists, especially as regards the assumed antagonism between St. Paul and the earlier Apostles. It is important to observe, however, that in none of these spurious documents, which belong undoubtedly to the two first centuries, are there any indications that our Apostle was regarded as in any peculiar sense connected with the Church or see of Rome, or that he exercised or claimed any authority over the Apostolic body, of which he was the recognised leader or representative. [F. C. C.]

[CEPHAS (*Κηφᾶς*)] occurs in the following passages: John i. 42; 1 Cor. i. 12; iii. 22, ix. 5, xv. 5; Gal. ii. 9, i. 18, ii. 10, 14 (the last three according to the text of Lachmann and Tischendorf). Cephas is the Chaldee word *Cepha*, כֶּפֶה, itself a corruption of, or derivation from, the Hebrew *Ceph*, קֶפֶה, "a rock," a rare word, found only in Job xx. 6, and Jer. iv. 29. It must have been the word actually pronounced by our Lord in Matt. xvi. 18, and on subsequent occasions when the Apostle was addressed

⁴ E. g. Bunsen, Ullmann, and Lange.

⁵ Nitzsche, Platt, Dahlgren, Windschmann, Heydenreich, Guerike, Pott, Augusti, Oshausen, Thiersch, Stier, and Dieckeln.

⁶ The two names are believed by critics—i. e. Cave, Grabe, Ittig, Mill, &c.—to belong to the same work. See

Schleemann, *Die Clementinen*, p. 253.

⁷ Rufinus and Jerome allude to a work which they call "Judicium Petri;" for which Cave accounts by a copy and conjecture, adopted by Nitzsche, Mayerhoff, Reuss, and Schleemann, that Rufinus found *κεφα* for *κηρυγμα*, and read *κηρυγμα*.

to him or other Hebrews by his new name. By it he was known to the Corinthian Christians. In the ancient Syriac version of the New Test. (Peshito), it is uniformly found where the Greek has *Petros*. When we consider that our Lord and the Apostles spoke Chaldee, and that therefore (as already remarked) the Apostle must have been always addressed in Chaldee, it is certainly remarkable that throughout the Gospels, no less than 97 times, with one exception only, the name should be given in the Greek form, which was of later introduction, and unintelligible to Hebrews, though intelligible to the wider Gentile world among which the Gospel was about to begin its course. Even in St. Mark, where more Chaldee words and phrases are retained than in all the other Gospels put together, this is the case. It is as if in our English Bibles the name were uniformly given, not Peter, but Rock; and it suggests that the meaning contained in the appellation is of more vital importance, and intended to be more carefully seized at each recurrence, than we are apt to recollect. The commencement of the change from the Chaldee name to its Greek equivalent is well marked in the interchange of the two in Gal. ii. 7, 8, 9 (Stanley, *Apostolic Age*, 116, 7).]

PETHAHIAH (פֶּתַחִיָּאִה: *Phetāia*; Alex. *Phetā*: *Phetāia*). 1. A priest, over the 19th course in the reign of David (1 Chr. xxiv. 16).

2. (פֶּתַחִיָּאִה: *Phetāia*, *Phathahia*.) A Levite in the time of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ez. i. 23). He is probably the same who, with others of his tribe, conducted the solemn service on the occasion of the fast, when "the seed of Israel separated themselves from all strangers" (Neh. ix. 1), though his name does not appear among those who sealed the covenant (Neh. x.).

3. (פֶּתַחִיָּאִה: *Phathathia*.) The son of Meshezebul and descendant of Zerach the son of Judah (Neh. xi. 24), who was "at the king's hand in all matters concerning the people." The "king" here is explained by Rashi to be Darius; "he was an associate in the counsel of the king Darius for all matters affecting the people, to speak to the king concerning them."

PETHOR (פֶּתוֹר: *Phetourā*), a town of Mesopotamia where Balaam resided (Num. xxii. 5; Deut. xxxi. 4). Its position is wholly unknown. [W. L. B.]

PETHUEL (פֶּתוּאֵל: *Phetuel*). The father of the prophet Joel (Joel i. 1).

PEULTHA'I (פֶּלְטָהִי: *Phelthai*; Alex. *Phelthai*). Properly "Peulthethai;" the fifth son of Obad-edom (1 Chr. xxvi. 5).

PHATH MO'AB (פֶּתַח מוֹאָב: *Phath Moab*; Alex. *Phath Moab*). 1 Esd. v. 11 = **PAHATH MO'AB**. In this passage the number (2812) agrees with that in Ezra, and disagrees with Nehemiah.

PHACARETH (פַּחַרְעֵת: *Phacareth*; Alex. *Phacareth*). (= **POCHERETH** of Zebaim (1 Esd. v. 34).

PHAISUR (פַּיִסוּר: *Phaisur*; Alex. *Phaisur*). The priestly family (1 Esd. ix. 22).

PHALDAI'US (פַּלְדַּאִיּוֹס: *Faldaius*) = **PELDAI'US** (1 Esd. ix. 44).

PHALEAS (פַּלְאִיּוֹס: *Hellu*) = **PADON** (1 Esd. v. 29).

PHALEC (פַּלְעַק: *Phaleg*). **PELEG** the son of Beer (Luke iii. 35).

PHALLU (פַּלְלוּ: *Phallus*; Alex. *Phallus*).

Phallu). Phallu the son of Reuben is called in the A. V. of Gen. xvi. 9.

PHAL'TI (פַּלְטִי: *Phalti*). The son of Laish of Gallim, to whom Saul gave Michal in marriage after his mad jealousy had driven David forth as an outlaw (1 Sam. xxv. 44). In 2 Sam. iii. 15 he is called **PHAL'TIEL**. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 129) suggests that this forced marriage was a piece of policy on the part of Saul to attach Phalti to his house. With the exception of this brief mention of his name, and the touching little episode in 2 Sam. iii. 16, nothing more is heard of Phalti. Michal is there restored to David. "Her husband went with her along weeping behind her to Bahurim," and there, in obedience to Abner's abrupt command, "Go, return," he turns and disappears from the scene.

PHAL'TIEL (פַּלְטִיֵּל: *Phaltiel*). The same as **PHAL'TI** (2 Sam. iii. 15).

PHAN'UEL (פַּנּוּאֵל: *Phanuel*). The father of Anna, the prophetess of the tribe of Aser (Luke ii. 36).

PHAR'ACIM (פַּרַאכִּימ: *Pharacim*; Alex. *Pharacim*; *Fanon*). The "sons of Pharcim" were among the servants of the Temple who returned with Zerubabel, according to the list in 1 Esd. v. 31. No corresponding name is found in the parallel narratives of Ezra and Nehemiah.

PHARAOH (פַּרְאֹה: *Pharao*), the common title of the native kings of Egypt in the Bible, corresponding to P-RA or PH-RA, "the Sun," of the hieroglyphics. This identification, respecting which there can be no doubt, is due to the Duke of Northumberland and General Felix (Rawlinson's *Herod.* ii. p. 293). It has been supposed that the original was the same as the Coptic **ΟΥΡΟ**, "the king," with the article, **ΠΙΟΥΡΟ**, **ΦΟΥΡΟ**; but this word appears not to have been written, judging from the evidence of the Egyptian inscriptions and writings, in the times to which the Scriptures refer. The conjecture arose from the idea that Pharaoh must signify, instead of merely implying, "king," a mistake occasioned by a too implicit confidence in the exactness of ancient writers (Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 6, §2; Euseb. *ed. Scal.* p. 20, v. 1).

By the ancient Egyptians the king was called "the Sun," as the representative on earth of the god RA, or "the Sun." It was probably on this account that more than one of the Pharaohs bear the nomen, in the second royal ring, the title "ruler of Heliopolis," the city of Ra, HAK-AN, as in the case of Rameses III., a distinction shared, though in an inferior degree, if we may judge from the frequency of the corresponding title, by Thebes, but by scarcely any other city.* One of the most common regal titles, that which almost always precedes the nomen, is "Son of the Sun," SA-RA. The prenomen, in the first royal ring, regularly commences with a disk, the character which represents the sun, and this name, which the king took on his accession, thus comprises the title Pharaoh: for instance, the prenomen of Psammitichus II., the successor of Necho, is RA-NUFR-HAT, "Pharaoh" or "Ra of the good heart." In the period before the vith dynasty, when

* The kings who bear the former title are chiefly of the name Rameses, "Born of Ra," the god of Heliopolis, which renders the title especially appropriate.

there was out a single ring, the use of the word RA was not invariable, many names not commencing with it, as SHUFU or KHUFU, the king of the ivth dynasty who built the Great Pyramid. It is difficult to determine, in rendering these names, whether the king or the divinity be meant: perhaps in royal names no distinction is intended, both Pharaoh and Ra being meant.

The word Pharaoh occurs generally in the Bible, and always in the Pentateuch, with no addition, for the king of Egypt. Sometimes the title "king of Egypt" follows it, and in the cases of the last two native kings mentioned, the proper name is added, Pharaoh-Necho, Pharaoh-Hophra, with sometimes the further addition "king, or the king, of Egypt." It is remarkable that Shishak and Zerah (if, as we believe, the second were a king of Egypt), and the Ethiopians So and Tirhakah, are never distinctly called Pharaoh (the mention of a Pharaoh during the time of the Ethiopians probably referring to the Egyptian Sethos), and that the latter were foreigners and the former of foreign extraction.

As several kings are only mentioned by the title "Pharaoh" in the Bible, it is important to endeavour to discriminate them. We shall therefore here state what is known respecting them in order, adding an account of the two Pharaohs whose proper names follow the title.

1. *The Pharaoh of Abraham.*—The Scripture narrative does not afford us any clear indications for the identification of the Pharaoh of Abraham. At the time at which the patriarch went into Egypt, according to Hales's as well as Usher's chronology, it is generally held that the country, or at least Lower Egypt, was ruled by the Shepherd kings, of whom the first and most powerful line was the xvth dynasty, the undoubted territories of which would be first entered by one coming from the east. Manetho relates that Salatis, the head of this line, established at Avaris, the Zoan of the Bible, on the eastern frontier, what appears to have been a great permanent camp, at which he resided for part of each year. [ZOAN.] It is noticeable that Sarah seems to have been taken to Pharaoh's house immediately after the coming of Abraham; and if this were not so, yet, on account of his flocks and herds, the patriarch could scarcely have gone beyond the part of the country which was always more or less occupied by nomad tribes. It is also probable that Pharaoh gave Abraham camels; for we read, that Pharaoh "entreated Abram well for Sarah's sake: and he had sheep, and oxen, and he asses, and menservants, and maidservants, and she asses, and camels" (Gen. xii. 16), where it appears that this property was the gift of Pharaoh, and the circumstance that the patriarch afterwards held an Egyptian bondswoman, Hagar, confirms the inference. If so, the present of camels would argue that this Pharaoh was a Shepherd king, for no evidence has been found in the sculptures, paintings, and inscriptions of Egypt, that in the Pharaonic ages the camel was used, or even known there,^b and this omission can be best explained by the supposition that the animal was hateful to the Egyptians as of great value to their enemies the Shepherds.

The date at which Abraham visited Egypt (according to the chronology we hold most probable), was about B.C. 2081, which would accord with the

time of Salatis, the head of the xvth dynasty, according to our reckoning.

2. *The Pharaoh of Joseph.*—The history of Joseph contains many particulars as to the Pharaoh whose minister he became. We first hear of him as the arbitrary master who imprisoned his two servants, and then, on his birthday-feast, reinstated the one and changed the other. We next read of his dreams, how he consulted the magicians and wise men of Egypt, and on their failing to interpret them, by the advice of the chief of the cupbearers, sent for Joseph from the prison, and after he had heard his interpretation and counsel, chose him as governor of the country, taking, as it seems, the advice of his servants. The sudden advancement of a despised stranger to the highest place under the king is important as showing his absolute power and manner of governing. From this time we read more of Joseph than of Pharaoh. We are told, however, that Pharaoh liberally received Joseph's kindred, allowing them to dwell in the land of Goshen, where he had cattle. The last mention of a Pharaoh in Joseph's history is in the account of the death and burial of Jacob. It has been supposed from the following passage that the position of Joseph had then become changed. "Joseph spake unto the house of Pharaoh, saying, If now I have found grace in your eyes, speak, I pray you, in the ears of Pharaoh, saying, My father made me swear, saying, Lo, I die: in my grave which I have digged for me in the land of Canaan, there shalt thou bury me. Now therefore let me go up, I pray thee, and bury my father, and I will come again. And Pharaoh said, Go up and bury thy father, according as he made thee swear" (Gen. l. 4-6). The account of the embalming of Jacob, in which we are told that "Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father" (ver. 2), shows the position of Joseph, which is more distinctly proved by the narrative of the subsequent journey into Palestine. "And Joseph went up to bury his father: and with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his house, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, and all the house of Joseph, and his brethren, and his father's house: only their little ones, and their flocks, and their herds, they left in the land of Goshen. And there went up with him both chariots and horsemen: and it was a very great company" (7-9). To make such an expedition as this, with perhaps risk of a hostile encounter, would no doubt require special permission, and from Joseph's whole history we can understand that he would have hesitated to ask a favour for himself while it is most natural that he should have explained that he had no further motive in the journey. The fear of his brethren that after their father's death he would take vengeance on them for their former cruelty, and his declaration that he would nourish them and their little ones, prove he still held a high position. His dying charge does not indicate that the persecution had then commenced, and that it had not seems quite clear from the narrative at the beginning of Exodus. It thus appears that Joseph retained his position until Jacob's death; and it is therefore probable, nothing being stated to the contrary, that the Pharaoh who made Joseph governor was on the throne during the time that he seems to have held office, twenty-six years. We may suppose that the "new king" "which knew not Joseph" (Ex. i. 8) was head of a new dynasty. It is very unlikely that he was the immediate successor of this Pharaoh, as the interval from the

^b It has been erroneously asserted that a hieroglyphic representing the head and neck of the camel is found on the Egyptian monuments.

appointment of the governor to the beginning of the oppression was not less than eighty years, and probably much more.

The chief points for the identification of the line to which this Pharaoh belonged, are that he was a despotic monarch, ruling all Egypt, who followed Egyptian customs, but did not hesitate to set them aside when he thought fit; that he seems to have desired to gain complete power over the Egyptians; and that he favoured strangers. These particulars certainly appear to lend support to the idea that he was an Egyptianized foreigner rather than an Egyptian; and M. Mariette's recent discoveries at Thebes, or Avaris, have positively settled what was the great difficulty to most scholars in the way of this view, for it has been ascertained that the shepherds, of at least one dynasty, were so thoroughly Egyptianized that they executed monuments of an Egyptian character, differing alone in a peculiarity of style. Before, however, we state the main heads of argument in favour of the idea that the Pharaoh of Joseph was a Shepherd, it will be well to mention the grounds of the theories that make him an Egyptian. Baron Bunsen supposed that he was Sesertesen I., the head of the xiith dynasty, on account of the mention in a hieroglyphic inscription of a famine in that king's reign. This identification, although receiving some support from the statement of Herodotus, that Sesostris, a name reasonably traceable to Sesertesen, divided the land and raised his chief revenue from the rent paid by the holders, must be abandoned, since the calamity recorded does not approach Joseph's famine in character, and as the age is almost certainly too remote. According to our reckoning this king began to reign about B.C. 2080, and Baron Bunsen places him much earlier, so that this idea is not tenable, unless we take the long chronology of the Judges, and hold the sojourn in Egypt to have lasted 430 years. If we take the Rabbinical date of the Exodus, Joseph's Pharaoh would have been a king of the xviii dynasty, unless, with Bunsen, we lengthen the Hebrew chronology before the Exodus as arbitrarily as, in adopting that date, we shorten it after the Exodus. To the idea that this king was of the xviii dynasty there is this objection, which we hold to be fatal, that the monuments of that line, often recording the events of almost every year, present no trace of the remarkable circumstances of Joseph's reign. Whether we take Ussher's or Hales's date of the Exodus, Joseph's government would fall before the xviii dynasty, and during the Shepherd period, the period after the xiith dynasty and before the xviii, during which the foreigners were dominantly held part of the country at an earlier time.) According to the idea that Joseph's Pharaoh was an Egyptian, we turn to the old view that he was one of the Shepherd kings, a view almost inevitable if we infer that he ruled during the Shepherd-period, and are struck with the fitness of all the circumstances of the Biblical narrative. These long rulers, or at least some of them were Egyptian, yet the account, of Manetho, if we somewhat lessen the colouring that we may suppose national hatred gave it, is now shown to be correct in making them disregard the laws and religion of the country they had subdued. They were evidently despotic military despots. As foreigners ruling a conquered country, if not actually won by force of arms, they would have

encouraged foreign settlers, particularly in their own especial region in the east of Lower Egypt, where the Pharaoh of Joseph seems to have had cattle (Gen. xlvii. 5, 6). It is very unlikely, unless we suppose a special interposition of Providence, that an Egyptian Pharaoh, with the acquiescence of his counsellors, should have chosen a Hebrew slave as his chief officer of state. It is stated by Eusebius that the Pharaoh to whom Jacob came was the Shepherd Apophis; and although it may be replied that this identification was simply a result of the adjustment of the dynasties to his view of Hebrew chronology, it should be observed that he seems to have altered the very dynasty of Apophis, both in its number (making it the xviii instead of the xvth), and in its duration, as though he were convinced that this king was really the Pharaoh of Joseph, and must therefore be brought to his time. Apophis belonged to the xvth dynasty, which was certainly of Shepherds, and the most powerful foreign line, for it seems clear that there was at least one if not two more. This dynasty, according to our view of Egyptian chronology, ruled for either 284 years (Africanus), or 259 years 10 months (Josephus), from about B.C. 2080. If Hales's chronology, which we would slightly modify, be correct, the government of Joseph fell under this dynasty, commencing about B.C. 1876, which would be during the reign of the last but one or perhaps the last king of the dynasty, was possibly in the time of Apophis, who ended the line according to Africanus. It is to be remarked that this dynasty is said to have been of Phoenicians, and if so was probably of a stock predominantly Shemite, a circumstance in perfect accordance with what we know of the government and character of Joseph's Pharaoh, whose act in making Joseph his chief minister finds its parallels in Shemite history, and in that of nations which derived their customs from Shemites. An Egyptian king would scarcely give so high a place to any but a native, and that of the military or priestly class; but, as already remarked, this may have been due to Divine interposition.

This king appears, as has been already shewn, to have reigned from Joseph's appointment (or, perhaps, somewhat earlier, since he was already on the throne when he imprisoned his servants), until Jacob's death, a period of at least twenty-six years, from B.C. cir. 1876 to 1850, and to have been the fifth or sixth king of the xvth dynasty.

3. *The Pharaoh of the Oppression.*—The first persecutor of the Israelites may be distinguished as the Pharaoh of the Oppression, from the second, the Pharaoh of the Exodus, especially as he commenced, and probably long carried on, the persecution. Here, as in the case of Joseph's Pharaoh, there has been difference of opinion as to the line to which the oppressor belonged. The general view is that he was an Egyptian, and this at first sight is a probable inference from the narrative, if the line under which the Israelites were protected be supposed to have been one of Shepherds. The Biblical history here seems to justify clearer deductions than before. We read that Joseph and his brethren and that generation died, and that the Israelites multiplied and became very mighty and filled the land. Of the events of the interval between Jacob's death and the oppression we know almost nothing; but the calamity to Ephraim's house, in the slaughter of his sons by the men of Gath, born as it seems in Egypt [BERIAH], renders it probable that the Israelites had become a tributary tribe, settled in Goshen, and be-

ginning to show that warlike vigour that is so strong a feature in the character of Abraham, that is not wanting in Jacob's, and that fitted their posterity for the conquest of Canaan. The beginning of the oppression is thus narrated:—"Now there arose a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph" (Ex. i. 8). The expression "a new king" (comp. "another king," Acts vii. 18) does not necessitate the idea of a change of dynasty, but favours it. The next two verses are extremely important:—"And he said unto his people, Behold, the people of the children of Israel [are] more and mightier than we: come on, let us deal wisely with them; lest they multiply, and it come to pass that, when there falleth out any war, they join also unto our enemies, and fight against us, and [so] get them up out of the land" (9, 10). Here it is stated that Pharaoh ruled a people of smaller numbers and less strength than the Israelites, whom he feared lest they should join with some enemies in a possible war in Egypt, and so leave the country. In order to weaken the Israelites he adopted a subtle policy which is next related. "Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses" (11). The name of the second of these cities has been considered a most important point of evidence. They multiplied notwithstanding, and the persecution apparently increased. They were employed in brickmaking and other labour connected with building, and perhaps also in making pottery (Ps. lxxi. 6). This bondage producing no effect, Pharaoh commanded the two Hebrew midwives to kill every male child as it was born; but they deceived him, and the people continued to increase. He then made a fresh attempt to enfeeble them. "And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river, and every daughter ye shall save alive" (22). How long this last infamous command was in force we do not know, probably but for a short time, unless it was constantly evaded, otherwise the number of the Israelites would have been checked. It may be remarked that Aaron was three years older than Moses, so that we might suppose that the command was issued after his birth; but it must also be observed that the fear of the mother of Moses, at his birth, may have been because she lived near a royal residence, as appears from the finding of the child by Pharaoh's daughter. The story of his exposure and rescue shows that even the oppressor's daughter could feel pity, and disobey her father's command; while in her saving Moses, who was to ruin her house, is seen the retributive justice that so often makes the tyrant pass by and even protect, as Pharaoh must have done, the instrument of his future punishment. The etymology of the name of Moses does not aid us: if Egyptian, it may have been given by a foreigner; if foreign, it may have been given by an Egyptian to a foreign child. It is important that Pharaoh's daughter adopted Moses as her son, and that he was taught in all the wisdom of Egypt. The persecution continued, "And it came to pass in those days, when Moses was grown, that he went out unto his brethren, and looked on their burdens: and he spied an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren. And he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that [there was]

* When Moses went to see his people and slew the Egyptian, he does not seem to have made any journey.

no man, he slew the Egyptian, and hid him in the sand" (ii. 11, 12). When Pharaoh attempted to slay Moses he fled into the land of Midian. From the statement in Hebrews that he "refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt" (xi. 24-26), it is evident that the adoption was no mere form, and this is a point of evidence not to be slighted. While Moses was in Midian Pharaoh died, and the narrative implies that this was shortly before the events preceding the Exodus. This Pharaoh has been generally supposed to have been a king of the xviii or xixth dynasty; we believe that he was of a line earlier than either. The chief points in the evidence in favour of the former opinion are the name of the city Raamses, whence it has been argued that one of the oppressors was a king Rameses, and the probable change of line. The first king of this name known was head of the xixth dynasty, or last king of the xviii. According to Manetho's story of the Exodus, a story so contradictory to historical truth as scarcely to be worthy of mention, the Israelites left Egypt in the reign of Menptah, who was great grandson of the first Rameses, and son and successor of the second. This king is held by some Egyptologists to have reigned about the time of the Rabbinical date of the Exodus, which is virtually the same as that which has been supposed to be obtainable from the genealogies. There is however good reason to place these kings much later; in which case Rameses I. would be the oppressor; but then the building of Raamses could not be placed in his reign without a disregard of Hebrew chronology. But the argument that there is no earlier known king Rameses loses much of its weight when we bear in mind that one of the sons of Aahmes, head of the xviii dynasty, who reigned about two hundred years before Rameses I., bore the same name, besides that very many names of kings of the Shepherd-period, perhaps of two whole dynasties, are unknown. Against this one fact, which is certainly not to be disregarded, we must weigh the general evidence of the history, which shows us a king apparently governing a part of Egypt, with subjects inferior to the Israelites, and fearing a war in the country. Like the Pharaoh of the Exodus, he seems to have dwelt in Lower Egypt, probably at Avaris.* Compare this condition with the power of the kings of the later part of the xviii and of the xixth dynasties: rulers of an empire, governing a united country from which the head of their line had driven the Shepherds. The view that this Pharaoh was of the beginning or middle of the xviii dynasty seems at first sight extremely probable, especially if it be supposed that the Pharaoh of Joseph was a Shepherd king. The expulsion of the Shepherds at the commencement of this dynasty would have naturally caused an immediate or gradual oppression of the Israelites. But it must be remembered that what we have just said of the power of some kings of this dynasty is almost as true of their predecessors. The silence of the historical monuments is also to be weighed, when we bear in mind how numerous they are, and that we might expect many of the events of the oppression to be recorded if the Exodus were not noticed. If we

* and the burying in sand shews that the place was in a part of Egypt like Goshen, encompassed by sandy deserts.

assign this Pharaoh to the age before the xviiiith dynasty, which our view of Hebrew chronology would probably oblige us to do, we have still to determine whether he were a Shepherd or an Egyptian. If a Shepherd, he must have been of the xviiiith or the xviiith dynasty; and that he was Egyptian does not afford any argument against this supposition, since it appears that foreign kings, who can only be assigned to one of these two lines, had Egyptian names. In corroboration of this view we quote a remarkable passage that does not seem otherwise explicable: "My people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there; and the Assyrian oppressed them without cause" (Is. lii. 4): which may be compared with the allusions to the Exodus in a prediction of the same prophet respecting Assyria (i. 24, 26). Our inference is strengthened by the discovery that kings bearing a name almost certainly an Egyptian translation of an Assyrian or Babylonian regal title are among those apparently of the Shepherd age in the Turin Papyrus (Lepsius, *Ägyptische*, taf. xviii. xix. 275, 285).

The reign of this king probably commenced a little before the birth of Moses, which we place *b. c.* 1732, and seems to have lasted upwards of forty years, perhaps much more.

4. *The Pharaoh of the Exodus.*—What is known of the Pharaoh of the Exodus is rather biographical than historical. It does not add much to our means of identifying the line of the oppressors excepting by the indications of race his character exhibits. His life is spoken of in other articles. [PHARAOH, &c.] His acts show us a man at once impious and superstitious, alternately rebelling and submitting. At first he seems to have thought that his magicians could work the same wonders as Moses and Aaron, yet even then he begged that the frogs might be taken away, and to the end he prayed that a plague might be removed, promising a mission to the Israelites, and as soon as he was repudiated failed to keep his word. This is not strange in a character principally influenced by fear, and history abounds in parallels to Pharaoh. His vacillations only ended when he lost his army in the Red Sea, and the Israelites were finally delivered out of his hand. Whether he himself was drowned has been considered matter of uncertainty, as it is not so stated in the account of the Exodus. Another passage, however, appears to affirm it (Ps. cxxxvi. 15). It seems to be too great a latitude of criticism either to argue that the expression in this passage indicates the overthrow but not the death of the king, especially as the Hebrew expression "shaked off" or "shook in" is very literal, or that it is only a Semitic expression. Besides, throughout the preceding history his end is foreshadowed, and is positively foretold in Ex. ix. 15; though the passage may be rendered "For now I might have stretched out my hand, and might have smitten thee and thy people with pestilence; and thou wouldest have been cut off from the earth," as by Kalisch (*Commentary* in loc.), instead of as in the A. V.

Although we have already stated our reasons for adopting the theory that places the Exodus under the xviiiith dynasty, it may be well to notice an additional and conclusive argument for rejecting as unhistorical the tale preserved by Manetho, which makes the Pharaoh in question the son of Rameses II., the Pharaoh in whose reign the Israelites left Egypt. This tale was generally current in Egypt, but it must be remarked that the historian gives it only on the authority of Manetho. M. Mariette's recent discoveries have

added to the evidence we already had on the subject. In this story the secret of the success of the rebels was that they had allotted to them by Amenophis, or Menptah, the city of Avaris formerly held by the Shepherds, but then in ruins. That the people to whom this place was given were working in the quarries east of the Nile is enough of itself to throw a doubt on the narrative, for there appear to have been no quarries north of those opposite Memphis, from which Avaris was distant nearly the whole length of the Delta; but when it is found that this very king, as well as his father, adorned the great temple of Avaris, the story is seen to be essentially false. Yet it is not improbable that some calamity occurred about this time, with which the Egyptians wilfully or ignorantly confounded the Exodus: if they did so ignorantly, there would be an argument that this event took place during the Shepherd period, which was probably in after times an obscure part of the annals of Egypt.

The character of this Pharaoh finds its parallel among the Assyrians rather than the Egyptians. The impiety of the oppressor and that of Sennacherib are remarkably similar, though Sennacherib seems to have been more resolute in his resistance than Pharaoh. This resemblance is not to be overlooked, especially as it seems to indicate an idiosyncrasy of the Assyrians and kindred nations, for national character was more marked in antiquity than it is now in most peoples, doubtless because isolation was then general and is now special. Thus, the Egyptian monuments show us a people highly reverencing their gods and even those of other nations, the most powerful kings appearing as suppliants in the representations of the temples and tombs; in the Assyrian sculptures, on the contrary, the kings are seen rather as protected by the gods than as worshipping them, so that we understand how in such a country the famous decree of Darius, which Daniel disobeyed, could be enacted. Again the Egyptians do not seem to have supposed that their enemies were supported by gods hostile to those of Egypt, whereas the Assyrians considered their gods as more powerful than those of the nations they subdued. This is important in connection with the idea that at least one of the Pharaohs of the oppression was an Assyrian.

Respecting the time of this king we can only say that he was reigning for about a year or more before the Exodus, which we place *b. c.* 1652.

Before speaking of the later Pharaohs we may mention a point of weight in reference to the identification of these earlier ones. The accounts of the campaigns of the Pharaohs of the xviiiith, xixth and xxth dynasties have not been found to contain any reference to the Israelites. Hence it might be supposed that in their days, or at least during the greater part of their time, the Israelites were not yet in the Promised Land. There is, however, an almost equal silence as to the Canaanite nations. The land itself, KANANA or KANAAN, is indeed mentioned as invaded, as well as those of KHETA and AMAR, referring to the Hittites and Amorites; but the latter two must have been branches of those nations seated in the valley of the Orontes. A recently-discovered record of Thothmes III. published by M. de Rougé, in the *Revue Archéologique* (Nov. 1861, pp 344, *seqq.*), contains many names of Canaanite towns conquered by that king, but not one recognized as Israelite. These Canaanite names are, moreover, on the Israelite borders, not in the heart of the country. It is interesting that a great

battle is shown to have been won by this king at Megiddo. It seems probable that the Egyptians either abstained from attacking the Israelites from a recollection of the calamities of the Exodus, or that they were on friendly terms. It is very remarkable that the Egyptians were granted privileges in the Law (Deut. xxiii. 7), and that Shishak, the first king of Egypt after the Exodus whom we know to have invaded the Hebrew territories, was of foreign extraction, if not actually a foreigner.

5. *Pharaoh, father-in-law of Mered.*—In the genealogies of the tribe of Judah, mention is made of the daughter of a Pharaoh, married to an Israelite; "Bithiah the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took" (1 Chr. iv. 18). That the name Pharaoh here probably designates an Egyptian king we have already shown, and observed that the date of Mered is doubtful, although it is likely that he lived before, or not much after, the Exodus. [BITHIAH.] It may be added that the name Miriam, of one of the family of Mered (17), apparently his sister, or perhaps a daughter by Bithiah, suggests that this part of the genealogies may refer to about the time of the Exodus. This marriage may tend to aid us in determining the age of the sojourn in Egypt. It is perhaps less probable that an Egyptian Pharaoh would have given his daughter in marriage to an Israelite, than that a Shepherd king would have done so, before the oppression. But Bithiah may have been taken in war after the Exodus, by the surprise of a caravan, or in a foray.

6. *Pharaoh, father-in-law of Hadad the Edomite.*—Among the enemies who were raised up against Solomon was Hadad, an Edomite of the blood royal, who had escaped as a child from the slaughter of his nation by Joab. We read of him and his servants, "And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran: and they took men with them out of Paran, and they came to Egypt, unto Pharaoh king of Egypt; who gave him an house, and appointed him victuals, and gave him land. And Hadad found great favour in the sight of Pharaoh, so that he gave him to wife the sister of his own wife, the sister of Tahpenes the queen. And the sister of Tahpenes bare him Genubath his son, whom Tahpenes weaned in Pharaoh's house: and Genubath was in Pharaoh's household among the sons of Pharaoh" (1 K. xi. 18-20). When, however, Hadad heard that David and Joab were both dead, he asked Pharaoh to let him return to his country, and was unwillingly allowed to go (21, 22). Probably the fugitives took refuge in an Egyptian mining-station in the peninsula of Sinai, and so obtained guides to conduct them into Egypt. There they were received in accordance with the Egyptian policy, but with the especial favour that seems to have been shown about this time towards the eastern neighbours of the Pharaohs, which may reasonably be supposed to have led to the establishment of the xxiind dynasty of foreign extraction. For the identification of this Pharaoh we have chronological indications, and the name of his wife. Unfortunately, however, the history of Egypt at this time is extremely obscure, neither the monuments nor Manetho giving us clear information as to the kings. It appears that towards the latter part of the xth dynasty the high-priests of Amen, the god of Thebes, gained great power, and at last supplanted the Rameses family, at least in Upper Egypt. At the same time a line of Tanite kings, Manetho's xxiid dynasty, seems to have ruled in Lower Egypt. From the latest part of the xth

dynasty three houses appear to have reigned at the same time. The feeble xth dynasty was probably soon extinguished, but the priest-rulers and the Tanites appear to have reigned contemporaneously until they were both succeeded by the Bubastites of the xxiind dynasty, of whom Sheshonk I., the Shishak of the Bible, was the first. The monuments have preserved the names of several of the high-priests, perhaps all, and probably of some of the Tanites; but it is a question whether Manetho's Tanite line does not include some of the former, and we have no means of testing the accuracy of its numbers. It may be reasonably supposed that the Pharaoh or Pharaohs spoken of in the Bible as ruling in the time of David and Solomon were Tanites, as Tanis was nearest to the Israelite territory. We have therefore to compare the chronological indications of Scripture with the list of this dynasty. Shishak, as we have shown elsewhere, must have begun to reign in about the 24th or 25th year of Solomon (B.C. cir. 990-989). [CHRONOLOGY.] The conquest of Edom probably took place some 50 years earlier. It may therefore be inferred that Hadad fled to a king of Egypt who may have ruled at least 25 years, probably ceasing to govern before Solomon married the daughter of a Pharaoh early in his reign; for it seems unlikely that the protector of David's enemy would have given his daughter to Solomon, unless he were a powerless king, which appears was not the case with Solomon's father-in-law. This would give a reign of 25 years, or 25 + x separated from the close of the dynasty by a period of 24 or 25 years. According to Africanus, the list of the xxiid dynasty is as follows: Smendes, 26 years; Psusennes, 46; Nephelcheres, 4; Amenothis, 9; Osochor, 6; Psinaches, 9; Psusennes, 14; but Eusebius gives the second king 41, and the last, 35 years, and his numbers make up the sum of 130 years, which Africanus and he agree in assigning to the dynasty. If we take the numbers of Eusebius, Osochor would probably be the Pharaoh to whom Hadad fled, and Psusennes II. the father-in-law of Solomon; but the numbers of Africanus would substitute Psusennes I., and probably Psinaches. We cannot, however, be sure that the reigns did not overlap, or were not separated by intervals, and the numbers are not to be considered reliable until tested by the monuments. The royal names of the period have been searched in vain for any one resembling Tahpenes. If the Egyptian equivalent to the similar geographical name Tahpanhes, &c., were known, we might have some clue to that of this queen. [TAHPENES; TAPHANHES.]

7. *Pharaoh, father-in-law of Solomon.*—In the narrative of the beginning of Solomon's reign, after the account of the deaths of Adonijah, Jehu, and Shimei, and the deprivation of Abiathar, we read: "And the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon. And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her into the city of David, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of the LORD, and the wall of Jerusalem round about" (1 K. ii. 46, iii. 1). The events mentioned before the marriage belong altogether to the very commencement of Solomon's reign, excepting the matter of Shimei, which extending through three years is carried on to its completion. The marriage that the queen was brought into the city of David, while Solomon's house, and the Temple, and the city-wall, were building, shows that the marriage

took place not later than the eleventh year of the king, when the Temple was finished, having been commenced in the fourth year (vi. 1, 37, 38). It is also evident that this alliance was before Solomon's falling away into idolatry (iii. 9), of which the Egyptian queen does not seem to have been one of the causes. From this chronological indication it appears that the marriage must have taken place between about 24 and 11 years before Shishak's accession. It must be recollected that it seems certain that Solomon's father-in-law was not the Pharaoh who was reigning when Hadad left Egypt. Both Pharaohs, as already shown, cannot yet be identified in Manetho's list. [PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER.]

This Pharaoh led an expedition into Palestine, which is thus incidentally mentioned, where the building of Gezer by Solomon is recorded: "Pharaoh king of Egypt had gone up, and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it [for] a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife" (ix. 16). This is a very curious historical circumstance, for it shows that in the reign of David or Solomon, more probably the latter, an Egyptian king apparently on terms of friendship with the Israelite monarch, conducted an expedition into Palestine, and besieged and captured a Canaanite city. This occurrence warns us against the supposition that similar expeditions could not have occurred in earlier times without a war with the Israelites. Its incidental mention also shows the danger of inferring, from the silence of Scripture as to any such earlier expedition, that nothing of the kind took place. [PALESTINE, p. 667, a.]

This Egyptian alliance is the first indication, since the days of Moses, of that leaning to Egypt which was distinctly forbidden in the Law, and produced the most disastrous consequences in later times. The native kings of Egypt and the Ethiopians readily supported the Hebrews, and were willing to make war upon them, but they rendered them mere tributaries, and exposed them to the enmity of the kings of Assyria. If the Hebrews did not incur a direct punishment for their leaning to Egypt, it must have weakened their trust in the Divine favour, and paralysed their efforts to defend the country against the Assyrians and their party.

The next kings of Egypt mentioned in the Bible are Shishak, probably Zerah, and So. The first and second of these were of the xxiind dynasty, if the identification of Zerah with Userken be accepted, and the third was doubtless one of the two Shebeks of the xvth dynasty, which was of Ethiopians. The xxiind dynasty was a line of kings of foreign origin, who retained foreign names, and it is noticeable that Zerah is called a Cushite in the Bible (1 Chr. iv. 9; comp. xvi. 8). Shebek was probably not once given to these kings in the Bible, because they were not Egyptians, and did not bear Egyptian names. The Shepherd kings, it is remarkable, adopted Egyptian names, and some of the earlier sovereigns called Pharaohs in the Bible may be conjectured to have been Pharaohs; ZERAH; SO.]

1. Pharaoh, the opponent of Sennacherib.—In

the narrative of Sennacherib's war with Hezekiah, mention is made not only of "Tirhakah king of Cush," but also of "Pharaoh king of Mizraim." Rabshakeh thus taunted the king of Judah for having sought the aid of Pharaoh: "Lo, thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed, on Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so [is] Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust in him" (Is. xxxvi. 6). The comparison of Pharaoh to a broken reed is remarkable, as the common hieroglyphics for "king," restricted to Egyptian sovereigns, SU-TEN, strictly a title of the ruler of Upper Egypt, commence with a bent reed, which is an ideographic symbolical sign proper to this word, and is sometimes used alone without any phonetic complement. This Pharaoh can only be the Sethos whom Herodotus mentions as the opponent of Sennacherib, and who may be reasonably supposed to be the Zet of Manetho, the last king of his xliiind dynasty. Tirhakah, as an Ethiopian, whether then ruling in Egypt or not, is, like So, apparently not called Pharaoh. [TIRHAKAH.]

9. Pharaoh Necho.—The first mention in the Bible of a proper name with the title Pharaoh is in the case of Pharaoh Necho, who is also called Necho simply. His name is written Necho, נֶכֶחַ, and Nechoh, נֶכְהַ, and in hieroglyphics NEKU. This king was of the Saïte xxvth dynasty, of which Manetho makes him either the fifth ruler (Africanus) or the sixth (Eusebius). Herodotus calls him Nekōs, and assigns to him a reign of sixteen years, which is confirmed by the monuments.⁴ He seems to have been an enterprising king, as he is related to have attempted to complete the canal connecting the Red Sea with the Nile, and to have sent an expedition of Phoenicians to circumnavigate Africa, which was successfully accomplished. At the commencement of his reign (B.C. 610) he made war against the king of Assyria, and, being encountered on his way by Josiah, defeated and slew the king of Judah at Megiddo. The empire of Assyria was then drawing to a close, and it is not unlikely that Necho's expedition tended to hasten its fall. He was marching against Carchemish on the Euphrates, a place already of importance in the annals of the Egyptian wars of the sixth dynasty (*Sel. Pap. Sallier*, 2). As he passed along the coast of Palestine, Josiah disputed his passage, probably in consequence of a treaty with Assyria. The king of Egypt remonstrated, sending ambassadors to assure him that he did not make war upon him, and that God was on his side. "Nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo." Here he was wounded by the archers of the king of Egypt, and died (comp. 2 Chr. xxxv. 20-24; 2 K. xxiii. 29, 30). Necho's assertion that he was obeying God's command in warring with the Assyrians seems here to be confirmed. Yet it can scarcely be understood as more than a conviction that the war was predestined, for it ended in the destruction of Necho's army and the curtailment of his empire. Josiah seems from the

the heiress of an Egyptian royal line, and supposes that he was the son of Psammetichus by another wife (see *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 252, comp. 248). If he married Nitocris, he may have been called by Herodotus by mistake the son of Psammetichus.

narrative to have known he was wrong in opposing the king of Egypt; otherwise an act so contrary to the Egyptianizing policy of his house would scarcely have led to his destruction and be condemned in the history. Herodotus mentions this battle, relating that Necho made war against the Syrians, and defeated them at Magdolos, after which he took Cadytis, "a large city of Syria" (ii. 159). There can be no reasonable doubt that Magdolos is Megiddo, and not the Egyptian town of that name [MIGDOL], but the identification of Cadytis is difficult. It has been conjectured to be Jerusalem, and its name has been supposed to correspond to the ancient title "the Holy," *הקדושה*, but it is elsewhere mentioned by Herodotus as a great coast-town of Palestine near Egypt (iii. 5), and it has therefore been supposed to be Gaza. The difficulty that Gaza is not beyond Megiddo would perhaps be removed if Herodotus be thought to have confounded Megiddo with the Egyptian Magdolos, but this is not certain. (See Sir Gardner Wilkinson's note to *Her.* ii. 159, ed. Rawlinson.) It seems possible that Kadytis is the Hittite city KETESH, on the Orontes, which was the chief stronghold in Syria of those captured by the kings of the xviii and xix dynasties. The Greek historian adds that Necho dedicated the dress he wore on these occasions to Apollo at the temple of Branchidae (*l. c.*). On Josiah's death his son Jehoahaz was set up by the people, but dethroned three months afterwards by Pharaoh, who imposed on the land the moderate tribute of a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold, and put in his place another son of Josiah, Eliakim, whose name he changed to Jehoiakim, conveying Jehoahaz to Egypt, where he died (2 K. xxiii. 30-34; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 1-4). Jehoiakim appears to have been the elder son, so that the deposing of his brother may not have been merely because he was made king without the permission of the conqueror. Necho seems to have soon returned to Egypt: perhaps he was on his way thither when he deposed Jehoahaz. The army was probably posted at Carchemish, and was there defeated by Nebuchadnezzar in the fourth year of Necho (B.C. 607), that king not being, as it seems, then at its head (*Jer.* xlvi. 1, 2, 6, 10). This battle led to the loss of all the Asiatic dominions of Egypt; and it is related, after the mention of the death of Jehoiakim, that "the king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land: for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt" (2 K. xxiv. 7). Jeremiah's prophecy of this great defeat by Euphrates is followed by another, of its consequence, the invasion of Egypt itself; but the latter calamity did not occur in the reign of Necho, nor in that of his immediate successor, Psammetichus II., but in that of Hophra, and it was yet future in the last king's reign when Jeremiah had been carried into Egypt after the destruction of Jerusalem.

10. *Pharaoh Hophra*.—The next king of Egypt mentioned in the Bible is Pharaoh Hophra, the second successor of Necho, from whom he was separated by the six years' reign of Psammetichus II. The name Hophra is in hieroglyphics WAH-(P)RAHAT, and the last syllable is equally omitted by Herodotus, who writes Apries, and by Manetho, who writes Uaphris. He came to the throne about B.C. 589, and ruled nineteen years. Herodotus makes him son of Psammetichus II., whom he calls Psamnis, and great-grandson of Psammetichus I. The his-

torian relates his great prosperity, how he attacked Sidon, and fought a battle at sea with the king of Tyre, until at length an army which he had dispatched to conquer Cyrene was routed, and the Egyptians, thinking he had purposely caused the overthrow to gain entire power, no doubt by setting up mercenaries for native troops, revolted, and the Carian and Ionian mercenaries, were routed in a pitched battle. Herodotus remarks in narrating this, "It is said that Apries believed that there was not a god who could cast him down from his eminence, so firmly did he think that he had established himself in his kingdom." He was taken prisoner, and Amasis for a while treated him with kindness, but when the Egyptians blamed him, "he gave Apries over into the hands of his former subjects, to deal with as they chose. Then the Egyptians took him and strangled him" (ii. 161-169). In the Bible is related that Zedekiah, the last king of Judah, was aided by a Pharaoh against Nebuchadnezzar, in fulfilment of a treaty, and that an army came out of Egypt, so that the Chaldeans were obliged to raise the siege of Jerusalem. The city was first besieged in the ninth year of Zedekiah, B.C. 590, and was captured in his eleventh year, B.C. 588. It was evidently continuously invested for a length of time before it was taken, so that it is most probable that Pharaoh's expedition took place during 590 or 589. There may, therefore, be some doubt whether Psammetichus II. be not the king here spoken of; but it must be remembered that the siege may be supposed to have lasted some time before the Egyptians could have heard of it and marched to relieve the city, and also that Hophra may have come to the throne as early as B.C. 590. The Egyptian army returned without effecting its purpose (*Jer.* xxxv. 5-8; *Ez.* xvii. 11-18; comp. 2 K. xxv. 1-4). Afterwards a remnant of the Jews fled to Egypt, and seem to have been kindly received. From the prophecies against Egypt and against these fugitives we learn more of the history of Hophra; and here the narrative of Herodotus, of which we have given the chief heads, is a valuable commentary. Ezekiel speaks of the arrogance of this king in words which strikingly recall those of the Greek historian. The prophet describes him as a great crocodile lying in his rivers, and saying "My river [is] mine own, and I have made [it] for myself" (xxix. 3). Pharaoh was to be overthrown and his country invaded by Nebuchadnezzar (xxix., xxx., xxxi., xxxii.). This prophecy was yet unfulfilled in B.C. 572 (xxx. 17-20). Jeremiah, in Egypt, yet more distinctly prophesied the end of Pharaoh, warning the Jews,—"Thus saith the LORD; Behold, I will give Pharaoh-hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life; as I gave Zedekiah king of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, his enemy, and that sought his life" (xlv. 30). In another place, when foretelling the defeat of Necho's army, the same prophet says,—"Behold, I will punish Amon in Necho and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods, and their kings; even Pharaoh, and [all] them that trust in him: and I will deliver them into the hand of those that seek their lives, and into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and into the hand of his servants" (xlv. 25, 26). These passages, which entirely agree with the account Herodotus gives of the death of Apries, make it not improbable that the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar was the cause of that disaffection of his subjects which

in the overthrow and death of this Pharaoh. The invasion is not spoken of by any reliable profane historian, excepting Berosus (Cory, *Anc. Frag.* vol. vi. pp. 37, 38), but the silence of Herodotus and others can no longer be a matter of surprise, as we know from the Assyrian records in cuneiform of conquests of Egypt either unrecorded elsewhere or only mentioned by second-rate annalists. No subsequent Pharaoh is mentioned in Scripture, but there are probabilities referring to the misfortunes of later times until the second Persian conquest, when the prophecy "there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt" (*Ex.* xxx. 13) was fulfilled. [R. S. P.]

PHARAOH'S DAUGHTER; PHARAOH, THE DAUGHTER OF. Three Egyptian princesses, daughters of Pharaohs, are mentioned in the Bible.

1. The preserver of Moses, daughter of the Pharaoh who first oppressed the Israelites. She appears from her conduct towards Moses to have been desirous to the throne, something more than ordinary adoption seeming to be indicated in the passage in Hebrews respecting the faith of Moses (xi. 23-26), and the designation "Pharaoh's daughter," perhaps not indicating that she was the only daughter. She probably lived for at least forty years after she saved Moses, for it seems to be implied in Hebrews (*i. c.*) that she was living when he fled to Midian. Artapanus, or Artabanus, a historian of uncertain date, who appears to have preserved traditions current among the Egyptian Jews, calls this princess Merthis, and her father, the oppressor, Palmanothes, and notes that she was married to Chenephres, who ruled in the country above Memphis, for that at that time there were many kings of Egypt, but that she, as it seems, became sovereign of the whole country (*Frag. Hist. Græc.* iii. pp. 220 seqq.). Palmanothes may be supposed to be a corruption of Amenophis, the equivalent of Amen-hept, the Egyptian name of four kings of the xviii dynasty, and may, but incorrectly, be applied to one of the sixth, whose Egyptian name, Menptah, is wholly different from that of the others. No one of these however had, so far as we know, a daughter with a name resembling Merthis, nor is there any king with a name like Chenephres of this time. These kings of Amenophis, moreover, do not belong to the period of contemporary dynasties. The tradition is apparently of little value excepting as showing that one genealogy different from that given by Manetho and others was actually current. [See PHARAOH, 3.]

2. Bithiah, wife of Mered an Israelite, daughter of a Pharaoh of an uncertain age, probably of about the time of the Exodus. [See BITHIAH; PHARAOH, 5.]

3. A wife of Solomon, most probably daughter of a king of the xxist dynasty. She was married to Solomon early in his reign, and apparently treated with honor. It has been supposed that the Song of Solomon was written on the occasion of this marriage; but the idea is, we think, repugnant to sound criticism. She was at first brought into the city of David (*1 K. iii. 1*), and afterwards a house was built for her dwell in the house of David, which had been consecrated holy by the ark having been there (*2 Chr. vi. 11*). [See PHARAOH, 7.]

PHARAOH, THE WIFE OF. The wife of a Pharaoh, the king who received Hadad the Edomite, is mentioned in Scripture. She is called

"queen," and her name, Talpenes, is given. Her husband was most probably of the xxist dynasty. [TAHPENES; PHARAOH, 6.] [R. S. P.]

PHAR'ATHONI (Φαραθών; Joseph. Φαραθών. Peshito, *Pherath*; Vulg. *Phara*). One of the cities of Judæa fortified by Bacchides during his contests with Jonathan Maccabæus (*1 Macc. ix. 50*). In both MSS. of the LXX. the name is joined to the preceding—Thamnatha-Pharathon; but in Josephus, the Syriac, and Vulgate, the two are separated. Ewald (*Geschichte*, iv. 373) adheres to the former. Pharathon doubtless represents an ancient Pirathon, though hardly that of the Judges, since that was in Mt. Ephraim, probably at *Ferata*, a few miles west of *Nablus*, too far north to be included in Judæa properly so called. [G.]

PHARES (Φαρές: *Phares*), PHAREZ or PEREZ, the son of Judah (*Matt. i. 3*; *Luke iii. 33*).

PHAREZ. 1. (PEREZ, *1 Chr. xxvii. 3*; PHARES, *Matt. i. 3*, *Luke iii. 33*, *1 Esd. v. 5*), (פָּרֶז; Φαρές: *Phares*, "a breach," *Gen. xxxviii. 29*), twin son, with Zarah, or Zerah, of Judah and Tamar his daughter-in-law. The circumstances of his birth are detailed in *Gen. xxxviii*. Pharez seems to have kept the right of primogeniture over his brother as, in the genealogical lists, his name comes first. The house also which he founded was far more numerous and illustrious than that of the Zarhites. Its remarkable fertility is alluded to in *Ruth iv. 12*, "Let thy house be like the house of Pharez, whom Tamar bare unto Judah." Of Pharez's personal history or character nothing is known. We can only speak of him therefore as a demarch, and exhibit his genealogical relations. At the time of the sojourn in the wilderness the families of the tribe of Judah were: of Shelah, the family of the Shelanites, or Shilonites; of Pharez, the family of the Pharzites; of Zerah, the family of the Zarhites. And the sons of Pharez were, of Hezron the family of the Hezronites, of Hamul the family of the Hamulites (*Num. xxvi. 20, 21*). After the death, therefore, of Er and Onan without children, Pharez occupied the rank of Judah's second son, and moreover, from two of his sons sprang two new chief houses, those of the Hezronites and Hamulites. From Hezron's second son Ram, or Aram, sprang David and the kings of Judah, and eventually Jesus Christ. [GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST.] The house of Caleb was also incorporated into the house of Hezron [CALEB], and so were reckoned among the descendants of Pharez. Another line of Pharez's descendants were reckoned as sons of Manasseh by the second marriage of Hezron with the daughter of Machir (*1 Chr. ii. 21-23*). In the census of the house of Judah contained in *1 Chr. iv.*, drawn up apparently in the reign of Hezekiah (*iv. 41*), the houses enumerated in ver. 1 are Pharez, Hezron, Carmi, Hur, and Shobal. Of these all but Carmi (who was a Zarhite, *Josh. vii. 1*) were descendants of Pharez. Hence it is not unlikely that, as is suggested in the margin of *A. V.*, Carmi is an error for *Chelubai*. Some of the sons of Shelah are mentioned separately at ver. 21, 22. [PAHATH-MOAB.] In the reign of David the house of Pharez seems to have been eminently distinguished. The chief of all the captains of the host for the first month,

* Whence our translators borrowed the final *l* of this name does not appear: there is nothing in either of the originals to suggest it. The Geneva Vers. has it *lco*.

Zabud, the son of Zabdiel (1 Chr. xxvii. 2, 3), and famous for his prowess (1 Chr. xi. 11), and called "the chief among the captains" (ib. and 1 Sam. xvii. 8), was of the sons of Perez, or Pharez. A considerable number of the other mighty men seen also, from their patronymic or gentile names, to have been of the same house, those namely who are called Bethlehemites, Palitites (1 Chr. ii. 47) Tekoites, Netophathites,* and Ithrites (1 Chr. ii. 53, iv. 7). Zabad the son of Ahlai, and Abishai, and his brothers, Abishai and Asahel, we know were Pharizites (1 Chr. ii. 31, 36, 54, xi. 41). And the royal house itself was the head of the family. We have no means of assigning to their respective families those members of the tribe of Judah who are incidentally mentioned after David's reign, as Ishbosheth, the chief captain of Judah in Jehoshaphat's reign, and Jehohanan and Amasiah, his companions (1 Chr. xvii. 14-16); but that the family of Pharez continued to thrive and multiply, we may conclude from the numbers who returned from captivity. At Jerusalem alone 468 of the sons of Perez, with Ishbosheth, or Uthai, at their head, were dwelling in the days of Zerubbabel (1 Chr. ix. 4; Neh. xi. 4-6), Zerubbabel himself of course being of the family (1 Esdr. v. 5). Of the lists of returned captives in 1 Chr. ii. Neh. vii., in Nehemiah's time, the following seem to have been of the sons of Pharez, judging as before from the names of their ancestors, as to the towns to which they belonged: the children of Bani (1 Chr. ii. 10; comp. 1 Chr. ix. 4); of Bigvai (1 Chr. ii. 14; comp. Ezr. viii. 14); of Ater (ii. 16; comp. 1 Chr. ii. 26, 54); of Jorah, or Hariph (ii. 18; Neh. vii. 24; comp. 1 Chr. ii. 51); of Beth-lehem and Netophah (ii. 21, 22; comp. 1 Chr. ii. 54); of Kirjath-arim (ii. 25; comp. 1 Chr. ii. 50, 53); of Harim (ii. 32; comp. 1 Chr. ii. 5); and, judging from their position, many of the intermediate ones also (comp. also the lists in 1 Chr. x. 25-43; Neh. x. 14-27). Of the builders of the wall named in Neh. iii. the following were of the house of Pharez: Zaccur the son of Imri (ver. 2, by comparison with 1 Chr. ix. 4, and Ezr. iii. 14, where we ought, with many MSS., to read Zaccur for Zabud); Zadok the son of Baana (ver. 4, by comparison with 2 Sam. xxiii. 29, where we find that Baana was a Netophathite, which agrees with Zadok's place here next to the Tekoites, since Bethlehem, Netophah, and Tekoa, are often in close juxtaposition, comp. 1 Chr. ii. 54, iv. 4, 5, Ezr. ii. 12, 22, Neh. vii. 26, and the situation of the Netophathites close to Jerusalem, among the Benjamites, ver. 28, 29, compared with the mixture of Benjamites with Pharizites and Zarhites in Neh. iii. 23); the Tekoites (ver. 5 and 27, compared with 1 Chr. ii. 24, iv. 5); Jehoiaida, the son of Paseah and Shebuel, compared with 1 Chr. iv. 12, where Paseah, a Chalchite, is apparently descended from Ashur, the father of Tekoa); Rephaiah, the son of Hur (ver. 8, compared with 1 Chr. ii. 20, 50, iv. 4, 5); Hanan (ver. 13 and 30), with the inhabitants of Zanoah (compared with 1 Chr. ii. 18); perhaps Malchiah the son of Rechab (ver. 16, compared with 1 Chr. ii. 55); Nehemiah, the son of Azbuk, ruler of Beth-zur (ver. 16, compared with 1 Chr. ii. 45); and perhaps Baruch, the son of Zabbai, or Zaccari (ver. 20), if for Zaccari we read Zaccur as the mention of "the other, or

* Beyond the Netophathite was however a Zarhite (1 Chr. xvii. 13), while Heled, or Helad, the descendant of Zaccari, was a Pharizite (1 Chr. xxvii. 18).

second, piece" makes probable, as well as the proximity to Meremoth in this second piece, as Zaccur was to Meremoth in their first pieces (ver. 2, 4).

The table on the opposite page displays the chief descents of the house of Pharez, and shows its relative greatness, as compared with the other houses of the tribe of Judah. It will be observed that many of the details are more topographical than genealogical, and that several towns in Dan, Simeon, and Benjamin, as Eshtaol, Zorah, Etam, and Gibea, seem to have been peopled with Pharez's descendants. The confusion between the elder and younger Caleb is inextricable, and suggests the suspicion that the elder Caleb or Chelubai may have had no real, but only a genealogical existence, intended to embrace all those families who on the settlement in Canaan were reckoned to the house of Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, the Kenezite.

2. (Φόρος: Phares) = PAROSH (1 Esdr. viii. 30; comp. Ezr. viii. 3). [A. C. H.]

PHAR'IRA (Φαριρρά; Alex. Φαριρρά: Phasida) = PERIDA or PERUDA (1 Esdr. v. 33).

PHARISEES (Φαρισαῖοι: Pharisei), a religious party or school amongst the Jews at the time of Christ, so called from *Perishin*, the Aramaic form of the Hebrew word *Perushim*, "separated." The name does not occur either in the Old Testament or in the Apocrypha; but it is usually considered that the Pharisees were essentially the same with the Assideans (i. e. *chasidim* = godly men, saints) mentioned in the 1st Book of Maccabees ii. 42, vii. 13-17, and in the 2nd Book xiv. 6. And those who admit the existence of Maccabean Psalms find allusions to the Assideans in Psalms lxxix. 2, xcvi. 10, cxxxii. 9, 16, cxlix. 9, where *chasidim* is translated "saints" in the A. V. (See Fürst's *Handwörterbuch*, i. 420, b.) In the 2nd Book of Maccabees, supposed by Geiger to have been written by a Pharisee (*Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 226), there are two passages which tend to illustrate the meaning of the word "separated;" one in iv. 3, where Alcimus, who had been high-priest, is described as having defiled himself willfully "in the times of the mingling"—*ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἐπιμιξίας χρόνοις*,—and another in iv. 38, where the zealous Razis is said to have been accused of Judaism, "in the former times when there was no mingling," *ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις τῆς ἀμιξίας*. In both cases the expression "mingling" refers to the time when Antiochus Epiphanes had partially succeeded in breaking down the barrier which divided the Jews from his other subjects; and it was in the resolute determination to resist the adoption of Grecian customs, and the slightest departure from the requirements of their own law, that the "Separated" took their rise as a party. Compare 1 Macc. i. 13-15, 41-49, 62, 63. Subsequently, however (and perhaps not wholly at first), this by no means exhausted the meaning of the word "Pharisees."

A knowledge of the opinions and practices of this party at the time of Christ is of great importance for entering deeply into the genius of the Christian religion. A cursory perusal of the Gospels is sufficient to show that Christ's teaching was in some respects thoroughly antagonistic to theirs. He denounced them in the bitterest language; and in the sweeping charges of hypocrisy which He made against them as a class, He might even, at first sight, seem

to have departed from that spirit of meekness,* of gentleness in judging others, and of abstinence from the imputation of improper motives, which is one of the most characteristic and original charms of His own precepts. See Matt. xv. 7, 8, xxiii. 5, 13, 14, 15, 23; Mark vii. 6; Luke xi. 42-44, and compare Matt. vii. 1-5, xi. 29, xii. 19, 20; Luke vi. 28, 37-42. Indeed it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that His repeated denunciations of the Pharisees mainly exasperated them into taking measures for causing his death; so that in one sense He may be said to have shed His blood, and to have laid down His life in protesting against their practice and spirit. (See especially verses 53, 54 in the xith chapter of Luke, which follow immediately upon the narration of what he said while dining with a Pharisee.) Hence to understand the Pharisees is, by contrast, an aid towards understanding the spirit of uncorrupted Christianity.

Authorities.—The sources of information respecting the Pharisees are mainly threefold. 1st. The writings of Josephus, who was himself a Pharisee (*Vit.* 2), and who in each of his great works professes to give a direct account of their opinions (*B. J.* ii. 8, §2-14; *Ant.* xviii. 1, §2, and compare xiii. 10, §5-6; xvii. 2, §4, xiii. 16, §2, and *Vit.* 38). The value of Josephus's accounts would be much greater, if he had not accommodated them, more or less, to Greek ideas, so that in order to arrive at the exact truth, not only much must be added, but likewise much of what he has written, must be re-translated, as it were, into Hebrew conceptions. 2ndly. The New Testament, including St. Paul's Epistles, in addition to the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. St. Paul had been instructed by an illustrious Rabbi (*Acts* xxii. 3); he had been a rigid Pharisee (*xxiii.* 6, *xxvi.* 5), and the remembrance of the galling bondage from which he had escaped (*Gal.* iv. 9, 10, v. 1) was probably a human element in that deep spirituality, and that uncompromising opposition to Jewish ceremonial observances, by which he pre-eminently contributed to make Christianity the religion of the civilized world. 3rdly. The first portion of the Talmud, called the Mishna, or "second law." This is by far the most important source of information respecting the Pharisees; and it may safely be asserted that it is nearly impossible to have adequate conceptions respecting them, without consulting that work. It is a digest of the Jewish traditions, and a compendium of the whole ritual law, reduced to writing in its present form by Rabbi Jehudah the Holy, a Jew of great wealth and influence, who flourished in the 2nd century. He succeeded his father Simeon as patriarch of Tiberias, and held that office at least thirty years. The precise date of his death is disputed; some placing it in a year somewhat antecedent to 194, A.D. (see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iv. p. 251), while others place it as late as 220 A.D., when he would

* This is thus noticed by Milton, from the point of view of his own peculiar ecclesiastical opinions:—"The invincible warrior Zeal, shaking loosely the slack reins, drives over the heads of scarlet prelates, and such as are insolent to maintain traditions, bruising their stiff necks under his flaming wheels. Thus did the true prophets of old combat with the false. Thus Christ Himself, the fountain of meekness, found acrimony enough to be still galling and veering the prelatical Pharisees."—*Apology for Smectymnua*.

† There are two Gemaras: one of Jerusalem, in which there is said to be no passage which can be proved to be later than the first half of the 4th century; and the other

have been about 81 years old (*Jost's Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten*, ii. p. 118). The Mishna is very concisely written, and requires notes. This circumstance led to the Commentaries called Gemara^b (*i. e.* Supplement, the second part of the Talmud, and which are very commonly meant when the word "Talmud" is used by itself. The language of the Mishna is that of the later Hebrew, purely written on the whole, though with a few grammatical Aramaisms, and which had become naturalized. The work is distributed into six great divisions or orders. The first (*Zerain*) relates to "seeds," or productions of the land, and it embraces all matters connected with the cultivation of the soil, and the disposal of its produce in offerings or tithes. It is preceded by a treatise on "Blessings" (*Beracoth*). The 2nd (*Moad*) relates to festivals and their observances. The 3rd (*Nashim*) to women, and includes regulations respecting betrothals, marriages, and divorces. The 4th (*Nezikin*) relates to damages sustained by means of man, beasts, or things; with decisions on points at issue between man and man in commercial dealings and compacts. The 5th (*Kodashim*) treats of holy things, of offerings, and of the Temple-service. The 6th (*Toharoth*) treats of what is clean and unclean. These 6 Orders are subdivided into 61 Treatises, so reckoned by Maimonides; but want of space precludes describing their contents; and the mention of the titles would give little information without such description. For obtaining accurate knowledge on these points, the reader is referred to Surenbuius's admirable edition of the *Mishna* in 6 vols. folio, Amsterdam, 1698, 1703, which contains not only a Latin translation of the text, but likewise ample prefaces and explanatory notes, including those of the celebrated Maimonides. Others may prefer the German translation of Jost, in an edition of the *Mishna* wherein the Hebrew text is pointed; but the German is in Hebrew letters, 3 vols. 4to, Berlin. And an English reader may obtain an excellent idea of the whole work from an English translation of 18 of its Treatises by De Sola and Raphall, London, 1843. There is no reasonable doubt, that although it may include a few passages of a later date, the *Mishna* was composed, as a whole, in the 2nd century, and represents the traditions which were current amongst the Pharisees at the time of Christ. This may be shown in the following way. 1st. Josephus, whose Autobiography was apparently not written later than A.D. 100, the third year of the reign of Trajan, is an authority to show that up to that period no important change had been introduced since Caius's death; and the general facts of Jewish history render it morally impossible that there should have been any essential alteration either in the reign of Trajan, the epoch of the great Jewish revolts in Egypt

of Babylon, completed about 500 A.D. The latter is the most important, and by far the longest. It was estimated by Chiarini to be fifteen times as long as the Mishna. The whole of the Gemaras has never been translated. The whole of the Gemaras has never been translated, though a proposal to make such a translation was brought before the public by Chiarini (*Théorie du Judaïsme appliquée à la Réforme des Israélites*, A.D. 1830). But Chiarini died in 1832. Fifteen treatises of the Jerusalem Gemara, and two of the Babylonian, are given, accompanied by a Latin translation, in Ugolini's *Theaurus*, vols. xvii. and xviii. Some interpret Gemara to be identical in meaning with Talmud, signifying "doctrine."

Byzantium, and Cyprus; or in the reign of Hadrian, during which there was the disastrous second rebellion in Judaea. And it was at the time of the suppression of this rebellion that Rabbi Jehudah was born; the tradition being that his birth was on the very same day that Rabbi Akiba was flayed alive and put to death, A.D. 136-137. 2ndly. There is frequent reference in the Mishna to the sayings and opinions of Hillel and Shammai, the celebrated leaders of two schools among the Pharisees, differing from each other on what would seem to Christians to be comparatively unimportant points. But Hillel and Shammai flourished somewhat before the birth of Christ; and, except on the incredible supposition of forgeries or mistakes on a very large scale, their traditions conclusively furnish particulars of the general system in force among the Pharisees during the period of Christ's teaching. There is likewise occasional reference to the opinion of Rabbi Gamaliel, the grandson of Hillel, and the teacher of St. Paul. 3rdly. The Mishna contains numerous ceremonial regulations, especially in the 5th Order, which pre-suppose, that the Temple-service is still subsisting, and it cannot be supposed that these were invented after the destruction of the Temple by Titus. But these breathe the same general spirit as the other traditions, and there is no sufficient reason for assuming any difference of date between the one kind and the other. Hence for facts concerning the system of the Pharisees, as distinguished from an appreciation of its merits or defects, the value of the Mishna as an authority is greater than that of all other sources of information put together.

Referring to the Mishna for details, it is proposed in this article to give a general view of the peculiarities of the Pharisees; afterwards to notice their opinions on a future life and on free-will; and finally, to make some remarks on the proselytizing spirit attributed to them at the time of Christ. Points noticed elsewhere in this Dictionary will be as far as possible avoided. Hence information respecting Corban and Phylacteries, which in the New Testament are peculiarly associated with the Pharisees, must be sought for under the appropriate titles. See CORBAN and FRONTLETS.

1. The fundamental principle of the Pharisees common to them with all orthodox modern Jews is, that by the side of the written law regarded as a summary of the principles and general laws of the Hebrew people, there was an oral law to complete and to explain the written law. It was an article of faith that in the Pentateuch there was no precept, and no regulation, ceremonial, doctrinal, or legal, of which God had not given to Moses all explanations necessary for their application, with the order to transmit them by word of mouth (Klein's *Vérité* in *le Talmud*, p. 9). The classical passage in the Mishna on this subject is the following:—"Moses received the (oral) law from Sinai, and delivered it to Joshua, and Joshua to the elders, and the elders to the prophets, and the prophets to the men of the Great

Synagogue" (*Pirke Abôth*, i.). This remarkable statement is so destitute of what would at the present day be deemed historical evidence, and would, it might be supposed, have been rendered so incredible to a Jew by the absence of any distinct allusion to the fact in the Old Testament, that it is interesting to consider by what process of argument the principle could ever have won acceptance. It may be conceived in the following way. The Pentateuch, according to the Rabbins, contains 613 laws; including 248 commands, and 365 prohibitions; but whatever may be the number of the laws, however minutely they may be anatomized, or into whatever form they may be thrown, there is nowhere an allusion to the duty of prayer, or to the doctrine of a future life. The absence of the doctrine of a future life has been made familiar to English theologians by the author of "The divine Legation of Moses;" and the fact is so undeniable, that it is needless to dwell upon it farther. The absence of any injunction to pray has not attracted equal attention, but seems to be almost equally certain. The only passage which by any ingenuity has ever been interpreted to enjoin prayer is in Ex. xxiii. 25, where the words are used, "And ye shall serve Jehovah your God." But as the Pentateuch abounds with specific injunctions as to the mode of serving Jehovah; by sacrifices, by meat-offerings, by drink-offerings, by the rite of circumcision, by observing festivals, such as the Sabbath, the Passover, the feast of weeks, and the feast of tabernacles, by obeying all His ceremonial and moral commands, and by loving Him, it is contrary to sound rules of construction to import into the general word "serve" Jehovah the specific meaning "pray to" Jehovah, when that particular mode of service is nowhere distinctly commanded in the law. There being then thus no mention either of a future life, or of prayer as a duty,^d it would be easy for the Pharisees at a time when prayer was universally practised, and a future life was generally believed in or desired, to argue from the supposed inconceivability of a true revelation not commanding prayer, or not asserting a future life, to the necessity of Moses having treated of both orally. And when the principle of an oral tradition in two such important points was once admitted, it was easy for a skilful controversialist to carry the application of the principle much farther by insisting that there was precisely the same evidence for numerous other traditions having come from Moses as for those two; and that it was illogical, as well as presumptuous to admit the two only, and to exercise the right of selection and private judgment respecting the rest.

It is not to be supposed that all the traditions which bound the Pharisees were believed to be direct revelations to Moses on Mount Sinai. In addition to such revelations, which were not disputed, although there was no proof from the written law to support them, and in addition to interpretations received from Moses, which were either implied

* A passage in Deuteronomy (xvii. 8-11) has been interpreted to us to serve as a basis for an oral law. But that passage seems merely to prescribe obedience to the priests, the Levites, and to the judges in civil and criminal matters, as necessary between man and man. A fanciful application of the words *על פי* in ver. 11 has favoured the traditional interpretation. In the 'Festival Prayers' of the English Jews, p. 69 for Pentecost, it is stated, of God, in a

prayer, "He explained it (the law) to His people face to face, and on every point are ninety-eight explanations."

^d Mahomet was preceded both by Christianity and by the latest development of Judaism: from both of which he borrowed much. See, as to Judaism, Geiger's essay, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen?* Still, one of the most marked characteristics of the Korân is the unwearied reiteration of the duty of prayer, and of the certainty of a future state of retribution.

in *fac* written law or to be elicited from them by reasoning, there were three other classes of traditions. 1st. Opinions on disputed points, which were the result of a majority of votes. To this class belonged the secondary questions on which there was a difference between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. 2ndly. Decrees made by prophets and wise men in different ages, in conformity with a saying attributed to the men of the Great Synagogue, "Be deliberate in judgment; train up many disciples; and *make a fence for the law.*" These carried prohibitions farther than the written law or oral law of Moses, in order to protect the Jewish people from temptations to sin or pollution. For example, the injunction "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk,"^a Ex. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26; Deut. xiv. 21; was interpreted by the oral law to mean that the flesh of quadrupeds might not be cooked, or in any way mixed with milk for food; so that even now amongst the orthodox Jews milk may not be eaten for some hours after meat. But this was extended by the wise men to the flesh of birds; and now, owing to this "fence to the law," the admixture of *poultry* with any milk, or its preparations, is rigorously forbidden. When once a decree of this kind had been passed, it could not be reversed; and it was subsequently said that not even Elijah himself could take away anything from the 18 points which had been determined on by the school of Shammai and the school of Hillel. 3rdly. Legal decisions of proper ecclesiastical authorities on disputed questions. Some of these were attributed to Moses, some to Joshua, and some to Ezra. Some likewise to Rabbis of later date, such as Hillel and Gamaliel. However, although in these several ways, *all* the traditions of the Pharisees were not deemed direct revelations from Jehovah, there is no doubt that all became invested, more or less, with a peculiar sanctity; so that, regarded collectively, the study of them and the observance of them became as imperative as the study and observance of the precepts in the Bible.

Viewed as a whole, they treated men like children, formalizing and defining the minutest particulars of ritual observances. The expressions of "bondage," of "weak and beggarly elements," and of "burdens too heavy for men to bear," faithfully represent the impression produced by their multiplicity. An elaborate argument might be advanced for many of them individually, but the sting of them consisted in their aggregate number, which would have a tendency to quench the fervour and the freshness of a spiritual religion. They varied in character, and the following instances may be given of three different classes:—1st, of those which, admitting certain principles, were points reasonable to define; 2ndly, of points defined which were superfluously particularized; and 3rdly, of points defined where the discussion of them at all was superstitious and puerile. Of the first class the very first decision in the Mishna is a specimen. It defines the period up to which a Jew is bound, as his evening service, to repeat the Shema. The Shema is the celebrated passage in Deut. vi. 4-9, commencing, "Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." It is a tradition that every

Israélite is bound to recite this passage twice in the twenty-four hours, morning and evening—for which authority is supposed to be found in verse 7, where . . . when thou liest down and when thou risest up." The compulsory recitation of even these words twice a day might be objected to as leading to formalism; but, accepting the recitation as a religious duty, it might not be unreasonable that the range of time permitted for the recitation should be defined. The following is the decision on this point in the Mishna, *Beracoth* i. "From what time do they recite the Shema in the evening? From the time that the priests are admitted to eat their oblations till the end of the first watch. The words of Rabbi Eliezer: but the wise men say, up to midnight. Rabban Gamaliel says, until the column of dawn has arisen. Case: His sons returning from a house of entertainment said, We have not yet recited the Shema; to whom he said, If the column of dawn has not yet arisen, you are bound to recite it. But not this alone; but wherever the wise men have said 'to midnight,' their injunction is in force until the column of dawn has arisen. . . . If so, why did the wise men say till midnight? In order to keep men far from transgression." The following is an instance of the second class. It relates to the lighting candles on the eve of the Sabbath, which is the duty of every Jew: it is found in the Mishna, in the treatise *Shabbath*, c. ii., and is printed in the Hebrew and English Prayer-Book according to the form of the German and Polish Jews, p. 66, from which, to avoid objections, this translation, and others, where it is possible, are taken. "With what sort of wick and oil are the candles of the Sabbath to be lighted, and with what are they not to be lighted? They are not to be lighted with the woolly substance that grows upon oysters, nor with undressed flax, nor with silk, nor with rushes, nor with leaves out of the wilderness, nor with moss that grows on the surface of water, nor with pitch, nor with wax, nor with oil made of cotton-seed, nor with the fat of the tail or the entrails of beasts. Nathan Hamody saith it may be lighted with boiled suet; but the wise men say, be it boiled or not boiled, it may not be lighted with it. It may not be lighted with burnt oil on festival-days. Rabbi Ishmael says it may not be lighted with train-oil because of honour to the Sabbath; but the wise men allow of all sorts of oil: with mixed oil, with oil of nuts, oil of radish-seed, oil of fish, oil of gourd-seed, of rosin and gum. Rabbi Tarphun saith they are not to be lighted but with oil of olives. Nothing that grows out of the woods is used for lighting but flax, and nothing that grows out of woods doth not pollute by the pollution of a tent but flax: the wick of cloth that is doubled, and has not been singed, Rabbi Elazar saith it is unclean, and may not be lighted withal; Rabbi Akibah saith it is clean, and may be lighted withal. A man may not split a shell of an egg and fill it with oil and put it in the socket of a candlestick, because it shall blaze, though the candlestick be of earthenware; but Rabbi Jehudah permits it: if the potter made it with a hole through at first, it is allowed, because it is the same vessel. No man shall fill a platter with oil, and give it place next to the lamp, and put the head of the

^a Although this prohibition occurs three times, no light is thrown upon its meaning by the context. The most probable conjecture is that given under the head of *IDLATRY*

(l. 859 b), that it was aimed against some practice of idolaters. Mr. Laing gives a similar explanation of the Christian prohibition in Scandinavia against eating horse-flesh

reck in a platter to make it drop the oil; but Rabbi Jehudah permits it." Now in regard to details of this kind, admitting it was not unreasonable to make some regulations concerning lighting candles, it certainly seems that the above particulars are too minute, and that all which was really essential could have been brought within a much smaller compass. 3rdly. A specimen of the 3rd class may be pointed out in the beginning of the treatise on festivals (*Moed*), entitled *Beitzah*, an *Egg*, from the following case of the egg being the first point discussed in it. We are gravely informed that "an egg laid on a festival may be eaten, according to the school of Shammai; but the school of Hillel says it must not be eaten." In order to understand this important controversy, which reminds us of the two parties in a well-known work, who took their names from the end on which each laid that an egg ought to be broken, it must be observed that, for a reason into which it is unnecessary to enter at present, it was admitted on all hands, both by the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai, that if a bird which was neither to be eaten nor killed laid an egg on a festival, the egg was not to be eaten. The only point of controversy was respecting an egg laid by a hen that would be afterwards eaten. Now the school of Hillel interdicted the eating of such an egg, on account of a passage in the 5th verse of the 16th chapter of *Leviticus*, wherein Jehovah said to Moses respecting the people who gathered manna, "on the sixth day they shall prepare that which they bring in." For it was inferred from these words that on a common day of the week a man might "prepare" for the Sabbath, or prepare for a feast-day, but that he might not prepare for the Sabbath on a feast-day, nor for a feast-day on the Sabbath. Now, as an egg laid on any particular day was deemed to have been "prepared" the day before, an egg laid on a feast-day following a Sabbath might not be eaten, because it was prepared on the Sabbath, and the eating of it would involve a breach of the Sabbath. And although all feast-days did not fall on a day following the Sabbath, yet as many did, it was deemed better, *ex majori cautela*, "as a fence to the law," to interdict the eating of an egg which had been laid on any feast-day, whether such day was or was not the day after the Sabbath (see *Surenhusius's Mishna*, ii. 282). In a world wherein the objects of human interest and wonder are nearly useless, it certainly does seem a degradation of human intelligence to exercise it on matters so trifling and petty.

To enter, however, to observe regulations on points of this kind, mixed with others less objectionable, and with some which, regarded from a certain point of view, were in themselves individually not unreasonable, the Pharisees formed a kind of society. A member was called a *châbêr* (צַבֵּר), and those among the middle and lower classes who were not members were called "the people of the land," or the vulgar. Each member had a vote, and in the presence of three other members, he would remain true to the laws of the association. The conditions were various. One of the most important was that a member should abstain from everything that was not tithed (comp. *Matt.* xviii. 23, and *Luke* xviii. 12). The Mishna says, "who undertakes to be trustworthy (a word with a technical Pharisaical meaning) tithes whatever he eats, and whatever he sells, and whatever he buys, and

does not eat and drink with the people of the land." This was a point of peculiar delicacy, for the portion of produce reserved as tithes for the priests and Levites was *holy*, and the enjoyment of what was holy was a deadly sin. Hence a Pharisee was bound, not only to ascertain as a buyer whether the articles which he purchased had been duly tithed, but to have the same certainty in regard to what he eat in his own house and when taking his meals with others. And thus Christ, in eating with publicans and sinners, ran counter to the first principles, and shocked the most deeply-rooted prejudices, of Pharisaism; for, independently of other obvious considerations, He ate and drank with "the people of the land," and it would have been assumed as undoubted that He partook on such occasions of food which had not been duly tithed.

Perhaps some of the most characteristic laws of the Pharisees related to what was clean (*tâhór*) and unclean (*tâmê*). Among all Oriental nations there has been a certain tendency to symbolism in religion; and if any symbolism is admitted on such a subject, nothing is more natural than to symbolize purity and cleanliness of thought by cleanliness of person, dress, and actions. Again, in all climates, but especially in warm climates, the sanitary advantages of such cleanliness would tend to confirm and perpetuate this kind of symbolism; and when once the principle was conceded, superstition would be certain to attach an intrinsic moral value to the rigid observance of the symbol. In addition to what might be explained in this manner, there arose among the Jews—partly from opposition to idolatrous practices, or to what savoured of idolatry, partly from causes which it is difficult at the present day even to conjecture, possibly from mere prejudice, individual antipathy, or strained fanciful analogies—peculiar ideas concerning what was clean and unclean, which at first sight might appear purely conventional. But, whether their origin was symbolical, sanitary, religious, fanciful, or conventional, it was a matter of vital importance to a Pharisee that he should be well acquainted with the Pharisaical regulations concerning what was clean and what was unclean; for, as among the modern Hindoos (some of whose customs are very similar to those of the Pharisees), every one technically unclean is cut off from almost every religious ceremony, so, according to the Levitical law every unclean person was cut off from all religious privileges, and was regarded as defiling the sanctuary of Jehovah (*Num.* xix. 20; compare *Ward's Hindoo History, Literature, and Religion*, ii. 147). On principles precisely similar to those of the Levitical laws (*Lev.* xx. 25, xxii. 4-7), it was possible to incur these awful religious penalties either by eating or by touching what was unclean in the Pharisaical sense. In reference to eating, independently of the slaughtering of holy sacrifices, which is the subject of two other treatises, the Mishna contains one treatise called *Cholin*, which is specially devoted to the slaughtering of fowls and cattle for domestic use (see *Surenhusius*, v. 114; and *De Sola* and *Raphall*, p. 325). One point in its very first section is by itself vitally distinctive; and if the treatise had contained no other regulation, it would still have raised an insuperable barrier between the free social intercourse of Jews and other nations. This point is, "that any thing slaughtered by a heathen should be deemed unfit to be eaten, like the carcase of an animal that had died of itself, and like such carcase should pollute the

Joseph did really somewhat understate what was true in principle, not of the Jews universally, but of the most important religious party among the Jews, at the time when he wrote.

An analogy has been pointed out by Geiger (p. 164) between the Pharisees and our own Puritans; and in some points there are undoubted features of similarity, beginning even with their names. Both were innovators: the one against the legal orthodoxy of the Sadducees, the others against Episcopacy. Both of them had republican tendencies: the Pharisees glorifying the office of rabbi, which depended on learning and personal merit, rather than that of priest, which, being hereditary, depended on the accident of birth; while the Puritans in England abolished monarchy and the right of hereditary legislation. Even in their zeal for religious education there was some resemblance: the Pharisees exerting themselves to instruct disciples in their schools with an earnestness never equalled in Rome or Greece; while in Scotland the Puritans set the most brilliant example to modern Europe of parochial schools for the common people. But here comparison ceases. In the most essential points of religion they were not only not alike, but they were directly antagonistic. The Pharisees were under the bondage of forms in the manner already described; while, except in the strict observance of the Sabbath, the religion of the Puritans was in itself purely spiritual, and they assailed even the ordinary forms of Popery and Prelacy with a bitterness of language copied from the denunciations of Christ against the Pharisees.

II. In regard to a future state, Josephus presents the ideas of the Pharisees in such a light to his Greek readers, that whatever interpretation his ambiguous language might possibly admit, he obviously would have produced the impression on Greeks that the Pharisees believed in the transmigration of souls. Thus his statement respecting them is, "They say that every soul is imperishable, but that the soul of good men only passes over (or transmigrates) into another body—*μεταβαίνει εἰς ἕτερον σώμα*—while the soul of bad men is chastised by eternal punishment" (*B. J.* ii. 8, §14; compare *ib.* 8, §5, and *Ant.* xviii. 1, §3, and Boettcher, *de Inferis*, pp. 519, 552). And there are two passages in the Gospels which might countenance this idea: one in Matt. xiv. 2, where Herod the tetrarch is represented as thinking that Jesus was John the Baptist risen from the dead (though a different colour is given to Herod's thoughts in the corresponding passage, Luke ix. 7-9); and another in John ix. 2, where the question is put to Jesus whether the blind man himself had sinned, or his parents, that he was born blind? Notwithstanding sufficient reason for doubting that the Pharisees believed in a resurrection of the dead very much in the same sense as the early Christians. This is not in accordance with St. Paul's statement to

At least five different explanations have been suggested of the passage John ix. 2. First, That it alludes to a Jewish doctrine of the transmigration of souls. Secondly, That it refers to an Alexandrine doctrine of the transmigration of souls, but not to their transmigration. Thirdly, That the words mean, "Did this man sin, as the Jews say, or did his parents sin, as we say, that he was born blind?" Fourthly, That it involves the Rabbinical idea of the possibility of an infant's sinning in his mother's womb. Fifthly, That it is founded on the predestinarian notion that the blindness from birth was a preceding

the chief priests and council (Acts xxiii. 6), that he was a Pharisee, the son of a Pharisee, and that he was called in question for the hope and resurrection of the dead—a statement which would have been peculiarly disingenuous, if the Pharisees had merely believed in the transmigration of souls; and it is likewise almost implied in Christ's teaching, which does not insist on the doctrine of a future life as anything new, but assumes it as already adopted by his hearers, except by the Sadducees, although he condemns some unspiritual conceptions of its nature as erroneous (Matt. xxii. 30; Mark xii. 25; Luke xx. 34-36). On this head the Mishna is an illustration of the ideas in the Gospels, as distinguished from any mere transmigration of souls; and the peculiar phrase, "the world to come," of which *δ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος* was undoubtedly only the translation, frequently occurs in it (*העולם הבא*, *Avoth*,

ii. 7, iv. 16; comp. Mark x. 30; Luke xviii. 30). This phrase of Christians, which is anterior to Christianity, but which does not occur in the O. T., though fully justified by certain passages to be found in some of its latest books,¹ is essentially different from Greek conceptions on the same subject; and generally, in contradistinction to the purely temporal blessings of the Mosaic legislation, the Christian ideas that this world is a state of probation, and that every one after death will have to render a strict account of his actions, were expressed by Pharisees in language which it is impossible to misunderstand:—"This world may be likened to a courtyard in comparison of the world to come; therefore prepare thyself in the antechamber that thou mayest enter into the dining-room" (*Avoth*, iv. 16). "Everything is given to man on security, and a net is spread over every living creature; the shop is open, and the merchant credits; the book is open, and the hand records; and whosoever chooses to borrow may come and borrow; for the collectors are continually going round daily, and obtain payment of man, whether with his consent or without it; and the judgment is true justice; and all are prepared for the feast" (*Avoth*, iii. 16). "Those who are born are doomed to die, the dead to live, and the quick to be judged; to make us know understand, and be informed that He is God; He is the Former, Creator, Intelligent Being, Judge, Witness, and suing Party, and will judge thee hereafter. Blessed be He; for in His presence there is no unrighteousness, forgetfulness, respect of persons, nor acceptance of a bribe; for everything is His. Know also that everything is done according to the account, and let not thine evil imagination persuade thee that the grave is a place of refuge for thee: for against thy will wast thou formed, and against thy will wast thou born; and against thy will dost thou live, and against thy will wilt thou die; and against thy will must thou hereafter render an account, and receive judgment in the presence of the Supreme King of kings, the Holy God,

punishment for sins which the blind man afterwards committed: just as it has been suggested, in a remarkable passage, that the death before 1688 of the Princess Anne's infant children (three in number) was a preceding punishment for her subsequent abandonment of her father, James II. See Stewart's *Philosophy*, vol. ii. App. vi., and the Commentaries of De Wette and Lücke, *ad locum*.

¹ The earliest text in support of the expression is perhaps "the new heavens and the new earth" promised by Isaiah (Is. lxxv. 17-22). Compare Dan. vii. 27, ii. 44; Is. xxvi. 19.

blessed is He" (*Atoth*, iv. 22). Still it must be borne in mind that the actions of which such a strict account was to be rendered were not merely those referred to by the spiritual prophets Isaiah and Micah (Is. i. 16, 17; Mic. vi. 8), nor even those enjoined in the Pentateuch, but included those fabulously supposed to have been orally transmitted by Moses on Mount Sinai, and the whole body of the traditions of the elders. They included, in fact, all those ceremonial "works," against the efficacy of which, in the deliverance of the human soul, St. Paul so emphatically protested.

III. In reference to the opinions of the Pharisees concerning the freedom of the will, a difficulty arises from the very prominent position which they occupy in the accounts of Josephus, whereas nothing vitally essential to the peculiar doctrines of the Pharisees seems to depend on those opinions, and some of his expressions are Greek, rather than Hebrew. "There were three sects of the Jews," he says, "which had different conceptions respecting human affairs, of which one was called Pharisees, the second Sadducees, and the third Essenes. The Pharisees say that some things, and not all things, are the work of fate; but that some things are in our own power to be and not to be. But the Essenes declare that Fate rules all things, and that nothing happens to man except by its decree. The Sadducees, on the other hand, take away Fate, holding that it is a thing of nought, and that human affairs do not depend upon it; but in their estimate all things are in the power of ourselves, as being ourselves the causes of our good things, and meeting with evils through our own inconsiderateness" (comp. xviii. 1, §3, and *B. J.* ii. 8, §14). On reading this passage, and the others which bear on the same subject in Josephus's works, the suspicion naturally arises that he was biassed by a desire to make the Greeks believe that, like the Greeks, the Jews had philosophical sects amongst themselves. At any rate his words do not represent the opinions as they were really held by the three religious parties. We may feel certain, that the influence of fate was not the point on which discussions respecting free-will turned, though there may have been differences as to the way in which the interposition of God in human affairs was to be regarded. Thus the ideas of the Essenes are likely to have been expressed in language approaching to the words of Christ (*Matt.* x. 29, 30, vi. 25-34), and it is very difficult to believe that the Sadducees, who accepted the authority of the Pentateuch and other books of the Old Testament, excluded God, in their conceptions, from all influence on human actions. On the whole, in reference to this point, the opinion of Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 509) seems not improbable, that the real difference between the Pharisees and Sadducees was at first practical and political. He conjectures that the wealthy and aristocratical Sadducees in their wars and negotiations with the Syrians entered into matters of policy and calculations of prudence, while the zealous Pharisees, disdaining worldly wisdom, laid stress on doing what seemed right, and on leaving the event to God; and that this led to differences in formal theories and metaphysical statements. The precise nature of those differences we do not certainly know, as no writing of a Sadducee on the subject has been preserved by the Jews, and on matters of this kind, it is unsafe to trust unreservedly the statements of an adversary. [SADDUCEES.]

IV. In reference to the spirit of proselytism

among the Pharisees, there is indisputable authority for the statement that it prevailed to a very great extent at the time of Christ (*Matt.* xxiii. 15); and able importance in having paved the way for the early diffusion of Christianity. The district of Palestine, which was long in proportion to its breadth, and which yet, from Dan to Beersheba, was only 160 Roman miles, or not quite 148 English miles long, and which is represented as having been civilized, wealthy, and populous 1000 years before Christ, would under any circumstances have been too small to continue maintaining the whole growing population of its children. But, through kidnapping (*Joel* iii. 6), through leading into captivity by military incursions and victorious enemies (*2 K.* xvii. 6, xviii. 11, xxiv. 15; *Am.* i. 6, 9), through flight (*Jer.* xliii. 4-7), through commerce (*Joseph. Ant.* xx. 2, §3), and probably through ordinary emigration, Jews at the time of Christ had become scattered over the fairest portions of the civilized world. On the day of Pentecost, that great festival on which the Jews suppose Moses to have brought the perfect law down from heaven (*Festival Prayers for Pentecost*, p. 6), Jews are said to have been assembled with one accord in one place at Jerusalem, "from every region under heaven." Admitting that this was an Oriental hyperbole (comp. *John* xxi. 25), there must have been some foundation for it in fact; and the enumeration of the various countries from which Jews are said to have been present gives a vivid idea of the widely-spread existence of Jewish communities. Now it is not unlikely, though it cannot be proved from Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 2, §3), that missions and organized attempts to produce conversions, although unknown to Greek philosophers, existed among the Pharisees (*De Wette, Exegetisches Handbuch*, *Matt.* xxiii. 15). But, at any rate, the then existing regulations or customs of synagogues afforded facilities which do not exist now either in synagogues or Christian churches for presenting new views to a congregation (*Acts* xvii. 2; *Luke* iv. 16). Under such auspices the proselytizing spirit of the Pharisees inevitably stimulated a thirst for inquiry, and accustomed the Jews to theological controversies. Thus there existed precedents and favouring circumstances for efforts to make proselytes, when the greatest of all missionaries, a Jew by race, a Pharisee by education, a Greek by language, and a Roman citizen by birth, preaching the resurrection of Jesus to those who for the most part already believed in the resurrection of the dead, confronted the elaborate ritual-system of the written and oral law by a pure spiritual religion; and thus obtained the co-operation of many Jews themselves in breaking down every barrier between Jew, Pharisee, Greek, and Roman, and in endeavouring to unite all mankind by the brotherhood of a common Christianity.

Literature.—In addition to the New Testament, Josephus, and the Mishna, it is proper to read Epiphanius *Adversus Hæreses*, lib. i. xvi.; and the Notes of Jerome to *Matth.* xxii. 23, xxiii. 6, &c., though the information given by both these writers is very imperfect.

In modern literature, see several treatises in Ugo's *Thésaurus*, vol. xxii.; and Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ* on *Matth.* iii. 7, where a curious libellous description is given of seven sects of Pharisees, which, from its being destitute of any intrinsic value, is not inserted in this article. See likewise

Brucker's Historia Critica Philosophiae, ii. 744-750; *Milman's History of the Jews*, ii. 71; *Ewald's Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iv. 415-419; and *Jahrbuch des Heils*, p. 5 &c. of Gfrörer, who has insisted strongly on the importance of the Mishna, and has made great use of the Talmud generally. See also the following works by modern Jewish writers: Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums und seiner Sekten*, i. 196; Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, iii. 508-518; Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iii. 358-362; and Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, p. 103 &c. [E. T.]

PHAROSH (פָּרוֹשׁ): פָּרוֹשׁ: *Pharos* Elsewhere PAROSH. The same variation is found in the Geneva Version (Ezr. viii. 3).

PHARPAR (פָּרְפָר, i. e. Parpar: "Αφραφα; Alex. φαρφαρα: *Pharpar*). The second of the two "rivers of Damascus"—Abana and Pharpar—mentioned by Naaman (2 K. v. 12).

The two principal streams in the district of Damascus are the *Barada* and the *Awaj*:—in fact, there are no others worthy of the name of "river." There are good grounds for identifying the *Barada* with the *Abana*, and there seems therefore to be no alternative but to consider the *Awaj* as being the *Pharpar*. But though in the region of Damascus, the *Awaj* has not, like the *Barada*, any connexion with the city itself. It does not approach it nearer than 8 miles, and is divided from it by the ridge of the *Jebel Aswad*. It takes its rise on the S.E. slopes of Hermon, some 5 or 6 miles from *Beit Jenn*, close to a village called *Arny*, the name of which it bears during the first part of its course. It then runs S.E. by *Kefr Hauwar* and *Sasa*, but soon recovering itself by a turn northwards, ultimately ends in the *Bahret Hijaneh*, the most westerly of the three lakes or swamps of Damascus, nearly due east of, and about 40 miles from, the point at which it started. The *Awaj* has been investigated by Dr. Thomson, and is described by him in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for May, 1849; see also Robinson (*B. R.* iii. 447, 8). It is evidently much inferior to the *Barada*, for while that is extraordinarily copious, and also perennial in the hottest seasons, this is described as a small lively stream, not unfrequently dry in the lower part of its course. (On the maps of Kiepert (1856) and Van de Velde (1858) the name of *Wady Barbar* is found, apparently that of a valley parallel to the *Arny* near *Kefr Hauwar*; but what the authority for this is the writer has not succeeded in discovering. Nor has he found any name on the maps or in the lists of Dr. Robinson answering to *Taurah*, توري, by which *Pharpar* is rendered in the Arabic version of 2 K. v. 12.

The tradition of the Jews of Damascus, as reported by Schwarz (54, also 20, 27), is curiously a mixture of our ordinary ideas regarding these streams. They call the river *Fijeh* (that is the *Barada*) the *Pharpar*, and give the name *Amana* to *Karmia* (an old Talmudic name, see vol. i. p. 76) to a stream which Schwarz describes as issuing from a fountain called *el Barady*, 1½ mile from *Beth Djana* (*Beit Jenn*), in a N.E. direction, to Damascus (see also the reference to the Nubian

* The A at the commencement of this name suggests the Hebrew definite article; but no trace of it appears in the Hebrew MSS.

geographer by Gesenius, *Thes.* 1132 a). What is intended by this the writer is at a loss to know. [G.]

PHAR'ZITES, THE (פָּרְזִיטִים: δ Φαρεισῶν: Alex. Φαρῆς: *Pharsetites*). The descendants of Pharez, the son of Judah (*Num.* xxvi. 20). They were divided into two branches, the Hezronites and the Hamulites.

PHASE'AH (פָּזַעַח: Φεσῆ; Alex. φαση Phasea). PASEAH 2 (*Neh.* vii. 51).

PHASELIS (Φασηλις: *Phaselis*). A town on the coast of Asia Minor, on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia, and consequently ascribed by the ancient writers sometimes to one and sometimes to the other. Its commerce was considerable in the sixth century B.C., for in the reign of Amasis it was one of a number of Greek towns which carried on trade somewhat in the manner of the Hænetic confederacy in the middle ages. They had a common temple, the Hellenium, at Naucratis in Egypt, and nominated προστάται for the regulation of commercial questions and the decision of disputes arising out of contracts, like the *prud'hommes* of the Middle Ages, who presided over the courts of pie powder (*pieds poudrés*, peblars) at the different staples. In later times Phaselis was distinguished as a resort of the Pamphylian and Cilician pirates. Its port was a convenient one to make, for the lofty mountain of Solyma (now *Takhtulu*), which backed it at a distance of only five miles, is nearly 8000 feet in height, and constitutes an admirable landmark from a great distance. Phaselis itself stood on a rock of 50 or 100 feet elevation above the sea, and was joined to the main by a low isthmus, in the middle of which was a lake, now a pestiferous marsh. On the eastern side of this were a closed port and a roadstead, and on the western a larger artificial harbour, formed by a mole run out into the sea. The remains of this may still be traced to a considerable extent below the surface of the water. The masonry of the pier which protected the small eastern port is nearly perfect. In this sheltered position the pirates could lie safely while they sold their booty, and also refit, the whole region having been anciently so thickly covered with wood as to give the name of *Pityusa* to the town. For a time the Phaselites confined their relations with the Pamphylians to the purposes just mentioned; but they subsequently joined the piratical league, and suffered in consequence the loss of their independence and their town lands in the war which was waged by the Roman consul Publius Servilius Isauricus in the years 77-75 B.C. But at the outset the Romans had to a great extent fostered the pirates, by the demand which sprang up for domestic slaves upon the change of manners brought about by the spoliation of Carthage and Corinth. It is said that at this time many thousand slaves were passed through Delos—which was the mart between Asia and Europe—in a single day; and the proverb grew up there, "Ἐμπορε, κατά-πλευσον- ἐξελοῦ πάντα πέπραται. But when the Cilicians had acquired such power and audacity as to sweep the seas as far as the Italian coast, and interrupt the supplies of corn, it became time to interfere, and the expedition of Servilius commenced the work which was afterwards completed by Pompey the Great.

* Such is the meaning of the word *Pharpar*, treated as Hebrew, according to Gesenius and Fürst. Dr. Pusey however (*Comm.* on Amos i. 3), renders it "crooked"

It is in the interval between the growth of the Cilician piracy and the Servilian expedition that the incidents related in the First Book of Maccabees occurred. The Romans are represented as requiring all their allies to render up to Simon the high-priest any Jewish exiles who may have taken refuge among them. After naming Ptolemy, Demetrius (king of Syria), Attalus (king of Pergamus), Ariarathes (of Pontus), and Arsaces (of Parthia), as recipients of these missives, the author adds that the consul also wrote:—*eis p̄sas tās chōras kai Samψ̄am* (Grotius conjectures *Samψ̄ankw*, and one MS. has *Meσanίσση*) *kai Spap̄tiatias kai eis Δ̄ηλον kai eis M̄νδον kai eis Σικύανα kai eis τ̄ην Καρίαν kai eis Σάμον kai eis τ̄ην Παμφυλίαν kai eis τ̄ην Λυκίαν kai eis Ἀλικαρνασσόν, kai eis Ῥόδον kai eis Φασηλίδα kai eis Κῶ kai eis Σίδην kai eis Ἀραδὸν kai eis Γόρτυναν kai Κνίδον, kai Κύπρον kai Κυρήνην* (1 Macc. xv. 23). It will be observed that all the places named, with the exception of Cyprus and Cyrene, lie on the highway of marine traffic between Syria and Italy. The Jewish slaves, whether kidnapped by their own countrymen (Ex. xxi. 16) or obtained by raids (2 K. v. 2), appear in early times to have been transmitted to the west coast of Asia Minor by this route (see Ez. xxvii. 13; Joel iii. 6).

The existence of the mountain Solyma, and a town of the same name, in the immediate neighbourhood of Phaselis, renders it probable that the descendants of some of these Israelites formed a population of some importance in the time of Strabo (Herod. ii. 178; Strab. xiv. c. 3; Liv. xxxvii. 23; Mela, i. 14; Beaufort, *Karanania*, pp. 53-56). [J. W. B.]

PHASIRON (*Φασιρών*: *Phaseron*; *Pasiron*), the name of the head of an Arab tribe, "the children of Phasiron" (1 Macc. ix. 66), defeated by Jonathan, but of whom nothing more is known. [B. F. W.]

PHASSARON (*Φασσάρων*: *Phasurion*). *PA-SHUR* (1 Esdr. v. 25).

PHĒBE. [PHOEBE.]

PHĒNICE. 1. See PHOENICE, PHOENICIA. 2. More properly PHOENIX (*Φοινίξ*, Acts xvii. 12), though probably our translators meant it to be pronounced *Phénice* in two syllables, as opposed to *Phénicē* (*Φοινίκη*, Acts xi. 19) in three.

The place under our present consideration was a town and harbour on the south coast of CRETE: and the name was doubtless derived from the Greek word for the palm-tree, which Theophrastus says was indigenous in the island. [PALM-TREE.] The ancient notices of Phoenix converge remarkably to establish its identity with the modern *Lutro*. Besides Ptolemy's longitudes, we have Pliny's statement that it was (as *Lutro* is) in the narrowest part of the island. Moreover, we find applied to this locality, by the modern Greeks, not only the word *Phinika*, which is clearly *Phoenix*, but also the words *Anopolis* and *Aradena*. Now Stephans Byzantinus says that *Anopolis* is the same with *Aradena*, and Hierocles says that *Aradena* is the same with *Phoenix*. The last authority adds also that the island of *CLAUDA* is very near. We see further that all these indications correspond exactly with what we read in the Acts. St. Paul's ship was at *FAIR HAVENS*, which is some miles to the E. of *Lutro*; but she was bound to the westward, and the sailors wished to reach *Phoenix* (xxvii. 8-12); and it was in making the attempt that they were caught by the gale and driven to *Clauda* (ib. 13-16).

Still there were till lately two difficulties in the matter: and the recent and complete removal of them is so satisfactory, that they deserve to be mentioned. First, it used to be asserted, by persons well acquainted with this coast, that there is no such harbour hereabouts at all affording a safe anchorage. This is simply an error of fact. The matter is set at rest by abundant evidence, and especially by the late survey of our own officers, and an extract from whose drawing, showing the excellent soundings of the harbour, was first published (1852) in the first edition of the *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ii. p. 332. An account by recent travellers will be found in the second edition of Smith's *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, p. 256. The other difficulty is a verbal one. The sailors in the Acts describe *Phoenix* as *λιμένα της Κρητης βλεποντα κατά λιβα και κατά χῶρον*, whereas *Lutro* is precisely sheltered from these winds. But it ought to have been remembered that seamen do not recommend a harbour because of its exposure to certain winds; and the perplexity is at once removed either by taking *κατά* as expressing the direction in which the wind blows, or by bearing in mind that a sailor speaks of everything from his own point of view. The harbour of *Phoenix* or *Lutro* does "look"—from the water towards the land which encloses it—in the direction of "south-west and north-west." [J. S. H.]

PHERESITES (*Φερεζαῖοι*: *Pherezai*), 1 Esd. viii. 69; = **PERIZZITES**; comp. Ezr. ix. 1.

PHEREZITE; **PHEREZITES** (*δ Φερεζαῖος*: *Pherezæus*; *Pherezai*), Jud. v. 16; 2 Esd. i. 21. The latter of these passages contains a statement in accordance with those of Gen. xiii. 7, xxiv. 30; Judg. i. 4, &c., noticed under **PERIZZITE**.

PHICHOL (*יִכּוֹל*; Samar. *כּוֹל יִכּוֹל*: *יִכּוֹל*; Alex. *Φικολ*; Joseph. *Φικόλος*: *Phichol*), chief captain of the army of Abimelech, king of the Philistines of Gerar in the days of both Abraham (Gen. xxi. 22, 32) and Isaac (xxvi. 26). Josephus mentions him on the second occasion only. On the other hand the LXX. introduce *Ahuzzath*, Abimelech's other companion, on the first also. By *Gesenius* the name is treated as Hebrew, and as meaning the "mouth of all." By *Fürst* (*Handb.* ii. 215 a), it is derived from a root *כּוֹל*, to be strong. But *Hitzig* (*Phüstaer*, §57) refers it to the Sanscrit *pitschula*, a tamarisk, pointing out that Abraham had planted a tamarisk in Beersheba, and comparing the name with *Elah*, *Berosus*, *Tappuch*, and other names of persons and places signifying different kinds of trees; and with the name *Φύλας*, a village of Palestine (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, §2), and *Φυλαία* in Greece. *Stark* (*Gaza*, &c., p. 96) more cautiously avoids such speculations. The natural conclusion from these mere conjectures is that *Phichol* is a Philistine name, the meaning and derivation of which are lost to us.

PHILADELPHIA (*ἡ Φιλαδέλφεια*: *Philadelphia*). A town on the confines of Lydia and Phrygia Catacecaumene, built by Attalus II., king of Pergamus. It was situated on the lower slopes of *Tmolus*, on the southern side of the valley of the *Ain-é-ghül Sou*, a river which is probably the *Cogamus* of antiquity, and falls into the *Wadis-Kalen* (the *Hermus*) in the neighbourhood of *Sart-Kalen* (*Sardis*), about 25 miles to the west of the site of *Philadelphia*. This latter is still represented by a town called *Allah-shehr* (city of God). Its elevation is 952 feet above the sea. The region around

highly volcanic, and geologically speaking belongs to the district of Phrygia Catacecaumene, on the eastern edge of which it lies. The soil was extremely favourable to the growth of vines, celebrated by Virgil for the soundness of the wine they produced; and in all probability Philadelphia was cultivated by Attalus as a mart for the great wine-producing region, extending for 500 stades in length for 400 in breadth; for its coins have on them the head of Bacchus or a female Bacchant. Strabo compares the soil with that in the neighbourhood of Catania in Sicily; and modern travellers describe the appearance of the country as resembling a valley sea of disintegrated lava, with here and there vast trap-dykes protruding. The original population of Philadelphia seems to have been Phoenician, and the national character to have been retained even in the time of Pliny. There was, however, as appears from Rev. iii. 9, a synagogue of Hellenizing Jews there, as well as a Christian Church. The locality continued to be subject to constant earthquakes, which in the time of Strabo rendered even the town-walls of Philadelphia unsafe; but its inhabitants held pertinaciously to the spot, perhaps from the profit which actually accrued to them from their city being the staple of the great wine-district. But the expense of irrigation was constant, and hence perhaps the poverty of the members of the Christian Church (αὐτὸν ὅτι μικρὰν ἔχεις δύναμιν, Rev. iii. 8), who no doubt were a portion of the urban population, and heavily taxed for public purposes, as well as subject to private loss by the destruction of their own property. Philadelphia was not of eminent importance in the Roman times to have courts of its own, but belonged to a jurisdiction of which Sardis was the centre.

It has been supposed by some that Philadelphia occupied the site of another town named Callatebus, of which Herodotus speaks, in his account of Xerxes's march, as famous for the production of a sugar from the *holcus sorghum* and sweetwort (ἐν τῇ ἐπιπέδῳ ὁμοιοῦσι μέλι ἐκ μυρικής τε καὶ πυροῦ κωνίου, vii. 31). But by the way in which he mentions Callatebus (of which the name is only known from him) it would seem to have been not far from the Maeander, from which the ruins of Philadelphia cannot be less distant than from 30 to 40 miles, while they are very near the Cogamus. The enormous plane-tree, too, which struck Xerxes's attention, and the abundance of the *μυρική*, point to a region well furnished with springs of water, which is the case with the northern side of the Maeander, where Xerxes crossed it, and not so with the vicinity of *Allah-shehr*. At the same time the Persian king, in his two days' march from Cydrara to Sardis, must have passed very near the site of the future Philadelphia. (Strab. vii. c. 8, xiii. c. 4; Virg. Georg. ii. 98; Herod. vii. 31; Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 29; Arundell, Discoveries in Asia Minor, i. 34 &c.; Tchihatcheff, *Asie Mineure*, p. 137 &c.)

[J. W. B.]

PHILARCHES This word occurs as a proper name in A.V. in 2 Macc. viii. 32, where it is really the name of an officer (ὁ φυλάρχης = ὁ φύλαρχος, "the commander of the cavalry." The Greek text seems to be defective as to the true rendering; but the Latin version ("et Philarchen qui cum Timotheo erat...") might easily give rise to the error, which is very nearly supported by Grimm, *ad loc.* [B. F. W.]

PHILEMON Φιλήμων: *Philemon*, the name

of the Christian to whom Paul addressed his Epistle in behalf of Onesimus. He was a native probably of Colossae, or at all events lived in that city when the Apostle wrote to him; first, because Onesimus was a Colossian (Col. iv. 9); and secondly, because Archippus was a Colossian (Col. iv. 17), whom Paul associates with Philemon at the beginning of his letter (Philem. 1, 2). Wieseler (*Chronologie*, p. 452) argues, indeed, from Col. iv. 17, that Archippus was a Laodicean; but the *ἐπὶ* in that passage on which the point turns, refers evidently to the Colossians (of whom Archippus was one therefore), and not to the church at Laodicea spoken of in the previous verse, as Wieseler inadvertently supposes. Theodoret (*Proem. in Epist. ad Phil.*) states the ancient opinion in saying that Philemon was a citizen of Colossae, and that his house was pointed out there as late as the fifth century. The legendary history supplies nothing on which we can rely. It is related that Philemon became bishop of Colossae (*Constit. Apost.* vii. 46), and died as a martyr under Nero.

It is evident from the letter to him that Philemon was a man of property and influence, since he is represented as the head of a numerous household, and as exercising an expensive liberality towards his friends and the poor in general. He was indebted to the Apostle Paul as the medium of his personal participation in the Gospel. All interpreters agree in assigning that significance to *συνετόν μοι προσοφέλεις* in Philem. 19. It is not certain under what circumstances they became known to each other. If Paul visited Colossae when he passed through Phrygia on his second missionary journey (Acts xvi. 6), it was undoubtedly there, and at that time, that Philemon heard the gospel and attached himself to the Christian party. On the contrary, if Paul never visited that city in person, as many critics infer from Col. ii. 1, then the best view is that he was converted during Paul's protracted stay at Ephesus (Acts xix. 10), about A.D. 54-57. That city was the religious and commercial capital of Western Asia Minor. The Apostle laboured there with such success that "all they who dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord Jesus." Phrygia was a neighbouring province, and among the strangers who repaired to Ephesus and had an opportunity to hear the preaching of Paul, may have been the Colossian Philemon.

It is evident that on becoming a disciple, he gave no common proof of the sincerity and power of his faith. His character, as shadowed forth in the epistle to him, is one of the noblest which the sacred record makes known to us. He was full of faith and good works, was docile, confiding, grateful, was forgiving, sympathizing, charitable, and a man who on a question of simple justice needed only a hint of his duty to prompt him to go even beyond it (*ὕπερ δὲ λόγου ποιήσεις*). Any one who studies the epistle will perceive that it ascribes to him these varied qualities; it bestows on him a measure of commendation, which forms a striking contrast with the ordinary reserve of the sacred writers. It was through such believers that the primitive Christianity evinced its divine origin, and spread so rapidly among the nations. [H. B. H.]

PHILEMON, THE EPISTLE OF PAUL TO, is one of the letters (the others are Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians) which the Apostle wrote during his first captivity at Rome. The arguments which show that he wrote the epistle to the Colossians in that city and at that period, involv

the same conclusion in regard to this; for it is evident from Col. iv. 7, 9, as compared with the contents of this epistle, that Paul wrote the two letters at the same time, and forwarded them to their destination by the hands of Tychicus and Onesimus who accompanied each other to Colossae. A few modern critics, as Schulz, Schott, Böttger, Meyer, maintain that this letter and the others assigned usually to the first Roman captivity, were written during the two years that Paul was imprisoned at Caesarea (Acts xxiii. 35, xxiv. 27). But this opinion, though supported by some plausible arguments, can be demonstrated with reasonable certainty to be incorrect. [COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.]

The time when Paul wrote may be fixed with much precision. The Apostle at the close of the letter expresses a hope of his speedy liberation. He speaks in like manner of his approaching deliverance, in his epistle to the Philippians (ii. 23, 24), which was written during the same imprisonment. Presuming, therefore, that he had good reasons for such an expectation, and that he was not disappointed in the result, we may conclude that this letter was written by him about the year A.D. 63, or early in A.D. 64; for it was in the latter year, according to the best chronologists, that he was freed from his first Roman imprisonment.

Nothing is wanting to confirm the genuineness of this epistle. The external testimony is unimpeachable. It is not quoted so often by the earlier Christian fathers as some of the other letters; its brevity and the fact that its contents are not didactic or polemic, account for that omission. We need not urge the expressions in Ignatius, cited as evidence of that apostolic Father's knowledge and use of the epistle; though it is difficult to regard the similarity between them and the language in v. 20 as altogether accidental. See Kirchhofer's *Quellensammlung*, p. 205. The Canon of Muratori which comes to us from the second century (Credner, *Geschichte des Kanons*, p. 69), enumerates this as one of Paul's epistles. Tertullian mentions it, and says that Marcion admitted it into his collection. Sinope in Pontus, the birth-place of Marcion, was not far from Colossae where Philemon lived, and the letter would find its way to the neighbouring churches at an early period. Origen and Eusebius include it among the universally acknowledged writings (*δωολογούμενα*) of the early Christian times. It is so well attested historically, that as De Wette says (*Einleitung ins Neue Testament*, p. 278), its genuineness on that ground is beyond doubt.

Nor does the epistle itself offer anything to conflict with this decision. It is impossible to conceive of a composition more strongly marked within the same limits by those unstudied assonances of thought, sentiment, and expression, which indicate an author's hand, than this short epistle as compared with Paul's other productions. Paley has a paragraph in his *Horae Paulinae*, which illustrates this feature of the letter in a very just and forcible manner. It will be found also that all the historical allusions which the Apostle makes to events in his own life, or to other persons with whom he was connected, harmonize perfectly with the statements or incidental intimations contained in the Acts of the Apostles or the other epistles of Paul. It belongs to a commentary to point out the instances of such agreement.

Baur (*Paulus*, p. 475) would divest the Epistle

of its historical character, and make it the personified illustration from some later writer, of the higher sense those whom outward circumstances have separated. He does not impugn the external evidence. But, not to leave his theory wholly unsupported, he suggests some linguistic objections to Paul's authorship of the letter, which must be pronounced unfounded and frivolous. He finds, for example, certain words in the Epistle, which are alleged to be not Pauline; but to justify that assertion, he must deny the genuineness of such other letters of Paul, as happen to contain these words. He admits that the Apostle could have said *εὐχάρη* twice, but thinks it suspicious that he should say it three times. A few terms he adduces, which are not used elsewhere in the epistles; but to argue from these that they disprove the apostolic origin of the epistle, is to assume the absurd principle that a writer, after having produced two or three compositions, must for the future confine himself to an unvarying circle of words, whatever may be the subject he discusses, or whatever the interval of time between his different writings.

The arbitrary and purely subjective character of such criticisms can have no weight against the varied testimony admitted as decisive by Christian scholars for so many ages, upon which the canonical authority of the Epistle to Philemon is founded. They are worth repeating only as illustrating Baur's own remark, that modern criticism in assailing this particular book runs a greater risk of exposing itself to the imputation of an excessive distrust, a morbid sensibility to doubt and denial, than in questioning the claims of any other epistle ascribed to Paul.

Our knowledge respecting the occasion and object of the letter we must derive from declarations or inferences furnished by the letter itself. For the relation of Philemon and Onesimus to each other, the reader will see the articles on those names. Paul, so intimately connected with the master and the servant, was anxious naturally to effect a reconciliation between them. He wished also (waiving the *ἀνῆκον*, the matter of duty or right) to give Philemon an opportunity of manifesting his Christian love in the treatment of Onesimus, and his regard, at the same time, for the personal convenience and wishes, not to say official authority, of his spiritual teacher and guide. Paul used his influence with Onesimus (*ἀνέπειμψα*, in ver. 12) to induce him to return to Colossae, and place himself again at the disposal of his master. Whether Onesimus assented merely to the proposal of the Apostle, or had a desire at the same time to revisit his former home, the epistle does not enable us to determine. On his departure, Paul put into his hand this letter as evidence that Onesimus was a true and approved disciple of Christ, and entitled as such to be received not as a servant, but alone as a servant, as a brother in the faith, as the representative and equal in that respect of the Apostle himself, and worthy of the same consideration and love. It is instructive to observe how entirely Paul identifies himself with Onesimus, and pleads his cause as if it were his own. He intercedes for him as his own child, promises reparation if he had done any wrong, demands for him not only a remission of all penalties, but the reception of sympathy, affection, Christian brotherhood; and while he solicits these favours for another, consents to receive them with the same gratitude and sense of obligation as if they were bestowed on himself.

Such was the purpose and such the argument of the Epistle.

The result of the appeal cannot be doubted. It may be assumed from the character of Philemon that the Apostle's intercession for Onesimus was not unavailing. There can be no doubt that, according to the express instructions of the letter, the post was forgiven; the master and the servant were reconciled to each other; and, if the liberty which Onesimus had asserted in a spirit of independence was not conceded as a boon or right, it was enjoyed at all events under a form of servitude which henceforth was such in name only. So much must be regarded as certain; or it follows that the Apostle was mistaken in his opinion of Philemon's character, and his efforts for the welfare of Onesimus were frustrated. Chrysostom declares, in his impassioned style, that Philemon must have been less than a man, must have been alike destitute of nobility and reason (ποιός λίθος, ποῖον θήριον), and not to be moved by the arguments and spirit of such a letter to fulfil every wish and intimation of the Apostle. Surely no fitting response to his pleadings for Onesimus could involve less than a cessation of everything oppressive and harsh in his condition, as far as it depended on Philemon to mitigate or neutralise the evils of a legalised system of bondage, as well as a cessation of everything violative of his rights as a Christian. How much better than this an impartial explanation of the epistle obliges us or authorises us to go, has not yet been settled by any very general consent of interpreters. Many of the best critics construe various expressions (τὸ ἀγαθὸν in ver. 14, and ὑπερ ἄλλων in ver. 21) as conveying a distinct exhortation on the part of Paul that Philemon would liberate Onesimus. Nearly all agree that he could hardly have failed to confer on him that favour, even if it was not requested in so many words, and such an appeal to his sentiments of humanity and justice. Thus it was, as Dr. Wordsworth remarks (*St. Paul's Epistles*, p. 328), "by Christianising the master that the Gospel enfranchised the slave. It did not legislate about mere names and forms, but it went to the root of the evil, it spoke to the heart of man. When the heart of the master was filled with divine grace and was warmed with the love of Christ, the rest would soon follow. The lips would speak kind words, the hands would do liberal things. Every Onesimus would be treated by every Philemon as a beloved brother in Christ."

The Epistle to Philemon has one peculiar feature—its rhetorical character it may be termed—which distinguishes it from all the other epistles, and demands a special notice at our hands. It has been justly esteemed as a model of delicacy and skill in the department of composition to which it belongs. The writer had peculiar difficulties to overcome. He was the common friend of the parties at variance. He had to conciliate a man who supposed that he had good reason to be offended. He must commend the offender, and yet neither deny nor aggravate the supposed fault. He must assert the new ideas of Christian equality in the face of a system which would have placed the question on the ground of his own personal rights, and yet must waive them in order to secure an act of spontaneous kindness. His success must be a triumph of love, and not of force; he could have claimed everything, and yet must appeal to a forgiveness of the alleged wrong.

and a restoration to favour and the enjoyment of future sympathy and affection, and yet would so guard his words as to leave scope for all the generosity which benevolence might prompt towards one whose condition admitted of so much alleviation. These are contraries not easy to harmonise; but Paul, it is confessed, has shown a degree of self-denial and a tact in dealing with them, which in being equal to the occasion could hardly be greater.

There is a letter extant of the younger Pliny (*Epist.* ix. 21) which he wrote to a friend whose servant had deserted him, in which he intercedes for the fugitive, who was anxious to return to his master, but dreaded the effects of his anger. Thus the occasion of the correspondence was similar to that between the Apostle and Philemon. It has occurred to scholars to compare this celebrated letter with that of Paul in behalf of Onesimus; and as the result they hesitate not to say, that not only in the spirit of Christian love, of which Pliny was ignorant, but in dignity of thought, argument, pathos, beauty of style, eloquence, the communication of the Apostle is vastly superior to that of the polished Roman writer.

Among the later Commentaries on this Epistle may be mentioned those of Rothe (*Interpretatio Historico-Exegetica*, Bremæ, 1844), Hagenbach (one of his early efforts, Basel, 1829), Zloch (Zürich, 1846, excellent), Meyer, De Wette, Ewald (brief notes with a translation, Göttingen, 1857), Alford, Wordsworth, Ellicott, and the Bible Union (U. S. A. 1860). The celebrated Lavater preached thirty-nine sermons on the contents of this brief composition, and published them in two volumes. [H. B. H.]

PHILETUS (Φιλέτος; *Philetus*) was possibly a disciple of Hymenæus, with whom he is associated in 2 Tim. ii. 17, and who is named without him in an earlier Epistle (1 Tim. i. 20). Waterland (*Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity*, ch. iv., *Works*, iii. 459) condenses in a few lines the substance of many dissertations which have been written concerning their opinions, and the sentence which was inflicted upon at least one of them. "They appear to have been persons who believed the Scriptures of the O. T., but misinterpreted them, allegorizing away the doctrine of the Resurrection, and resolving it all into figure and metaphor. The delivering over unto Satan seems to have been a form of excommunication declaring the person reduced to the state of a heathen; and in the Apostolical age it was accompanied with supernatural or miraculous effects upon the bodies of the persons so delivered." Walchius is of opinion that they were of Jewish origin; Hammond connects them with the Gnostics; Vitringa (with less probability) with the Sadducees. They understood resurrection to signify the knowledge and profession of the Christian religion, or regeneration and conversion, according to J. G. Walchius, whose lengthy dissertation, *De Hymenæo et Phileto*, in his *Miscellanæ Sacra*, 1744, pp. 81-121, seems to exhaust the subject. Amongst writers who preceded him may be named Vitringa, *Observ. Sacr.* iv. 9, pp. 922-930; Buddeus, *Ecclesia Apostolica*, v. pp. 297-305. See also, on the heresy, Burton, *Bampton Lectures*, and Dean Ellicott's notes on the Pastoral Epistles; and Potter on *Church Government*, ch. v., with reference to the sentence. The names of Philetus and Hymenæus occur separately among those of Caesar's household whose relics have been found in the Columbaria at Rome. [W. T. B.]

PHILIP (Φίλιππος· *Philippus*). 1. The father of Alexander the Great (1 Macc. i. 1; vi. 2), king of Macedonia, B.C. 359-336.

2. A Phrygian, left by Antiochus Epiph. as governor at Jerusalem (c. B.C. 170), where he behaved with great cruelty (2 Macc. v. 22), burning the fugitive Jews in caves (2 Macc. vi. 11), and taking the earliest measures to check the growing power of Judas Macc. (2 Macc. viii. 8). He is commonly identified with,

3. The foster-brother (σύντροφος, 2 Macc. ix. 29) of Antiochus Epiph., whom the king upon his death-bed appointed regent of Syria and guardian of his son Antiochus V., to the exclusion of Lysias (B.C. 164, 1 Macc. vi. 14, 15; 55). He returned with the royal forces from Persia (1 Macc. vi. 56) to assume the government, and occupied Antioch. But Lysias, who was at the time besieging "the Sanctuary" at Jerusalem, hastily made terms with Judas, and marched against him. Lysias stormed Antioch, and according to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 9, §7), put Philip to death. In 2 Macc. Philip is said to have fled to Ptol. Philometor on the death of Antiochus (2 Macc. ix. 29), though the book contains traces of the other account (xiii. 23). The attempts to reconcile the narratives (Winer, *s. v.*) have no probability.

4. Philip V., king of Macedonia, B.C. 220-179. His wide and successful endeavours to strengthen and enlarge the Macedonian dominion brought him into conflict with the Romans, when they were engaged in the critical war with Carthage. Desultory warfare followed by hollow peace lasted till the victory of Zama left the Romans free for more vigorous measures. Meanwhile Philip had consolidated his power, though he had degenerated into an unscrupulous tyrant. The first campaigns of the Romans on the declaration of war (B.C. 200) were not attended by any decisive result, but the arrival of Flaminius (B.C. 198) changed the aspect of affairs. Philip was driven from his commanding position, and made unsuccessful overtures for peace. In the next year he lost the fatal battle of Cynoscephalae, and was obliged to accede to the terms dictated by his conquerors. The remainder of his life was spent in vain endeavours to regain something of his former power; and was embittered by cruelty and remorse. In 1 Macc. viii. 5, the defeat of Philip is coupled with that of Perseus as one of the noblest triumphs of the Romans. [B. F. W.]



Philip V. of Macedonia.

Didrachm of Philip V. (Attic talent). Obv.: Head of king, r. bound with fillet. Rev.: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ; club of Hercules: all within wreath.

PHILIP THE APOSTLE (Φίλιππος· *Philippus*). The Gospels contain comparatively scanty notices of this disciple. He is mentioned as being

^a Greswell's suggestion (*Dissert. on Harmony*, xxxii.) that the Apostle was an inhabitant (ἀπό) of Bethsaida, but a native (ἐκ) of Capernaum, is to be noticed, but hardly to be received.

of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter* (John i. 44), and apparently was among the Galilean peasants of that district who flocked to hear the preaching of the Baptist. The manner in which St. John speaks of him, the repetition in which of the selfsame words with which Andrew had brought to Peter the good news that the Christ had at last appeared, all indicate a previous friendship with participation in their Messianic hopes, and a consequent union of the two in John vi. and xii. suggests that he may have owed to Andrew the first tidings that the hope had been fulfilled. The statement that Jesus found him (John i. 43) implies a previous seeking. To him first in the whole circle of the disciples^b were spoken the words so full of meaning, "Follow me" (*Ibid.*). As soon as he has learnt to know his Master, he is eager to communicate his discovery to another who had also shared the same expectations. He speaks to Nathanael, probably on his arrival in Cana (comp. John xii. 2, Ewald, *Gesch.* v. p. 251), as though they had not seldom communed together, of the intimations of a better time, of a divine kingdom, which they found in their sacred books. We may well believe that he, like his friend, was an "Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile." In the lists of the twelve Apostles, in the Synoptic Gospels, his name is as uniformly at the head of the second group of four, as the name of Peter is at that of the first (Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18; Luke vi. 14); and the facts recorded by St. John give the reason of this priority. In those lists again we find his name uniformly coupled with that of Bartholomew, and this has led to the hypothesis that the latter is identical with the Nathanael of John i. 45, the one being the personal name, the other, like Barjona or Bartimeus, a patronymic. Donaldson (*Jesus*, p. 9) looks on the two as brothers, but the precise mention of "τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν" in v. 41, and its omission here, is, as Alford remarks (on Matt. x. 3), against this hypothesis.

Philip apparently was among the first company of disciples who were with the Lord at the commencement of His ministry, at the marriage of Cana, on His first appearance as a prophet in Jerusalem (John ii.). When John was cast into prison, and the work of declaring the glad tidings of the kingdom required a new company of preachers, we may believe that he, like his companions and friends, received a new call to a more constant discipleship (Matt. iv. 18-22). When the Twelve were specially set apart for their office, he was numbered among them. The first three Gospels tell us nothing more of him individually. St. John, with his characteristic fullness of personal reminiscences, records a few significant utterances. The earnest, simple-hearted faith which showed itself in his first conversion, required, it would seem, an education; one stage of this may be traced, according to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 23), in the history of Matt. viii. 21. He assumes, as a recognized fact, that Philip was the disciple who urged the plea, "Suffer me first to go and bury my father," and who was reminded of a higher duty, perhaps also of the command previously given, by the command, "Let the dead bury their dead; follow

^b It has been assumed, on the authority of patristic tradition (*infra*), that his call to the apostleship involved the abandonment, for a time, of his wife and daughter.

of Man appears, and all the idols of Athens fall to the ground; and so on through a succession of marvels, ending with his remaining two years in the city, establishing a Church there, and then going to preach the Gospel in Parthia (Tischendorf, *Acta Apoc.* p. 95-104). Another tradition represents Seythia as the scene of his labours (Abdias, *Hist. Apost.* in Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* i. 739), and throws the guilt of his death upon the Ebionites (*Acta Sanctorum*, May 1). [E. H. P.]

PHILIP THE EVANGELIST. The first mention of this name occurs in the account of the dispute between the Hebrew and Hellenistic disciples in Acts vi. He is one of the Seven appointed to superintend the daily distribution of food and alms, and so to remove all suspicion of partiality. The fact that all the seven names are Greek, makes it at least very probable that they were chosen as belonging to the Hellenistic section of the Church, representatives of the class which had appeared before the Apostles in the attitude of complaint. The name of Philip stands next to that of Stephen; and this, together with the fact, that these are the only two names (unless Nicolas be an exception; comp. NICOLAS) of which we hear again, tends to the conclusion that he was among the most prominent of those so chosen. He was, at any rate, well reported of as "full of the Holy Ghost, and wisdom," and had so won the affections of the great body of believers as to be among the objects of their free election, possibly (assuming the votes of the congregation to have been taken for the different candidates) gaining all but the highest number of suffrages. Whether the office to which he was thus appointed gave him the position and the title of a Deacon of the Church, or was special and extraordinary in its character, must remain uncertain (comp. DEACON).

The after-history of Philip warrants the belief, in any case, that his office was not simply that of the later Diaconate. It is no great presumption to think of him as contributing hardly less than Stephen to the great increase of disciples which followed on this fresh organisation, as sharing in that wider, more expansive teaching which shows itself for the first time in the oration of the proto-martyr, and in which he was the forerunner of St. Paul. We should expect the man who had been his companion and fellow-worker to go on with the work which he left unfinished, and to break through the barriers of a simply national Judaism. And so accordingly we find him in the next stage of his history. The persecution of which Saul was the leader must have stopped the "daily ministrations" of the Church. The teachers who had been most prominent were compelled to take to flight, and Philip was among them. The cessation of one form of activity, however, only threw him forward into another. It is noticeable that the city of Samaria is the first scene of his activity (Acts viii.). He is the precursor of St. Paul in his work, as Stephen had been in his teaching. It falls to his lot, rather than to that of an Apostle, to take that first step in the victory over Jewish prejudice and the expansion of the Church, according to its Lord's command. As a preparation for that work there may have been the Messianic hopes which were cherished by the Samaritans no less than by the Jews (John v. 25), the recollection of the two days which had

* The verse which inserts the requirement of a confession of faith as the condition of baptism appears to have been the work of a transcriber anxious to bring the

witnessed the presence there of Christ and His disciples (John iv. 40), even perhaps the craving for spiritual powers which had been roused by the strange influence of Simon the Sorcerer. The scene which brings the two into contact with each other, in which the magician has to acknowledge a power over nature greater than his own, is interesting, rather as belonging to the life of the heresiarch than to that of the Evangelist. [SIMON MAGUS.] It suggests the inquiry whether we can trace through the distortions and perversions of the "hero of the romance of heresy," the influence of that phase of Christian truth which was likely to be presented by the preaching of the Hellenistic Evangelist.

This step is followed by another. He is directed by an angel of the Lord to take the road that led down from Jerusalem to Gaza on the way to Egypt. (For the topographical questions connected with this history, see GAZA.) A chariot passes by in which there is a man of another race, whose complexion or whose dress showed him to be a native of Ethiopia. From the time of Psammethichus [comp. MANASSEH] there had been a large body of Jews settled in that region, and the eunuch and chamberlain at the court of Candace might easily have come across them and their sacred books, might have embraced their faith, and become by circumcision a proselyte of righteousness. He had been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He may have heard there of the new sect. The history that follows is interesting as one of the few records in the N. T. of the process of individual conversion, and one which we may believe St. Luke obtained, during his residence at Caesarea, from the Evangelist himself. The devout proselyte reciting the prophecy which he does not understand—the Evangelist-preacher running at full speed till he overtakes the chariot—the abrupt question—the simple-hearted answer—the unfolding, from the starting-point of the prophecy, of the glad tidings of Jesus—the craving for the means of admission to the blessing of fellowship with the new society—the simple baptism in the first stream or spring—the instantaneous, abrupt departure of the missionary-preacher, as of one carried away by a Divine impulse—these help us to represent to ourselves much of the life and work of that remote past. On the hypothesis which has just been suggested, we may think of it as being the incident to which the mind of Philip himself recurred with most satisfaction.

A brief sentence tells us that he continued his work as a preacher at Azotus (Ashdod) and among the other cities that had formerly belonged to the Philistines, and, following the coast-line, came to Caesarea. Here for a long period, not less than eighteen or nineteen years, we lose sight of him. He may have been there when the new convert Saul passed through on his way to Tarsus (Acts ix. 30). He may have contributed by his labours to the eager desire to be guided further into the truth which led to the conversion of Cornelius. We can hardly think of him as giving up all at once the missionary habits of his life. Caesarea, however, appears to have been the centre of his activity. The last glimpse of him in the N. T. is in the account of St. Paul's journey to Jerusalem. It is to his house, as to one well known to them, that St. Paul and his companions turn for shelter.

narrative into harmony with ecclesiastical usage. (Comp. Alford, Meyer, Tischendorf, in loc.)

is still known as "one of the Seven." His work was gained for him the yet higher title of Evangelist (comp. *EVANGELIST*). He has four daughters, who possess the gift of prophetic utterance, and who apparently give themselves to the work of teaching instead of entering on the life of home (Acts xii. 8, 9). He is visited by the prophets and elders of Jerusalem. At such a place as Caesarea the work of such a man must have helped to bridge over the ever-widening gap which threatened to separate the Jewish and the Gentile Churches. One who had preached Christ to the hated Samaritan, the swarthy African, the despised Philistine, the men of all nations who passed through the narrow part of Palestine, might well welcome the arrival of the Apostle of the Gentiles (comp. J. P. Lange, in *Herzog's Real-encyclopädi*, s. v. "Philippus").

The traditions in which the Evangelist and the Apostle who bore the same name are more or less unconfused have been given under *PHILIP THE APOSTLE*. According to another, relating more distinctly to him, he died Bishop of Tralles (*Acta Sanct.* June 6). The house in which he and his daughters had lived was pointed out to travellers in the time of Jerome (*Epist. Paulae*, §8). (Comp. Ewald, *Geschichte*, vi. 175, 208-214; Baumgarten, *Apostelgeschichte*, §15, 16.) [E. H. P.]

PHILIP HEROD I., II. [HEROD; vol. i. p. 794.]

PHILIPPI (Φίλιπποι: *Philippi*). A city of Macedonia, about nine miles from the sea, to the S. W. of the island of Thasos, which is twelve miles distant from its port Neapolis, the modern *Kavalla*. It is situated in a plain between the ranges of Pangaeus and Haemus. St. Paul, when, on his first visit to Macedonia in company with Silas, he embarked at Troas, made a straight run to Samothrace, and from thence to Neapolis, which he reached on the second day (Acts vi. 11). This was built on a rocky promontory, on the western side of which is a roadstead, furnishing a safe refuge from the Etesian winds. The town is cut off from the interior by a steep line of hills, recently called *Symbolum*, connected towards the S.E. with the western extremity of Haemus, and towards the S.W., less continuously, with the eastern extremity of Pangaeus. A steep track, following the course of an ancient paved road, leads over *Symbolum* to Philippi, the solitary pass being about 1500 feet above the sea-level. At this point the traveller arrives in little more than half an hour's riding, and almost immediately begins to descend by a yet steeper path into the plain. From a point near the watershed, a simultaneous view is obtained both of Kavalla and of the ruins of Philippi. Between Pangaeus and the nearest part of *Symbolum* the plain is very low, and there are large accumulations of water. Between the foot of *Symbolum* and the site of Philippi, two Turkish cemeteries are passed, the gravestones of which are all derived from the ruins of the ancient city, and in the immediate neighbourhood of the one first reached is the modern Turkish village *Bereketli*. This is the nearest village to the ancient ruins, which are at the present time inhabited at all. Near the ancient cemetery are some ruins on a slight eminence, and also a khan, kept by a Greek family. There is a large monumental block of marble, 12 feet high and 7 feet square, apparently the pedestal of a statue, as on the top a hole exists, which was obviously intended for its reception. This hole is pointed out by local tradition as the crib out of

which Alexander's horse, Bucephalus, was accustomed to eat his oats. On two sides of the block is a mutilated Latin inscription, in which the names of Caius Vibius and Cornelius Quartus may be deciphered. A stream employed in turning a mill bursts out from a sedge pool in the neighbourhood, and probably finds its way to the marshy ground mentioned as existing in the S.W. portion of the plain.

After about twenty minutes' ride from the khan, over ground thickly strewn with fragments of marble columns, and slabs that have been employed in building, a river-bed 66 feet wide is crossed, through which the stream rushes with great force, and immediately on the other side the walls of the ancient Philippi may be traced. Their direction is adjusted to the course of the stream; and at only 350 feet from its margin there appears a gap in their circuit indicating the former existence of a gate. This is, no doubt, the gate out of which the Apostle and his companion passed to the "prayer meeting" on the banks of a river, where they made the acquaintance of Lydia, the Thyatiran seller of purple. The locality, just outside the walls, and with a plentiful supply of water for their animals, is exactly the one which would be appropriated as a market for itinerant traders, "quorum copinus foenumque suppellex," as will appear from the parallel case of the Egerian fountain near Rome, of whose desecration Juvenal complains (*Sat.* iii. 13). Lydia had an establishment in Philippi for the reception of the dyed goods which were imported from Thyatira and the neighbouring towns of Asia; and were dispersed by means of pack-animals among the mountain clans of the Haemus and Pangaeus, the agents being doubtless in many instances her own co-religionists. High up in Haemus lay the tribe of the Satrae, where was the oracle of Dionysus,—not the rustic deity of the Attic vinedressers, but the prophet-god of the Thracians (*δ Θρηξί μάντις*, Eurip. *Heccub.* 1267). The "damsel with the spirit of divination" (*παίδισκη ἔχουσα πνεῦμα πύθωνα*) may probably be regarded as one of the hierodules of this establishment, hired by Philippian citizens, and frequenting the country-market to practise her art upon the villagers who brought produce for the consumption of the town. The fierce character of the mountaineers would render it imprudent to admit them within the walls of the city; just as in some of the towns of North Africa, the Kabyles are not allowed to enter, but have a market allotted to them outside the walls for the sale of the produce they bring. Over such an assemblage only a summary jurisdiction can be exercised; and hence the proprietors of the slave, when they considered themselves injured, and hurried Paul and Silas into the town, to the *agora*,—the civic market where the magistrates (*ἄρχοντες*), sat,—were at once turned over to the military authorities (*στρατηγῶν*), and these, naturally assuming that a stranger frequenting the extra-mural market must be a Thracian mountaineer or an itinerant trader, proceeded to inflict upon the ostensible cause of a riot (the merits of which they would not attempt to understand), the usual treatment in such cases. The idea of the Apostle possessing the Roman franchise, and consequently an exemption from corporal outrage, never occurred to the rough soldier who ordered him to be scourged; and the whole transaction seems to have passed so rapidly that he had no time to plead his citizenship, of which the military authorities first heard the next day. But the illegal treatment (*ὑβρίαι*) obvious-

made a deep impression on the mind of its victim, as is evident, not only from his refusal to take his discharge from prison the next morning (Acts xvi. 37), but from a passage in the Epistle to the Church at Thessalonica (1 Thess. ii. 2), in which he reminds them of the circumstances under which he first preached the Gospel to them (*προπαθόντες καὶ ὀβρισθέντες, καθὼς οἴδατε, ἐν Φιλιπποῖς*). And subsequently at Jerusalem, under parallel circumstances of tumult, he warns the officer (to the great surprise of the latter) of his privilege (Acts xxii. 25).

The Philippi which St. Paul visited, the site of which has been described above, was a Roman colony founded by Augustus, and the remains which strew the ground are no doubt derived from that city. The establishment of Philip of Macedonia was probably not exactly on the same site; for it is described by Appian as being on a hill, and it may perhaps be looked for upon the elevation near the second cemetery. Philip is said to have occupied it and fortified the position by way of a defence against the neighbouring Thracians, so that the nucleus of his town, at any rate, would have been of the nature of an acropolis. Nothing would be more natural than that the Roman town should have been built in the immediate neighbourhood of the existing Greek one, on a site more suitable for architectural display.

Philip, when he acquired possession of the site, found there a town named *Datus* or *Datum*, which was in all probability in its origin a factory of the Phoenicians, who were the first that worked the gold-mines in the mountains here, as in the neighbouring Thasos. Appian says that those were in a hill (*Ἀδφος*) not far from Philippi, that the hill was sacred to Dionysus, and that the mines went by the name of "the sanctuary" (*τὰ ἁγία*). But he shows himself quite ignorant of the locality, to the extent of believing the plain of Philippi to lie open to the river Strymon, whereas the massive wall of Pangæus is really interposed between them. In all probability the "hill of Dionysus" and the "sanctuary" are the temple of Dionysus high up the mountains among the Satrae, who preserved their independence against all invaders down to the time of Herodotus at least. It is more likely that the gold-mines coveted by Philip were the same as those at *Scapte Hyle*, which was certainly in this immediate neighbourhood. Before the great expedition of Xerxes, the Thasians had a number of settlements on the main, and this among the number, which produced them 80 talents a year as rent to the state. In the year 463 B.C., they ceded their possessions on the continent to the Athenians; but the colonists, 10,000 in number, who had settled on the Strymon and pushed their encroachments eastward as far as this point, were crushed by a simultaneous effort of the Thracian tribes (Thucydides, i. 100, iv. 102; Herodotus, ix. 75; Pausanias, i. 29, 4). From that time until the rise of the Macedonian power, the mines seem to have remained in the hands of native chiefs; but when the affairs of Southern Greece became thoroughly embroiled by the policy of Philip, the Thasians made an attempt to repossess themselves of this valuable territory, and sent a colony to the site—then going by the name of "the Springs" (*Κρηνίδες*). Philip, however, aware of the importance of the position, expelled them and founded Philippi, the last of all his creations. The mines at that time, as was not wonderful under the circumstances, had become

almost insignificant in their produce; but this new owner contrived to extract more than 1000 talents a year from them, with which he minted the gold coinage called by his name.

The proximity of the gold-mines was of course the origin of so large a city as Philippi, but the plain in which it lies is of extraordinary fertility. The position too was on the main road from Rome to Asia, the Via Egnatia, which from Thessalonica to Constantinople followed the same course as the existing post-road. The usual course was to take ship at Brundisium and land at Dyrrachium, from whence a route led across Epirus to Thessalonica. Ignatius was carried to Italy by this route, when sent to Rome to be cast to wild beasts.

The ruins of Philippi are very extensive, but present no striking feature except two gateways, which are considered to belong to the time of Claudius. Traces of an amphitheatre, theatre, or stadium—for it does not clearly appear which—are also visible in the direction of the hills on the N.E. side. Inscriptions both in the Latin and Greek languages, but more generally in the former, are found.

St. Paul visited Philippi twice more, once immediately after the disturbances which arose at Ephesus out of the jealousy of the manufacturers of silver shrines for Artemis. By this time the hostile relation in which the Christian doctrine necessarily stood to all purely ceremonial religions was perfectly manifest; and wherever its teachers appeared, popular tumults were to be expected, and the jealousy of the Roman authorities, who dreaded civil disorder above everything else, to be feared. It seems not unlikely that the second visit of the Apostle to Philippi was made specially with the view of counteracting this particular danger. The Epistle to the Philippians which was written to them from Rome, indicates that at that time some of the Christians there were in the custody of the military authorities as seditious persons, through some proceedings or other connected with their faith (*ὅμιν ἐχαρίσθη τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ, οὐ μόνον τὸ εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεῦν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πάσχειν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀγῶνα ἔχοντες οἶον εἶδετε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ νῦν ἀκούετε ἐν ἐμοὶ*; Phil. i. 29). The reports of the provincial magistrates to Rome would of course describe St. Paul's first visit to Philippi as the origin of the troubles there; and if this were believed, it would be put together with the charge against him by the Jews at Jerusalem which induced him to appeal to Caesar, and with the disturbances at Ephesus and elsewhere; and the general conclusion at which the Government would arrive, might not improbably be that he was a dangerous person and should be got rid of. This will explain the strong exhortation in the first eighteen verses of chapter ii., and the peculiar way in which it winds up. The Philippians, Christians, who are at the same time suffering for their profession, are exhorted in the most earnest manner, not to firmness (as one might have expected), but to moderation, to abstinence from provocation and ostentation of their own sentiments (*μηδὲν κατὰ ἐριθείαν μηδὲ κενοδοξίαν*, ver. 3), to humility, and consideration for the interests of others. They are to achieve their salvation with fear and trembling, and without quarreling and disputing, in order to escape all blame—from such charges, that is, as the Roman colonists would bring against them. If with all this prudence and temperance in the profession of their faith, their faith is still made a penal offence, the Apostle is well

to take the consequences,—to precede them in martyrdom for it,—to be the libation poured out upon them the victims (*εἰ καὶ σπένδομαι ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ λειτουργία τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, χαίρω ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν χάριτι πάντων ὑμῶν*, ver. 17). Of course the Jewish formalists in Philippi were the parties most likely to misrepresent the conduct of the new converts; and hence (after a digression on the subject of Epaphroditus) the Apostle reverts to cautions against them, such precisely as he had given before,—consequently by word of mouth. “Beware of those dogs” — (for they will not be children at the table, but eat the crumbs underneath)—“those dogs (and bad doers too) of the law—those flesh-mongers (for *circumcised* I won't call them, we being the true circumcision, &c.” (iii, 2, 3). Some of these enemies St. Paul found at Rome, who “*told the story of Christ insincerely*” (*κατήγγειλαν οὐχ ἀγνῶς*, i. 17) in the hope to increase the severity of his imprisonment by exciting the jealousy of the Court. These he opposes to such as “*preached Christ*” (*ἐκήρυσαν*) loyally, and consoles himself with the reflection that, at all events, the story circulated, whatever the motives of those who circulated it.

The Christian community at Philippi distinguished itself in liberality. On the Apostle's first visit he was hospitably entertained by Lydia, and when he afterwards went to Thessalonica, where his reception appears to have been of a very mixed character, the Philippians sent him supplies more than once, and were the only Christian community that did so (Phil. iv. 15). They also contributed readily to the collection made for the relief of the poor at Jerusalem, which St. Paul conveyed to them at his last visit (2 Cor. viii. 1-6). And it would seem as if they sent further supplies to the Apostle after his arrival at Rome. The necessity for these seems to have been urgent, and some delay to have taken place in collecting the requisite funds; so that Epaphroditus, who carried them, risked his life in the endeavour to make up for lost time (*ὡς ἐκείνου ἠγγισεν παραβουλεύσασθαι τῆς ψυχῆς, ὅτι ἀναπληρῶσθαι τὸ ὑμῶν ὑστέρημα τῆς ἐπιτοῆς ἐπὶ λειτουργίας*, Phil. ii. 30). The delay, however, seems to have somewhat stung the Apostle at the time, who fancied his beloved flock had forgotten him (see iv. 10-17). Epaphroditus fell ill with fever from his efforts, and nearly died. On recovering he became home-sick, and wandering (*ἀδημονῶν*) from the weakness which is the sequel of fever; and St. Paul, although intending soon to send Timothy to the Philippian Church, thought it desirable to let Epaphroditus go without delay to them, who had already heard of his sickness, and sorry with him the letter which is included in the Epistle—one which was written after the Apostle's imprisonment at Rome had lasted a considerable time. Some domestic troubles connected with relatives had already broken out in the community. Euodia (the name of a female, not Euodias, as in some MSS., see EUODIAS) and Syntyche, perhaps deaconesses, are exhorted to agree with one another in the matter of their common faith; and St. Paul exhorts some one, whom he calls “true yoke-fellow,” to “help” these women, that is, in the work of their reconciliation, since they had done good service to the Apostle in his trials at Philippi.

* Tertullian refers to it in the same way, *De Præscriptio-
ne hæreticorum*, naming Philippi as one of those Apostolic
churches “in which at this day [A.D. 200] the very seats

Possibly a claim on the part of these females to superior insight in spiritual matters may have caused some irritation; for the Apostle immediately goes on to remind his readers, that the peace of God is something superior to the highest intelligence (*ἡρε-
σέχουσα πάντα νοῦν*).

When St. Paul passed through Philippi a third time he does not appear to have made any considerable stay there (Acts xx. 6). He and his companion are somewhat loosely spoken of as sailing from Philippi; but this is because in the common apprehension of travellers the city and its port were regarded as one. Whoever embarked at the Piræus might in the same way be said to set out on a voyage from Athens. On this occasion the voyage to Troas took the Apostle five days, the vessel being probably obliged to coast in order to avoid the contrary wind, until coming off the headland of Sarpedon, whence she would be able to stand across to Troas with an E. or E.N.E. breeze, which at that time of year (after Easter) might be looked for. (Strab. *Fragment. lib. vii.*; Thucyd. i. 100, iv. 102; Herod. ix. 75; Diod. Sic. xvi. 3 *seqq.*; Appian. *Bell. Civ. iv. 101 seqq.*; Pausan. i. 28, §4; Hackett's *Journey to Philippi in the Bible Union Quarterly* for August, 1860.)

[J. W. B.]

PHILIPPIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

1. The canonical authority, Pauline authorship and integrity of this Epistle were unanimously acknowledged up to the end of the 18th century. Marcion (A.D. 140) in the earliest known Canon held common ground with the Church touching the authority of this Epistle (Tertullian, *Adv. Marcion. iv. 5, v. 20*): it appears in the Muratorian Fragment (Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacrae*, i. 395); among the “acknowledged” books in Eusebius (*H. E. iii. 25*); in the lists of the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 365, and the Synod of Hippo, 393; and in all subsequent lists, as well as in the Peshito and later versions. Even contemporary evidence may be claimed for it. Philippian Christians who had contributed to the collections for St. Paul's support at Rome, who had been eye and ear-witnesses of the return of Epaphroditus and the first reading of St. Paul's Epistle, may have been still alive at Philippi when Polycarp wrote (A.D. 107) his letter to them, in which (ch. 2, 3) he refers “to St. Paul's Epistle as a well-known distinction belonging to the Philippian Church. It is quoted as St. Paul's by Irenæus, iv. 18, §4; Clem. Alex. *Paedag. i. 6, §52*, and elsewhere; Tertullian, *Adv. Mar. v. 20, De Res. Carn. ch. 23*. A quotation from it (Phil. ii. 6) is found in the Epistle of the Church of Lyons and Vienne, A.D. 177 (Eusebius, *H. E. v. 2*). The testimonies of later writers are innumerable. But F. C. Baur (1845), followed by Schwegler (1846), has argued from the phraseology of the Epistle and other internal marks, that it is the work not of St. Paul, but of some Gnostic forger in the 2nd century. He has been answered by Lünemann (1847), Brückner (1848), and Resch (1850). Even if his inference were a fair consequence from Baur's premises, it would still be neutralized by the strong evidence in favour of Pauline authorship, which Paley, *Horæ Paulinae*, ch. 7, has drawn from the Epistle as it stands. The arguments of the Tübingen school are briefly stated in Reuss, *Gesch. N. T. §130-133*, and at greater

of the Apostles preside over their regions, in which the authentic epistles themselves of the Apostles are read speaking with the voice and representing the face of each.

length in Wiesinger's *Commentary*. Most persons who read them will be disposed to concur in the opinion of Dean Alford (*N. T.* vol. iii. p. 27, ed. 1856), who regards them as an instance of the insanity of hyper-criticism. The canonical authority and the authorship of the Epistle may be considered as unshaken.

There is a break in the sense at the end of the second chapter of the Epistle, which every careful reader must have observed. It is indeed quite natural that an Epistle written amid exciting circumstances, personal dangers, and various distractions should bear in one place at least a mark of interruption. Le Moynes (1685) thought it was anciently divided into two parts. Heinrichs (1810) followed by Paulus (1817) has conjectured from this abrupt recommencement that the two parts are two distinct epistles, of which the first, together with the conclusion of the Ep. (iv. 21-23) was intended for public use in the Church, and the second exclusively for the Apostle's special friends in Philippi. It is not easy to see what sufficient foundation exists for this theory, or what illustration of the meaning of the Epistle could be derived from it. It has met with a distinct reply from Krause (1811 and 1818); and the integrity of the Epistle has not been questioned by recent critics. Ewald (*Sendschreiben des A. Paulus*, p. 431) is of opinion that St. Paul sent several epistles to the Philippians; and he refers to the texts ii. 12 and iii. 18, as partly proving this. But some additional confirmation or explanation of his conjecture is requisite before it can be admitted as either probable or necessary.

2. *Where written.*—The constant tradition that this Epistle was written at Rome by St. Paul in his captivity, was impugned first by Oeder (1731), who, disregarding the fact that the Apostle was in prison, i. 7, 13, 14, when he wrote, imagined that he was at Corinth (see Wolf's *Curæ Philologicæ*, iv. 168, 270); and then by Paulus (1799), Schulz (1829), Böttger (1837) and Rilliet (1841), in whose opinion the Epistle was written during the Apostle's confinement at Caesarea (Acts xxiv. 23); but the references to the "palace" (praetorium, i. 13), and to "Caesar's household," iv. 22, seem to point to Rome rather than to Caesarea; and there is no reason whatever for supposing that the Apostle felt in Caesarea that extreme uncertainty of life connected with the approaching decision of his cause, which he must have felt towards the end of his captivity at Rome, and which he expresses in this Epistle, i. 19, 20, ii. 17, iii. 10; and further, the dissemination of the Gospel described in Phil. i. 12-18, is not even hinted at in St. Luke's account of the Caesarean captivity, but is described by him as taking place at Rome: compare Acts xxiv. 23 with xxviii. 30, 31. Even Reuss (*Gesch. N. T.* 1860), who assigns to Caesarea three of St. Paul's Epistles, which are generally considered to have been written at Rome, is decided in his conviction that the Epistle to the Philippians was written at Rome.

3. *When written.*—Assuming then that the Epistle was written at Rome during the imprisonment mentioned in the last chapter of the Acts, it may be shown from a single fact that it could not have been written long before the end of the two years. The distress of the Philippians on account of Epaphroditus' sickness was known at Rome when the Epistle was written; this implies four journeys, separately by some indefinite intervals, to or from Philippi and Rome, between the commence-

ment of St. Paul's captivity and the writing of the Epistle. The Philippians were informed of his imprisonment, sent Epaphroditus, were informed of their messenger's sickness, sent their message of condolence. Further, the absence of St. Luke's name from the salutations to a Church where he was well-known, implies that he was absent from Rome^b when the Epistle was written: so does St. Paul's declaration, ii. 20, that no one who remained with him felt an equal interest with Timothy in the welfare of the Philippians. And, by comparing the mention of St. Luke in Col. iv. 14, and Phil. 24 with the abrupt conclusion of his narrative in the Acts, we are led to the inference that he left Rome after those two Epistles were written and before the end of the two years' captivity. Lastly, it is obvious from Phil. i. 20, that St. Paul, when he wrote, felt his position to be very critical, and we know that it became more precarious as the two years drew to a close. In A.D. 62 the infamous Tigellinus succeeded Burrus the upright Praetorian praefect in the charge of St. Paul's person; and the marriage of Poppaea brought his imperial judge under an influence, which if exerted, was hostile to St. Paul. Assuming that St. Paul's acquittal and release took place in 63, we may date the Epistle to the Philippians early in that year.

4. *The writer's acquaintance with the Philippians.*—St. Paul's connexion with Philippi was of a peculiar character, which gave rise to the writing of this Epistle. That city, important as a mart for the produce of the neighbouring gold-mines, and as a Roman stronghold to check the rude Thracian mountaineers, was distinguished as the scene of the great battle fatal to Brutus and Cassius, B.C. 42. [PHILIPPI.] In A.D. 51 St. Paul entered its walls, accompanied by Silas, who had been with him since he started from Antioch, and by Timothy and Luke, whom he had afterwards attached to himself; the former at Derbe, the latter quite recently at Troas. It may well be imagined that the patience of the zealous Apostle had been tried by his mysterious repulse, first from Asia, then from Bithynia and Mysia, and that his expectations had been stirred up by the vision which hastened his departure with his new-found associate, Luke, from Troas. A swift passage brought him to the European shore at Neapolis, whence he took the road about ten miles long across the mountain ridge called Symbolum to Philippi (Acts xvi. 12). There, at a greater distance from Jerusalem than any Apostle had yet penetrated, the long-restrained energy of St. Paul was again employed in laying the foundation of a Christian Church. Seeking first the lost sheep of the house of Israel, he went on a sabbath-day with the few Jews who resided in Philippi, to their small Proseucha on the bank of the river Gangitis. The missionaries sat down and spoke to the assembled women. One of them, Lydia, not born of the seed of Abraham, but a proselyte, whose name and occupation, as well as her birth, connect her with Asia, gave heed unto St. Paul, and she and her household were baptized, perhaps on the same sabbath-day. Her house became the residence of the missionaries, and the result of their short sojourn in Philippi was the conversion of many persons (xvi. 40), including at last their jailer and his household. Philippi was enclosed by

^b Was St. Luke at Philippi?—the true question mentioned in iv. 3

St. Paul, not only by the hospitality of Lydia, the deep sympathy of the converts, and the remarkable miracle which set a seal on his preaching, but also by the successful exercise of his missionary activity after a long suspense, and by the happy consequences of his undaunted endurance of ignominies, which remained in his memory (Phil. i. 30) after a long interval of eleven years. Leaving Timothy and Luke to watch over the infant church, Paul and Silas went to Thessalonica (1 Thess. ii. 2), whither they were followed by the alms of the Philippians (Phil. iv. 16), and thence southwards. Timothy having probably carried out similar directions to those which were given to Titus (i. 5) in Crete, soon rejoined St. Paul. We know not whether Luke remained at Philippi. The next six years of his life are a blank in our records. At the end of that period he is found again (Acts xx. 6) at Philippi.

After the lapse of five years, spent chiefly at Corinth and Ephesus, St. Paul, escaping from the intense worshippers of the Ephesian Diana, passed through Macedonia, A.D. 57, on his way to Greece, accompanied by the Ephesians Tychicus and Trophimus, and probably visited Philippi for the second time, and was there joined by Timothy. His beloved Philippians free, it seems, from the controversies which agitated other Christian Churches, became still dearer to St. Paul on account of the solace which they afforded him when, emerging from a season of dejection (2 Cor. vii. 5), oppressed by weak bodily health, and anxious for the steadfastness of the churches which he had planted in Asia and Achaia, he wrote at Philippi his second Epistle to the Corinthians.

On returning from Greece, unable to take ship there on account of the Jewish plots against his life, he went through Macedonia, seeking a favourable port for embarking. After parting from his companions (Acts xx. 4), he again found a refuge among his faithful Philippians, where he spent some days at Easter, A.D. 58, with St. Luke, who accompanied him when he sailed from Neapolis.

Once more, in his Roman captivity (A.D. 62) their care of him revived again. They sent Epaphroditus, bearing their alms for the Apostle's support, and ready also to tender his personal service (Phil. ii. 25). He stayed some time at Rome, and while employed as the organ of communication between the imprisoned Apostle and the Christians, and inquirers in and about Rome, he fell dangerously ill. When he was sufficiently recovered, St. Paul sent him back to the Philippians, to whom he was very dear, and with him our Epistle.

5. *Scope and contents of the Epistle.*—St. Paul's aim in writing is plainly this: while acknowledging the alms of the Philippians and the personal services of their messenger, to give them some information respecting his own condition, and some advice respecting theirs. Perhaps the intensity of his feelings and the distraction of his prison, prevented the following out of his plan with undeviating closeness. For the preparations for the departure of Epaphroditus, and the thought that he would soon arrive among the warm-hearted Philippians, filled St. Paul with recollections of them, and revived his old feelings towards those fellow-heirs of his hope of glory who were so deep in his heart, i. 7, and so whom in his prayers, i. 4.

After the inscription (i. 1-2) in which Timothy

as the second father of the Church is joined with Paul, he sets forth his own condition (i. 3-26), his prayers, care, and wishes for his Philippians, with the troubles and uncertainty of his imprisonment, and his hope of eventually seeing them again. Then (i. 27-ii. 18) he exhorts them to those particular virtues which he would rejoice to see them practising at the present time—fearless endurance of persecution from the outward heathen; unity among themselves, built on Christ-like humility and love; and an exemplary life in the face of unbelievers. He hopes soon to hear a good report of them (ii. 19-30), either by sending Timothy, or by going himself to them, as he now sends Epaphroditus whose diligent service is highly commended. Reverting (iii. 1-21) to the tone of joy which runs through the preceding descriptions and exhortations—as in i. 4, 18, 25, ii. 2, 16, 17, 18, 28—he bids them take heed that their joy be *in the Lord*, and warns them as he had often previously warned them (probably in his last two visits), against admitting itinerant Judaizing teachers, the tendency of whose doctrine was towards a vain confidence in mere earthly things; in contrast to this, he exhorts them to follow him in placing their trust humbly but entirely in Christ, and in pressing forward in their Christian course, with the Resurrection-day constantly before their minds. Again (iv. 1-9), advertent to their position in the midst of unbelievers, he beseeches them, even with personal appeals, to be firm, united, joyful in the Lord; to be full of prayer and peace, and to lead such a life as must approve itself to the moral sense of all men. Lastly (iv. 10-23), he thanks them for the contribution sent by Epaphroditus for his support, and concludes with salutations and a benediction.

6. *Effect of the Epistle.*—We have no account of the reception of this Epistle by the Philippians. Except doubtful traditions that Erastus was their first bishop, and with Lydia and Parmenas was martyred in their city, nothing is recorded of them for the next forty-four years. But, about A.D. 107, Philippi was visited by Ignatius, who was conducted through Neapolis and Philippi, and across Macedonia in his way to martyrdom at Rome. And his visit was speedily followed by the arrival of a letter from Polycarp of Smyrna, which accompanied, in compliance with a characteristic request of the warm-hearted Philippians, a copy of all the letters of Ignatius which were in the possession of the Church of Smyrna. It is interesting to compare the Philippians of A.D. 63, as drawn by St. Paul with their successors in A.D. 107 as drawn by the disciple of St. John. Steadfastness in the faith, and a joyful sympathy with sufferers for Christ's sake, seem to have distinguished them at both periods (Phil. i. 5, and Polyc. Ep. i.). The character of their religion was the same throughout, practical and emotional rather than speculative: in both Epistles there are many practical suggestions, much interchange of feeling, and an absence of doctrinal discussion. The Old Testament is scarcely, if at all, quoted: as if the Philippian Christians had been gathered for the most part directly from the heathen. At each period false teachers were seeking, apparently in vain, an entrance into the Philippian Church, first Judaizing Christians, seemingly putting out of sight the Resurrection and the Judgment which afterwards the Gnosticising Christians

* The denial of an actual Resurrection was one of the chief errors in the Christian Church. (See 1 Cor. xv. 12;

2 Tim. ii. 18; Polycarp, vii.; Irenaeus, ii. 31; and the other passages quoted by Dean Ellicott on 2 Tim. ii. 18.)

openly denied (Phil. iii., and Polyc. vi., vii.). At both periods the same tendency to petty internal quarrels seems to prevail (Phil. i. 27, ii. 14, iv. 2, and Polyc. ii., iv., v., xii.). The student of ecclesiastical history will observe the faintly-marred organisation of bishops, deacons, and female coadjutors to which St. Paul refers (Phil. i. 1, iv. 3), developed afterwards into broadly-distinguished priests, deacons, widows, and virgins (Polyc. iv., v., vi.). Though the Macedonian Churches in general were poor, at least as compared with commercial Corinth (2 Cor. viii. 2), yet their gold-mines probably exempted the Philippian from the common lot of their neighbours, and at first enabled them to be conspicuously liberal in alms-giving, and afterwards laid them open to strong warnings against the love of money (Phil. iv. 15; 2 Cor. viii. 3; and Polyc. iv., vi., xi.).

Now, though we cannot trace the immediate effect of St. Paul's Epistle on the Philippian, yet no one can doubt that it contributed to form the character of their Church, as it was in the time of Polycarp. It is evident from Polycarp's Epistle that the Church, by the grace of God and the guidance of the Apostle, had passed through those trials of which St. Paul warned it, and had not gone back from the high degree of Christian attainments which it reached under St. Paul's oral and written teaching (Polyc. i., iii., ix., xi.). If it had made no great advance in knowledge, still unsound teachers were kept at a distance from its members. Their sympathy with martyrs and confessors glowed with as warm a flame as ever, whether it was claimed by Ignatius or by Paul. And they maintained their ground with meek firmness among the heathen, and still held forth the light of an exemplary, though not a perfect Christian life.^d

7. *The Church at Rome.*—The state of the Church at Rome should be considered before entering on the study of the Epistle to the Philippian. Something is to be learned of its condition about A.D. 58 from the Epistle to the Romans, about A.D. 61 from Acts xxviii. Possibly the Gospel was planted there by some who themselves received the seed on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 10). The converts were drawn chiefly from Gentile proselytes to Judaism, partly also from Jews who were such by birth, with possibly a few converts direct from heathenism. In A.D. 58, this Church was already eminent for its faith and obedience: it was exposed to the machinations of schismatical teachers; and it included two conflicting parties, the one insisting more or less on observing the Jewish law in addition to faith in Christ as necessary to salvation, the other repudiating outward observances even to the extent of depriving their weak brethren of such as to them might be really edifying. We cannot gather from the Acts whether the whole Church of Rome had then accepted the teaching of St. Paul as conveyed in his Epistle to them. But it is certain that when he had been two years in Rome, his oral teaching was partly rejected by a party which perhaps may have been connected with the former of those above mentioned. St. Paul's presence in Rome, the freedom of speech allowed to him, and the per-

sonal freedom of his fellow-labourers were the means of infusing fresh missionary activity into the Church (Phil. i. 12-14). It was in the work of Christ that Epaphroditus was worn out (ii. 30). Messages and letters passed between the Apostles and distant Churches; and doubtless Churches near to Rome, and both members of the Church and inquirers into the new faith at Rome addressed themselves to the Apostle, and to those who were known to be in constant personal communication with him. And thus in his bondage he was a cause of the advancement of the Gospel. From his prison, as from a centre, light streamed into Caesar's household and far beyond (iv. 22, i. 12-19).

8. *Characteristic features of the Epistle.*—Strangely full of joy and thanksgiving amidst adversity, like the Apostle's midnight hymn from the depth of his Philippian dungeon, this Epistle went forth from his prison at Rome. In most other epistles he writes with a sustained effort to instruct, or with sorrow, or with indignation; he is striving to supply imperfect, or to correct erroneous teaching, to put down scandalous impurity, or to heal schism in the Church which he addresses. But in this Epistle, though he knew the Philippian intimately, and was not blind to the faults and tendencies to fault of some of them, yet he mentions no evil so characteristic of the whole Church as to call for general censure on his part, or amendment on theirs. Of all his Epistles to Churches, none has so little of an official character as this. He withholds his title of "Apostle" in the Inscription. We lose sight of his high authority, and of the subordinate position of the worshippers by the river side; and we are admitted to see the free action of a heart glowing with inspired Christian love, and to hear the utterance of the highest friendship addressed to equal friends conscious of a communion which is not earthly and temporal, but in Christ, for eternity. Who that bears in mind the condition of St. Paul in his Roman prison, can read unmoved of his continual prayers for his distant friends, his constant sense of their fellowship with him, his joyful remembrance of their past Christian course, his confidence in their future, his tender yearning after them all in Christ, his eagerness to communicate to them his own circumstances and feelings, his carefulness to prepare them to repel any evil from within or from without which might dim the brightness of their spiritual graces? Love, at once tender and watchful, that love which "is of God," is the key-note of this Epistle: and in this Epistle only we hear no undertone of any different feeling. Just enough, and no more, is shown of his own harassing trials to let us see how deep in his heart was the spring of that feeling, and how he was refreshed by its sweet and soothing flow.

9. *Text, translation, and commentaries.*—The Epistle to the Philippian is found in all the principal uncial manuscripts, viz. in A, B, C, D, E, F, G, J, K. In C, however, the verses preceding i. 22, and those following iii. 5, are wanting.

Our A. V. of the Epistle published in 1611, was the work of that company of King James's translators who sat at Westminster, consisting of seven by the Magdeburg Centuriators, and by Daille, whom Pearson answered (*Vindiciæ Ignat. l. 6*); also by Semler; and more recently by Zeller, Schliemann, Bunsen, and others: of whose criticism Ewald says, that it is the greatest injustice to Polycarp that men in the present age should deny that this Epistle proceeded from him (*op. cit. Isr. vii. 277, ed. 1859*).

^d It is not easy to suppose that Polycarp was without a copy of St. Paul's Epistle. Yet it is singular that though he mentions it twice, it is almost the only Epistle of St. Paul which he does not quote. This fact may at least be regarded as additional evidence of the genuineness of Polycarp's Epistle. No forger would have been guilty of such an omission. Its authenticity was first questioned

persons, of whom Dr. Barlow, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, was one. It is, however, substantially the same as the translation made by some unknown person for Archbishop Parker, published in the *Bishops' Bible*, 1568. See Bagster's *Hexapla*, preface. A revised edition of the A. V. by Four Clergymen, is published (1861) by Parker and Bourn.

A complete list of works connected with this subject may be found in the *Commentary of Rheinfelden* (translated in the *Oxford Library of the Fathers*, 1843), Theodoret, and Theophylact, are still extant; perhaps also that of Theodore of Mopsuestia in an old Latin translation (see *Journ. of Class. and Soc. Phil.* iv. 302). Among later works may be mentioned those of Calvin, 1539; Estius, 1614; Daille, 1659 (translated by Sherman, 1843); Hilsey, 1548; Airay's *Sermons*, 1618; J. Ferguson, 1666; the annotated English New Testaments of Hammond, Fell, Whitby, and Macknight; the *Commentaries of Peirce*, 1733; Storr, 1783 (translated in the *Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet*); Am Ende, 1798; Oberwald, 1827; T. Passavant, 1834; St. Matthies, 1835; Van Hengel, 1838; Hölemann, 1839; Rilliet, 1841; De Wette, 1847; Meyer, 1847; Neander, 1849 (translated into English, 1851); Wiesinger, 1850 (translated into English, 1850); Kähler, 1855; Professor Eadie; Dean Elliott, 1861, and those included in the recent editions of the Greek N. T. by Dean Alford and Canon Wordsworth. [W. T. B.]

PHILISTIA (פְּלִשְׁתִּים, *Peleshéth*: ἀλλόφυλοι: ἀλλογενες). The word thus translated (in Ps. lx. i. lxxvii. 4; cviii. 9) is in the original identical with that elsewhere rendered PALESTINE. [See that article, p. 660 b.] "Palestine" originally meant a district which the district inhabited by the "Philistines," who are called by Josephus Παλαιστῖνοι, "Palestines." In fact the two words are the same, and the difference in their present form is but the result of gradual corruption. The form Philistia does not occur anywhere in LXX. or Vulgate. The nearest approach to it is Luther's *Philistāa*. [G.]

PHILISTINES (פְּלִשְׁתִּים: Φυλιστιεῖς, Ἀλλοφύλοι: *Philistim*). The origin of the Philistines is nowhere expressly stated in the Bible; but as the prophets describe them as "the Philistines from Caphtor" (Am. ix. 7), and "the remnant of the maritime district of Caphtor" (Jer. xlvii. 4), it is *proba facie* probable that they were the "Caphtorians" which came out of Caphtor" who expelled the Avim from their territory and occupied it in their place (Deut. ii. 23), and that these again were the Caphtorians mentioned in the Mosaic genealogical list among the descendants of Mizraim (Gen. x. 14). But in establishing this conclusion certain objections present themselves: in the first place, it is observable that in Gen. x. 14 the Philistines are mentioned with the Casluhim rather than the Caphtorim. It has generally been assumed that the

text has suffered a transposition, and that the parenthetical clause "out of whom came Philistim" ought to follow the words "and Caphtorim." This explanation is, however, inadmissible: for (1) there is no external evidence whatever of any variation in the text, either here or in the parallel passage in 1 Chr. i. 12; and (2) if the transposition were effected, the desired sense would not be gained; for the words rendered in the A. V. "out of whom" really mean "whence," and denote a local movement rather than a genealogical descent, so that, as applied to the Caphtorim, they would merely indicate a sojourn of the Philistines in their land, and not the identity of the two races. The clause seems to have an appropriate meaning in its present position: it looks like an interpolation into the original document with the view of explaining when and where the name Philistine was first applied to the people whose proper appellation was Caphtorim. It is an etymological as well as an historical memorandum; for it is based on the meaning of the name Philistine, viz. "emigrant," and is designed to account for the application of that name. But a second and more serious difficulty arises out of the language of the Philistines; for while the Caphtorim were Hamitic, the Philistine language is held to have been Semitic.^c It has hence been inferred that the Philistines were in reality a Semitic race, and that they derived the title of Caphtorim simply from a residence in Caphtor (Ewald, i. 331; Moers, *Phoeniz.* iii. 258), and it has been noticed in confirmation of this, that their land is termed Canaan (Zeph. ii. 5). But this is inconsistent with the express assertion of the Bible that they were Caphtorim (Deut. ii. 23), and not simply that they came from Caphtor; and the term Canaan is applied to their country, not ethnologically but etymologically, to describe the trading habits of the Philistines. The difficulty arising out of the question of language may be met by assuming either that the Caphtorim adopted the language of the conquered Avim (a not unusual circumstance where the conquered form the bulk of the population), or that they diverged from the Hamitic stock at a period when the distinctive features of Hamitism and Semitism were yet in embryo. A third objection to their Egyptian origin is raised from the application of the term "uncircumcised" to them (1 Sam. xvii. 26; 2 Sam. i. 20), whereas the Egyptians were circumcised (Herod. ii. 36). But this objection is answered by Jer. ix. 25, 26, where the same term is in some sense applied to the Egyptians, however it may be reconciled with the statement of Herodotus.

The next question that arises relates to the early movements of the Philistines. It has been very generally assumed of late years that Caphtor represents Crete, and that the Philistines migrated from that island, either directly or through Egypt, into Palestine. This hypothesis presupposes the Semitic origin of the Philistines; for we believe that there

^a The name is derived from the root פֶּלַח "to migrate;" a term which is said to be still current in Abyssinia (Knobel, *Völkert.* p. 281). In Egyptian monuments it appears under the form of *Philit* (Reusch, *Hist. d'Egypte.* p. 187). The rendering of the name in the LXX., "ἀλλόφυλοι," "strangers," is probably in reference to the etymological meaning of the name, though it may otherwise be regarded as having originated with the Israelites, to whom the Philistines

were ἀλλόφυλοι, as opposed to ὁμόφυλοι (Stark's *Gaza.* p. 67 ff.). Other derivations of the name Philistia have been proposed, as that it originated in a transposition of the

word *shephélâh* (שֶׁפְּהַלָּה) applied to the Philistine plain; or, again, that it is connected with Pelasgi, as Hitzig supposes.

^c Hitzig, in his *Urgeschichte d. Phil.*, however, maintains that the language is Indo-European, with a view to prove the Philistines to be Pelasgi. He is, we believe, singular in his view.

are no traces of Hamitic settlements in Crete, and consequently the Biblical statement that Caphtorim was descended from Mizraim forms an *a priori* objection to the view. Moreover, the name Caphtor can only be identified with the Egyptian Coptos. [CAPHTOR.] But the Cretan origin of the Philistines has been deduced, not so much from the name Caphtor,⁴ as from that of the Cherethites. This name in its Hebrew form⁵ bears a close resemblance to Crete, and is rendered Cretans in the LXX. A further link between the two terms has been apparently discovered in the term *cári*,⁶ which is applied to the royal guard (2 K. xi. 4, 19), and which sounds like Carians. The latter of these arguments assumes that the Cherethites of David's guard were identical with the Cherethites of the Philistine plain, which appears in the highest degree improbable.⁸ With regard to the former argument, the mere coincidence of the names cannot pass for much without some corroborative testimony. The Bible furnishes none, for the name occurs but thrice (1 Sam. xxx. 14; Ez. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5), and apparently applies to the occupants of the southern district; the testimony of the LXX. is invalidated by the fact that it is based upon the mere sound of the word (see Zeph. ii. 6, where *ceróth* is also rendered Crete); and lastly, we have to account for the introduction of the classical name of the island side by side with the Hebrew term Caphtor. A certain amount of testimony is indeed adduced in favour of a connexion between Crete and Philistia; but, with the exception of the vague rumour, recorded but not adopted by Tacitus¹ (*Hist.* v. 3), the evidence is confined to the town of Gaza, and even in this case is not wholly satisfactory.¹ The town, according to Stephanus Byzantinus (s. v. Γάζα), was termed Minoa, as having been founded by Minos, and this tradition may be traced back to, and was perhaps founded on, an inscription on the coins of that city, containing the letters MEINΩ; but these coins are of no higher date than the first century B.C., and belong to a period when Gaza had attained a decided Greek character (Joseph. B. J. ii. 6, §3). Again, the worship of the god Marna, and its identity with the Cretan Jove, are frequently mentioned by early writers (Movers, *Phoeniz.* i. 662); but the name is Phoenician, being the *maran*, "lord" of 1 Cor. xvi. 22, and it seems more probable that Gaza and Crete derived the worship from a common source,

⁴ The only ground furnished by the Bible for this view is the application of the term rendered "island" to Caphtor in Jer. xviii. 4. But this term also means *maritime district*; and "the maritime district of Caphtor" is but another term for Philistia itself.

⁵ כְּרִיתִים.

⁶ כָּרִי.

⁸ It has been held by Ewald (i. 330) and others, that the Cherethites and Pelethites (2 Sam. xx. 23) were Cherethites and Philistines. The objections to this view are: (1) that it is highly improbable that David would select his officers from the hereditary foes of his country, particularly so immediately after he had enforced their submission; (2) that there seems no reason why an undue prominence should have been given to the Cherethites by placing that name first, and altering Philistines into Pelethites, so as to produce a paronomasia; (3) that the names subsequently applied to the same body (2 K. xi. 19) are appellatives; and (4) that the terms admit of a probable explanation from Hebrew roots.

¹ Among other accounts of the origin of the Jews, he gives this:—"Judaeos, Creta insula profugos, novissima Libyae insedissee;" and, as part of the same tradition,

Phoenicia. Without therefore asserting that migrations may not have taken place from Crete to Philistia, we hold that the evidence adduced to prove that they did is insufficient.

The last point to be decided in connexion with the early history of the Philistines is, the time when they settled in the land of Canaan. If we were to restrict ourselves to the statements of the Bible, we should conclude that this took place before the time of Abraham: for they are noticed in his day as a pastoral tribe in the neighbourhood of Gerar (Gen. xxi. 32, 34, xxvi. 1, 8); and this position accords well with the statement in Deut. ii. 23, that the Avim dwelt in Hazerim, *i. e.* in nomadic encampments; for Gerar lay in the south country, which was just adapted to such a life. At the time of the exodus they were still in the same neighbourhood, but grown sufficiently powerful to inspire the Israelites with fear (Ex. xiii. 17, xv. 14). When the Israelites arrived, they were in full possession of the Shephelah from the "river of Egypt" (*Arish*) in the south, to Ekron in the north (Josh. xv. 4, 47), and had formed a confederacy of five powerful cities—Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron (Josh. xiii. 3). The interval that elapsed between Abraham and the exodus seems sufficient to allow for the alteration that took place in the position of the Philistines, and their transformation from a pastoral tribe to a settled and powerful nation. But such a view has not met with acceptance among modern critics, partly because it leaves the migrations of the Philistines wholly unconnected with any known historical event, and partly because it does not serve to explain the great increase of their power in the time of the Judges. To meet these two requirements a double migration on the part of the Philistines, or of the two branches of that nation, has been suggested. Knobel, for instance, regards the Philistines proper as a branch of the same stock as that to which the Hyksos belonged, and he discovers the name Philistine in the opprobrious name Philition, or Philitis, bestowed on the shepherd kings (Herod. ii. 128): their first entrance into Canaan from the Caslubim would thus be subsequent to the patriarchal age, and coincident with the expulsion of the Hyksos. The Cherethites he identifies with the Caphtorim who displaced the Avim; and these he regards as Cretans who did not enter Canaan before the period of the Judges. The former part of his theory is inconsistent with the

adds that the name Judaea was derived from *Ida*, a circumstance which suggests a foundation for the story. The statement seems to have no more real weight than the reported connexion between Hierosolyma and the Solymi of Lycia. Yet it is accepted as evidence that the Philistines, whom Tacitus is supposed to describe as Jews, came from Crete.

¹ The resemblance between the names Apta and Caphtor (Keil, *Einleit.* ii. 236), Phalasarra and Philistia (Ewald, i. 330), is too slight to be of any weight. Admit to which, those places lie in the part of Crete most remote from Palestine.

² At what period these cities were originally founded, we know not: but there are good grounds for believing that they were of Canaanitish origin, and had previously been occupied by the Avim. The name Gath is certainly Canaanitish: so most probably are Gaza, Ashdod, and Ekron. Ashkelon is doubtful; and the terminations both of this and Ekron may be Philistine. Gaza is mentioned as early as in Gen. x. 19 as a city of the Canaanites; and this as well as Ashdod and Ekron were in Joshua's time the asylum of the Canaanitish Anakim (Josh. xi. 21).

of the Philistines in the book of Genesis; these, therefore, he regards as additions of a later date (Volkert, p. 218 ff.). The view adopted by Movers is, that the Philistines were carried westward from Palestine into Lower Egypt by the stream of the Hyksos movement at a period subsequent to Abraham; from Egypt they passed to Crete, and returned to Palestine in the early period of the Judges (*Phoeniz.* iii. 258). This is inconsistent with the notices in Joshua.¹ Ewald, in the second edition of his *Geschichte* propounds the hypothesis of a double immigration from Crete, the first of which took place in the ante-patriarchal period, as a consequence either of the Canaanitish settlement or of the Hyksos movement, the second in the time of the Judges (*Gesch.* i. 329-331). We cannot regard the above views in any other light than as speculations, built up on very slight data, and unsatisfactory, inasmuch as they fail to reconcile the statements of Scripture. For they all imply (1) that the notice of the Caphtorim in Gen. x. 14 applies to an entirely distinct tribe from the Philistines, as Ewald (i. 331, note) himself allows; (2) that either the notices in Gen. xx., xxvi., or those in Josh. xv. 45-47, or perchance both, are interpolations; and (3) that the notice in Deut. ii. 23, which certainly bears marks of high antiquity, belongs to a late date, and refers solely to the Cherethites. But, beyond these inconsistencies, there are two points which appear to militate against the theory of the second immigration in the time of the Judges: (1) that the national title of the nation always remained Philistine, whereas, according to these theories, it was the Cretan or Cherethite element which led to the great development of power in the time of the Judges; and (2) that it remains to be shown why a sea-faring race like the Cretans, coming direct from Caphtor in their ships (as Knobel, p. 224, understands "Caphtorim from Caphtor" to imply), would seek to occupy the quarters of a nomad race living in encampments, in the wilderness region of the south.^m We hesitate, therefore, to endorse any of the proffered explanations, and, while we allow that the Biblical statements are remarkable for their fragmentary and piecemeal nature, we are not prepared to fill up the gaps. If those statements cannot be received as they stand, it is questionable whether any amount of criticism will supply the connecting links. One point can, we think, be satisfactorily shown, viz., that the hypothesis of a second immigration is not needed in order to account for the growth of the Philistine power. Their geographical position and their relations to neighbouring nations will account for it. Between the times of Abraham and Joshua, the Philistines had changed their quarters, and had advanced northwards into the Shephelah or plain of Philistia. This plain has been in all ages remarkable for the extreme richness of its soil; its fields of wheat and corn, its vineyards and olive-yards, are in-

cidental-ly mentioned in Scripture (Judg. xv. 5), and in time of famine the land of the Philistines was the hope of Palestine (2 K. viii. 2). We should, however, fail to form a just idea of its capacities from the scanty notices in the Bible. The crops which it yielded were alone sufficient to ensure national wealth. It was also adapted to the growth of military power; for while the plain itself permitted the use of war-chariots, which were the chief arm of offence, the occasional elevations which rise out of it offered secure sites for towns and strongholds. It was, moreover, a commercial country; from its position it must have been at all times the great thoroughfare between Phœnicia and Syria in the north, and Egypt and Arabia in the south. Ashdod and Gaza were the keys of Egypt, and commanded the transit trade, and the stores of frankincense and myrrh which Alexander captured in the latter place prove it to have been a depôt of Arabian produce (*Plut. Alex.* cap. 25). We have evidence in the Bible that the Philistines traded in slaves with Edom and southern Arabia (Am. i. 6; Joel iii. 3, 5), and their commercial character is indicated by the application of the name Canaan to their land (*Zeph.* ii. 5). They probably possessed a navy; for they had ports attached to Gaza and Ashkelon; the LXX. speaks of their ships in its version of Is. xi. 14; and they are represented as attacking the Egyptians out of ships. The Philistines had at an early period attained proficiency in the arts of peace; they were skilful as smiths (1 Sam. xiii. 20), as armourers (1 Sam. xvii. 5, 6), and as builders, if we may judge from the prolonged sieges which several of their towns sustained. Their images and the golden mice and emeralds (1 Sam. vi. 11) imply an acquaintance with the founder's and goldsmith's arts. Their wealth was abundant (*Judg.* xvi. 5, 18), and they appear in all respects to have been a prosperous people.

Possessed of such elements of power, the Philistines had attained in the time of the Judges an important position among eastern nations. Their history is, indeed, almost a blank; yet the few particulars preserved to us are suggestive. About B.C. 1209 we find them engaged in successful war with the Sidonians, the effect of which was so serious to the latter power that it involved the transference of the capital of Phœnicia to a more secure position on the island of Tyre (*Justin.* xviii. 3). About the same period, but whether before or after is uncertain, they were engaged in a naval war with Rameses III. of Egypt, in conjunction with other Mediterranean nations; in these wars they were unsuccessful (*Brugsch, Hist. d'Egypte*, p. 185, 187), but the notice of them proves their importance, and we cannot therefore be surprised that they were able to extend their authority over the Israelites, devoid as these were of internal union, and harassed by external foes. With regard to their tactics and the objects that they had in

furnishes the answer to the first; for as the "daughters" are not enumerated, the totals could not possibly be given. And the "daughters" are not enumerated, because they were not actually in possession of the Israelites, and indeed were not known by name.

^m The Avim probably lived in the district between Gerar and Gaza. This both accords best with the notice of their living in *hazerim*, and is also the district in which the remnant of them lingered; for in Josh. xiii. 3, 4, the words "from the south" are best connected with "the Avites," as in the Vulgate.

¹ The sole ground for questioning the historical value of these notices is that Abimelech is not termed king of the Philistines in xx. 2, but king of Gerar. The land is, however, termed the Philistines' land. It is gratuitously assumed that the latter is a case of *prolepsis*, and that the notice of the king of the Philistines in xxvi. 1 is the work of a later writer who was misled by the *prolepsis*.

² The grounds for doubting the genuineness of Josh. xv. 45-47 are: (1) the omission of the total number of the towns; and (2) the notice of the "daughters," or detached towns and "villages." The second objection

view in their attacks on the Israelites, we may form a fair idea from the scattered notices in the books of Judges and Samuel. The warfare was of a guerilla character, and consisted of a series of *raids* into the enemy's country. Sometimes these extended only just over the border, with the view of plundering the threshing-floors of the agricultural produce (1 Sam. xxiii. 1); but more generally they penetrated into the heart of the country and seized a commanding position on the edge of the Jordan valley, whence they could secure themselves against a combination of the trans- and cis-Jordanite divisions of the Israelites, or prevent a return of the fugitives who had hurried across the river on the alarm of their approach. Thus at one time we find them crossing the central district of Benjamin and posting themselves at Michmash (1 Sam. xiii. 16), at another time following the coast road to the plain of Esdraelon and reaching the edge of the Jordan valley by Jezreel (1 Sam. xxix. 11). From such posts as their head-quarters, they sent out detached bands to plunder the surrounding country (1 Sam. xiii. 17), and, having obtained all they could, they erected a column^a as a token of their supremacy (1 Sam. x. 5, xiii. 3), and retreated to their own country. This system of incursions kept the Israelites in a state of perpetual disquietude: all commerce was suspended, from the insecurity of the roads (Judg. v. 6); and at the approach of the foe the people either betook themselves to the natural hiding-places of the country, or fled across the Jordan (1 Sam. xiii. 6, 7). By degrees the ascendancy became complete, and a virtual disarmament of the population was effected by the suppression of the smiths (1 Sam. xiii. 19). The profits of the Philistines were not confined to the goods and chattels they carried off with them. They seized the persons of the Israelites and sold them for slaves; the earliest notice of this occurs in 1 Sam. xiv. 21, where, according to the probably correct reading^b followed by the LXX., we find that there were numerous slaves in the camp at Michmash: at a later period the prophets inveigh against them for their traffic in human flesh (Joel iii. 6; Am. i. 6); at a still later period we hear that "the merchants of the country" followed the army of Gorgias into Judaea for the purpose of buying the children of Israel for slaves (1 Macc. iii. 41), and that these merchants were Philistines is a fair inference from the subsequent notice that Nicanor sold the captive Jews to the "cities upon the sea coast" (2 Macc. viii. 11). There can be little doubt, too, that tribute was exacted from the Israelites, but the notices of it are confined to passages of questionable authority, such as the rendering of 1 Sam. xiii. 21 in the LXX., which represents

^a The Hebrew term *netzib*, which implies this practice, is rendered "garrison" in the A. V., which neither agrees with the context nor gives a true idea of the Philistine tactics. Stark, however, dissents from this view, and explains the term of military officers (*Gaza*, p. 164).

^b עֲבָרִים, and not עֲבָרִים עֲבָרִים.

^c The true text may have been הַפְּתִיחַ, instead of הַאֲמָה.

^d The apparent discrepancy between Judg. i. 18, iii. 3, has led to suspicions as to the text of the former, which are strengthened by the rendering in the LXX., καὶ οὐκ ἐκλήρονόμισεν, presupposing in the Hebrew the reading לָבַד, instead of וּלְבָד. The testimony of the LXX. is weakened by the circumstances (1) that it inter-

the Philistines as making a charge of three shekels a tool for sharpening them; and again the expression "Metheg-ammah" in 2 Sam. viii. 1, which is rendered in the Vulg. *frenum tributi*, and by Symmachus τῆν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ φόρου. In each of the passages quoted, the versions presuppose a text which yields a better sense than the existing one.

And now to recur to the Biblical narrative.—The territory of the Philistines, having been once occupied by the Canaanites, formed a portion of the promised land, and was assigned to the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 2, 12, 45-47). No portion, however, of it was conquered in the lifetime of Joshua (Josh. xiii. 2), and even after his death no permanent conquest was effected (Judg. iii. 3), though, on the authority of a somewhat doubtful passage,^e we are informed that the three cities of Gaza, Ashkelon, and Ekron were taken (Judg. i. 18). The Philistines, at all events, soon recovered these, and commenced an aggressive policy against the Israelites, by which they gained a complete ascendancy over them. We are unable to say at what intervals their incursions took place, as nothing is recorded of them in the early period of the Judges. But they must have been frequent, inasmuch as the national spirit of the Israelites was so entirely broken that they even reprobatly any attempt at deliverance (Judg. xv. 12). Individual heroes were raised up from time to time whose achievements might well kindle patriotism, such as Shamgar the son of Anath (Judg. iii. 31), and still more Samson (Judg. xiii.-xvi.); but neither of these men succeeded in permanently throwing off the yoke.^f Of the former only a single daring feat is recorded, the effect of which appears, from Judg. v. 6, 7, to have been very shortlived. The true series of deliverances commenced with the latter, of whom it was predicted that "he shall begin to deliver" (Judg. xiii. 5), and were carried on by Samuel, Saul, and David. The history of Samson furnishes us with some idea of the relations which existed between the two nations. As a "borderer" of the tribe of Dan, he was thrown into frequent contact with the Philistines, whose supremacy was so established that no bar appears to have been placed to free intercourse with their country. His early life was spent on the verge of the Shephelah between Zorah and Eshtaol, but when his activities had aroused the active hostility of the Philistines he withdrew into the central district and found a secure post on the rock of Etam, to the S.W. of Bethlehem. Thither the Philistines followed him without opposition from the inhabitants. His achievements belong to his personal history: it is clear that they were the isolated acts of an individual, and altogether unconnected with any na-

polates a notice of Ashdod and its suburbs (περὶ Ἀσδοῦ, a peculiar term in lieu of the ὄρια applied to the three other towns); and (2) that the term ἐκλήρονόμισεν is given as the equivalent for לָבַד, which occurs in no other instance. Of the two, therefore, the Greek text is more open to suspicion. Stark (*Gaza*, p. 129) regards the passage as an interpolation.

^e A brief notice occurs in Judg. x. 7 of invasions by the Philistines and Ammonites, followed by particulars which apply exclusively to the latter people. It has been hence supposed that the brief reference to the Philistines is in anticipation of Samson's history. In Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* (s. v. "Philister") it is rather unnecessarily assumed that the text is imperfect, and that the words "that year" refer to the Philistines, and the "eighteen years" to the Ammonites.

small movement; for the revenge of the Philistines was throughout directed against Samson personally. Under Eli there was an organised but unsuccessful resistance to the encroachments of the Philistines, who had penetrated into the central district and were met at Aphek (1 Sam. iv. 1). The production of the ark on this occasion demonstrates the greatness of the emergency, and its loss marked the lowest depth of Israel's degradation. The next action took place under Samuel's leadership, and the tide of success turned in Israel's favour: the Philistines had again penetrated into the mountainous country near Jerusalem: at Mizpeh they met the cowed host of the Israelites, who, encouraged by the signs of Divine favour, and availing themselves of the panic produced by a thunderstorm, inflicted on them a total defeat. For the first time, the Israelites erected their pillar or "stela" at Eben-ezer as the token of victory. The results were the recovery of the border towns and their territories "from Ekron even unto Gath," *i. e.* in the northern district. The success of Israel may be partly attributed to their peaceful relations at this time with the Amorites (1 Sam. vii. 9-14). The Israelites now attributed their past weakness to their want of unity, and they desired a king, with the special object of leading them against the foe (1 Sam. viii. 20). It is a significant fact that Saul first felt inspiration in the presence of a pillar (A. V. "garison") erected by the Philistines in commemoration of a victory (1 Sam. x. 5, 10). As soon as he was prepared to throw off the yoke, he occupied with his army a position at Michmash, commanding the defiles leading to the Jordan valley, and his heroic general Jonathan gave the signal for a rising by overthrowing the pillar which the Philistines had placed there. The challenge was accepted; the Philistines invaded the central district with an immense force,* and, having dislodged Saul from Michmash, occupied it themselves, and sent forth predatory bands into the surrounding country. The Israelites shortly after took up a position on the other side of the ravine at Geba, and, availing themselves of the confusion consequent upon Jonathan's daring feat, inflicted a tremendous slaughter upon the enemy (1 Sam. xiii. xiv.). No attempt was made by the Philistines to regain their supremacy for about twenty-five years, and the scene of the next contest shows the altered strength of the two parties: it was no longer in the central country, but in a ravine leading down to the Philistine plain, the valley of Elah, the position of which is about 14 miles S.W. of Jerusalem: on this occasion the power of young David secured success to Israel, and the foe was pursued to the gates of Gath and Ekron (1 Sam. xvii.). The power of the Philistines was, however, still intact on their own territory, as proved by the flight of David to the court of Achish (1 Sam. xxi. 10-15), and his subsequent abode

at Ziklag (1 Sam. xxvii.), where he was secured from the attacks of Saul. The border warfare was continued; captures and reprisals, such as are described as occurring at Keilah (1 Sam. xxiii. 1-5) being probably frequent. The scene of the next conflict was far to the north, in the valley of Esdraelon, whither the Philistines may have made a plundering incursion similar to that of the Midianites in the days of Gideon. The battle on this occasion proved disastrous to the Israelites: Saul himself perished, and the Philistines penetrated across the Jordan, and occupied the forsaken cities (1 Sam. xxxi. 1-7). The dissensions which followed the death of Saul were naturally favourable to the Philistines: and no sooner were these brought to a close by the appointment of David to be king over the united tribes, than the Philistines attempted to counterbalance the advantage by an attack on the person of the king: they therefore penetrated into the valley of Rephaim, S.W. of Jerusalem, and even pushed forward an advanced post as far as Bethlehem (1 Chr. xi. 16). David twice attacked them at the former spot, and on each occasion with signal success, in the first case capturing their images, in the second pursuing them "from Geba until thou come to Gazer" (2 Sam. v. 17-25; 1 Chr. xiv. 8-16).

Henceforth the Israelites appear as the aggressors: about seven years after the defeat at Rephaim, David, who had now consolidated his power, attacked them on their own soil, and took Gath with its dependencies (1 Chr. xviii. 1), and thus (according to one interpretation of the obscure expression "Metheg-ammah" in 2 Sam. viii. 1) "he took the arm-bridle out of the hand of the Philistines" (Bertheau, *Comm.* on 1 Chron.), or (according to another) "he took the bridle of the metropolis out of the hand of the Philistines" (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 113)—meaning in either case that their ascendancy was utterly broken. This indeed was the case: for the minor engagements in David's lifetime probably all took place within the borders of Philistia: Gob, which is given as the scene of the second and third combats, being probably identical with Gath, where the fourth took place (2 Sam. xxi. 15-22; comp. LXX., some of the copies of which read Γέθ instead of Γόβ). The whole of Philistia was included in Solomon's empire, the extent of which is described as being "from the river unto the land of the Philistines, unto the border of Egypt" (1 K. iv. 21; 2 Chr. ix. 26), and again "from Tiphshah even unto Gaza" (1 K. iv. 24; A. V. "Azzah"). The several towns probably remained under their former governors, as in the case of Gath (1 K. ii. 39), and the sovereignty of Solomon was acknowledged by the payment of tribute (1 K. iv. 21). There are indications, however, that his hold on the Philistine country was by no means established: for we find him securing the passes that led up

transplants the valley to the N.W. of Jerusalem; while Bertheau (on 1 Chr. xiv. 16) identifies Geba with the Gibeah of Josh. xv. 57, and the *Jeba*'s noticed by Robinson (ii. 6, 16) as lying W. of Bethlehem. Neither of these explanations can be accepted. We must assume that the direct retreat from the valley to the plain was cut off, and that the Philistines were compelled to flee northwards, and regained the plain by the pass of Bethhoron, which lay between Gibeon (as well as between Geba) and Gazer.

* The Hebrew text, as it at present stands, in 1 K. iv. 21, will not bear the sense here put upon it; but a comparison with the parallel passage in 2 Chr. shows that the word **וְיָ** has dropped out before the "land of the P."

* The text states the force at 30,000 chariots and 6000 horsemen (1 Sam. xiii. 5): these numbers are, however, not out of proportion. The chariots were probably 1000, the present reading being a mistake of a copyist who read the final **וְיָ** of Israel, and thus converted the number into 30,000.

† There is some difficulty in reconciling the geographical statements in the narrative of this campaign. The "Geba" of Samuel, we have "Gibeon" in 1 K. iv. 21. The latter lies N.W. of Jerusalem; and there is a Geba in the same neighbourhood, lying more to the E. in the valley of Rephaim is placed S.W. of Jerusalem, and is neither of these places. Thienius (on 2 Sam. v. 18)

from the plain to the central district by the fortification of Gezer and Bethoron (1 K. ix. 17), while no mention is made either of Gaza or Ashdod, which fully commanded the coast-road. Indeed the expedition of Pharaoh against Gezer, which stood at the head of the Philistine plain, and which was quite independent of Solomon until the time of his marriage with Pharaoh's daughter, would lead to the inference that Egyptian influence was paramount in Philistia at this period (1 K. ix. 16). The division of the empire at Solomon's death was favourable to the Philistine cause: Rehoboam secured himself against them by fortifying Gath and other cities bordering on the plain (2 Chr. xi. 8): the Israelite monarchs were either not so prudent or not so powerful, for they allowed the Philistines to get hold of Gibbethon, commanding one of the defiles leading up from the plain of Sharon to Samaria, the recovery of which involved them in a protracted struggle in the reigns of Nadab and Zimri (1 K. xv. 27, xvi. 15). Judah meanwhile had lost the tribute; for it is recorded, as an occurrence that marked Jehoshaphat's success, that "some of the Philistines brought presents" (2 Chr. xvii. 11). But this subjection was of brief duration: in the reign of his son Jehoram they avenged themselves by invading Judah in conjunction with the Arabians, and sacking the royal palace (2 Chr. xxi. 16, 17). The increasing weakness of the Jewish monarchy under the attacks of Hazael led to the recovery of Gath, which had been captured by that monarch in his advance on Jerusalem from the western plain in the reign of Jehoash (2 K. xii. 17), and was probably occupied by the Philistines after his departure as an advanced post against Judah. At all events it was in their hands in the time of Uzziah, who dismantled (2 Chr. xxvi. 6) and probably destroyed it: for it is adduced by Amos as an example of Divine vengeance (Am. vi. 2), and then disappears from history. Uzziah at the same time dismantled Jabneh (Jamnia) in the northern part of the plain, and Ashdod, and further erected forts in different parts of the country to intimidate the inhabitants* (2 Chr. xxvi. 6). The prophecies of Joel and Amos prove that these measures were provoked by the aggressions of the Philistines, who appear to have formed leagues both with the Edomites and Phoenicians, and had reduced many of the Jews to slavery (Joel iii. 4-6; Am. i. 6-10). How far the means adopted by Uzziah were effectual we are not informed; but we have reason to suppose that the Philistines were kept in subjection until the time of Ahaz, when, relying upon the difficulties produced by the Syrian attacks, they attacked the border-cities in the Shephelah, and "the south" of Judah (2 Chr. xxviii. 18). Isaiah's declarations (xiv. 29-32) throw light upon the events subsequent to this: from them we learn that the Assyrians, whom Ahaz summoned to his aid, proved themselves to be the "cockatrice that should come out of the serpent's (Judah's) root," by ravaging the Philistine plain. A few years later the Philistines, in conjunction with the Syrians and Assyrians ("the adversaries of Rezin"), and perhaps as the subject-allies of the latter, carried on a series of attacks on the kingdom of Israel (Is. ix. 11, 12).

* The passage in Zech. ix. 5-7 refers, in the opinion of those who assign an earlier date to the concluding chapters of the book, to the successful campaign of Uzziah. Internal evidence is in favour of this view. The alliance with Tyre is described as "the expectation" of Ekron: since was to lose her king, i. e. her independence: Ash-

Hezekiah's reign inaugurated a new policy, in which the Philistines were deeply interested: that intercourse to the Assyrians, and the possession of Philistia became henceforth the turning-point of the struggle between the two great empires of the East. Hezekiah, in the early part of his reign, re-established his authority over the whole of it, "even unto Gaza" (2 K. xviii. 8). This movement was evidently connected with his rebellion against the king of Assyria, and was undertaken in conjunction with the Egyptians; for we find the latter people shortly after in possession of the five Philistine cities, to which alone are we able to refer the prediction in Is. ix. 18, when coupled with the fact that both Gaza and Ashkelon are termed Egyptian cities in the annals of Sargon (Bunsen's *Egypt*, iv. 603). The Assyrians under Tartan, the general of Sargon, made an expedition against Egypt, and took Ashdod, as the key of that country (Is. xx. 1, 4, 5). Under Sennacherib Philistia was again the scene of important operations: in his first campaign against Egypt Ashkelon was taken and its dependencies were plundered; Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza submitted, and received as a reward a portion of Hezekiah's territory (Rawlinson, i. 477): in his second campaign other towns on the verge of the plain, such as Libnah and Lachish, were also taken (2 K. xviii. 14, xix. 8). The Assyrian supremacy, though shaken by the failure of this second expedition, was restored by Esar-haddon, who claims to have conquered Egypt (Rawlinson, i. 481); and it seems probable that the Assyrians retained their hold on Ashdod until its capture, after a long siege, by the Egyptian monarch Psammetichus (Herod. ii. 157), the effect of which was to reduce the population of that important place to a mere "remnant" (Jer. xxv. 20). It was about this time, and possibly while Psammetichus was engaged in the siege of Ashdod, that Philistia was traversed by a vast Scythian host on their way to Egypt: they were, however, diverted from their purpose by the king, and retraced their steps, plundering on their retreat the rich temple of Venus at Ashkelon (Herod. i. 105). The description of Zephaniah (ii. 4-7), who was contemporary with this event, may well apply to this terrible scourge, though more generally referred to a Chaldaean invasion. The Egyptian ascendancy was not as yet re-established, for we find the next king, Neco, compelled to besiege Gaza (the *Calyptis* of Herodotus, ii. 159) on his return from the battle of Megiddo. After the death of Neco, the contest was renewed between the Egyptians and the Chaldeans under Nebuchadnezzar, and the result was specially disastrous to the Philistines: Gaza was again taken by the former, and the population of the whole plain was reduced to a mere "remnant" by the invading armies (Jer. xlii.). The "old hatred" that the Philistines bore to the Jews was exhibited in acts of hostility at the time of the Babylonish captivity (Ez. xxv. 15-17): but on the return this was somewhat abated, for some of the Jews married Philistine women, to the great scandal of their rulers (Neh. xiii. 23, 24). From this time the history of Philistia is absorbed in the struggles of the neighbouring kingdoms. In B.C. 332, Ash-

kelon should be depopulated: a "bastard," i. e. one who was excluded from the congregation of Israel on the score of impure blood, should dwell in Ashdod, holding "as a dependency of Judah; and Ekron should become "Jebusite," subject to Judah.

the Great traversed it on his way to Egypt, and captured Gaza, then held by the Persians under Darius, after a two months' siege. In 312 the armies of Demetrius Poliorcetes and Ptolemy fought in the neighbourhood of Gaza. In 198 Antiochus the Great, in his war against Ptolemy Epiphanes, invaded Philistia and took Gaza. In 166 the Philistines joined the Syrian army under Gorgias in its attack on Judaea (1 Macc. iii. 41). In 148 the adherents of the rival kings Demetrius II. and Alexander Balas, under Apollonius and Jonathan respectively, contended in the Philistine plain: Apollonius took Ashdod, triumphantly entered Ashkelon, and received Ekron as his reward (1 Macc. x. 69-89). A few years later Jonathan again descended into the plain in the interests of Antiochus IV., and captured Gaza (1 Macc. xi. 60-62). No further notice of the country occurs until the capture of Gaza in 97 by the Jewish king Alexander Jannæus in his contest with Lathyrus (Joseph. Ant. xiii. 13, §3; B. J. i. 4, §2). In 63 Pompey annexed Philistia to the province of Syria (Ant. xiv. 4, §4), with the exception of Gaza, which was assigned to Herod (xv. 7, §3), together with Jamnia, Ashdod, and Ashkelon, as appears from xvii. 11, §3. The three last fell to Salome after Herod's death, but Gaza was re-annexed to Syria (xvii. 11, §5). The latest notices of the Philistines as a nation, under their title of ἀλλόφυλοι, occur in 1 Macc. iii.-v. The extension of the name from the district occupied by them to the whole country, under the familiar form of PALESTINE, has already been noticed under that head.

With regard to the institutions of the Philistines our information is very scanty. The five chief cities had, as early as the days of Joshua, constituted themselves into a confederacy, restricted, however, in all probability, to matters of offence and defence. Each was under the government of a prince whose official title was *seren* (Josh. xiii. 3; Judg. iii. 3 &c.), and occasionally *sâr* (1 Sam. xiii. 30, xix. 6). Gaza may be regarded as having exercised an hegemony over the others, for in the lists of the towns it is mentioned the first (Josh. xiii. 3; Am. i. 7, 8), except where there is an especial ground for giving prominence to another, as in the case of Ashdod (1 Sam. vi. 17). Gaza always stands last, while Ashdod, Ashkelon, and Gath interchange places. Each town possessed its own territory, as instanced in the case of Gath (1 Chr. xviii. 1), Ashdod (1 Sam. x. 4), and others, and each possessed its dependent towns or "daughters" (Josh. xv. 45-47; 1 Chr. xvi. 1; 2 Sam. i. 20; Ez. xvi. 27, 57), and its villages (Josh. i. c.). In later times Gaza had a population of five hundred (Joseph. Ant. xiii. 13, §3). The Philistines appear to have been deeply imbued with superstition: they carried their idols with them on their campaigns (2 Sam. v. 21), and pronounced their victories in their presence (1 Sam. x. 8). They also carried about their persons images of some kind that had been presented before them (2 Macc. xii. 40). The gods whom they worshipped both at Gaza (Judg. xvi. 23) and at Ashdod (1 Sam. x. 3-5; 1 Chr. x. 10; 1 Macc. x. 83); Dagon, whose temple at Ashkelon was far-famed (1 Sam. xxi. 10; Herod. i. 105); Baal-zebub,

whose fame at Ekron was consulted by Ahazian (2 K. i. 2-6); and Derceto, who was honoured at Ashkelon (Diod. Sic. ii. 4), though unnoticed in the Bible. Priests and diviners (1 Sam. vi. 2) were attached to the various seats of worship. (The special authorities for the history of the Philistines are Stark's *Gaza*; Knobel's *Völkertafel*; Meyers' *Phoenizien*; and Hitzig's *Urgeschichte*.) [W. L. B.]

PHILOLOGUS (Φιλόλογος: *Philologus*). A Christian at Rome to whom St. Paul sends his salutation (Rom. xvi. 15). Origen conjectures that he was the master of a Christian household which included the other persons named with him. Pseudo-Hippolytus (*De LXX. Apostolis*) makes him one of the 70 disciples, and bishop of Sinope. His name is found in the Columbarium "of the freedmen of Livia Augusta" at Rome; which shows that there was a Philologus connected with the imperial household at the time when it included many Julias. [W. T. B.]

PHILOSOPHY. It is the object of the following article to give some account (I.) of that development of thought among the Jews which answered to the philosophy of the West; (II.) of the recognition of the preparatory (propædæutic) office of Greek philosophy in relation to Christianity; (III.) of the systematic progress of Greek philosophy as forming a complete whole; and (IV.) of the contact of Christianity with philosophy. The limits of the article necessarily exclude everything but broad statements. Many points of great interest must be passed over unnoticed; and in a fuller treatment there would be need of continual exceptions and explanations of detail, which would only create confusion in an outline. The history of ancient philosophy in its religious aspect has been strangely neglected. Nothing, as far as we are aware, has been written on the pre-Christian era answering to the clear and elegant essay of Matter on post-Christian philosophy (*Histoire de la Philosophie dans ses rapports avec la Religion depuis l'ère Chrétienne*, Paris, 1854). There are useful hints in Carové's *Vorhalle des Christenthums* (Jena, 1851), and Ackermann's *Das Christliche im Plato* (Hamb. 1835). The treatise of Denis, *Histoire des Théories et des Idées morales dans l'Antiquité* (Paris, 1856), is limited in range and hardly satisfactory. Döllinger's *Vorhalle zur Gesch. d. Christenthums* (Regensbg. 1857) is comprehensive, but covers too large a field. The brief survey in De Pressensé's *Hist. des trois premiers Siècles de l'Eglise Chrétienne* (Paris, 1858) is much more vigorous, and on the whole just. But no one seems to have apprehended the real character and growth of Greek philosophy so well as Zeller (though with no special attention to its relations to religion) in his history (*Die Philosophie der Griechen*, 2te Aufl. Tüb. 1856), which for subtlety and completeness is unrivalled.

I. THE PHILOSOPHIC DISCIPLINE OF THE JEWS.

Philosophy, if we limit the word strictly to describe the free pursuit of knowledge of which truth is the one complete end, is essentially of Western growth. In the East the search after wisdom has always been connected with practice: it has remained there, what it was in Greece at first, a part of religion. The history of the Jews offers no exception to this remark: there is no Jewish philo-

latter being supported by the analogy of an Arabic expression.

יָדָה.

Two derivations have been proposed for this word: יָדָה by Ewald (l. 332), יָדָה "axle," by Gesenius (lex. p. 972) and Kell in Josh. xiii. 3, the latter being supported by the analogy of an Arabic expression.

sophy properly so called. Yet on the other hand speculation and action meet in truth; and perhaps the most obvious lesson of the Old Testament lies in the gradual construction of a divine philosophy by fact, and not by speculation. The method of Greece was to proceed from life to God; the method of Israel (so to speak) was to proceed from God to life. The axioms of one system are the conclusions of the other. The one led to the successive abandonment of the noblest domains of science which man had claimed originally as his own, till it left bare systems of morality; the other, in the fulness of time, prepared many to welcome the Christ—the Truth.

From what has been said, it follows that the philosophy of the Jews, using the word in a large sense, is to be sought for rather in the progress of the national life than in special books. These, indeed, furnish important illustrations of the growth of speculation, but the history is written more in acts than in thoughts. Step by step the idea of the family was raised into that of the people; and the kingdom furnished the basis of those wider promises which included all nations in one kingdom of heaven. The social, the political, the cosmical relations of man were traced out gradually in relation to God.

The philosophy of the Jews is thus essentially a moral philosophy, resting on a definite connexion with God. The doctrines of Creation and Providence, of an Infinite Divine Person and of a responsible human will, which elsewhere form the ultimate limits of speculation, are here assumed at the outset. The difficulties which they involve are but rarely noticed. Even when they are canvassed most deeply, a moral answer drawn from the great duties of life is that in which the questioner finds repose. The earlier chapters of Genesis contain an introduction to the direct training of the people which follows. Premature and partial developments, kingdoms based on godless might, stand in contrast with the slow foundation of the divine polity. To distinguish rightly the moral principles which were successively called out in this latter work, would be to write a history of Israel; but the philosophical significance of the great crises through which the people passed, lies upon the surface. The call of Abraham set forth at once the central lesson of faith in the Unseen, on which all others were raised. The father of the nation was first isolated from all natural ties before he received the promise: his heir was the son of his extreme age; his inheritance was to him "as a strange land." The history of the patriarchs brought out into yet clearer light the sovereignty of God: the younger was preferred before the elder: suffering prepared the way for safety and triumph. God was seen to make a covenant with man, and his action was written in the records of a chosen family. A new era followed. A nation grew up in the presence of Egyptian culture. Persecution united elements which seem otherwise to have been on the point of being absorbed by foreign powers. God revealed Himself now to the people in the wider relations of Lawgiver and Judge. The solitary discipline of the desert familiarized them with His majesty and His mercy. The wisdom of Egypt was hallowed to new uses. The promised land was gained by the open working of a divine Sovereign. The outlines of national faith were written in defeat and victory; and the work of the theocracy closed. Human passion then claimed a dominant influence. The people required a king. A fixed Temple was substituted for the shifting tabernacle. Times of disruption and disaster fol-

lowed; and the voice of prophets declared the spiritual meaning of the kingdom. In the midst of sorrow and defeat and desolation, the horizon of hope was extended. The kingdom which man had prematurely founded was seen to be the image of a nobler "kingdom of God." The nation learned its connexion with "all the kindred of the earth." The Captivity confirmed the lesson, and after it the Dispersion. The moral effects of these, and the influence which Persian, Greek, and Roman, the inheritors of all the wisdom of the East and West, exercised upon the Jews, have been elsewhere noticed. [CYRUS; DISPERSION.] The divine discipline closed before the special human discipline began. The personal relations of God to the individual, the family, the nation, mankind, were established in ineffaceable history, and then other truths were brought into harmony with these in the long period of silence which separates the two Testaments. But the harmony was not always perfect. Two partial forms of religious philosophy arose. On the one side the predominance of the Persian element gave rise to the Kabbala; on the other the predominance of the Greek element issued in Alexandrine theosophy.

Before these one-sided developments of the truth were made, the fundamental ideas of the Divine government found expression in words as well as in life. The Psalms, which, among the other infinite lessons which they convey, give a deep insight into the need of a personal apprehension of truth, everywhere declare the absolute sovereignty of God over the material and moral worlds. The classical scholar cannot fail to be struck with the frequency of natural imagery, and with the close connexion which is assumed to exist between man and nature as parts of one vast Order. The control of all the elements by One All-wise Governor, standing out in clear contrast with the deification of isolated objects, is no less essentially characteristic of Hebrew as distinguished from Greek thought. In the world of action Providence stands over against fate, the universal kingdom against the individual state, the true and the right against the beautiful. Post-speculation may find little scope, but speculation guided by these great laws will never cease to afford most deeply the intellectual culture of men. (Compare especially Ps. viii., xix., xxix.; I., lxxv., lxxvii., lxxviii., lxxxix.; xcv., xcvi., cv.; cxxxvi., cxlvii., &c. It will be seen that the same character is found in Psalms of every date.) For a practical and very remarkable development of this philosophy of Nature see the article BOOK OF EXODUS [vol. i. 556]; Dillmann, *Das B. Henoch*, xiv., xv.

One man above all is distinguished among the Jews as "the wise man." The description which is given of his writings serves as a commentary on the national view of philosophy. "And Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country and all the wisdom of Egypt. . . . And he spake three thousand proverbs; and he spake songs were a thousand and five. And he spake of trees, from the cedar that is in Lebanon even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes" (1 K. iv. 30-33). The lesson of practical duty, the full utterance of "a large heart" (Ibid. 29), the careful study of God's creature—this is the sum of wisdom. Yet in fact the very practical aim of this philosophy leads to the revelation of the most sublime truth. Wisdom was gradually felt to be a Person, throned by God, and

holding converse with men (Prov. viii.). She was seen to stand in open enmity with "the strange woman," who sought to draw them aside by sensuous attractions; and thus a new step was made towards the central doctrine of Christianity—the incarnation of the Word.

Two books of the Bible, Job and Ecclesiastes, of which the latter at any rate belongs to the period of the close of the kingdom, approach more nearly than any others to the type of philosophical discussions. But in both the problem is moral and not metaphysical. The one deals with the evils which afflict "the perfect and upright;" the other with the vanity of all the pursuits and pleasures of earth. In the one we are led for an answer to a vision of "the enemy" to whom a partial and temporary power over man is conceded (Job i. 6-12); in the other to that great future when "God shall bring every work to judgment" (Ecc. xii. 14). The method of inquiry is in both cases abrupt and irregular. One clue after another is followed out, and at length abandoned; and the final solution is obtained, not by a consecutive process of reason, but by an authoritative utterance, which faith welcomes as the truth, towards which all partial efforts had tended. (Compare Maurice, *Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy*, first edition.)

The Captivity necessarily exercised a profound influence upon Jewish thought. [Comp. CYRUS, vol. i. p. 380.] The teaching of Persia seems to have been designed to supply important elements in the education of the chosen people. But it did yet more than this. The imagery of Ezekiel (chap. i.), gave an apparent sanction to a new form of mystical speculation. It is uncertain at what date this sacred *Kabbala* (i. e. Tradition) received a definite form; but there can be no doubt that the two great divisions of which it is composed, "the character" (*Mercohab*, Ez. i.) and "the Creation" (*Shemhah*, Gen. i.), found a wide development when the Christian era. The first dealt with the manifestation of God in Himself; the second with His manifestation in Nature; and as the doctrine was handed down orally, it received naturally, both in its extent and form, great additions from many sources. On the one side it was open to the emanation doctrine of emanation, on the other to the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation; and the tradition was deeply impressed by both before it was first committed to writing in the seventh or eighth century. At present the original sources for the teaching of the *Kabbala* are the *Sepher Setzirah*, or Book of Creation, and the *Sepher Hazohar*, or Book of Splendor. The former of these dates in its present form from the eighth, and the latter from the thirteenth century (Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr. d. Juden*, p. 107; Jellinek, *Moses ben Schemtob de Leon*, p. 185). Both are based upon a system of emanation. In the Book of Creation the *Cabbala* ideas are given in their simplest form, and are in some points of comparison with the system of the Pythagoreans. The book begins with an enumeration of the thirty-two ways of wisdom seen in the creation of the world; and the analysis of this system is supposed to contain the key to the mystery of Nature. The primary division is into 32 (figure), which answer to the ten *Sephiroth* on the other hand, the number of the Hebrew alphabet to the world of objects; the object being reduced to the idea as a word, formed of letters, to a number. Twenty-two again is equal to 3 + 7 + 12;

and each of these numbers, which constantly recur in the O. T. Scriptures, is invested with a peculiar meaning. Generally the fundamental conceptions of the book may be thus represented. The ultimate Being is Divine Wisdom (*Chochmah*, σοφία). The universe is originally a harmonious thought of Wisdom (Number, *Sephirah*); and the thought is afterwards expressed in letters, which form, as words, the germ of things. Man, with his twofold nature, thus represents in some sense the whole universe. He is the Microcosm, in which the body clothes and veils the soul, as the phenomenal world veils the spirit of God. It is impossible to follow out here the details of this system, and its development in Zohar; but it is obvious how great an influence it must have exercised on the interpretation of Scripture. The calculation of the numerical worth of words (comp. Rev. xiii. 18; *Gematria*, Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb.* 446), the resolution of words into initial letters of new words (*Notaricon*, Buxtorf, 1339), and the transposition or interchange of letters (*Temurah*), were used to obtain the inner meaning of the text; and these practices have continued to affect modern exegesis (Lutterbeck, *Neutest. Lehrbegriff*, i. 223-254; Reuss, *Kabbala*, in Herzog's *Encyclop.*; Joel, *Die Relig.-Phil. d. Zohar*, 1849; Jellinek, as above; Westcott, *Introduct. to Gospels*, 131-134; Franck, *La Kabbale*, 1843. OLD TESTAMENT, B § 1).

The contact of the Jews with Persia thus gave rise to a traditional mysticism. Their contact with Greece was marked by the rise of distinct sects. In the third century B.C. the great doctor Antigonus of Socho bears a Greek name, and popular belief pointed to him as the teacher of Sadoc and Boethus, the supposed founders of Jewish rationalism. At any rate, we may date from this time the twofold division of Jewish speculation which corresponds to the chief tendencies of practical philosophy. The Sadducees appear as the supporters of human freedom in its widest scope; the Pharisees of a religious Stoicism. At a later time the cycle of doctrine was completed, when by a natural reaction the Essenes established a mystic Asceticism. The characteristics of these sects are noticed elsewhere. It is enough now to point out the position which they occupy in the history of Judaism (comp. *Introduct. to Gospels*, pp. 60-66). At a later period the FOURTH BOOK OF MACCABEES (1. v.) is a very interesting example of Jewish moral (Stoic) teaching.

The conception of wisdom which appears in the Book of Proverbs was elaborated with greater detail afterwards [WISDOM OF SOLOMON], both in Palestine [ECCLESIASTICUS] and in Egypt; but the doctrine of the Word is of greater speculative interest. Both doctrines, indeed, sprang from the same cause, and indicate the desire to find some mediating power between God and the world, and to remove the direct appearance and action of God from a material sphere. The personification of Wisdom represents only a secondary power in relation to God; the Logos, in the double sense of Reason (λόγος ἐνδιθετος) and Word (λόγος προφορικός), both in relation to God and in relation to the universe. The first use of the term Word (*Memra*), based upon the common formula of the prophets, is in the Targum of Onkelos (first cent. B.C.), in which "the Word of God" is commonly substituted for God in His immediate, personal relations with man (*Introduct. to Gospels*, p. 137); and it is probable that round this traditional rendering a fuller doctrine grew up. But there is a clear

difference between the idea of the Word then prevalent in Palestine and that current at Alexandria. In Palestine the Word appears as the outward mediator between God and man, like the Angel of the Covenant; at Alexandria it appears as the spiritual connexion which opens the way to revelation. The preface to St. John's Gospel includes the element of truth in both. In the Greek apocryphal books there is no mention of the Word (yet comp. *Wisd.* xviii. 15). For the Alexandrine teaching it is necessary to look alone to Philo (c. B.C. 20—A.D. 50); and the ambiguity in the meaning of the Greek term, which has been already noticed, produces the greatest confusion in his treatment of the subject. In Philo language domineers over thought. He has no one clear and consistent view of the Logos. At times he assigns to it divine attributes and personal action; and then again he affirms decidedly the absolute indivisibility of the Divine nature. The tendency of his teaching is to lead to the conception of a twofold personality in the Godhead, though he shrinks from the recognition of such a doctrine (*De Monarch.* §5; *De Somn.* §37; *Quod. det. pot. ins.* §24; *De Somn.* §39, &c.). Above all, his idea of the Logos was wholly disconnected from all Messianic hopes, and was rather the philosophic substitute for them. (*Introd. to Gospels*, 138-141; Dähne, *Jud.-Alex. Relig.-Philos.* 1834; Gfrörer, *Philo*, &c. 1835; Dörner, *Die Lehre v. d. Person Christi*, i. 23 ff.; Lücke, *Comm.* i. 207, who gives an account of the earlier literature.)

II. THE PATRISTIC RECOGNITION OF THE PRO- PAEDEUTIC OFFICE OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

The Divine discipline of the Jews was, as has been seen, in nature essentially moral. The lessons which it was designed to teach were embodied in the family and the nation. Yet this was not in itself a complete discipline of our nature. The reason, no less than the will and the affections, had an office to discharge in preparing man for the Incarnation. The process and the issue in the two cases were widely different, but they were in some sense complementary. Even in time this relation holds good. The divine kingdom of the Jews was just overthrown when free speculation arose in the Ionian colonies of Asia. The teaching of the last prophet nearly synchronised with the death of Socrates. All other differences between the discipline of reason and that of revelation are implicitly included in their fundamental difference of method. In the one, man boldly aspired at once to God, in the other, God disclosed Himself gradually to man. Philosophy failed as a religious teacher practically (*Rom.* i. 21, 22), but it bore noble witness to an inward law (*Rom.* ii. 14, 15). It laid open instinctive wants which it could not satisfy. It cleared away error, when it could not found truth. It swayed the foremost minds of a nation, when it left the mass without hope. In its purest and grandest forms it was "a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ" (*Clem. Alex. Strom.* i. §28).

This function of ancient philosophy is distinctly recognised by many of the greatest of the fathers. The principle which is involved in the doctrine of Justin Martyr on "the Seminal Word" finds a clear and systematic expression in Clement of Alexandria. (*Comp. Redepening, Origenes*, i. p. 437-9.) "Every race of men participated in the Word. And they who lived with the Word were Christians, even if they were held to be godless (*ἄθεοι*), as for example, among the Greeks, Socrates

and Heraclitus, and those like them" (*Just. Mart. Ap.* i. 46; *comp. Ap.* i. 5, 28; and ii. 10, 13). "Philosophy," says Clement, "before the coming of the Lord, was necessary to Greeks for righteousness; and now it proves useful for godliness, being in some sort a preliminary discipline (*προπαιδεία τῆς οἴσου*) for those who reap the fruits of the faith through demonstration. . . . Perhaps we may say that it was given to the Greeks with this special object (*προηγουμένως*), for it brought (*ἔπαυσε*) the Greek nation to Christ, as the Law brought the Hebrews" (*Clem. Alex. Strom.* i. 3, §28; *comp.* 9, §43, and 16, §80). In this sense he does not scruple to say that "Philosophy was given as a peculiar testament (*διαθήκη*) to the Greeks, as forming the basis of the Christian philosophy" (*Strom.* vi. 8, §67; *comp.* 5, §41). Origen, himself a pupil of Ammonius Saccas, speaks with less precision as to the educational power of Philosophy, but his whole works bear witness to its influence. The truths which philosophers taught, he says, referring to the words of St. Paul, were from God, for "God manifested these to them, and all things that have been nobly said" (*c. Cels.* vi. 3; *Philo.* 15). Augustine, while depreciating the claims of the great Gentile teachers, allows that "some of them made great discoveries, so far as they received help from Heaven, while they erred as far as they were hindered by human frailty" (*Aug. De Civ.* ii. 7; *comp. De Doctr. Chr.* ii. 18). They had, as he elsewhere says, a distant vision of the truth, and learnt from the teaching of nature what prophets learnt from the Spirit (*Serm.* lxxviii. 3, cl. &c.).

But while many thus recognised in Philosophy the free witness of the Word speaking among men, the same writers in other places sought to explain the partial harmony of Philosophy and Revelation by an original connexion of the two. This attempt, which in the light of a clearer criticism is seen to be essentially fruitless and even suicidal, was at least more plausible in the first centuries. A multitude of writings were then current bearing the names of the Sibyl or Hystaspes, which were obviously based on the O. T. Scriptures, and as long as they were received as genuine it was impossible to doubt that Jewish doctrines were spread in the West before the rise of Philosophy. And on the other hand, when the Fathers ridicule with the bitterness scorn the contradictions and errors of philosophers, it must be remembered that they spoke often first from a conflict with degenerate professors of systems which had long lost all real life. Some, indeed, there were, chiefly among the Latins, who earnestly inveighed against Philosophy. But more consistently against the fiercest adversaries, Tertullian, who is among its fiercest adversaries, allows that at times the philosophers hit upon truth by a happy chance or blind good fortune, and yet more by that "general feeling with which God was pleased to endow the soul" (*Tert. De An.* i. 1). The use which was made of heathen speculation by heretical writers was one great cause of its disparagement by their catholic antagonists. Innumerable endeavours to reduce the Gnostic teachers to a dilemma: either the philosophers with whom they argued knew the truth or they did not; if they did not, argued knew the truth or they did not; if they did not, the Incarnation was superfluous; if they did not, whence comes the agreement of the true and the false? (*Adv. Haer.* ii. 14, 7). Hippolytus follows out the connexion of different sects with careful teachers in elaborate detail. Tertullian, with characteristic energy, declares that "Philosophy furnishes the arms and the subjects of heresy. What

the gods) has Athens in common with Jerusalem? the Academy with the Church? heretics with Christians? Our training is from the Porch of Solomon. . . . Let those look to it who bring forth a Stoic, a Platonic, a dialectic Christianity. We have no need of curious inquiries after the teaching of Christ Jesus, nor of investigation after the Gospel" (Tert. *De Praescr. Haer.* 7).

This variety of judgment in the heat of controversy was inevitable. The full importance of the history of ancient Philosophy was then first seen when all rivalry was over, and it became possible to contemplate it as a whole, animated by a great awe, often trembling on the verge of Truth, and sometimes by a "bold venture" claiming the heritage of Faith. Yet even now the relations of the "two old covenants"—Philosophy and the Hebrew Scriptures—to use the language of Clement—have been traced only imperfectly. What has been done may encourage labour, but it does not supersede it. In the porticoes of Eastern churches Pythagoras and Plato are pictured among those who prepared the way for Christianity (Stanley, p. 41); but in the West, Silyls and not Philosophers are the chosen representatives of the divine element in Gentile teaching.

III. THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY.

The complete fitness of Greek Philosophy to perform this propaedeutic office for Christianity, as an exhaustive effort of reason to solve the great problems of being, must be apparent after a detailed study of its progress and consummation; and even the simplest outline of its history cannot fail to preserve the leading traits of the natural (or even necessary) law by which its development was governed.

The various attempts which have been made to derive Western Philosophy from Eastern sources have signally failed. The external evidence in favour of this opinion is wholly insufficient to establish it (Zeller, *Gesch. d. Phil.* i. 159 &c.; Thirlwall, *Hist. of Gr.* ii. 130; Zeller, *Gesch. d. Phil. d. Griechen.* 18-34; Max Müller, *On Language*, 84note), and on internal grounds it is most improbable. It is true that in some degree the character of Greek speculation may have been influenced, at least in its earliest stages, by religious ideas which were originally introduced from the East; but this indirect influence does not affect the real originality of the great Greek teachers. The spirit of pure philosophy (as has been already seen) wholly alien from Eastern thought; and it was comparatively late when even a Greek ventured to separate philosophy from religion. But in Greece the separation, when once effected, remained essentially complete. The opinions of the ancient philosophers might or might not be outwardly reconcilable with the popular faith; but philosophy and faith were independent. The very value of Greek teaching lies in the fact that it was, as far as is possible, a result of free discussion, or, if Faith asserts its prerogative, its limitation is sharply marked. In this we have a contrast of the power and weakness of the human mind written at once on the grandest scale and in the finest characters.

Of the various classifications of the Greek schools which have been proposed the simplest and truest seems to be that which divides the history of Philosophy into three great periods, the first reaching to the era of the Sophists, the next to the death of Aristotle, the third to the Christian era. In the

first period the world objectively is the great centre of inquiry, in the second, the "ideas" of things, truth, and being; in the third, the chief interest of philosophy falls back upon the practical conduct of life. Successive systems overlap each other, both in time and subjects of speculation, but broadly the sequence which has been indicated will hold good (Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, i. 111 &c.). After the Christian era philosophy ceased to have any true vitality in Greece, but it made fresh efforts to meet the changed conditions of life at Alexandria and Rome. At Alexandria Platonism was vivified by the spirit of Oriental mysticism, and afterwards of Christianity: at Rome Stoicism was united with the vigorous virtues of active life. Each of these great divisions must be passed in rapid review.

1. *The pre-Socratic Schools.*—The first Greek philosophy was little more than an attempt to follow out in thought the mythic cosmogonies of earlier poets. Gradually the depth and variety of the problems included in the idea of a cosmogony became apparent, and, after each clue had been followed out, the period ended in the negative teaching of the Sophists. The questions of creation, of the immediate relation of mind and matter, were pronounced in fact, if not in word, insoluble, and speculation was turned into a new direction.

What is the one permanent element which underlies the changing forms of things?—this was the primary inquiry to which the *Ionic* school endeavoured to find an answer. THALES (cir. B.C. 610-625), following, as it seems, the genealogy of Hesiod, pointed to moisture (water) as the one source and supporter of life. ANAXIMENES (cir. B.C. 520-480) substituted air for water, as the more subtle and all-pervading element; but equally with Thales he neglected all consideration of the force which might be supposed to modify the one primal substance. At a much later date (cir. B.C. 450) DIOGENES of Apollonia, to meet this difficulty, represented this elementary "air" as endowed with intelligence (*νόησις*), but even he makes no distinction between the material and the intelligent. The atomic theory of DEMOCRITUS (cir. B.C. 460-357), which stands in close connexion with this form of *Ionic* teaching, offered another and more plausible solution. The motion of his atoms included the action of force, but he wholly omitted to account for its source. Meanwhile another mode of speculation had arisen in the same school. In place of one definite element ANAXIMANDER (B.C. 610-547) suggested the unlimited (*τὸ ἄπειρον*) as the adequate origin of all special existences. AUC somewhat more than a century later ANAXAGORAS summed up the result of such a line of speculation: "All things were together; then mind (*νοῦς*) came and disposed them in order" (Diog. Laert. ii. 6). Thus we are left face to face with an ultimate dualism.

The *Eleatic* school started from an opposite point of view. Thales saw moisture present in material things, and pronounced this to be their fundamental principle: XENOPHANES (cir. B.C. 530-50) "looked up to the whole heaven and said that the One is God" (Arist. *Met.* i. 5, τὸ ἐν ἑνὶ φησι τὸν θεόν). "Thales saw gods in all things: Xenophanes saw all things in God" (Thirlwall, *Hist. of Gr.* ii, 136). That which is, according to Xenophanes, must be one, eternal, infinite, immovable, unchangeable. PARMENIDES of Elea (B.C. 500) substituted abstract "being" for "God" in the system of Xenophanes, and distinguished with

precision the functions of sense and reason. Sense teaches us of "the many," the false (phenomena): Reason of "the one," the true (the absolute). ZENO of Elea (cir. B.C. 450) developed with logical ingenuity the contradictions involved in our perceptions of things (in the idea of *motion*, for instance), and thus formally prepared the way for scepticism. If the one alone is, the phenomenal world is an illusion. The sublime aspiration of Xenophanes, when followed out legitimately to its consequences, ended in blank negation.

The teaching of HERACLITUS (B.C. 500) offers a complete contrast to that of the Eleatics, and stands far in advance of the earlier Ionic school, with which he is historically connected. So far from contrasting the existent and the phenomenal, he boldly identified being with change. "There ever was, and is, and shall be, an everliving fire, unceasingly kindled and extinguished in due measure" (*ἀπύμενον μέτρα καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον μέτρα*, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14, §105). Rest and continuance is death. That which is is the instantaneous balance of contending powers (Diog. Laert. ix. 7, *διὰ τῆς ἐναντιοτροπῆς ἠρμόσθαι τὰ ὄντα*). Creation is the *play* of the Creator. Everywhere, as far as his opinions can be grasped, Heraclitus makes noble "guesses at truth;" yet he leaves "fate" (*εἰμαρμένη*) as the supreme creator (Stob. *Ecl.* i. p. 59, ap. Ritter & Preller, §42). The cycles of life and death run on by its law. It may have been by a natural reaction that from these wider speculations he turned his thoughts inwards. "I investigated myself," he says, with conscious pride (Plut. *adv. Col.* 1118, c.); and in this respect he foreshadows the teaching of Socrates, as Zeno did that of the Sophists.

The philosophy of PYTHAGORAS (cir. B.C. 840-510) is subordinate in interest to his social and political theories, though it supplies a link in the course of speculation; others had laboured to trace a unity in the world in the presence of one underlying element or in the idea of a whole; he sought to combine the separate harmony of parts with total unity. Numerical unity includes the finite and the infinite; and in the relations of number there is a perfect symmetry, as all spring out of the fundamental unit. Thus numbers seemed to Pythagoras to be not only "patterns" of things (*τῶν ὄντων*), but causes of their being (*τῆς οὐσίας*). How he connected numbers with concrete being it is impossible to determine; but it may not be wholly fanciful to see in the doctrine of transmigration of souls an attempt to trace in the successive forms of life an outward expression of a harmonious law in the moral as well as in the physical world. (The remains of the pre-Socratic philosophers have been collected in a very convenient form by F. Mullach in Didot's *Biblioth. Gr.*, Paris, 1860.)

The first cycle of philosophy was thus completed. All the great primary problems of thought had been stated, and typical answers rendered. The relation of spirit and matter was still unsolved. Speculation issued in dualism (Anaxagoras), materialism (Democritus), or pantheism (Xenophanes). On one side reason was made the sole criterion of truth (Parmenides); on the other, experience (Heraclitus). As yet there was no rest, and the Sophists prepared the way for a new method.

Whatever may be the moral estimate which is formed of the Sophists, there can be little doubt as to the importance of their teaching as preparatory

to that of Socrates. All attempts to arrive at certainty by a study of the world had failed; it did not seem, then, that truth is subjective; might it be the measure of all things? "Measure modified by the individual; and may not this hold good universally? The conclusion was applied to morals and politics with fearless skill. The belief in absolute truth and right was well-nigh banished; but meanwhile the Sophists were perfecting the instrument which was to be turned against them. Language, in their hands, acquired a precision unknown before, when words assumed the place of things. Plato might ridicule the pelantry of Protagoras, but Socrates reaped a rich harvest from it.

2. *The Socratic Schools.*—In the second period of Greek philosophy the scene and subject were both changed. Athens became the centre of speculations which had hitherto chiefly found a home among the more mixed populations of the colonies. And at the same time inquiry was turned from the outward world to the inward, from theories of the origin and relation of things to theories of our knowledge of them. A philosophy of ideas, using the term in its widest sense, succeeded a philosophy of nature. In three generations Greek speculation reached its greatest glory in the teaching of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. When the sovereignty of Greece ceased, all higher philosophy ceased with it. In the hopeless turmoil of civil disturbances which followed, men's thoughts were chiefly directed to questions of personal duty.

The famous sentence in which Aristotle (*Met.* M. 4) characterizes the teaching of SOCRATES (B.C. 468-399) places his scientific position in the clearest light. There are two things, he says, which we may rightly attribute to Socrates, inductive reasoning, and general definition (*τούς τ'ἐπακτικούς λόγους καὶ τὸ ὀρίζεσθαι καθόλου*). By the first he endeavoured to discover the permanent element which underlies the changing forms of appearances and the varieties of opinion: by the second he fixed the truth which he had thus gained. But, besides this, Socrates rendered another service to truth. He changed not only the method but also the subject of philosophy (Cic. *Acad. Post.* i. 4). Ethics occupied in his investigations the primary place which had hitherto been held by Physics. The great aim of his induction was to establish the sovereignty of Virtue; and before entering on other speculations he determined to obey the Delphic maxim and "know himself" (Plat. *Phaedr.* 229). It was a necessary consequence of a first effort in this direction that Socrates regarded all the results which he derived as like in kind. Knowledge (*ἐπιστήμη*) was equally absolute and authoritative, whether it referred to the laws of intellectual operations or to questions of conduct, as was the case in geometry and a conclusion on conduct was set forth as true in the same sense. This view was only another name for ignorance (Xen. *Men.* iii. 9, 4; Arist. *Eth. Eud.* i. 5). Everyone was supposed to have within him a faculty necessarily leading to right action, just as the mind necessarily decides rightly as to relations of space and number, when each step in the proposition is clearly stated. Socrates practically neglected the determining power of the will. His great glory was, however, clearly connected with this fundamental error in his system. He affirmed the existence of a universal law of right and wrong. He connected philosophy with action, both in detail and in general. On the one side he upheld the supremacy of Conscience, on

the other the working of Providence. Not the least fruitful characteristic of his teaching was what may be called its desultoriness. He formed no complete system. He wrote nothing. He attracted and impressed his readers by his many-sided nature. He helped others to give birth to thoughts, to use his favourite image, but he was never himself (Plat. *Theæt.* p. 150). As a result of this, the most conflicting opinions were maintained by some of his professed followers who carried out isolated fragments of his teaching to extreme conclusions. Some adopted his method (Aristides, cir. B.C. 400, the *Megarians*); others his subject. Of the latter, one section, following out his proposition of the identity of self-command (*hypocrisis*) with virtue, professed an utter disregard of everything material (Antisthenes, cir. B.C. 366, the *Cynics*), while the other (Aristippus, cir. B.C. 340, the *Cyrenaics*), inverting the maxim that virtue is necessarily accompanied by pleasure, took immediate pleasure as the rule of action.

These "minor Socratic schools" were, however, premature and imperfect developments. The truths which they distorted were embodied at a later time in more reasonable forms. PLATO alone (B.C. 430-347), by the breadth and nobleness of his teaching, was the true successor of Socrates; with fuller detail and greater elaborateness of parts, his philosophy was as many-sided as that of his master. Thus it is impossible to construct a consistent Platonic system, though many Platonic doctrines are sufficiently marked. Plato, indeed, possessed two commanding powers, which, though apparently incompatible, are in the highest sense complementary: a marvellous destructive dialectic, and a creative imagination. By the first he refuted the great fallacies of the Sophists on the uncertainty of knowledge and right, carrying out in this the attacks of Socrates; by the other he endeavoured to bridge over the interval between appearance and reality, and gain an approach to the eternal. His famous doctrines of Ideas and Recollection (*ἀνάμνησις*) are a solution by imagination of a logical difficulty. Socrates had shown the existence of general notions; Plato felt constrained to attribute to them a substantive essence (Arist. *Met.* M. 4). A glorious vision gave completeness to his view. The unembodied objects were exhibited in immediate presence of the "ideas" of things (*Phaedr.* 247); the law of their embodiment was sensibly portrayed; and the more or less vivid remembrance of supramundane realities in this life was traced to antecedent facts. All men were thus supposed to have been face to face with Truth: the object of teaching was to bring back impressions latent but uneffaced.

The "myths" of Plato, to one of the most famous of which reference has just been made, play a most important part in his system. They answer to the philosopher to Faith in the Christian. In dealing with immortality and judgment he leaves the way of reason, and ventures, as he says, on a simile: to brave the dangers of the ocean (*Phaedr.* 245 B; *Gorg.* 523 A). "The peril and the prize are alike and the hope is great" (*Phaedr.* 114, 115). Such tales, he admits, may seem puerile and ridiculous; and if there were other surer and more means of gaining the desired end, the judgment only can be just (*Gorg.* 527 A). But, as it is, the myth, then, mark the limit of his dialectics. They are not merely a poetical picture of truth, but a guide, or a popular illustration of his

teaching, but real efforts to penetrate beyond the depths of argument. They show that his method was not commensurate with his instinctive desires; and point out in intelligible outlines the subjects on which man looks for revelation. Such are the relations of the human mind to truth (*Phaedr.* 246-249); the pre-existence and immortality of the soul (*Meno*, 81-3; *Phaedr.* 110-2; *Tim.* 41); the state of future retribution (*Gorg.* 523-5; *Rep.* x. 614-6); the revolutions of the world (*Polit.* 269). Compare also *Sympos.* 189-91; 203-5; Zeller, *Philos. d. Griech.* 361-3, who gives the literature of the subject).

The great difference between Plato and ARISTOTLE (B.C. 384-322) lies in the use which Plato thus made of imagination as the exponent of instinct. The dialectic of Plato is not inferior to that of Aristotle, and Aristotle exhibits traces of poetic power not unworthy of Plato; but Aristotle never allows imagination to influence his final decision. He elaborated a perfect method, and he used it with perfect fairness. His writings, if any, contain the highest utterance of pure reason. Looking back on all the earlier efforts of philosophy, he pronounced a calm and final judgment. For him many of the conclusions which others had maintained were valueless, because he showed that they rested on feeling, and not on argument. This stern severity of logic gives an indescribable pathos to those passages in which he touches on the highest hopes of men; and perhaps there is no more truly affecting chapter in ancient literature than that in which he states in a few unimpassioned sentences the issue of his inquiry into the immortality of the soul. Part of it may be immortal, but that part is impersonal (*De An.* iii. 5). This was the sentence of reason, and he gives expression to it without a word of protest, and yet as one who knew the extent of the sacrifice which it involved. The conclusion is, as it were, the epitaph of free speculation. Laws of observation and argument, rules of action, principles of government remain, but there is no hope beyond the grave.

It follows necessarily that the Platonic doctrine of ideas was emphatically rejected by Aristotle, who gave, however, the final development to the original conception of Socrates. With Socrates "ideas" (general definitions) were mere abstractions; with Plato they had an absolute existence; with Aristotle they had no existence separate from things in which they were realized, though the form (*μορφή*), which answers to the Platonic idea, was held to be the essence of the thing itself (comp. Zeller, *Philos. d. Griech.* i. 119, 120).

There is one feature common in essence to the systems of Plato and Aristotle which has not yet been noticed. In both, Ethics is a part of Politics. The citizen is prior to the man. In Plato this doctrine finds its most extravagant development in theory, though his life, and, in some places, his teaching, were directly opposed to it (e.g. *Gorg.* p. 527 D). This practical inconsequence was due, it may be supposed, to the condition of Athens at the time, for the idea was in complete harmony with the national feeling; and, in fact, the absolute subordination of the individual to the body includes one of the chief lessons of the ancient world. In Aristotle the "political" character of man is defined with greater precision, and brought within narrower limits. The breaking-up of the small Greek states had prepared the way for more comprehensive views of human fellowship, without destroying

the fundamental truth of the necessity of social union for perfect life. But in the next generation this was lost. The wars of the Succession obliterated the idea of society, and Philosophy was content with aiming at individual happiness.

The coming change was indicated by the rise of a school of sceptics. The scepticism of the Sophists marked the close of the first period, and in like manner the scepticism of the Pyrrhonists marks the close of the second (STILPO, cir. B.C. 290; PYRRHON, cir. B.C. 290). But the Pyrrhonists rendered no positive service to the cause of Philosophy, as the Sophists did by the refinement of language. Their immediate influence was limited in its range, and it is only as a symptom that the rise of the school is important. But in this respect it foreshows the character of after-Philosophy by denying the foundation of all higher speculations. Thus all interest was turned to questions of practical morality. Hippiætic morality had been based as a science upon mental analysis, but by the Pyrrhonists it was made subservient to law and custom. Immediate experience was held to be the rule of life (comp. Ritter and Preller, §350).

3. *The post-Socratic Schools.*—After Aristotle, Philosophy, as has been already noticed, took a new direction. The Socratic schools were, as has been shown, connected by a common pursuit of the permanent element which underlies phenomena. Socrates placed Virtue, truth in action, in a knowledge of the ideas of things. Plato went further, and maintained that these ideas are alone truly existent. Aristotle, though differing in terms, yet only followed in the same direction, when he attributed to Form, not an independent existence, but a fashioning, vivifying power in all individual objects. But from this point speculation took a mainly personal direction. Philosophy, in the strict sense of the word, ceased to exist. This was due both to the circumstances of the time and to the exhaustion consequent on the failure of the Socratic method to solve the deep mysteries of being. Aristotle had, indeed, laid the wide foundations of an inductive system of physics, but few were inclined to continue his work. The physical theories which were brought forward were merely adaptations from earlier philosophers.

In dealing with moral questions two opposite systems are possible, and have found advocates in all ages. On the one side it may be said that the character of actions is to be judged by their results; on the other, that it is to be sought only in the actions themselves. Pleasure is the test of right in one case; an assumed, or discovered, law of our nature in the other. If the world were perfect and the balance of human faculties undisturbed, it is evident that both systems would give identical results. As it is, there is a tendency to error on each side, which is clearly seen in the rival schools of the Epicureans and Stoics, who practically divided the suffrages of the mass of educated men in the centuries before and after the Christian era.

EPICURUS (B.C. 352-270) defined the object of Philosophy to be the attainment of a happy life. The pursuit of truth for its own sake he regarded as superfluous. He rejected dialectics as a useless study, and accepted the senses, in the widest acceptance of the term [EPICUREANS, i. 570], as the criterion of truth. Physics he subordinated

entirely to Ethics (Cic. *de Fin.* i. 7). But he differed widely from the Cyrenaics in his view of happiness. The happiness at which the wise man aims is to be found, he said, not in momentary gratification, but in lifelong pleasure. It does not consist necessarily in excitement or motion, but often in absolute tranquillity (*ἀταραξία*). "The wise man is happy even on the rack" (Diog. Laert. x. 118), for "virtue alone is inseparable from pleasure" (*id.* 138). To live happily and to live wisely, nobly, and justly, are convertible phrases (*id.* 140). But it followed as a corollary from his view of happiness, that the Gods, who were assumed to be supremely happy and eternal, were absolutely free from the distractions and emotions consequent on any care for the world or man (*id.* 139; comp. Lucr. ii. 645-7). All things were supposed to come into being by chance, and so pass away; and the study of Nature was chiefly useful as dispelling the superstitious fears of the Gods and death by which the multitude are tormented. It is obvious how such teaching would degenerate in practice. The individual was left master of his own life, free from all regard to any higher law than a refined selfishness.

While Epicurus asserted in this manner the claims of one part of man's nature in the conduct of life, ZENO of Citium (cir. B.C. 280), with equal partiality, advocated a purely spiritual (intellectual) morality. The opposition between the two was complete. The infinite, chance-formed worlds of the one stand over against the one harmonious world of the other. On the one side are Gods regardless of material things, on the other a Being permeating and vivifying all creation. This difference necessarily found its chief expression in Ethics. For when the Stoics taught that there were only two principles of things, Matter (*τὸ πάσχον*), and God, Fate, Reason—for the names were many by which it was fashioned and quickened (*τὸ ποιοῦν*)—it followed that the active principle in man is of Divine origin, and that his duty is to live conformably to nature (*τὸ ὁμολογουμένως [τῆ φύσει] ζῆν*). By "Nature" some understood the nature of man, others the nature of the universe; but both agreed in regarding it as a general law of the whole, and not particular passions or impulses. Good, therefore, was but one. All external things were indifferent. Reason was the absolute sovereign of man. Thus the doctrine of the Stoics, like that of Epicurus, practically left man to himself. But it was worse in its final results than Epicurism, for it made him his own god.*

In one point the Epicureans and Stoics were agreed. They both regarded the happiness and culture of the individual as the highest good. Both systems belonged to a period of corruption and decay. They were the efforts of the man to support himself in the ruin of the state. But at the same time this assertion of individual independence and breaking down of local connexions performed an important work in preparation for Christianity. It was for the Gentile world an influence corresponding to the Dispersion for the Jews. Men, as men, owned their fellowship as they had not done before. Isolating superstitions were shattered by the arguments of the Epicureans. The unity of the human conscience was vigorously affirmed by the Stoics (comp. Antoninus, iv. 4, 33, with Gataker's notes).

* This statement, which is true generally, is open to many exceptions. The famous hymn of Cleanthes is one

of the noblest expressions of belief in Divine Power (Stallach, *Fragm. Philo.* p. 151).

Meanwhile in the New Academy Platonism degenerated into scepticism. Epicurus found an authoritative rule in the senses. The Stoics took refuge in what seems to answer to the modern doctrine of "common sense," and maintained that the senses give a direct knowledge of the object. CARNEADES (B.C. 213-129) combated these views, and showed that sensation cannot be proved to declare the real nature, but only some of the effects, of things. Thus the slight philosophical basis of the later schools was undermined. Scepticism remained as the last issue of speculation; and, if we may believe the declaration of Seneca (*Quaest. Nat.* vii. 22), Scepticism itself soon ceased to be taught as a system. The great teachers had sought rest, and in the end they found unrest. No science of life could be established. The reason of the few failed to create an esoteric rule of virtue and happiness. For in this they all agreed, that the blessings of philosophy were not for the mass. A "Gospel preached to the poor" was as yet unknown.

But though the Greek philosophers fell short of their highest aim, it needs no words to show the work which they did as pioneers of a universal Church. They revealed the wants and the instincts of men with a clearness and vigour elsewhere unattainable, for their sight was dazzled by no reflections from a purer faith. Step by step great questions were proposed—Fate, Providence—Conscience, Law—the State, the Man—and answers were given, which are the more instructive because they are generally one-sided. The discussions, which were primarily restricted to a few, in time influenced the opinions of the many. The preacher who spoke of "an unknown God" had an audience who could understand him, not at Athens only or Rome, but throughout the civilized world.

The complete course of Philosophy was run before the Christian era, but there were yet two mixed systems afterwards which offered some novel features. At Alexandria Platonism was united with various elements of Eastern speculation, and for several centuries exercised an important influence on Christian doctrine. At Rome Stoicism was vivified by the spirit of the old republic, and exhibited the extreme Western type of Philosophy. Of the first nothing can be said here. It arose only when Christianity was a recognised spiritual power, and was influenced both positively and negatively by the Gospel. The same remark applies to the efforts to quicken afresh the forms of Paganism, which found their climax in the reign of Julian. These have no independent value as an expression of original thought; but the Roman Stoicism calls for brief notice from its supposed connexion with Christian morality (SENECA, † A.D. 65; EPICURUS, † cir. A.D. 115; M. AURELIUS ANTONINUS, 121-180). The belief in this connexion is a singular expression in the apocryphal *corollary* received in the early Church (Jerome, *De Vir. ill.* xii.). And lately a distinguished writer

(Mill, *On Liberty*, p. 58, quoted by Stanley, *Eastern Ch. Lect.* VI., apparently with approbation) has speculated on the "tragic fact," that Constantine, and not Marcus Aurelius, was the first Christian emperor. The superficial coincidences of Stoicism with the N. T. are certainly numerous. Coincidences of thought, and even of language, might easily be multiplied (Gataker, *Antoninus*, Praef. pp. xi. &c.), and in considering these it is impossible not to remember that Semitic thought and phraseology must have exercised great influence on Stoic teaching (Grant, *Oxford Essays*, 1858, p. 82).^b But beneath this external resemblance of Stoicism to Christianity, the later Stoics were fundamentally opposed to it. For good and for evil they were the Pharisees of the Gentile world. Their highest aspirations are mixed with the thanksgiving "that they were not as other men are" (comp. *Anton.* i.). Their worship was a sublime egotism.^c The conduct of life was regarded as an art, guided in individual actions by a conscious reference to reason (*Anton.* iv. 2, 3, v. 32), and not a spontaneous process rising naturally out of one vital principle.^d The wise man, "wrapt in himself" (vii. 28), was supposed to look with perfect indifference on the changes of time (iv. 49); and yet beneath this show of independence he was a prey to a hopeless sadness. In words he appealed to the great law of fate which rapidly sweeps all things into oblivion as a source of consolation (iv. 2, 14, vi. 15); but there is no confidence in any future retribution. In a certain sense the elements of which we are composed are eternal (v. 13), for they are incorporated in other parts of the universe, but we shall cease to exist (iv. 14, 21, vi. 24, vii. 10). Not only is there no recognition of communion between an immortal man and a personal God, but the idea is excluded. Man is but an atom in a vast universe, and his actions and sufferings are measured solely by their relation to the whole (*Anton.* x. 5, 6, 20, xii. 26, vi. 45, v. 22, vii. 9). God is but another name for "the mind of the universe" (*δ τοῦ ὅλου νοῦς*, v. 30), "the soul of the world" (iv. 40), "the reason that ordereth matter" (vi. 1), "universal nature" (*ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις*, vii. 33, ix. 1; comp. x. 1), and is even identified with the world itself (*τοῦ γεννησάντος κόσμου*, xii. 1; comp. Gataker on iv. 23). Thus the Stoicism of M. Aurelius gives many of the moral precepts of the Gospel (Gataker, *Praef.* p. xviii.), but without their foundation, which can find no place in his system. It is impossible to read his reflections without emotion, but they have no creative energy. They are the last strain of a dying creed, and in themselves have no special affinity to the new faith. Christianity necessarily includes whatever is noblest in them, but they affect to supply the place of Christianity, and do not lead to it. The real elements of greatness in M. Aurelius are many, and truly Roman; but the study of his *Meditations* by the side of the N. T. can leave little doubt that he could not have helped

ἐκείθεν ἐπερρήχηε. Comp. v. 10.

^b This explains the well-known reference of Marcus Aurelius to the Christians. They were ready to die "of mere obstinacy" (*κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν, i. e. faith*); whereas, he says, this readiness ought to come "from personal judgment after due calculation" (*ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῆς κρίσεως . . . ἀλογισμῶς . . . xl. 3*). So also Epictetus (*Diag.* ix. 7, 6) contrasts the fortitude gained by "habit," by the Gallaeans, with the true fortitude based on "reason and demonstration."

^a Ostium, the birthplace of Zeno, was a Phoenician colony; Herillus, his pupil, was a Carthaginian; Chrysippus was born at Soli or Tarsus; of his scholars and successors, Seneca and Antipater were natives of Tarsus, and Diogenes of Apamea in Syria; and Epictetus, the noblest of them, was born at Hierapolis in Phrygia.

^c Seneca, *Ep.* 53, 11: "Est aliquid quo sapiens antequam mori, ille beneficium naturae non timet, suo sapiens." *Anton.* xii. 26, ὁ ἑκάστου νοῦς θεός καὶ

to give a national standing-place to a Catholic Church.*

IV. CHRISTIANITY IN CONTACT WITH ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY.

The only direct trace of the contact of Christianity with Western Philosophy in the N. T. is in the account of St. Paul's visit to Athens, where "certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoics" (Acts xvii. 18)—the representatives, that is, of the two great moral schools which divided the West—"encountered him;" and there is nothing in the apostolic writings to show that it exercised any important influence upon the early Church (comp. 1 Cor. i. 22-4.). But it was otherwise with Eastern speculation, which, as it was less scientific in form, penetrated more deeply through the mass of the people. The "philosophy" against which the Colossians were warned (Col. ii. 8) seems undoubtedly to have been of Eastern origin, containing elements similar to those which were afterwards embodied in various shapes of Gnosticism, as a selfish asceticism and a superstitious reverence for angels (Col. ii. 16-23); and in the Epistles to Timothy, addressed to Ephesus, in which city St. Paul anticipated the rise of false teaching (Acts xx. 30), two distinct forms of error may be traced, in addition to Judaism, due more or less to the same influence. One of these was a vain spiritualism, insisting on ascetic observances and interpreting the resurrection as a moral change (1 Tim. iv. 1-7; 2 Tim. ii. 16-18); the other a materialism allied to sorcery (2 Tim. iii. 13, γόητες). The former is that which is peculiarly "false-styled gnosis" (1 Tim. vi. 20), abounding in "profane and old wives' fables" (1 Tim. iv. 7) and empty discussions (i. 6, vi. 20); the latter has a close connexion with earlier tendencies at Ephesus (Acts xix. 19), and with the traditional accounts of Simon Magus (comp. Acts viii. 9), whose working on the early Church, however obscure, was unquestionably most important. These antagonistic and yet complementary forms of heresy found a wide development in later times; but it is remarkable that no trace of dualism, of the distinction of the Creator and the Redeemer, the Demiurge and the true God, which formed so essential a tenet of the Gnostic schools, occurs in the N. T. (comp. Thiersch, *Versuch zur Herst. d. hist. Standp.* &c., 231-304).

The writings of the sub-apostolic age, with the exception of the famous anecdote of Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 2-4), throw little light upon the relations of Christianity and Philosophy. The heretical systems again are too obscure and complicated to illustrate more than the general admixture of foreign (especially Eastern) tenets with the apostolic teaching. One book, however, has been preserved in various shapes, which, though still unaccountably neglected in Church histories, contains a vivid delineation of the speculative struggle which Christianity had to maintain with Judaism and Heathenism. The *Clementine Homilies* (ed. Dressel, 1853) and *Recognitions* (ed. Gersdorf, 1838) are a kind of Philosophy of Religion, and in subtlety and richness of thought yield to no early Christian writings. The picture which the supposed author draws of his early religious doubts is evidently taken from

* The writings of Epictetus contain in the main the same system, but with somewhat less arrogance. It may be remarked that the silence of Epictetus and M. Aurelius on the teaching of Christianity can hardly be explained by

life (Clem. *Recogn.* i. 1-3; Neander, *Ch. Hist.* 1. 43. E. T.); and in the discussions which follow there are clear traces of Western as well as Eastern philosophy (Uhlhorn, *Die Hom. u. Recogn. d. Clem.* Rom. pp. 404 &c.).

At the close of the second century, when the Church of Alexandria came into marked intellectual pre-eminence, the mutual influence of Christianity and Neo-Platonism opened a new field of speculation, or rather the two systems were presented in forms designed to meet the acknowledged wants of the time. According to the commonly received report, Origen was the scholar of Ammonius Saccas, who first gave consistency to the later Platonism, and for a long time he was the contemporary of Plotinus (A.D. 205-270), who was its noblest expositor. Neo-Platonism was, in fact, an attempt to seize the spirit of Christianity apart from its historic basis and human elements. The separation between the two was absolute; and yet the splendour of the one-sided spiritualism of the Neo-Platonists attracted in some cases the admiration of the Christian Fathers (Basil, Theodoret), and the wide circulation of the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite served to propagate many of their doctrines under an orthodox name among the schoolmen and mystics of the middle ages (Vogt, *Neu-Platonismus u. Christenthum*, 1836; Herzog, *Encyclop.* s. v. *Neu-Platonismus*).

The want which the Alexandrine Fathers endeavoured to satisfy is in a great measure the want of our own time. If Christianity be Truth, it must have points of special connexion with all nations and all periods. The difference of character in the constituent writings of the N. T. are evidently typical, and present the Gospel in a form (if technical language may be used) now ethical, now logical, now mystical. The varieties of aspect thus indicated combine to give the idea of a harmonious whole. Clement rightly maintained that there is a "gnosis" in Christianity distinct from the errors of Gnosticism. The latter was a premature attempt to connect the Gospel with earlier systems; the former a result of conflict grounded on Faith (Möhler, *Patrologie*, 424 &c.). Christian Philosophy may be in one sense a contradiction in terms, for Christianity confessedly derives its first principles from revelation, and not from simple reason; but there is no less a true Philosophy of Christianity, which aims to show how completely these, by their form, their substance, and their consequences, meet the instincts and aspirations of all ages. The exposition of such a Philosophy would be the work of a modern Origen [B. F. W.]

PHINEES (Φινεές: Phinees). 1. The son of Eleazar son of Aaron, the great hero of the Jewish priesthood (1 Esdr. v. 5; viii. 2, 29; 2 Esdr. i. 26; Ecclus. xlv. 23; 1 Macc. ii. 26).

2. Phinehas the son of Eli, 2 Esdr. i. 2a; but the insertion of the name in the genealogy of Ezra (in this place only) is evidently an error, since Ezra belonged to the line of Eleazar, and Eli to that of Ithamar. It probably arose from a confusion of the name with that of the great Phinehas, who was Ezra's forefather.

3. A Priest or Levite of the time of Ezra, father of Eleazar (1 Esdr. viii. 63).

ignorance. It seems that the philosopher would not notice (in word) the believer. Comp. Lardner, *Works*, vii. 365-7.

* Here the LYX. has Φορος.

4. (Phorot: *Sinone*) 1 Esdr. v. 31. [PASEAN, (G.)

PHINEHAS (פִּינְחָס), i. e. Pinchas: פִּינְחָס; but once in Pent. and uniformly elsewhere, פִּינְחָס; (Pinches). Son of Eleazar and grandson of Aaron (Ex. vi. 25). His mother is recorded as one of the daughters of Putiel, an unknown person, who is identified by the Rabbis with Jethro Wagners's *Sota* viii. 6). Phinehas is memorable for having while quite a youth, by his zeal and energy at the critical moment of the licentious idolatry of Shittim, appeased the divine wrath and put a stop to the plague which was destroying the nation (Num. xxv. 7). For this he was rewarded by the special approbation of Jehovah, and by a promise that the priesthood should remain in his family for ever (10-13). This seems to have raised him at once to a very high position in the nation, and he was appointed to accompany as priest the expedition by which the Midianites were destroyed (xxi. 6). Many years later he also headed the party who were despatched from Shiloh to remonstrate against the Altar which the trans-Jordanic tribes were reported to have built near Jordan (Josh. xxii. 13-32). In the partition of the country he received an allotment of his own—a hill on Mount Ephraim which bore his name—Gibeath-Pinchas. Here his father was buried (Josh. xxiv. 33).

During the life of Phinehas he appears to have been the chief of the great family of the Korahites or Kehites who guarded the entrances to the sacred tent and the whole of the sacred camp (1 Chr. ii. 30). After Eleazar's death he became high priest—the 3rd of the series. In this capacity he is introduced as giving the oracle to the nation during the struggle with the Benjamites on the matter of Gibeah (Judg. xx. 28). Where the Ark and tabernacle were stationed at that time is not clear. From ver. 1 we should infer that they were at Mizpeh, while from vers. 18, 26, it seems equally probable that they were at Bethel (which is also the statement of Josephus, *Ant.* v. 2, §11). Of the Hebrew words in these latter verses may mean, not Bethel the town, but, as they are rendered in the A. V., "house of God," and refer to the tabernacle at Shiloh. But wherever the Ark may have been, there was the aged priest "standing before it," and the oracle which he delivered was one which must have been fully in accordance with his own vehement temper, "Shall we go out to battle . . . or shall we cease?" And the answer was, "Go up: to-morrow I will deliver them into your hand."

The memory of this champion of Jehovah was very dear to the Jews. The narrative of the Pentateuch presents him as the type of an ardent and devoted priest. The numerous references to him in the later literature all adopt the same tone. He is commemorated in one of the Psalms (cvi. 30, 31) in the identical phrase which is consecrated for ever by its use in reference to the great act of faith of Abraham; a phrase which perhaps more than any other in the Bible binds together the old and new dispensations—"that was counted to him for righteousness" (comp. Gen. xv. 6; Rom. iv. 3). The "covenant" made with him is put into the same rank for dignity and certainty with that by which the throne was assured to King David (Ecclus. xiv. 25). The zeal of Phinehas the Maccabee is sufficiently praised by a comparison with that of "Pinches against Zamori

the son of Salom" (1 Macc. ii. 26). The priests who returned from the captivity are enrolled in the official lists as the sons of Phinehas (Ezr. viii. 2, 1 Esdr. v. 5). In the *Seder Olam* (ch. xx.) he is identified with "the Prophet" of Judg. vi. 8.

Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, §12), out of the venerable traditions which he uses with such excellent effect, adds to the narrative of the Pentateuch a statement that "so great was his courage and so remarkable his bodily strength, that he would never relinquish any undertaking, however difficult and dangerous, without gaining a complete victory." The later Jews are fond of comparing him to Elijah, if indeed they do not regard them as one and the same individual (see the quotations in Meyer, *Chron. Hebr.* 845; Fabricius, *Codex pseudepig.* 894 note). In the Targum Pseudojonathan of Num. xxv. the slaughter of Zimri and Cozbi is accompanied by twelve miracles, and the covenant made with Phinehas is expanded into a promise, that he shall be "the angel of the covenant, shall live for ever, and shall proclaim redemption at the end of the world." His Midianite origin (already noticed) is brought forward as adding greater lustre to his zeal against Midian, and enhancing his glorious destiny.

The verse which closes the Book of Joshua is ascribed to Phinehas, as the description of the death of Moses at the end of Deuteronomy is to Joshua (*Baba Bathra*, in Fabricius, 893). He is also reported to be the author of a work on sacred names (*ibid.*), which however is so rare that Fabricius had never seen it.

The succession of the posterity of Phinehas in the high-priesthood was interrupted when Eli, of the race of Ithamar, was priest; but it was resumed in the person of Zadok, and continued in the same line to the destruction of Jerusalem. [HIGH PRIEST, vol. i. 809, &c.] One of the members of the family—Manasseh son of Johanan, and brother of Jaddua—went over to the Samaritans, and they still boast that they preserve the succession (see their Letter to Scaliger, in Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. 262).

The tomb of Phinehas, a place of great resort to both Jews and Samaritans, is shown at *Avcertah*, four miles S. E. of *Nablus*. It stands in the centre of the village, enclosed within a little area or compound, which is overshadowed by the thickly-trellised foliage of an ancient vine. A small mosque joins the wall of the compound. Outside the village, on the next hill, is a larger enclosure, containing the tomb of Eleazar, and a cave ascribed to Elijah, overshadowed by two venerable terebinth trees, surrounded by arcades, and forming a retired and truly charming spot. The local tradition asserts that *Avcertah* and its neighbourhood are the "Hill of Phinehas."

In the Apocryphal Books his name is given as PHINEES.

2. Second son of Eli (1 Sam. i. 3; ii. 34; iv. 4, 11, 17, 19; xiv. 3.) He was not of the same line as his illustrious and devoted namesake, but of the family of Ithamar. [ELI.] Phinehas was killed with his brother by the Philistines when the ark was captured. He had two sons, Ahitub, the eldest—whose sons Ahijah and Ahimelech were high-priests at Shiloh and Nob in the time of Saul (xiv. 3)—and Ichabod. He is introduced, apparently by mistake, in the genealogy of Ezra in 2 Esdr. i. 2a. [PHINEES, 2.]

3. A Levite of Ezra's time (Ezr. viii. 33), unless

the meaning be that Eleazar was of the family of the great Phinehas. In the parallel passage of 1 Esdr. he is called PHINEES. [G.]

PHISON (Φεισῶν; Alex. Φισῶν: *Phison*). The Greek form of the name PISON (Ecclus. xxiv. 25).

PHLEG'ON (Φλέγων: *Phlegon*). A Christian at Rome whom St. Paul salutes (Rom. xvi. 14). Pseudo-Hippolytus (*De LXX. Apostolis*) makes him one of the seventy disciples and bishop of Marathon. He is said to have suffered martyrdom on April 8th (*Martyrologium Romanum*, apud Estium), on which day he is commemorated in the calendar of the Byzantine Church. [W. T. B.]

PHOE'BE (Φοίβη: *Phoebe*), the first, and one of the most important, of the Christian persons the detailed mention of whom fills nearly all the last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. What is said of her (Rom. xvi. 1, 2) is worthy of especial notice, because of its bearing on the question of the deaconesses of the Apostolic Church. On this point we have to observe, (1) that the term *διάκονος*, here applied to her, though not in itself necessarily an official term, is the term which would be applied to her, if it were meant to be official; (2) that this term is applied in the *Apostolical Constitutions* to women who ministered officially, the deaconess being called ἡ *διάκονος*, as the deacon is called ὁ *διάκονος*; (3) that it is now generally admitted that in 1 Tim. iii. 11, St. Paul applies it to himself; (4) that in the passage before us Phoebe is called the *διάκονος* of a particular church, which seems to imply a specific appointment; (5) that the church of CENCHREAE, to which she belonged, could only have been a small church: whence we may draw a fair conclusion as to what was customary, in the matter of such female ministration, in the larger churches; (6) that, whatever her errand to Rome might be, the independent manner of her going there seems to imply (especially when we consider the secluded habits of Greek women) not only that she was a widow or a woman of mature age, but that she was acting officially; (7) that she had already been of great service to St. Paul and others (*προστάτις πολλῶν, καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ*), either by her wealth or her energy, or both; a statement which closely corresponds with the description of the qualifications of the enrolled widows in 1 Tim. v. 10; (8) that the duty which we here see Phoebe discharging implies a personal character worthy of confidence and respect. [J. S. H.]

PHOENICE, PHOENIC'IA (Φοινίκη: *Phoenice*: rarely in Latin. *Phoenicia*: see Facciolati's *Lexicon*, s. v.), a tract of country, of which Tyre and Sidon were the principal cities, to the north of Palestine, along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea; bounded by that sea on the west, and by the mountain range of Lebanon on the east. The name was not the one by which its native inhabitants called it, but was given to it by the Greeks; probably from the palm-tree, *φοινίξ*, with which it may then have abounded; just as the name Brasil was given by Europeans to a large territory in South America, from the Brasil-wood which a part of it supplied to Europe. The palm-tree is seen, as an emblem, on some coins of Aradus, Tyre, and Sidon;

* Through mistake, a sentence of Herodian, τὸ Χρῶ, οὗτο γὰρ πρότερον ἢ Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο, is printed in the *Fragments Historiarum Græcorum*, p. 17 (Paris, 1841), as an extract from Hecataeus of Miletus, and is usually quoted

and there are now several palm-trees within the circuit of modern Tyre, and along the coast at various points; but the tree is not at the present day one of the characteristic features of the country. The native name of Phoenicia was Kanaan ('Canaan') or Knâ, signifying lowland, so named in contrast to the adjoining Aram, i. e. Highland; and the Hebrew name of Syria. The name Kanaan is preserved on a coin of Laodicea, of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, whereon Laodicea is styled "a mother city in Canaan," כְּנַעַן אִמְּתָרָא לְלָדָא. And Knâ or Cnâ (*Χνᾶ*) is mentioned distinctly by Herodian, the grammarian, as the old name of Phoenicia. (See *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως*, under the word Ἀθηναῖα.) Hence, as Phoenicians or Canaanites were the most powerful of all tribes in Palestine at the time of its invasion by Joshua, the Israelites, in speaking of their own territory as it was before the conquest, called it "the land of Canaan."

The length of coast to which the name Phoenicia was applied varied at different times, and may be regarded under different aspects before and after the loss of its independence. 1. What may be termed Phoenicia Proper was a narrow undulating plain, extending from the pass of *Râs el-Beydâ* or *Abyad*, the "Promontorium Album" of the ancients, about six miles south of Tyre, to the *Nahr el-Auly*, the ancient Bostrenus, two miles north of Sidon (Ribinson's *Bib. Res.* ii. 473). The plain is only 28 miles in length, and, considering the great importance of Phoenicia in the world's history, this may well be added to other instances in Greece, Italy, and Palestine, which show how little the intellectual influence of a city or state has depended on the extent of its territory. Its average breadth is about a mile (Porter's *Handbook for Syria*, ii. 396); but near Sidon, the mountains retreat to a distance of two miles, and near Tyre to a distance of five miles (Kenrick's *Phoenicia*, p. 19). The whole of Phoenicia, thus understood, is called by Josephus, (*Ant.* v. 3, §1), the great plain of the city of Sidon, τὸ μέγα πεδίων Σιδῶνος πόλεως. In it, near its northern extremity was situated Sidon, in the north latitude of 33° 34' 05"; and scarcely more than 17 geographical miles to the south was Tyre, in the latitude of 33° 17' (Admiral Smyth's *Mediterranean*, p. 469); so that in a straight line those two renowned cities were less than 20 English miles distant from each other. Zarephath, the Serepta of the New Testament, was situated between them, eight miles south of Sidon, to which it belonged (1 K. xvii. 9; Obad. 20; Luke iv. 26). 2. A still longer district, which afterwards became fairly entitled to the name of Phoenicia, extended up the coast to a point marked by the island of Aradus, and by Antaradus towards the north; the southern boundary remaining the same as in Phoenicia Proper. Phoenicia, thus defined, is estimated by Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, iii. 354) to have been about 120 miles in length; while its breadth, between Lebanon and the sea, never exceeded 20 miles, and was generally much less. This estimate is most reasonable, allowing for the bends of the coast; and the direct difference in latitude between Tyre and Antaradus (Tortosa) is equivalent to 106 English miles; and six miles to the south of Tyre, as already mentioned, intervene before the beginning of the pass

as from Hecataeus. It is, however, in fact, merely the assertion of the grammarian himself; though it is most probable that he had in his mind the usage of Hecataeus.

at *Be el-Abyad*. The claim of the whole of this district to the name of Phoenicia rests on the probable fact, that the whole of it, to the north of the great plain of Sidon, was occupied by Phoenician colonists; not to mention, that there seems to have been some kind of political connexion, however loose, between all the inhabitants (Diodorus, xvi. 41). Scarcely 16 geographical miles farther north than Sidon was Berytus; with a roadstead so well suited for the purposes of modern navigation that, under the modern name of *Beirut*, it has eclipsed both Sidon and Tyre as an emporium for Syria. Whether this Berytus was identical with the *Berithah* and *Berothai* of Ezekiel xlvii. 16, and of *Samuel* viii. 8, is a disputed point. [BEIRUTAH.] Still farther north was Byblus, the *Gabal* of the Bible (Ez. xxvii. 9), inhabited by seamen and calkers. Its inhabitants are supposed to be alluded to in the word *Giblim*, translated "stone-squarers" in the authorized version of 1 K. v. 18 (32). It still retains in Arabic the kindred name of *Jebel*. Then came Tripolis (now *Tarabulus*), said to have been founded by colonists from Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus, with three distinct towns, each a furlong apart from one another, each with its own walls, and each named from the city which supplied its colonists. General meetings of the Phoenicians seem to have been held at Tripolis (Diod. xvi. 41), as if a certain local jealousy had prevented the selection for this purpose of Tyre, Sidon, or Aradus. And lastly, towards the extreme point north was Aradus itself, the *Arvad* of Gen. x. 18, and Ez. xxvii. 8; situated, like Tyre, on a small island near the mainland, and founded by exiles from Sidon. The whole of Phoenicia Proper is well watered by various streams from the adjoining hills: of these the two largest are the *Ekiomayeh*, a few miles north of Tyre—the ancient name of which, strange to say, is not certain, though it is conjectured to have been the *Leontes*—and the *Bostrenus*, already mentioned, north of Sidon. The soil is fertile, although now generally ill-cultivated; but in the neighbourhood of Sidon there are rich gardens and orchards; "and here," says Mr. Porter, "are oranges, lemons, figs, almonds, plums, apricots, peaches, pomegranates, pears, and bananas, all growing luxuriantly, and forming a forest of finely-tinted foliage" (*Handbook for Syria*, ii. 398). The havens of Tyre and Sidon afforded water of sufficient depth for all the requirements of ancient navigation, and the neighbouring range of the Lebanon, in its extensive forests, furnished what then seemed a nearly inexhaustible supply of timber for ship-building. To the north of *Bostrenus*, between that river and *Beirut*, lies the only bleak and barren part of Phoenicia. It is crossed by the ancient *Tamyras* or *Damuras*, the modern *Nahr el-Damur*. From *Beirut*, the plains are again fertile. The principal streams are the *Layus*, now the *Nahr el-Kelb*, not far north from *Beirut*; the *Adonis*, now the *Nahr Ibrahim*, about five miles south of *Gabal*; and the *Eleutherus*, now the *Nahr el-Kelb*, in the bend between Tripolis and Antadus.

In reference to the period when the Phoenicians had lost their independence, scarcely any two Greek and Roman writers give precisely the same geographical boundaries to Phoenicia. Herodotus uses an expression which seems to imply that he regarded its northern extremity, as corresponding with the

Myriandrian Bay, or Bay of Issus (iv. 38). It is doubtful where exactly he conceived it to terminate at the south (iii. 5). Ptolemy is distinct in making the river *Eleutherus* the boundary, on the north, and the river *Chorseus*, on the south. The *Chorseus* is a small stream or torrent, south of Mount Carmel and of the small Canaanitish city *Dor*, the inhabitants of which the tribe of Manasseh was confessedly unable to drive out (Judg. i. 27). This southern line of Ptolemy coincides very closely with the southern boundary of Pliny the Elder, who includes *Dor* in Phoenicia, though the southern boundary specified by him is a stream called *Crocodilôn*, now *Nahr Zurka*, about two miles to the north of *Caesarea*. Pliny's northern boundary, however, is different, as he makes it include *Antaradus*. Again, the geographer *Strabo*, who was contemporary with the beginning of the Christian era, differs from *Herodotus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Pliny*, by representing Phoenicia as the district between *Orthosia* and *Pelusion* (xvi. 21), which would make it include not only Mount Carmel, but likewise *Caesarea*, *Joppa*, and the whole coast of the *Philistines*.

In the Old Testament, the word *Phoenicia* does not occur, as might be expected from its being a Greek name. In the Apocrypha, it is not defined, though spoken of as being, with *Coele-Syria*, under one military commander (2 Macc. iii. 5, 8, viii. 8, x. 11; 3 Macc. iii. 15). In the New Testament, the word occurs only in three passages, *Acts* xi. 19, xv. 3, xxi. 2; and not one of these affords a clue as to how far the writer deemed Phoenicia to extend. On the other hand, *Josephus* possibly agreed with *Strabo*; for he expressly says that *Caesarea* is situated in Phoenicia (*Ant.* xv. 9, §5); and although he never makes a similar statement respecting *Joppa*, yet he speaks, in one passage, of the coast of Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt, as if Syria and Phoenicia exhausted the line of coast on the Mediterranean Sea to the north of Egypt (*B. J.* iii. 9, §2). [E. T.]

PHOENICIANS. The name of the race who in earliest recorded history inhabited Phoenicia, and who were the great maritime and commercial people of the ancient world. For many centuries they bore somewhat of the same relation to other nations which the Dutch bore, though less exclusively, to the rest of Europe in the 17th century. They were, moreover, pre-eminent in colonization as well as in trade; and in their settlement of Carthage, producing the greatest general of antiquity, they proved the most formidable of all antagonists to Rome in its progress to universal empire. A complete history, therefore, of the Phoenicians would occupy a large extent of ground which would be foreign to the objects of this Dictionary. Still some notice is desirable of such an important people, who were in one quarter the nearest neighbours of the Israelites, and indirectly influenced their history in various ways. Without dwelling on matters which belong more strictly to the articles *TYRE* and *SIDON*, it may be proper to touch on certain points connected with the language, race, trade, and religion of the Phoenicians, which may tend to throw light on Biblical history and literature. The communication of letters by the Phoenicians to the European nations will likewise deserve notice.

I. The Phoenician language belonged to that family of languages which, by a name not altogether free from objection, but now generally adopted, is called "Semitic."* Under this name are

* As called from the descendants of *Sem* (Gen. x. 1-22); nearly all of whom, as represented by nations,

are known to have spoken cognate languages. There have been hitherto two objections to the name:—1st. That the

included three distinct branches:—1st, Arabic, to which belongs Aethiopian as an offshoot of the Southern Arabic or Himyaritic. 2ndly, Aramaic, the vernacular language of Palestine at the time of Christ, in which the few original words of Christ which have been preserved in writing appear to have been spoken (Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark v. 41; and mark especially Matt. xvi. 18, which is not fully significant either in Greek or Hebrew). Aramaic, as used in Christian literature, is called Syriac, and as used in the writings of the Jews, has been very generally called Chaldee. 3rdly, Hebrew, in which by far the greatest part of the Old Testament was composed. Now one of the most interesting points to the Biblical student, connected with Phoenician, is, that it does not belong to either of the two first branches, but to the third; and that it is in fact so closely allied to Hebrew, that Phoenician and Hebrew, though different dialects, may practically be regarded as the same language. This may be shown in the following way:—1st, in passages which have been frequently quoted (see especially Gesenius's *Monumenta Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae*, p. 231), testimony is borne to the kinship of the two languages by Augustine and Jerome, in whose time Phoenician or Carthaginian was still a living language. Jerome, who was a good Hebrew scholar, after mentioning, in his Commentaries on Jeremiah, lib. v. c. 25, that Carthage was a Phoenician colony, proceeds to state—"Unde et Poeni sermone corrupto quasi Phoeni appellantur, quorum lingua Hebraeae linguae magna ex parte confinis est." And Augustin, who was a native of Africa, and a bishop there of Hippo, a Tyrian colony, has left on record a similar statement several times. In one passage he says of the two languages, "Istae linguae non multum inter se differunt" (*Questiones in Heptateuchum*, vii. 16). In another passage he says, "Cognatae sunt istae linguae et vicinae, Hebraea, et Punica, et Syra" (*In Joann. Tract.* 15). Again, on Gen. xviii. 9, he says of a certain mode of speaking (Gen. viii. 9), "Locutio est, quam propterea Hebraeam puto, quia et Punicae linguae familiarissima est, in qua multa invenimus Hebraeis verbis consonantia" (lib. i. locut. 24). And on another occasion, remarking on the word Messias, he says, "quod verbum Punicae linguae consonum est, sicut alia Hebraea multa et poene omnia" (*Contra Iudas Petilianum*, ii. c. 104). 2ndly. These statements are fully confirmed by a passage of Carthaginian preserved in the *Poenulus* of Plautus, act v. scene 1, and accompanied by a Latin translation as part of the play. There is no doubt that the Carthaginians and the Phoenicians were the same race; and the Carthaginian extract is undeniably intelligible through Hebrew to Hebrew scholars (see Bochart's *Canaan*; and especially Gesenius's *Monumenta Phoeniciae*, p. 357-382, where the passage is translated with notes, and full justice is done to the previous translation of Bochart). 3rdly. The close kinship of the two languages is, moreover, strikingly confirmed by very many Phoenician and Carthaginian names of places and persons, which, destitute of meaning in Greek and Latin,

language of the Elamites and Assyrians (see ver. 22) belonged to a different family. 2ndly. That the Phoenicians, as Canaanites, are derived from Ham (Gen. x. 6). If the recent interpretations of Assyrian inscriptions are admitted to prove the identity of Assyrian with Aramaic or Syrian, the objection to the word "Semitic" nearly disappears. Mr. Max Müller, a high authority on such a point, regards it as certain, that the inscriptions of

through which languages they have become widely known, and having sometimes in those languages occasioned false etymologies, become really significant in Hebrew. Thus through Hebrew it is known that Tyre, as *Tzôr*, signifies "a rock," referring doubtless to the rocky island on which the city was situated: that Sidon, as *Tzidon*, means "Fishing" or "Fishery," which was probably the occupation of its first settlers: that Carthage, or, as it was originally called, "Carthada," means "New Town," or "Newton;" and that Byrsa, which, as a Greek name, suggested the etymological myths of the Bull's Hide (*Aeneid*, i. 366-7), was simply the citadel of Carthage—*Carthaginiis arcem*, as Virgil accurately termed it: the Carthaginian name of it, softened by the Greeks into *Βύρα*, being merely the Hebrew word *Botzrah*, "citadel;" identical with the word called *Bozrah* in the English Version of Isaiah lxiii. 1. Again, through Hebrew, the names of celebrated Carthaginians, though sometimes disguised by Greek and Roman writers, acquire a meaning. Thus Dido is found to belong to the same root as David,^b "beloved;" meaning "his love," or "delight;" i. e. the love or delight either of Baal or of her husband: Hasdrubal is the man "whose help Baal is:" Hamilcar the man whom the god "Milcar graciously granted" (comp. Hamael; *Θεόδαμος*): and, with the substitution of Baal for El or God, the name of the renowned Hannibal is found to be identical in form and meaning with the name of Hannel, who is mentioned in Num. xxxiv. 23 as the prince of the tribe of Manasseh: Hannel meaning the grace of God, and Hannibal the grace of Baal. 4thly. The same conclusion arises from the examination of Phoenician inscriptions, preserved to the present day: all of which can be interpreted, with more or less certainty, through Hebrew. Such inscriptions are of three kinds:—1st, on gems and seals; 2ndly, on coins of the Phoenicians and of their colonies; 3rdly, on stone. The first class are few, unimportant, and for the most part of uncertain origin. The oldest known coins with Phoenician words belong to Tarsus and other Cilician cities, and were struck in the period of the Persian domination. But coins are likewise in existence of Tyre, Sidon, and other cities of Phoenicia; though all such are of later date, and belong to the period either of the Seleucidae, or of the Romans. Moreover, other coins have been found belonging to cities in Sicily, Sardinia, Africa, and Spain. The inscriptions on stone are either of a public or a private character. The former are comparatively few in number, but relate to various subjects: such, for example, as the dedication of a temple, or the commemoration of a Numidian victory over the Romans. The private inscriptions were either in the nature of votive tablets erected as testimonials of gratitude to some deity, or were sepulchral memorials engraven on tombstones. Phoenician inscriptions on stone have been found not only in all the countries last mentioned, except Spain, but likewise in the island of Cyprus near Citium, in Malta, at Athens, at Marseilles, and at Sidon.^c

Nineveh, as well as of Babylon, are Semitic.—*Lectures on the Science of Language*, p. 265.

^b Movers and Fürst, supported by the *Etymologiae* of Isidore, adopt "nedidâ," or "nedidâh," as the etymology of Dido, in the sense of "travel-tost," or "wanderer." Although a possible derivation, this seems less probable in itself, and less countenanced by Hebrew analogies.

^c In 1837 a collection of all Phoenician inscriptions

II. Concerning the original race to which the Phoenicians belonged, nothing can be known with certainty, because they are found already established along the Mediterranean Sea at the earliest dawn of authentic history, and for centuries afterwards there is no record of their origin. According to Herodotus (ii. 89), they said of themselves in his time that they came in days of old from the shores of the Red Sea—and in this there would be nothing in the slightest degree improbable, as they spoke a language cognate to that of the Arabians, who inhabited the west coast of that sea; and both Hebrew and Arabic, as well as Aramaic, are seemingly derived from some one Semitic language now lost. Still neither the truth nor the falsehood of the tradition can now be proved; for language, although affording strong presumptions of race, is not conclusive on the point, as is shown by the language at present spoken by the descendants of the Normans in France. But there is one point respecting their race which can be proved to be in the highest degree probable, and which has peculiar interest as bearing on the Jews, viz. that the Phoenicians were of the same race as the Canaanites. This remarkable fact, which, taken in connexion with the language of the Phoenicians, leads to some interesting results, is rendered probable by the following circumstances:—1st. The native name of Phoenicia, as already pointed out, was Canaan, a name signifying "lowland." [PHOENICIA.] This was well given to the narrow strip of plain between the Lebanon and the Mediterranean Sea, in contrast to the elevated mountain range adjoining; but it would have been inappropriate to that part of Palestine conquered by the Israelites, which was undoubtedly a hill-country (see Meyers, *Das Phoenizische Alterthum*, Theil I p. 5); so that, when it is known that the Israelites at the time of their invasion found in Palestine a powerful tribe called the Canaanites, and from them called Palestine, the land of Canaan, it is obviously suggested that the Canaanites came originally from the neighbouring plain, called Canaan, along the sea-coast. 2dly. This is further confirmed through the name in Africa whereby the Carthaginian Phoenicians called themselves, as attested by Augustine, who states that the peasants in his part of Africa, if asked of what race they were, would answer, in Phoenician or Phoenician, "Canaanites." "Interrogati nostri quid sint, Punicè respondent, Canani, eorum enim dicere debebant Chanani quid aliud respondent quam Chananaei" (*Opera Omnia*, iv. 101); *Exposit. Epist. ad Rom.* §13. 3dly. The conclusion thus suggested is strongly supported by the tradition that the names of persons and countries invaded it, but likewise previously, when there were yet but a few of them," and Abraham here: such, for example, as Abimelek, "Father of the king" (Gen. xx. 2); Melchizedek, "King of righteousness" (xiv. 18); Kirjath-sepher, "city of the book" (Josh. xv. 15).

It is known, with translations and notes, was published by Gesenius, the great Hebrew lexicographer, who by his own knowledge and unrivalled clearness has done more for Hebrew. His opinion on the relation of Phoenician to Hebrew is: "Omnino hoc tenendum est, plectaque et potius Hebraeis convenire, sive radices spectas, sive eorum et formandarum et flectendarum rationem" (*Phoen.* p. 233).

It seems to be admitted by philologists that either

As this obviously leads to the conclusion, that the Hebrews adopted Phoenician as their own language, or, in other words, that what is called the Hebrew language was in fact "the language of Canaan," as a prophet called it (Is. xix. 18), and this not merely poetically, but literally and in philological truth; and as this is repugnant to some preconceived notions respecting the peculiar people, the question arises whether the Israelites might not have translated Canaanitish names into Hebrew. On this hypothesis the names now existing in the Bible for persons and places in the land of Canaan would not be the original names, but merely the translations of those names. The answer to this question is, 1st. That there is not the slightest direct mention, nor any indirect trace, in the Bible, of any such translation. 2dly. That it is contrary to the analogy of the ordinary Hebrew practice in other cases; as, for example, in reference to the names of the Assyrian monarchs (perhaps of a foreign dynasty) Pul, Tiglath-Pileser, Sennacherib, or of the Persian monarchs Darius, Ahasuerus, Artaxerxes, which remain unintelligible in Hebrew, and can only be understood through other Oriental languages. 3dly. That there is an absolute silence in the Bible as to there having been any difference whatever in language between the Israelites and the Canaanites, although in other cases where a difference existed, that difference is somewhere alluded to, as in the case of the Egyptians (Ps. lxxxi. 5, cxiv. 1), the Assyrians (Is. xxxvi. 11), and the Chaldees (Jer. v. 15). Yet in the case of the Canaanites there was stronger reason for alluding to it; and without some allusion to it, if it had existed, the narration of the conquest of Canaan under the leadership of Joshua would have been singularly imperfect.

It remains to be added on this point, that although the previous language of the Hebrews must be mainly a matter for conjecture only, yet it is most in accordance with the Pentateuch to suppose that they spoke originally Aramaic. They came through Abraham, according to their traditions, from Ur of the Chaldees in Mesopotamia, where Aramaic at a later period is known to have been spoken; they are instructed in Deuteronomy to say that an Aramaean (Syrian) ready to perish was their father (xxvi. 5); and the two earliest words of Aramaic contained in the Bible, *Yegar sabadthâ*, are, in the Book of Genesis, put into the mouth of Laban, the son of Abraham's brother, and first cousin of Isaac (xxi. 47).^d

III. In regard to Phoenician trade, as connected with the Israelites, the following points are worthy of notice. 1. Up to the time of David, not one of the twelve tribes seems to have possessed a single harbour on the sea-coast: it was impossible therefore that they could become a commercial people. It is true that according to Judg. i. 31, combined with Josh. xix. 26, Accho or Acre, with its excellent harbour, had been assigned to the tribe of Asher; but from the same passage in Judges it seems certain that the tribe of Asher did not really obtain possession of Acre, which continued to be held by

Hebrew, Aramaic, or Arabic, is derived the one from the other; just as the same may be said of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese (see Lewis, *On the Romance Languages*, p. 42). It is a question, however, which of the three languages, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, is likely to resemble most the original Semitic language. Fürst, one of the best Aramaic scholars now living, is in favour of Aramaic (*Lehrgebäude der Aramäischen Idiome*, p. 2). But his opinion has been strongly impugned in favour of Hebrew (Bleek's *Einführung in das A. T.* p. 76).

the Canaanites. However wistfully, therefore, the Israelites might regard the wealth accruing to their neighbours the Phoenicians from trade, to vie with them in this respect was out of the question. But from the time that David had conquered Edom, an opening for trade was afforded to the Israelites. The command of Ezion-geber near Elath, in the land of Edom, enabled them to engage in the navigation of the Red Sea. As they were novices, however, at sailing, as the navigation of the Red Sea, owing to its currents, winds, and rocks, is dangerous even to modern sailors, and as the Phoenicians, during the period of the independence of Edom, were probably allowed to trade from Ezion-geber, it was politic in Solomon to permit the Phoenicians of Tyre to have docks, and build ships at Ezion-geber on condition that his sailors and vessels might have the benefit of their experience. The results seem to have been strikingly successful. The Jews and Phoenicians made profitable voyages to Ophir in Arabia, whence gold was imported into Judaea in large quantities; and once in three years still longer voyages were made, by vessels which may possibly have touched at Ophir, though their imports were not only gold, but likewise silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, 1 K. x. 22. [TARSHISH.] There seems at the same time to have been a great direct trade with the Phoenicians for cedar-wood (ver. 27), and generally the wealth of the kingdom reached an unprecedented point. If the union of the tribes had been maintained, the whole sea-coast of Palestine would have afforded additional sources of revenue through trade; and perhaps even ultimately the "great plain of Sidon" itself might have formed part of the united empire. But if any possibilities of this kind existed, they were destroyed by the disastrous secession of the ten tribes; a heavy blow from which the Hebrew race has never yet recovered during a period of nearly 3000 years.*

2. After the division into two kingdoms, the curtain falls on any commercial relation between the Israelites and Phoenicians until a relation is brought to notice, by no means brotherly, as in the fleets which navigated the Red Sea, nor friendly, as between buyers and sellers, but humiliating and exasperating, as between the buyers and the bought. The relation is meant which existed between the two nations when Israelites were sold as slaves by Phoenicians. It was a custom in antiquity, when one nation went to war against another, for merchants to be present in one or other of the hostile camps, in order to purchase prisoners of war as slaves. Thus at the time of the Maccabees, when a large army was sent by Lysias to invade and subdue the land of Judah, it is related that "the merchants of the country, hearing the fame of them, took silver and gold very much with servants, and came into the camp to buy the children of Israel for slaves" (1 Macc. iii. 41), and when it is related that, at the capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, the enormous number of 40,000 men were slain in battle, it is added that there were "no fewer

* After the disruption, the period of union was looked back to with endless longing.

In Joel iii. 6 (Heb. iv. 6), "sons of the Ionians," i.e. of the Greeks, is the most natural translation of *Benei-Yavanim*. But there is a Yawan mentioned in Arabia Felix, and there is still a Yawan in Yemen: and both Credner and Fürst think that, looking to Am. i. 9, an Arabian people, and not Grecians, are here alluded to. The threat, however, of selling the Phoenicians in turn to the Sabacans, "a people far off,"

sold than slain" (2 Macc. v. 14; Credner's *Joel*, p. 240). Now this practice, which is thus illustrated by details at a much later period, undoubtedly prevailed in earlier times (Odyssey, xv. 427; Herod. i. 1), and is alluded to in a threatening manner against the Phoenicians by the prophets (Joel iii. 4, and Am. i. 9, 10), about 800 years before Christ.† The circumstances which led to this state of things may be thus explained. After the division of the two kingdoms, there is no trace of any friendly relation between the kingdom of Judah and the Phoenicians; the interest of the latter rather led them to cultivate the friendship of the kingdom of Israel; and the Israelitish king, Ahab, had a Sidonian princess as his wife (1 K. xvi. 31). Now, not improbably in consequence of these relations, when Jehoshaphat king of Judah endeavoured to restore the trade of the Jews in the Red Sea, and for this purpose built large ships at Ezion-geber to go to Ophir for gold, he did not admit the Phoenicians to any participation in the venture, and when king Ahaziah, Ahab's son, asked to have a share in it, his request was distinctly refused (1 K. xxii. 48, 49). That attempt to renew the trade of the Jews in the Red Sea failed, and in the reign of Jehoram, Jehoshaphat's son, Edom revolted from Judah and established its independence; so that if the Phoenicians wished to despatch trading vessels from Ezion-geber, Edom was the power which it was mainly their interest to conciliate, and not Judah. Under these circumstances the Phoenicians seem, not only to have purchased and to have sold again as slaves, and probably in some instances to have kidnapped inhabitants of Judah, but even to have sold them to their enemies the Edomites (Joel, Amos, as above). This was regarded with reason as a departure from the old brotherly covenant, when Hiram was a great lover of David, and subsequently had the most friendly commercial relations with David's son: and this may be regarded as the original foundation of the hostility of the Hebrew prophets towards Phoenician Tyre. (Is. xxiii.; Ec. xxviii.)

3. The only other notice in the Old Testament of trade between the Phoenicians and the Israelites is in the account given by the prophet Ezekiel of the trade of Tyre (xxvii. 17). While this account supplies valuable information respecting the various commercial dealings of the most illustrious of Phoenician cities [TYRE], it likewise makes direct mention of the exports to it from Palestine. These were wheat, honey (i. e. syrup of grapes), oil, and balm. The export of wheat deserves attention (concerning the other exports, see HONEY, OIL, BALM), because it shows how important it must have been to the Phoenicians to maintain friendly relations with their Hebrew neighbours, and especially with the adjoining kingdom of Israel. The wheat is called the adjoining kingdom of Israel. The wheat is called wheat of Minnith, which was a town of the Ammonites, on the other side of Jordan, only once mentioned elsewhere in the Bible: and it is not certain whether Minnith was a great inland empor-

which seems to imply that the Yawanim were not "far off," tends to make it improbable that the Yawanim were near the Sabacans, as they would have been in Arabia Felix.

† In ver. 17 the word "Pannag" occurs, which is not found elsewhere. Opinions are divided as to whether it is the name of a place, like Minnith, or the name of an article of food; "sweet cake," for example. Perhaps one can really do more than make a guess on the point. The evidence for each meaning is inconclusive.

... where large purchases of corn were made, or whether the wheat in its neighbourhood was peculiarly good, and gave its name to all wheat of a certain fineness in quality. Still, whatever may be the correct explanation respecting Minnith, the two countries specified for exports of wheat are Judah and Israel, and it was through the territory of Israel that the wheat would be imported into Phoenicia. It is suggested by Heeren in his *Historical Researches*, ii. 117, that the fact of Palestine being thus, as it were, the granary of Phoenicia, explains in the clearest manner the lasting peace that prevailed between the two countries. He observes that with many of the other adjoining nations the Jews lived in a state of almost continual warfare; but that they never once engaged in hostilities with their nearest neighbours the Phoenicians. The fact itself is certainly worthy of special notice; and is the more remarkable, as there were not wanting tempting occasions for the interference of the Phoenicians in Palestine if they had desired it. When Elijah at the brook Kishon, at the distance of not more than thirty miles in a straight line from Tyre, put to death 450 prophets of Baal (1 K. xviii. 40), we can well conceive the agitation and anger which such a deed must have produced at Tyre. And at Sidon, more especially, which was only twenty miles farther distant from the scene of slaughter, the first impulse of the inhabitants must have been to march forth at once in battle array to strengthen the hands of Jezebel, their own princess, in behalf of Baal, their Phoenician God. When again afterwards, by means of falsehood and treachery, Jehu was enabled to massacre the worshippers of Baal in the land of Israel, we cannot doubt that the intelligence was received in Tyre, Sidon, and the other cities of Phoenicia, with a similar burst of horror and indignation to that with which the news of the Massacre on St. Bartholomew's day was received in all Protestant countries; and there must have been an intense desire in the Phoenicians, if they had the power, to invade the territories of Israel without delay and inflict signal chastisement on Jehu (2 K. x. 18-28). The fact that Israel was their granary would undoubtedly have been an element in restraining the Phoenicians, even on occasions such as these; but probably still deeper motives were likewise at work. It seems to have been part of the settled policy of the Phoenician cities to avoid attempts to make conquests on the continent of Asia. For this there were excellent reasons in the position of their small territory, which with the range of Lebanon on one side as a barrier, and the sea on the other, was well defensible by a wealthy power having command of the sea, against second or third-rate powers, but for the same reason was not well situated for offensive war on the land side. It may be added that a pacific policy was their manifest interest as a commercial nation, unless by war they were morally certain to obtain an important accession of territory, or unless a warlike policy was an absolute necessity to prevent the formidable pre-eminence of any one great neighbour. At last, however, they even carried their system of non-interference in continental wars too far, if it would have been possible for them by any alliances in Syria and Phoenicia to prevent the establishment on the eastern side of the Lebanon of one great empire. It is from that moment their ultimate doom was sealed, and it was merely a question of time as to when the fatal hour when they would lose

their independence. But too little is known of the details of their history to warrant an opinion as to whether they might at any time by any course of policy have raised up a barrier against the empire of the Assyrians or Chaldees.

IV. The religion of the Phoenicians is a subject of vast extent and considerable perplexity in details, but of its general features as bearing upon the religion of the Hebrews there can be no doubt. As opposed to Monotheism, it was a Pantheistical personification of the forces of nature, and in its most philosophical shadowing forth of the Supreme powers, it may be said to have represented the male and female principles of production. In its popular form, it was especially a worship of the sun, moon, and five planets, or, as it might have been expressed according to ancient notions, of the seven planets—the most beautiful, and perhaps the most natural, form of idolatry ever presented to the human imagination. These planets, however, were not regarded as lifeless globes of matter, obedient to physical laws, but as intelligent animated powers, influencing the human will, and controlling human destinies. An account of the different Phoenician gods named in the Bible will be found elsewhere [see BAAL, ASHITAROTH, ASHERAH, &c.]; but it will be proper here to point out certain effects which the circumstance of their being worshipped in Phoenicia produced upon the Hebrews.

1. In the first place, their worship was a constant temptation to Polytheism and idolatry. It is the general tendency of trade, by making merchants acquainted with different countries and various modes of thought, to enlarge the mind, to promote the increase of knowledge, and, in addition, by the wealth which it diffuses, to afford opportunities in various ways for intellectual culture. It can scarcely be doubted that, owing to these circumstances, the Phoenicians, as a great commercial people, were more generally intelligent, and as we should now say civilized, than the inland agricultural population of Palestine. When the simple-minded Jews, therefore, came in contact with a people more versatile and, apparently, more enlightened than themselves, but who nevertheless, either in a philosophical or in a popular form, admitted a system of Polytheism, an influence would be exerted on Jewish minds, tending to make them regard their exclusive devotion to their own one God, Jehovah, however transcendent His attributes, as unsocial and morose. It is in some such way that we must account for the astonishing fact that Solomon himself, the wisest of the Hebrew race, to whom Jehovah is expressly stated to have appeared twice—once, not long after his marriage with an Egyptian princess, on the night after his sacrificing 1000 burnt offerings on the high place of Gibeon, and the second time, after the consecration of the Temple—should have been so far beguiled by his wives in his old age as to become a Polytheist, worshipping, among other deities, the Phoenician or Sidonian goddess Ashtaroth (1 K. iii. 1-5, ix. 2, xi. 1-5). This is not for a moment to be so interpreted, as if he ever ceased to worship Jehovah, to whom he had erected the magnificent Temple, which in history is so generally connected with Solomon's name. Probably, according to his own erroneous conceptions, he never ceased to regard himself as a loyal worshipper of Jehovah, but he at the same time deemed this not incompatible with sacrificing at the altars of other gods likewise. Still the fact remains, that Solomon, who by his Temple in its ultimate results did so much for

establishing the doctrine of one only God, died himself a practical Polytheist. And if this was the case with him, Polytheism in other sovereigns of inferior excellence can excite no surprise. With such an example before him, it is no wonder that Ahab, an essentially bad man, should after his marriage with a Sidonian princess not only openly tolerate, but encourage, the worship of Baal; though it is to be remembered even in him, that he did not disavow the authority of Jehovah, but, when rebuked by his great antagonist Elijah, he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth on his flesh, and showed other signs of contrition evidently deemed sincere (1 K. xvi. 31, xxi. 27-29). And it is to be observed generally that although, before the reformation of Josiah (2 K. xxiii.), Polytheism prevailed in Judah as well as Israel, yet it seems to have been more intense and universal in Israel, as might have been expected from its greater proximity to Phœnicia; and Israel is sometimes spoken of as if it had set the bad example to Judah (2 K. xvii. 19; Jer. iii. 8): though, considering the example of Solomon, this cannot be accepted as a strict historical statement.

2. The Phœnician religion was likewise in other respects deleterious to the inhabitants of Palestine, being in some points essentially demoralizing. For example, it sanctioned the dreadful superstition of burning children as sacrifices to a Phœnician god. "They have built also," says Jeremiah, in the name of Jehovah (ix. 5), "the high places of Baal, to burn their sons with fire for burnt offerings unto Baal, which I commanded not, nor spake it, neither came it into my mind" (comp. Jer. xxxii. 35). This horrible custom was probably in its origin founded on the idea of sacrificing to a god what was best and most valuable in the eyes of the suppliant; but it could not exist without having a tendency to stifle natural feelings of affection, and to harden the heart. It could scarcely have been first adopted otherwise than in the infancy of the Phœnician race; but grown-up men and grown-up nations, with their moral feelings in other respects cultivated, are often the slaves in particular points of an early-implemented superstition, and it is worthy of note that, more than 250 years after the death of Jeremiah, the Carthaginians, when their city was besieged by Agathocles, offered as burnt sacrifices to the planet Saturn, at the public expense, 200 boys of the highest aristocracy; and, subsequently, when they had obtained a victory, sacrificed the most beautiful captives in the like manner (Diod. xx. 14, 65). If such things were possible among the Carthaginians at a period so much later, it is easily conceivable how common the practice of sacrificing children may have been at the time of Jeremiah among the Phœnicians generally: and if this were so, it would have been certain to prevail among the Israelites who worshipped the same Phœnician gods; especially as, owing to the intermarriages of their forefathers with Canaanites, there were probably few Israelites who may not have had some Phœnician blood in their veins (Judg. iii. 5). Again, parts of the Phœnician religion, especially

^a Whatever else the arrested sacrifice of Isaac symbolizes (Gen. xxii. 13), it likewise symbolizes the substitution in sacrifices of the inferior animals for children. Faith, if commanded, was ready to sacrifice even children; but the Hebrews were spared this dreadful trial, and were permitted to substitute sheep, and goats, and bulls.

^b In Hebrew there is a root *Kadam*, from which is *Yedem*, a noun with the double meaning of the "East" and "ancient time." With the former sense, Cadmus

the worship of Astarte, tended to encourage dissoluteness in the relations of the sexes, and even to sanctify impurities of the most abominable description. Connected with her temples and images there were male and female prostitutes, whose polluted gains formed part of the sacred fund appropriated to the service of the goddess. And, were even known by the name of the "consecrated." Nothing can show more clearly how deeply this baneful example had eaten into the hearts and habits of the people, notwithstanding positive prohibitions and the repeated denunciations of the Hebrew prophets, than the almost incredible fact that, previous to the reformation of Josiah, this class of persons was allowed to have houses or tents close to the temple of Jehovah, whose treasury was perhaps even replenished by their gains. (2 K. xxiii. 7; Deut. xxiii. 17, 18; 1 K. xiv. 24, xv. 12, xxii. 46; Hos. iv. 14; Job xxxvi. 14; Lucian, *Lucian*, 35 *De Deâ Syrà*, 27, 51; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s. v. קְדֻשָׁה, p. 1196; Movers, *Phœnicier*, i. p. 678, &c.; Spencer, *De Legibus Hebræorum*, i. p. 561.)

V. The most important intellectual invention of man, that of letters, was universally asserted by the Greeks and Romans to have been communicated by the Phœnicians to the Greeks. The earliest written statement on the subject is in Herodotus, v. 57, 58, who incidentally, in giving an account of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, says that they were by race Gephyraeans; and that he had ascertained by inquiry that the Gephyraeans were Phœnicians, amongst those Phœnicians who came over with Cadmus¹ into Boeotia, and instructing the Greeks in many other arts and sciences, taught them likewise letters. It was an easy step from this to believe, as many of the ancients believed, that the Phœnicians invented letters.

"Phœnices primæ, famæ si creditur, ansi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris."
LUCAN'S *Pharsal*. lib. 20, 21.

This belief, however, was not universal; and Flavius the Elder expresses his own opinion that they were of Assyrian origin, while he relates the opinion of Gellius that they were invented by the Egyptians, and of others that they were invented by the Syrians (*Nat. Hist.* vii. 57). Now, as Phœnician has been shown to be nearly the same language as Hebrew, the question arises whether Hebrew throws any light on the time or the mode of the invention of letters, on the question of who invented them, or on the universal belief of antiquity that the knowledge of them was communicated to the Greeks by the Phœnicians. The answer is as follows: Hebrew literature is as silent as Greek literature respecting the precise date of the invention of letters, and the name of the inventor or inventors; but the names of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet are in accordance with the belief that the Phœnicians communicated the knowledge of letters to the Greeks: for many of the names of letters in the Greek alphabet, though without meaning in Greek,

might mean "Eastern," or one from the East, like the name "Norman," or "Fleming," or, still more closely, the "Western" or "Southern," in English. With the latter sense for *Kadem*, the name would mean "Olden" or "Antient," and an etymological significance might be given to a line of Sophocles, in which Cadmus is mentioned:

"Ὁ τέκνα Κάδμου τοῦ πάλαι νέα τρωήν.
Ὀμήρ. Ὀδ. 7, 1

have a meaning in the corresponding letters of Hebrew. For example: the four first letters of the Greek alphabet, Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta, are not to be explained through the Greek language; but the corresponding four first letters of the Hebrew alphabet, viz. Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, being essentially the same words, are to be explained as Hebrew. Thus in Hebrew Aleph or Eleph means an ox; Beth or Bayith a house; Gamal a camel; and Deleth a door. And the same is essentially, though not always so clearly, the case with almost all the sixteen earliest Greek letters said to have been brought over from Phoenicia by Cadmus, ΑΒΓΔΕΦΙΚΛΜΝΟΠΡΣΤ;* and as attested on this account Phoenician or Cadmeian letters (Herodot. l. c.; Pliny, Hist. Nat. vii. 57; Jeff's Greek Gram. i. p. 2). Moreover, as to writing, the ancient Hebrew letters, substantially the same as Phoenician, agree closely with ancient Greek letters—a fact which, taken by itself, would not prove that the Greeks received them from the Phoenicians, as the Phoenicians might possibly have received them from the Greeks; but which, viewed in connection with Greek traditions on the subject, and with the significance of the letters in Hebrew, seems reasonably conclusive that the letters were transported from Phoenicia into Greece. It is true that modern Hebrew writing and the later Greek writing of antiquity have not much resemblance to each other; but this is owing partly to gradual changes in the writing of Greek letters, and partly to the fact that the character in which Hebrew Bibles are now printed, called the Assyrian or square character, was not the one originally in use among the Jews, but seems to have been learnt in the Babylonian captivity, and afterwards gradually adopted by them on their return to Palestine. (Gesenius, Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift, p. 156.)

As to the mode in which letters were invented, some clue is afforded by some of the early Hebrew and the Phoenician characters, which evidently smelt, although very rudely, like the drawing of very young children, to represent the object which the name of the letter signified. Thus the earliest Alpha has some vague resemblance to an ox's head, Beta to a camel's back, Daleth to the door of a house, Van to a hook or peg. Again, the written letters, called respectively, Lamed (an ox-goad), Ayin (an eye), Qoph (the back of the head), Reish or Roash (the head), and Tav (a cross), are all efforts, more or less successful, to portray the things signified by the names. It is said that this is equally true of Egyptian phonetic hieroglyphics; but, however this may be, there is no difficulty in understanding in this way the formation of an alphabet; when the words of a word by figures was once conceived. The original idea of thus representing sounds, though peculiarly felicitous, was by no means new, and millions of men lived and died without recurring to any one of them.

In conclusion, it may not be unimportant to observe that, although so many letters of the Greek alphabet have a meaning in Hebrew or Phoenician,

* The sixth letter, afterwards disused, and now generally known by the name of Digamma (from Dionysius, l. c.), was correspondingly the same as the Hebrew letter Waw (a hook).

* The strongest argument of Gesenius against the common invention of the letters is, that although doubtless many of the names are both Aramaic and Hebrew, some are not Aramaic; at least, not in the Hebrew

yet their Greek names are not in the Hebrew or Phoenician, but in the Aramaic form. There is a peculiar form of the noun in Aramaic, called by grammarians the *status emphaticus*, in which the termination *â* (א) is added to a noun, modifying it according to certain laws. Originally this termination was probably identical with the definite article "ha," which, instead of being prefixed, was subjoined to the noun, as is the case now with the definite article in the Scandinavian languages. This form in *â* is found to exist in the oldest specimen of Aramaic in the Bible, *Yegar sahadûthâ*, in Genesis xxxi. 47, where *sahadûth*, testimony, is used by Laban in the *status emphaticus*. Now it is worthy of note that the names of a considerable proportion of the "Cadmeian letters" in the Greek alphabet are in this Aramaic form, such as Alpha, Beta, Gamma, Delta, Eta, Theta, Iota, Kappa, Lambda; and although this fact by itself is not sufficient to support an elaborate theory on the subject, it seems in favour, as far as it goes, of the conjecture that when the Greeks originally received the knowledge of letters, the names by which the several letters were taught to them were Aramaic. It has been suggested, indeed, by Gesenius, that the Greeks themselves made the addition in all these cases, in order to give the words a Greek termination, as "they did with other Phoenician words, as *melet*, μάλα, *nevel*, νάβλα." If, however, a list is examined of Phoenician words naturalized in Greek, it will not be found that the ending in *â* has been the favourite mode of accommodating them to the Greek language. For example, the following sixteen words are specified by Bleek (*Einführung in das A. T.*, p. 69), as having been communicated through the Phoenicians to the Greeks: *vârdos* = *nêred*; *κινάμωμον* = *kinammôn*; *σάπφειρος* = *sapphr*; *μύρρα*, *μύρον* = *mor*; *κασία*, *κασσία* = *ketzlah*; *ύσσωπος* = *êzôn*; *λίβανος*, *λιβανωτός* = *levonâh*; *βύσσος* = *bûtz*; *κίμινον* = *kammôn*; *μάννα* = *mân*; *φίκος* = *pûk*; *σικκάμινος* = *shikmâh*; *νάβλα* = *nêvel*; *κινύρα* = *kinûr*; *κάμηλος* = *gâmâl*; *ἀρραβών* = *eravôn*. Now it is remarkable that, of these sixteen, only four end in *â* in Greek which have not a similar termination in Hebrew; and, of these four, one is a late Alexandrine translation, and two are names of musical instruments, which, very probably, may first have been communicated to Greeks, through Syrians, in Asia Minor. And, under any circumstances, the proportion of the Phoenician words which end in *â* in Greek is too small to warrant the inference that any common practice of the Greeks in this respect will account for the seeming fact that nine out of the sixteen Cadmeian letters are in the Aramaic *status emphaticus*. The inference, therefore, from their endings in *â* remains unshaken. Still this must not be regarded in any way as proving that the alphabet was invented by those who spoke the Aramaic language. This is a wholly distinct question, and far more obscure; though much deference on the point is due to the opinion of Gesenius, who, from the internal evidence of the names of the Semitic letters, has

signification: while the Syrians use other words to express the same ideas. Thus *אלא* in Aramaic means only 1000, and not an ox; the word for "door" in Aramaic is *דלת*, but *תער*: while the six following names of Cadmeian letters are not Aramaic: *וין*, *יוך*, *ימים*, *פא* (Syllabary, p. 107).

arrived at the conclusion that they were invented by the Phoenicians (*Paläographie*, p. 294).

Literature.—In English, see Kenrick's *Phoenicia*, London, 1855; in Latin, the second part of Bochart's *Geographia Sacra*, under the title "Canaan," and Gesenius's work, *Scripturae Linguaeque Phoeniciae Monumenta quotquot supersunt*, Lipsiae, 1837; in German, the exhaustive work of Movers, *Die Phoenizier, und Das Phoenizische Alterthum*, 5 vols., Berlin, 1841-1856; an article on the same subject by Movers, in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopaedia*, and an article in the same work by Gesenius on *Paläographie*. See likewise, Gesenius's *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig, 1815; Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1860. Phoenician inscriptions discovered since the time of Gesenius have been published by Judas, *Étude démonstrative de la langue Phénicienne et de la langue Libyque*, Paris, 1847, and forty-five other inscriptions have been published by the Abbé Bourgade, Paris, 1852, fol. In 1845 a votive tablet was discovered at Marseilles, respecting which see Movers' *Phoenizische Texte*, 1847. In 1855, an inscription was discovered at Sidon on the sarcophagus of a Sidonian king named Eschmunazar, respecting which see Dietrich's *Zwei Sidonische Inschriften, und eine alte Phoenizische Königsinschrift*, Marburg, 1855, and Ewald's *Erklärung der grossen Phoenizischen Inschrift von Sidon*, Göttingen, 1856, 4to.; from the seventh volume of the *Abhandlungen der Königlich Gesellschaft zu Göttingen*. Information respecting these works, and others on Phoenician inscriptions, is given by Bleek, pp. 64, 65. [E. T.]

PHOR'OS (Φόρος: *Phares, Foro*) = PAROSH (1 Esdr. v. 9, ix. 26).

PHRYGIA (Φρυγία: *Phrygia*). Perhaps there is no geographical term in the New Testament which is less capable of an exact definition. Many maps convey the impression that it was co-ordinate with such terms as Bithynia, Cilicia, or Galatia. But in fact there was no Roman province of Phrygia till considerably after the first establishment of Christianity in the peninsula of Asia Minor. The word was rather ethnological than political, and denoted, in a vague manner, the western part of the central region of that peninsula. Accordingly, in two of the three places where it is used, it is mentioned in a manner not intended to be precise (διελθόντες τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν, Acts xvi. 6; διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, Acts xviii. 23), the former having reference to the second missionary journey of St. Paul, the latter to the third. Nor is the remaining passage (Acts ii. 10) inconsistent with this view, the enumeration of those foreign Jews who came to Jerusalem at Pentecost (though it does follow, in some degree, a geographical order) having no reference to political boundaries. By Phrygia we must understand an extensive district, which contributed portions to several Roman provinces, and varying portions at different times. As to its physical characteristics, it was generally a table-land, but with considerable variety of appearance and soil. Several towns mentioned in the New Testament were Phrygian towns; such, for instance, as Iconium and Colossae: but it is better to class them with the provinces to which they politically belonged. All over this district the Jews were probably numerous. They were first introduced there by Antiochus the Great (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3, §4): and we have abundant proof of their

presence there from Acts xiii. 14, xiv. 1, 15, as well as from Acts ii. 10. [See PHILIP, 834 a.] [J. S. H.]

PHUD (Φούδ) = PHUT (Jud. ii. 23; comp. Ex. xxvii. 10).

PHURAH (פּוּרָה: *Pharâ: Pharc.*). Gileon's servant, probably his armour-bearer (comp. 1 Sam. xiv. 1), who accompanied him in his midnight visit to the camp of the Midianites (Judg. vii. 10, 11).

PHURIM (τῶν Φουραί: *phurim*), Esth. xi. 1. [PURIM.]

PHUT, PUT (פּוּט: *Phúð, Albes: Phuth, Phut, Libyes, Libya, Africa*), the third name in the list of the sons of Ham (Gen. x. 6; 1 Chr. i. 8), elsewhere applied to an African country or people. In the list it follows Cush and Mizraim, and precedes Canaan. The settlements of Cush extended from Babylonia to Ethiopia above Egypt, those of Mizraim stretched from the Philistine territory through Egypt and along the northern coast of Africa to the west; and the Canaanites were established at first in the land of Canaan, but afterwards were spread abroad. The order seems to be ascending towards the north: the Cushite chain of settlements being the most southern, the Mizraim chain extending above them, though perhaps through a smaller region, at least at the first, and the Canaanites holding the most northern position. We cannot place the tract of Phut out of Africa, and it would thus seem that it was almost parallel to that of the Mizraites, as it could not be further to the north: this position would well agree with Libya. But it must be recollected that the order of the nations or tribes of the stocks of Cush, Mizraim, and Canaan, is not the same as that we have inferred to be that of the principal names, and that it is also possible that Phut may be mentioned in a supplementary manner, perhaps as a nation or country dependent on Egypt.

The few mentions of Phut in the Bible clearly indicate, as already remarked, a country or people of Africa, and, it must be added, probably not far from Egypt. It is noticeable that they occur only in the list of Noah's descendants and in the prophetic Scriptures. Isaiah probably makes mention of Phut as a remote nation or country, where the A. V. has PUL, as in the Masoretic text (Is. lxi. 19). Nahum, warning Nineveh of the fall of No-Amon, speaks of Cush and Mizraim as the strength of the Egyptian city, and Phut and Lubim as its helpers (iii. 9). Jeremiah tells of Phut in Necho's army with Cush and the Ludim (xli. 9). Ezekiel speaks of Phut with Persia and Lud as supplying mercenaries to Tyre (xxvii. 10), and as sharing with Cush, Lud, and other helpers of Egypt, in her fall (xxx. 5); and again, with Persia, and Cush, perhaps in the sense of mercenaries, as warriors of the army of Gog (xxviii. 3).

From these passages we cannot infer anything as to the exact position of this country or people, unless indeed in Nahum, Cush and Phut, Mizraim and Lubim, are respectively connected, which might indicate a position south of Egypt. The serving of the Egyptian army, and importance of Phut to Egypt, make it reasonable to suppose that its position was very near.

In the ancient Egyptian inscriptions we find two names that may be compared to the Biblical Phut. The tribes or peoples called the Nine Bows, IX PETU or IX NA-PETU, might partly or wholly represent Phut. Their situation is doubtful, and they are never found in a geographical list, but only

in the general statements of the power and prowess of the kings. If one people be indicated by them, we may compare the Naphtuhim of the Bible. [NAPHTUHIM.] It seems unlikely that the Nine names should correspond to Phut, as their name does not occur as a geographical term in use in the strictly historical inscriptions, though it may be supposed that several well-known names there take its place as those of individual tribes; but this is an improbable explanation. The second name is that of Nubia, TO-PET, "the region of the Bow," also called TO-MERU-PET, "the region, the island of the Bow," whence we conjecture the name of Phut to come. In the geographical lists the latter name occurs in that of a people, ANU-MERU-PET, found, unlike all others, in the lists of the southern peoples and countries as well as the northern. The character we read PET is an unstrung bow, which until lately was read KENS, as a strung bow is found following, as if a determinative, the latter word, which is a name of Nubia, perhaps, however, not including so large a territory as the names before mentioned. The reading KENS is extremely doubtful, because the word does not signify bow in Egyptian, as far as we are aware, and still more because the bow is used as the determinative of its name PET, which from the Egyptian usage as to determinatives makes it almost impossible that it should be employed as a determinative of KENS. The name KENS would therefore be followed by the bow to indicate that it was a part of Nubia. This subject may be illustrated by a passage of Herodotus, explained by Mr. Harris of Alexandria, if we premise that the unstrung bow is the common sign, and, like the strung bow, is so used as to be the symbol of Nubia. The historian relates that the king of the Ethiopians unstrung a bow, and gave it to the messengers of Cambyses, telling them to say that when the king of the Persians would pull so strong a bow so easily, he might come against the Ethiopians with an army stronger than their forces (ii. 21, 22, ed. Rawlinson: Sir G. Wilkinson's note). For the hieroglyphic names see Lepsius's *Geogr. Inschr.*

The Coptic ⲠⲓϤⲁⲓⲧ must also be compared with Phut. The first syllable being the article, the word nearly resembles the Hebrew name. It is applied to the western part of Lower Egypt beyond the Delta; and Champollion conjectures it to mean the Libyan part of Egypt, so called by the Greeks, comparing the Coptic name of the similar eastern Arabian part of Egypt and Arabian Nome (*U'gypte sous les Pharaons*, ii. pp. 28-31, 243). In this as it may, the name seems nearer to Naphtuhim than to Phut. To take a broad view of the question, all the names which we have mentioned may be reasonably connected with the Hebrew Phut; and it may be supposed that the Naphtuhim were Mizraites in the territory of Phut, perhaps intermixed with peoples of the latter stock. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the PET of the ancient Egyptians, as a geographical designation, corresponds to the Phut of the Bible, which would therefore denote Nubia or the Nubians, the name, if we are strictly to follow the Egyptian usage. This identification would account for the position of Phut after Mizraim in the list in Genesis, notwithstanding the order of the other names; and the name, if it has been from remote times a depend-

ency of Egypt, excepting in the short period of Ethiopian supremacy, and the longer time of Ethiopian independence. The Egyptian name of Cush, KEESH, is applied to a wider region well corresponding to Ethiopia. The governor of Nubia in the time of the Pharaohs was called Prince of KEESH, perhaps because his authority extended beyond Nubia. The identification of Phut with Nubia is not repugnant to the mention in the prophets: on the contrary, the great importance of Nubia in their time, which comprehended that of the Ethiopian supremacy, would account for their speaking of Phut as a support of Egypt, and as furnishing it with warriors.

The identification with Libya has given rise to attempts to find the name in African geography, which we shall not here examine, as such mere similarity of sound is a most unsafe guide. [R. S. P.]

PHU'VAH (פְּוָה : *Φουά*: *Phua*). One of the sons of Issachar (Gen. xlii. 13), and founder of the family of the PUNITES. In the A. V. of Num. xxvi. 23 he is called PUA, though the Heb. is the same; and in 1 Chr. vii. 1, PUAH is another form of the name.

PHYGEL'LUS (Φύγελλος , or Φύγελος : *Phygelus*), 2 Tim. i. 15. A Christian connected with those in Asia of whom St. Paul speaks as turned away from himself. It is open to question whether their repudiation of the Apostle was joined with a declension from the faith (see Buddaeus, *Eccl. Apostol.* ii. 310), and whether the open display of the feeling of Asia took place—at least so far as Phygellus and Hermogenes were concerned—at Rome. It was at Rome that Onesiphorus, named in the next verse, showed the kindness for which the Apostle invokes a blessing on his household in Asia: so perhaps it was at Rome that Phygellus displayed that change of feeling towards St. Paul which the Apostle's former followers in Asia avowed. It seems unlikely that St. Paul would write so forcibly if Phygellus had merely neglected to visit him in his captivity at Rome. He may have forsaken (see 2 Tim. iv. 16) the Apostle at some critical time when his support was expected: or he may have been a leader of some party of nominal Christians at Rome, such as the Apostle describes at an earlier period (Phil. i. 15, 16) opposing him there.

Dean Ellicott, on 2 Tim. i. 15, who is at variance with the ancient Greek commentators as to the exact force of the phrase "they which are in Asia," states various opinions concerning their aversion from St. Paul. The Apostle himself seems to have foreseen it (Acta xx. 30); and there is nothing in the fact inconsistent with the general picture of the state of Asia at a later period which we have in the first three chapters of the Revelation. [W. T. B.]

PHYLACTERY. [FRONTLETS.]

PI-BESETH (פִּי־בֵשֶׁת : Βούβαστος : *Bu-bastus*), a town of Lower Egypt, mentioned but once in the Bible (Ez. xxx. 17). In hieroglyphics its name is written BAHEST, BAST, and HA-BAHEST, followed by the determinative sign for an Egyptian city, which was probably not pronounced. The Coptic forms are ΒαϤϣ , with the article Ⲡⲓ prefixed, ⲠⲓⲃⲁϤϣⲉ , ⲠⲓⲃⲁϤϣ , ⲠⲓⲃⲁϤϣⲉ , ⲠⲓⲃⲁϤϣⲉ , ⲠⲓⲃⲁϤϣⲉ , and the Greek. Βούβαστις , Βοῦβαστος . The first and second hieroglyphic names

are the same as those of the goddess of the place, and the third signifies the abode of BAHEST, that goddess. It is probable that BAHEST is an archaic mode of writing, and that the word was always pronounced, as it was sometimes written, BAST. It seems as if the civil name was BAHEST, and the sacred, HA-BAHEST. It is difficult to trace the first syllable of the Hebrew and of the Coptic and Greek forms in the hieroglyphic equivalents. There is a similar case in the names HA-HESAR,

Βουσιρι, Πουσιρι, Βοβούρις, *Busiris*. Dr. Brugsch and M. Devéria read PE or PA, instead of HA; but this is not proved. It may be conjectured that in pronunciation the masculine definite article PEPA or PEE was prefixed to HA, as could be done in Coptic; in the ancient language the word appears to be common, whereas it is masculine in the later. Or it may be suggested that the first syllable or first letter was a prefix of the vulgar dialect, for it is frequent in Coptic. The name of Philae may perhaps afford a third explanation, for it is written EEELEK-T, EEELEK, and P-EELEK (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* i. 156, Nos. 826, 827); whence it would seem that the sign city (not abode) was common, as in the first form the feminine article, and in the last, the masculine one, is used, and this would admit of the reading PA-BAST, "the [city] of Bubastis [the goddess]."

Bubastis was situate on the west bank of the Pelusiac or Bubastite branch of the Nile, in the Bubastite nome, about 40 miles from the central part of Memphis. Herodotus speaks of its site as having been raised by those who dug the canals for Sesostris, and afterwards by the labour of criminals under Sabacôs the Ethiopian, or, rather, the Ethiopian dominion. He mentions the temple of the goddess Bubastis as well worthy of description, being more beautiful than any other known to him. It lay in the midst of the city, which, having been raised on mounds, overlooked it on every side. An artificial canal encompassed it with the waters of the Nile, and was beautified by trees on its bank. There was only a narrow approach leading to a lofty gateway. The enclosure thus formed was surrounded by a low wall, bearing sculptures; within was the temple, surrounded by a grove of fine trees (ii. 137, 138). Sir Gardner Wilkinson observes that the ruins of the city and temple confirm this account. The height of the mounds and the site of the temple are very remarkable, as well as the beauty of the latter, which was "of the finest red granite." It "was surrounded by a sacred enclosure, about 600 feet square . . . beyond which was a larger circuit, measuring 940 feet by 1200, containing the minor one and the canal." The temple is entirely ruined, but the names of Rameses II. of the sixth dynasty, Userken I. (Osorchon I.) of the xxiind, and Nekht-har-heb (Nectanebo I.) of the xxxth, have been found here, as well as that of the eponymous goddess BAST. There are also remains of the ancient houses of the town, and, "amidst the houses on the N.W. side are the thick walls of a fort, which protected the temple below" (Notes by Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 219, plan, and 102). Bubastis thus had a fort, besides being strong from its height.

* 1. כִּשְׁבִית, from שָׁכַח, "behold," with אֶבֶן; λίθος σκωπός; *insignis lapis* (Lev. xxvi. 1); A. V. "figured stone" (Num. xxxiii. 52); σκωπιά; *titulus*. In Ez. viii. 12, with חֲבֵרֶת; κοιτών κρυπτός; *aliquid cubituli*; א. V. "chamber of imagery;" Luther, *schönsten Kammer-*

The goddess BAST, who was here the chief object of worship, was the same as PESHT, the goddess of fire. Both names accompany a lion-headed figure, and the cat was sacred to them. Herodotus considers the goddess Bubastis to be the same as Artemis (ii. 137), and that this was the current opinion in Egypt in the Greek period is evident from the name Speos Artemidos of a rock temple dedicated to PESHT, and probably of a neighbouring town or village. The historian speaks of the annual festival of the goddess held at Bubastis as the chief and most largely attended of the Egyptian festivals. It was evidently the most popular, and a scene of great licence, like the great Muslim festival of the Seyyid el-Bedawee celebrated at Tanteh in the Delta (ii. 59, 60).

There are scarcely any historical notices of Bubastis in the Egyptian annals. In Manetho's list it is related that in the time of Boethos, or Bocho, first king of the hind dynasty (B.C. cir. 2470), a chasm of the earth opened at Bubastis, and many perished (Cory's *Ancient Fragments*, 2nd ed. pp. 98, 99). This is remarkable, since though shocks of earthquakes are frequent in Egypt, the actual earthquake is of very rare occurrence. The next event in the list connected with Bubastis is the accession of the xxiii dynasty (B.C. cir. 990), a line of Bubastite kings (Ibid. pp. 124, 125). These were either foreigners or partly of foreign extraction, and it is probable that they chose Bubastis as their capital, or as an occasional residence, on account of its nearness to the military settlements. [MID-DOL.] Thus it must have been a city of great importance when Ezekiel thus foretold its doom: "The young men of Aven and of Pi-beseth shall fall by the sword: and these [cities] shall go into captivity" (xxx. 17). Heliopolis and Bubastis are near together, and both in the route of an invader from the East marching against Memphis. [R. S. P.]

PICTURE.* In two of the three passages in which "picture" is used in A. V. it denotes idolatrous representations, either independent images, or more usually stones "portrayed," i. e. sculptured in low relief, or engraved and coloured (Ez. xxiii. 14; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* ii. 306, 308). Movable pictures, in the modern sense, were doubtless unknown to the Jews; but coloured sculptures and drawings on walls or on wood, as mummy-cases, must have been familiar to them in Egypt (see Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* ii. 277). In later times we read of portraits (εἰκόνας), perhaps busts or intagli sent by Alexandra to Antony (Joseph. *Ant.* xv. 2, §6). The "pictures of silver" of Prov. xxv. 11, were probably wall-surfaces or cornices with carvings, and the "apples of gold" representations of fruit or foliage, like Solomon's flowers and pomegranates (1 K. vi., vii.). The walls of Babylon were ornamented with pictures on enamelled brick. [H. W. P.]

PIECE OF GOLD. The A. V., in rendering the elliptical expression "six thousand of gold," is a passage respecting Naaman, relating that he "took with him ten talents of silver, and six thousand of gold, and ten changes of raiment" (2 K. v. 5)—supplies "pieces" as the word understood. The similar expression respecting silver, in which

2. שֵׁבִיחַ, from same root (Is. ii. 16); βία (νόμισμα) αργύρου; *quod visu pulchrum est*; Prov. xxv. 11, "apples of gold in pictures of silver;" LXX ἐν ἑπιγραφῇ ἀργύρου; in lectis argenteis; Luther, *Schalen*.

the word understood appears to be shekels, probably from the insertion of that definite word. [PIECE OF SILVER.] The same expression, if a weight of gold be here meant, is also found in the following passage: "And king Solomon made two hundred targets [of] beaten gold: six hundred of gold went to one target" (1 K. x. 16). Here the A. V. supplies the word "shekels," and there seems no doubt that it is right, considering the number mentioned, and that a common weight must be intended. That a weight of gold is meant in Solomon's case may be inferred, because it is extremely unlikely that coined money was already invented at the time referred to, and indeed that it was known in Palestine before the Persian period. [MONEY; DARIQ.] Rings or ingots of gold may have been in use, but we are scarcely warranted in supposing that any of them bore the name of shekels, since the practice was to weigh money. The rendering "pieces of gold" is therefore very doubtful; and "shekels of gold," as designating the value of the whole quantity, not individual pieces, is preferable. [R. S. P.]

PIECE OF SILVER. The passages in the O. T. and those in the N. T. in which the A. V. uses this term must be separately considered.

I. In the O. T. the word "pieces" is used in the A. V. for a word understood in the Hebrew, if we except one case to be afterwards noticed. The phrase is always "a thousand" or the like "of silver" (Gen. xi. 16, xxxvii. 28, xlv. 22; Judg. ix. 4, xvi. 5; 1 K. vi. 25; Hos. iii. 2; Zech. xi. 12, 13). In similar passages the word "shekels" occurs in the Hebrew, and it must be observed that these are either in the law, or relate to purchases, some of an important legal character, as that of the cave and field of Machpelah, that of the threshing-floor and oxen of Ananah, or to taxes, and the like (Gen. xxiii. 15, 16; Ex. xxi. 32; Lev. xxvii. 3, 6, 16; Josh. vii. 31; 2 Sam. xxiv. 24; 1 Chr. xxi. 25, where, however, shekels of gold are spoken of; 2 K. xv. 20; Job. v. 15; Jer. xxxii. 9). There are other passages in which the A. V. supplies the word "shekels" instead of "pieces" (Deut. xxii. 19, 29; Judg. xvii. 2, 3, 4, 10; 2 Sam. xviii. 11, 12), and of these the first two require this to be done. It becomes then a question whether there is any ground for the adoption of the word "pieces," which is vague if actual coins be meant, and inaccurate if weights. The shekel, be it remembered, was the common weight for money, and therefore most likely to be understood in an elliptical phrase. When we find good reason for concluding that in two passages (Deut. xxii. 19, 20) this is the word understood, it seems incredible that any other should be the case in the other places. The exceptional case in which a word corresponding to "pieces" is found in the Hebrew is in the Psalms, where presents of submission are proposed to be made of "pieces of silver," which occurs nowhere else, if it preserve its radical meaning, from רִצְיָן, must signify a piece broken off, or a fragment: there is no reason to suppose that a coin is meant.

II. In the N. T. two words are rendered by the phrase "piece of silver," drachma, δραχμή, and denarius. (1.) The first (Luke xv. 8, 9) should be represented by drachm. It was a Greek silver coin, equivalent, at the time of St. Luke, to the Roman denarius, which is probably intended by the

Evangelist, as it had then wholly or almost superseded the former. [DRACHMA.] (2.) The second word is very properly thus rendered. It occurs in the account of the betrayal of our Lord for "thirty pieces of silver" (Matt. xxvi. 15, xvii. 3, 5, 6, 37). It is difficult to ascertain what coins are here intended. If the most common silver pieces be meant, they would be denarii. The parallel passage in Zechariah (xi. 12, 13) must, however, be taken into consideration, where, if our view be correct, shekels must be understood. It may, however, be suggested that the two thirties may correspond, not as of exactly the same coin, but of the chief current coin. Some light may be thrown on our difficulty by the number of pieces. It can scarcely be a coincidence that thirty shekels of silver was the price of blood in the case of a slave accidentally killed (Ex. xxi. 32). It may be objected that there is no reason to suppose that shekels were current in our Lord's time; but it must be replied that the tetradrachms of depreciated Attic weight of the Greek cities of Syria at that time were of the same weight as the shekels which we believe to be of Simon the Maccabee [MONEY], so that Josephus speaks of the shekel as equal to four Attic drachmæ (Ant. iii. 8, §2). These tetradrachms were common at the time of our Lord, and the piece of money found by St. Peter in the fish must, from its name, have been of this kind. [STATER.] It is therefore more probable that the thirty pieces of silver were tetradrachms than that they were denarii. There is no difficulty in the use of two terms, a name designating the denomination and "piece of silver," whether the latter mean the tetradrachm or the denarius, as it is a vague appellation that implies a more distinctive name. In the received text of St. Matthew the prophecy as to the thirty pieces of silver is ascribed to Jeremiah, and not to Zechariah, and much controversy has thus been occasioned. The true explanation seems to be suggested by the absence of any prophet's name in the Syriac version, and the likelihood that similarity of style would have caused a copyist inadvertently to insert the name of Jeremiah instead of that of Zechariah. [R. S. P.]

PIETY. This word occurs but once in A. V.: "Let them learn first to show piety at home" (τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον εὐσεβεῖν, better, "towards their own household," 1 Tim. v. 4). The choice of this word here instead of the more usual equivalents of "godliness," "reverence," and the like, was probably determined by the special sense of *pietas*, as "erga parentes" (Cic. Partit. 22, Rep. vi. 15, Inv. ii. 22). It does not appear in the earlier English versions, and we may recognise in its application in this passage a special felicity. A word was wanted for εὐσεβεῖν which, unlike "showing godliness," would admit of a human as well as a divine object, and this piety supplied. [E. H. P.]

PIGEON. [TURTLE-DOVE.]

PI-HAHIROTH (פִּי הַחֵירוֹת, ἡ

ἔπαυλις, τὸ στόμα Εἰρώθ, Εἰρώθ: *Phihahiroth*), a place before or at which the Israelites encamped, at the close of the third march from Rameses, when they went out of Egypt. Pi-hahiroth was before Migdol, and on the other hand were Baalzephon and the sea (Ex. xiv. 2, 9; Num. xxxiii. 7, 8). The name is probably that of a natural locality, from the impossibility that here should have been a town or village in both parts of the country where it is placed in addition to Migdol and Baalzephon, which seem to have been, if not towns, at

least military stations, and its name is susceptible of an Egyptian etymology giving a sense apposite to this idea. The first part of the word is apparently treated by its omission as a separate prefix (Num. xxxiii. 8), and it would therefore appear to be the masculine definite article ΠΕ, ΠΑ, or ΠΕΕ.

Jablonsky proposed the Coptic ΠΙ-Δ-ΧΙ-ΡΩΤ, "the place where sedge grows," and this, or a similar name, the late M. Fulgence Fresnel recognised in the modern *Ghuweybet-el-boos*, "the bed of reeds." It is remarkable that this name occurs near where we suppose the passage of the Red Sea to have taken place, as well as near Suez, in the neighbourhood usually chosen as that of this miracle; but nothing could be inferred as to place from such a name being now found, as the vegetation it describes is fluctuating. [EXODUS, THE.] [R. S. P.]

PILATE, PON'TIUS (Πόντιος Πίλατος; *Pontius Pilatus*, his prænomen being unknown). The name indicates that he was connected, by descent or adoption, with the gens of the Pontii, first conspicuous in Roman history in the person of C. Pontius Telesinus, the great Samnite general.^a He was the sixth Roman procurator of Judæa, and under him our Lord worked, suffered, and died, as we learn, not only from the obvious Scriptural authorities, but from Tacitus (*Ann.* xv. 44, "Christus, Tiberio imperitante, per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat).^b A procurator (ἐπίτροπος, Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, and Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 9, §2; but less correctly ἡγεμών, *Matt.* xxvii. 2; and Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 3, §1) was generally a Roman knight, appointed to act under the governor of a province as collector of the revenue, and judge in causes connected with it. Strictly speaking, procurators *Caesaris* were only required in the imperial provinces, i. e. those which, according to the constitution of Augustus, were reserved for the special administration of the emperor, without the intervention of the senate and people, and governed by his legate. In the senatorian provinces, governed by proconsuls, the corresponding duties were discharged by quaestors. Yet it appears that sometimes procuratores were appointed in those provinces also, to collect certain dues of the *fiscus* (the emperor's special revenue), as distinguished from those of the *aerarium* (the revenue administered by the senate). Sometimes in a small territory, especially in one contiguous to a larger province, and dependent upon it, the procurator was head of

^a The cognomen Pilatus has received two explanations. (1.) As armed with the *pilum* or javelin; comp. "pilata agmina," *Virg. Aen.* xii. 121. (2.) As contracted from *pileatus*. The fact that the *pileus* or cap was the badge of manumitted slaves (comp. Suetonius, *Nero*, c. 57, *Tiber.* c. 4), makes it probable that the epithet marked him out as a *libertus*, or as descended from one.—[E. H. P.]

^b Of the early history of Pilate we know nothing; but a German legend fills up the gap strangely enough. Pilate is the bastard son of Tyrus, king of Mayence. His father sends him to Rome as a hostage. There he is guilty of a murder; but being sent to Pontus, rises into notice as subduing the barbarous tribes there, receives in consequence the new name of Pontius, and is sent to Judæa. It has been suggested that the twenty-second legion, which was in Palestine at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and was afterwards stationed at Mayence, may have been in this case either the bearers of the tradition or the inventors of the fable. (Comp. Vilmar's *Deutsche. Nann.* *Liter.* i. p. 217).—[E. H. P.]

^c Herod the Great, it is true, had placed the Roman eagle on one of his new buildings; but this had been fol-

lowed by a violent outbreak, and the attempt had not been repeated (Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. 509). The extent to which the scruples of the Jews on this point were respected by the Roman governors, is shewn by the fact that no effigy of either god or emperor is found on the money coined by them in Judæa before the war under Nero (*ibid.* v. 33, referring to De Saulcy, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque*, pl. viii. ix.). Assuming this, the denarius with Caesar's image and superscription of *Matt.* xxiii. must have been a coin from the Roman mint, or that of some other province. The latter was probably current for the common purposes of life. The shekel alone was received as a Temple-offering.—[E. H. P.]

^d Ewald suggests that the Tower of Siloam may have been part of the same works, and that this was the reason why its fall was looked on as a judgment (*Geschichte*, vi. 40; Luke xiii. 4). The Pharisaic reverence for whatever was set apart for admitting into it anything that had an impure origin (*Matt.* xxvii. 6), may be regarded, perhaps as outgrowths of the same feeling.—[E. H. P.]

included some remarks on the connexion between sin and calamity. It must have occurred at some time at Jerusalem, in the outer court of the Temple, since the blood of the worshippers was mingled with their sacrifices; but the silence of Josephus about it seems to show that riots and massacres on such occasions were so frequent that it was needless to recount them all.

It was the custom for the procurators to reside at Jerusalem during the great feasts, to preserve order, and accordingly, at the time of our Lord's last passover, Pilate was occupying his official residence in Herod's palace; and to the gates of this palace Jesus, condemned on the charge of blasphemy, was brought early in the morning by the chief priests and officers of the Sanhedrim, who were unable to enter the residence of a Gentile, lest they should be defiled, and unfit to eat the passover (John xviii. 28). Pilate therefore came out to learn their purpose, and demanded the nature of the charge. At first they seem to have expected that he would have carried out their wishes without further inquiry, and therefore merely described our Lord as a *κακοποιός* (disturber of the public peace), but as a Roman procurator had too much respect for justice, or at least understood his business too well to consent to such a condemnation, and as they knew that he would not enter into theological questions, any more than Gallio afterwards did on a somewhat similar occasion (Acts xviii. 14), they were obliged to devise a new charge, and therefore interpreted our Lord's claims in a political sense, accusing him of assuming the royal title, perverting the nation, and forbidding the payment of tribute to Rome (Luke xxiii. 3; an amount plainly presupposed in John xviii. 33). It is plain that from this moment Pilate was distracted between two conflicting feelings: a fear of offending the Jews, who had already grounds of accusation against him, which would be greatly strengthened by any show of lukewarmness in punishing an offence against the imperial government, and a conscious conviction that Jesus was innocent, since it was absurd to suppose that a desire to free the nation from Roman authority was criminal in the eyes of the Sanhedrim. Moreover, this last feeling was strengthened by his own hatred of the Jews, whose religious scruples had caused him frequent trouble, and by a growing respect for the calm dignity and meekness of the sufferer. First he examined our Lord privately, and asked Him whether He was a king? The question which He in return put to His judge, "Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?" seems to imply that there was in Pilate's own mind a suspicion that the prisoner really was what He was charged with being; a suspicion which shows itself again in the later question, "Whence art thou?" (John xix. 8), and in the increasing desire to release Him (12), and in the refusal to alter the inscription on the cross (22). In any case Pilate accepted as satisfactory Christ's assurance that His kingdom was not of this world, that is, not worldly in its nature and its weapons, though he could not understand the assertion that it was to be established by bearing witness to the truth. His famous reply, "What is

truth?" was the question of a worldly-minded politician, sceptical because he was indifferent, one who thought truth an empty name, or at least could not see "any connexion between ἀλήθεια and βασιλεία, truth and policy" (Dr. C. Wordsworth, *Comm.*, in loco). With this question he brought the interview to a close, and came out to the Jews and declared the prisoner innocent. To this they replied that His teaching had stirred up all the people from Galilee to Jerusalem. The mention of Galilee suggested to Pilate a new way of escaping from his dilemma, by sending on the case to Herod Antipas, tetrarch of that country, who had come up to Jerusalem to the feast, while at the same time this gave him an opportunity for making overtures of reconciliation to Herod, with whose jurisdiction he had probably in some recent instance interfered. But Herod, though propitiated by this act of courtesy, declined to enter into the matter, and merely sent Jesus back to Pilate dressed in a shining kingly robe (ἱσθητά λαμπράν, Luke xxiii. 11), to express his ridicule of such pretensions, and contempt for the whole business. So Pilate was compelled to come to a decision, and first, having assembled the chief priests and also the people, whom he probably summoned in the expectation that they would be favourable to Jesus, he announced to them that the accused had done nothing worthy of death, but at the same time, in hopes of pacifying the Sanhedrim, he proposed to scourge Him before he released Him. But as the accusers were resolved to have His blood, they rejected this concession, and therefore Pilate had recourse to a fresh expedient. It was the custom for the Roman governor to grant every year, in honour of the passover, pardon to one condemned criminal. The origin of the practice is unknown, though we may connect it with the fact mentioned by Livy (v. 13) that at a Lectisternium "vinctis quoque dempta vincula." Pilate therefore offered the people their choice between two, the murderer Barabbas,* and the prophet whom a few days before they had hailed as the Messiah. To receive their decision he ascended the βῆμα, a portable tribunal which was carried about with a Roman magistrate to be placed wherever he might direct, and which in the present case was erected on a tessellated pavement (λίθιστρῶτον) in front of the palace, and called in Hebrew *Gabbatha*, probably from being laid down on a slight elevation (ἡδὴ, "to be high"). As soon as Pilate had taken his seat, he received a mysterious message from his wife, according to tradition a proselyte of the gate (θεοσεβής), named Procla or Claudia Procula (*Evang. Nicod.* ii.), who had "suffered many things in a dream," which impelled her to entreat her husband not to condemn the Just One. But he had no longer any choice in the matter, for the rabble, instigated of course by the priests, chose Barabbas for pardon, and clamoured for the death of Jesus; insurrection seemed imminent, and Pilate reluctantly yielded. But, before issuing the fatal order, he washed his hands before the multitude, as a sign that he was innocent of the crime, in imitation probably of the ceremony enjoined in Deut. xxi., where it is ordered that when the perpetrator of a murder is not discovered, the elders of the city in which it occurs shall wash

* Comp. BARABBAS. Ewald suggests that the insurrection of which St. Mark speaks must have been that connected with the appropriation of the Corban (*supra*), and that this explains the eagerness with which the people

demanding his release. He infers further, from his name, that he was the son of a Rabbi (Abba was a Rabbinic title of honour), and thus accounts for the part taken in his favour by the members of the Sanhedrim.—[E. H. P.]

Wm. L.
S. R.

their hands, with the declaration, "Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it." Such a practice might naturally be adopted even by a Roman, as intelligible to the Jewish multitude around him. As in the present case it produced no effect, Pilate ordered his soldiers to inflict the scourging preparatory to execution; but the sight of our Lord suffering so patiently borne seems again to have troubled his conscience, and prompted a new effort in favour of the victim. He brought Him out bleeding from the savage punishment, and decked in the scarlet robe and crown of thorns which the soldiers had put on Him in derision, and said to the people, "Behold the man!" hoping that such a spectacle would rouse them to shame and compassion. But the priests only renewed their clamours for His death, and, fearing that the political charge of treason might be considered insufficient, returned to their first accusation of blasphemy, and quoting the law of Moses (Lev. xxiv. 16), which punished blasphemy with stoning, declared that He must die "because He made himself the Son of God." But this title *υἱὸς θεοῦ* augmented Pilate's superstitious fears, already aroused by his wife's dream (*μαλλὸν ἐφοβήθη*, John xix. 7); he feared that Jesus might be one of the heroes or demigods of his own mythology; he took Him again into the palace, and inquired anxiously into his descent ("Whence art thou?") and his claims, but, as the question was only prompted by fear or curiosity, Jesus made no reply. When Pilate reminded Him of his own absolute power over Him, He closed this last conversation with the irresolute governor by the mournful remark, "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above; therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin." God had given to Pilate power over Him, and power only, but to those who delivered Him up God had given the means of judging of His claims; and therefore Pilate's sin, in merely exercising this power, was less than theirs who, being God's own priests, with the Scriptures before them, and the word of prophecy still alive among them (John xi. 50, xviii. 14), had deliberately conspired for His death. The result of this interview was one last effort to save Jesus by a fresh appeal to the multitude; but now arose the formidable cry, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Caesar's friend," and Pilate, to whom political success was as the breath of life, again ascended the tribunal, and finally pronounced the desired condemnation.^f

So ended Pilate's share in the greatest crime which has been committed since the world began. That he did not immediately lose his feelings of anger against the Jews who had thus compelled his acquiescence, and of compassion and awe for the

^f The proceedings of Pilate in our Lord's trial supply many interesting illustrations of the accuracy of the Evangelists, from the accordance of their narrative with the known customs of the time. Thus Pilate, being only a procurator, had no quaestor to conduct the trial, and therefore examined the prisoner himself. Again, in early times Roman magistrates had not been allowed to take their wives with them into the provinces, but this prohibition had fallen into neglect, and latterly a proposal made by Caccina to enforce it had been rejected (*Tac. Ann.* iii. 33, 34). Grotius points out that the word *ἀνεπέμψεν*, used when Pilate sends our Lord to Herod (*Luke* xxiii. 7) is "propria Romani juris vox; nam remittitur reus qui alicubi comprehensus mittitur ad iudicem aut originis aut habitationalis" (see Alford, *in loco*). The tessellated pavement (*λιθόστρωτον*) was so necessary to the forms of justice, as well as the *βῆμα*, that Julius

Sufferer whom he had unrighteously sentenced, is plain from his curt and angry refusal to alter the inscription which he had prepared for the cross (*ὁ γέγραφα, γέγραφα*), his ready acquiescence in the request made by Joseph of Arimathea that our Lord's body might be given up to him rather than consigned to the common sepulchre reserved for those who had suffered capital punishment, and his sullen answer to the demand of the Sanhedrim that the sepulchre should be guarded.^g And here, as far as Scripture is concerned, our knowledge of Pilate's life ends. But we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 4, §1) that his anxiety to avoid giving offence to Caesar did not save him from political disaster. The Samaritans were unquiet and rebellious. A leader of their own race had promised to disclose to them the sacred treasures which Moses was reported to have concealed in Mount Gerizim.^h Pilate led his troops against them, and defeated them easily enough. The Samaritans complained to Vitellius, now president of Syria, and he sent Pilate to Rome to answer their accusations before the emperor (*Ibid.* §2). When he reached it, he found Tiberius dead and Caius (Caligula) on the throne, A.D. 36. Eusebius adds (*H. E.* ii. 7) that soon afterwards, "wearied with misfortunes," he killed himself. As to the scene of his death there are various traditions. One is, that he was banished to Vienna Allobrogum (Vienna on the Rhone), where a singular monument, a pyramid on a quadrangular base, 52 feet high, is called Pontius Pilate's tomb (*Dictionary of Geography*, art. "Vienna"). Another is, that he sought to hide his sorrows on the mountain by the lake of Lucerne, now called Mount Pilatus; and there, after spending years in its recesses, in remorse and despair rather than penitence, plunged into the dismal lake which occupies its summit. According to the popular belief, "a form is often seen to emerge from the gloomy waters, and go through the action of one washing his hands; and when he does so, dark clouds of mist gather first round the bosom of the Infernal Lake (such it has been styled of old), and then, wrapping the whole upper part of the mountain in darkness, presage a tempest or hurricane, which is sure to follow in a short space." (*Scott, Anne of Geierstein*, ch. i.) (See below.)

We learn from Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. pp. 76, 84), Tertullian (*Apol.* c. 21), Eusebius (*H. E.* ii. 2), and others, that Pilate made an official report to Tiberius of our Lord's trial and condemnation; and in a homily ascribed to Chrysostom, though marked as spurious by his Benedictine editors (*Hom. viii. in Pasch.* vol. viii. p. 968, D), certain *ὑπομνήματα* (*Acta, or Commentarii Pilati*) are spoken of as well-known documents in common circulation. That he made such a report is highly probable, and it may

Caesar carried one about with him on his expeditions (*Suet. Jul.* c. 46). The power of life and death was taken from the Jews when Judaea became a province (*Joseph. Ant.* xx. 9, §1). Scourging before execution was a well-known Roman practice.

^g *Matt.* xxvii. 65, *ἔχετε κοινοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἀποβίσαθε ὡς οἰδᾶτε*. Ellicott would translate this, "Take a guard," on the ground that the watchers were Roman soldiers, who were not under the command of the priests. But some might have been placed at their disposal during the feast, and we should rather expect *λαβῆτε ἡμῶν* if the sentence were imperative.

^h Ewald (*Geschichte*, v. 43) ventures on the conjecture that this Samaritan leader may have been Simon Magus. The description fits in well enough; but the class of such impostors was so large, that there are but slight grounds for fixing on him in particular.—[E. H. P.]

have been in existence in Chrysostom's time; but the *Acta Pilati* now extant in Greek, and two Latin copies from him to the emperor (Fabric. *Apoc.* i. 217, 298, iii. 111, 456), are certainly spurious. (For further particulars see below.)

The character of Pilate may be sufficiently inferred from the sketch given above of his conduct at our Lord's trial. He was a type of the rich and corrupt Romans of his age; a worldly-minded statesman, conscious of no higher wants than those of this life, yet by no means unmoved by feelings of justice and mercy. His conduct to the Jews, in the instances quoted from Josephus, though severe, was not thoughtlessly cruel or tyrannical, considering the general practice of Roman governors, and the difficulties of dealing with a nation so arrogant and perverse. Certainly there is nothing in the facts recorded by profane authors inconsistent with his character, obvious from the Gospel narrative, to save our Lord. But all his better feelings were overpowered by a selfish regard for his own security. He would not encounter the least hazard of personal annoyance in behalf of innocence and justice; the unrighteous condemnation of a good man was a trifle in comparison with the fear of the emperor's frown and the loss of place and power. While we do not differ from Chrysostom's opinion that he was *παράνομος* (Chrys. i. 802, *adv. Judæos*, vi.), or that recorded in the Apostolical Constitutions (v. 14), that he was *ἀναίδος*, we yet see abundant reason for the our Lord's merciful judgment, "He that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin." At the same time his history furnishes a proof that worldliness and want of principle are sources of crimes no less awful than those which spring from deliberate and reckless wickedness. The unhappy notoriety given to his name by its place in the two universal creeds of Christendom is due, not to any desire of angling him out for shame, but to the need of fixing the date of our Lord's death, and so bearing witness to the claims of Christianity to rest on a historical basis (August. *De Fide et Symb.* c. v. vol. vi. p. 156; Pearson, *On the Creed*, pp. 239, 240, ed. Burt, and the authorities quoted in note c). The number of dissertations on Pilate's character and all the circumstances connected with him, his "facinora," his "Christianum servandi studium," his wife's dream, his supposed letters to Tiberius, which have been published during the last and present centuries, is quite overwhelming. The student may consult with advantage Dean Alford's *Commentary*; Elliott's *Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord*, vii.; Neander's *Life of Christ*, §285 (Bohn); Wieser, *Real-Encyclopædie*, art. "Pilatus;" Ewald, *Real-Encyclopædie*, v. 30, &c.

[G. E. L. C.]

ACTA PILATI.—The number of extant *Acta Pilati*, in various forms, is so large as to show that the demand created a supply of documents manifestly spurious, and we have no reason for looking on any one of those that remain as more authentic than the others. The taunt of the Christians circulated spurious or distorted narratives under this title (Orig. *c. Cels.*),¹ and the complaint of Eusebius (*H. E.* ix. 5) that the brethren made them the vehicle of blasphemous calumnies, show how largely the machinery of falsification was used on either side. Such of these documents as are extant are found in the collections

of Fabricius, Thilo, and Tischendorf. Some of them are but weak paraphrases of the Gospel history. The most extravagant are perhaps the most interesting, as indicating the existence of modes of thought at variance with the prevalent traditions. Of these anomalies the most striking is that known as the *Paradosis Pilati* (Tischendorf *Evang. Apoc.* p. 426). The emperor Tiberius, started at the universal darkness that had fallen on the Roman Empire on the day of the Crucifixion, summons Pilate to answer for having caused it. He is condemned to death, but before his execution he prays to the Lord Jesus that he may not be destroyed with the wicked Hebrews, and pleads his ignorance as an excuse. The prayer is answered by a voice from Heaven, assuring him that all generations shall call him blessed, and that he shall be a witness for Christ at His second coming to judge the twelve tribes of Israel. An angel receives his head, and his wife dies filled with joy, and is buried with him. Startling as this imaginary history may be, it has its counterpart in the traditional customs of the Abyssinian Church, in which Pilate is recognised as a saint and martyr, and takes his place in the calendar on the 25th of June (Stanley, *Eastern Church*, p. 13; Neale, *Eastern Church*, i. 806). The words of Tertullian, describing him as "jam pro sua conscientia Christianus" (*Apol.* c. 21) indicate a like feeling, and we find traces of it also in the Apocryphal Gospel, which speaks of him as "uncircumcised in flesh, but circumcised in heart" (*Evang. Nicod.* i. 12, in Tischendorf, *Evang. Apoc.* p. 236).

According to another legend (*Mors Pilati*, in Tischendorf's *Evang. Apoc.* p. 432), Tiberius, hearing of the wonderful works of healing that had been wrought in Judæa, writes to Pilate, bidding him to send to Rome the man that had this divine power. Pilate has to confess that he has crucified him; but the messenger meets Veronica, who gives him the cloth which had received the impress of the divine features, and by this the emperor is healed. Pilate is summoned to take his trial, and presents himself wearing the holy and seamless tunic. This acts as a spell upon the emperor, and he forgets his wonted severity. After a time Pilate is thrown into prison, and there commits suicide. His body is cast into the Tiber, but as storms and tempests followed, the Romans take it up and send it to Vienne. It is thrown into the Rhone; but the same disasters follow, and it is sent on to Losania (Lucerne or Lausanne?). There it is sunk in a pool, fenced round by mountains, and even there the waters boil or bubble strangely. The interest of this story obviously lies in its presenting an early form (the existing text is of the 14th century) of the local traditions which connect the name of the procurator of Judæa with the Mount Pilatus that overlooks the Lake of Lucerne. The received explanation (Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, v. p. 128) of the legend, as originating in a distortion of the descriptive name Mons Pileatus (the "cloud-capped"), supplies a curious instance of the genesis of a mythus from a false etymology; but it may be questioned whether it rests on sufficient grounds, and is not rather the product of a pseudo-criticism finding in a name the starting-point, not the embodiment of a legend. Have we any evidence that

¹ This reference is given in an article by Leyrer in Neander's *Real-Encyclopædie*, but the writer has been unable to verify it. The nearest approach seems to be the assertion

that no judgment fell on Pilate for his alleged crimes (U. 25).

the mountain was known as "Pileatus" before the legend? Have we not, in the apocryphal story just cited, the legend independently of the name? (comp. Vilmar, *Deutsch. Nation. Liter.* i. 217).

Pilate's wife is also, as might be expected, prominent in these traditions. Her name is given as Claudia Procula (Niceph. *H. E.* i. 30).^m She had been a proselyte to Judaism before the Crucifixion (*Evang. Nicod.* c. 2). Nothing certain is known as to her history, but the tradition that she became a Christian is as old as the time of Origen (*Hom. in Matt.* xxxv.). The system of administration under the Republic forbade the governors of provinces to take their wives with them, but the practice had gained ground under the Empire, and Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 33) records the failure of an attempt to reinforce the old regulation. (See p. 874, note f.) [E. H. P.]

PIL'DASH (פִּילְדָּשׁ; *Φαλδές*; Alex. *Φαλδός*; *Pheldas*). One of the eight sons of Nahor, Abraham's brother, by his wife and niece, Milcah (*Gen.* xxii. 22). The settlement of his descendants has not been identified with any degree of probability. Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, *Gen.* xxii. 22) compares *Ripalthas*, a place in the north-east of Mesopotamia; but the resemblance of the two names is probably accidental.

PIL'HA (פִּילְהָ; *Φαλαή*; *Phalea*). The name of one of the chief of the people, probably a family, who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (*Neh.* x. 24).

PILLAR.* The notion of a pillar is of a shaft or isolated pile, either supporting or not supporting a roof. Pillars form an important feature in Oriental architecture, partly perhaps as a reminiscence of the tent with its supporting poles, and partly also from the use of flat roofs, in consequence of which the chambers were either narrower or divided into portions by columns. The tent-principle is exemplified in the open halls of Persian and other Eastern buildings, of which the fronts, supported by pillars, are shaded by curtains or awnings fastened to the ground outside by pegs, or to trees in the garden-court (*Esth.* i. 6; Chardin, *Voy.* vii. 387, ix. 469, 470, and plates 39, 81; Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* pp. 530, 648; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 37). Thus also a figurative mode of describing heaven is as a tent or canopy supported by pillars (*Ps.* civ. 2; *Is.* xl. 22), and the earth as a flat surface resting on pillars (*1 Sam.* ii. 8; *Ps.* lxxv. 3).

It may be remarked that the word "place," in *1 Sam.* xv. 12, is in Hebrew "hand."^b In the Arab tent two of the posts are called *yed* or "hand" (Burckhardt, *Bed.* i. 37).

The general practice in Oriental buildings of supporting flat roofs by pillars, or of covering open spaces by awnings stretched from pillars, led to an

* The extent to which the terror connected with the belief formerly prevailed is somewhat startling. If a stone were thrown into the lake, a violent storm would follow. No one was allowed to visit it without a special permission from the authorities of Lucerne. The neighbouring shepherds were bound by a solemn oath, renewed annually, never to guide a stranger to it (Gessner, *Descript. Mont. Pilat.* p. 40, Zurich, 1555). The spell was broken in 1584 by Joannes Müller, curé of Lucerne, who was bold enough to throw stones and abide the consequences. (Golbery, *Univers Pittoresque de Suisse*, p. 327.) It is striking that traditions of Pilate attach themselves to several localities in the South of France (comp. Murray's *Handbook of France*, Route 125).

^m If it were possible to attach any value to the Codex of St. Matthew's Gospel, of which portions have been

extensive use of them in construction. In India architecture an enormous number of pillars, sometimes amounting to 1000, is found. A similar principle appears to have been carried out at Persepolis. At Nineveh the pillars were probably of construction prevailed in the "house of the forest of Lebanon," with its hall and porch of pillars (1 K. vii. 2, 6). The "chapters" of the two of the Persepolitan columns (Layard, *Nin. & Bab.* 252, 650; *Nineveh*, ii. 274; Fergusson, *Handbk.* 8, 174, 178, 188, 190, 196, 198, 231-233; Roberts, *Sketches*, No. 182, 184, 190, 198; Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iii. 34, 38; Burckhardt, *Trav. in Arabia*, i. 244, 245).

But perhaps the earliest application of the pillar was the votive or monumental. This in early times consisted of nothing but a single stone or pile of stones. Instances are seen in Jacob's pillars (*Gen.* xxviii. 18, xxxi. 46, 51, 52, xxxv. 14); in the twelve pillars set up by Moses at Mount Sinai (*Ex.* xxiv. 4); the twenty-four stones erected by Joshua (*Josh.* iv. 8, 9; see also *Is.* xix. 19, and *Josh.* xxiv. 27). The trace of a similar notion may probably be found in the holy stone of Mecca (Burckhardt, *Trav.* i. 297). Monumental pillars have also been common in many countries and in various styles of architecture. Such were perhaps the obelisks of Egypt (Fergusson, 6, 8, 115, 246, 340; Ibn Batuta, *Trav.* p. 111; Strabo, iii. p. 171, 172; Herod. ii. 106; Amm. Marc. xvii. 4; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 2, §3, the pillars of Seth).

The stone Ezel (*1 Sam.* xx. 19) was probably a terminal stone or a waymark.

The "place" set up by Saul (*1 Sam.* xv. 12) is explained by St. Jerome to be a trophy, *Vulg. fomicem triumphalem* (Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in lib. i. Reg.* iii. 1339). The word used is the same as that for Absalom's pillar, *Matstébah*, called by Josephus *χέρια* (*Ant.* vii. 10, §3), which was clearly of a monumental or memorial character, but not necessarily carrying any representation of a hand in its structure, as has been supposed to be the case. So also Jacob set up a pillar over Rachel's grave (*Gen.* xxxv. 20, and Robinson, i. 218). The monolithic tombs and obelisks of Petra are instances of similar usage (Burckhardt, *Syria*, 422; Roberts, *Sketches*, 105; Irby and Mangles, *Travels*, 125).

But the word *Matstébah*, "pillar," is more often rendered "statue" or "image" (e. g. *Deut.* vii. 5, xii. 3, xvi. 22; *Lev.* xxvi. 1; *Ex.* xxiii. 24, xxxiv. 13; 2 Chr. xiv. 3, xxxi. 1; *Jer.* xliii. 13, Hos. iii. 4, x. 1; *Mic.* v. 13). This agrees with the usage of heathen nations, and practised, as we have seen, by the patriarch Jacob, of erecting blocks

published by Simonides, as belonging to the 15. century the name of Pempelo might claim precedence.

^a 1. מִסְעָר (1 K. x. 12); ὑποστηρίγματα; *fulcra*, from

סָעָר, "support;" marg. "rails."

2. מִצְבֵּה; the same, or nearly so.

3. מִצְבֵּת, from מִצֵּב, "place;" *στήλη*; *titulus*; a pile of stones, or monumental pillar.

4. מַצֵּיב; *στήλη*; *statua* (*Gen.* xix. 26), of Lot's wife; from same root as 2 and 3.

5. מִצְוֹר; *πέτρα*; *munition*; "tower;" only in *Hab.* i. 1; elsewhere "strong city," i. e. a place of defense.

6. מִצְוֹר; "press," "confine."

7. מִצְוֹר; *στήλος*; *columna*; from מִצְוֹר, "claud."

8. מִצְוֹר; *χέρια*; *fornicem triumphalem*

of piles of wood or stone, which in later times grew into ornamented pillars in honour of the deity (Clem. Alex. *Co. ad Gent.* c. iv.; *Strom.* i. 24^a). Instances of this are seen in the Attic Hermae (Paus. *loc. cit.* 3, 4), seven pillars significant of the planets (*ibid.* 21, 9, also vii. 17, 4, and 22, 2, viii. 37); and Apollonius mentions the practice of pouring libations of oil upon them, which again recalls the case of Jacob (*Adv. Gent.* i. 335, ed. Gauthier).

The termini or boundary-marks were originally, perhaps always, rough stones or posts of wood, which received divine honours (*Ov. Fast.* ii. 641, 642). [*IDOL.* p. 850 b.]

Lastly, the figurative use of the term "pillar," as reference to the cloud and fire accompanying the Israelites on their march, or as in Cant. iii. 6 and *loc. cit.* i. 1, is plainly derived from the notion of an isolated column not supporting a roof. [*H. W. P.*]

PILLAR, PLAIN OF THE (עֲלוֹן מִצֵּבֶה):

ἡ ἐπιπένη τῆ εὐρετῆ^b τῆς στάσεως; Alex. omits τῆς εὐρετῆς: *quercon quae stabat*, or rather "oak of the pillar"—that being the real signification of the Hebrew word *elôn*. A tree which stood near Shechem, and at which the men of Shechem and the house of Milo assembled, to crown Abimelech son of Gideon (*Judg.* ix. 6). There is nothing said by which its position can be ascertained. It possibly bore its name of *Mutsâb* from a stone or pillar set up under it; and reasons have been already adduced for believing that this tree may have been the same with that under which Jacob buried the idols and idolatrous trinkets of his household, and under which Joshua erected a stone as a testimony of the covenant there re-executed between the people and Jehovah. [*MEONENIM.*] There was both time and opportunity during the period of commotion which followed the death of Joshua for this sanctuary to return into the hands of the Canaanites, and the stone left standing there by Joshua to become appropriated to idolatrous purposes as one of the *Matsâbals* in which the religion of the aborigines of the Holy Land delighted. [*IDOL.* p. 850.] The terms in which Joshua speaks of this very stone (*Josh.* xxiv. 27) almost seem to overstep the bounds of mere imagery, and would suggest and warrant the being afterwards regarded as endowed with miraculous qualities, and therefore a fit object for veneration. Especially would this be the case if the singular expression, "it hath heard all the words of Jehovah our God which He spake to us," were intended to indicate that this stone had been brought from Sinai, Jordan, or some other scene of the communications of Jehovah with the people. The Samaritans still show a range of stones on the summit of Gerizim as those brought from the bed of Jordan by the twelve tribes. [*G.*]

FILLED (*Gen.* xxx. 37, 38): PEELED (*Is.* xviii. 18). The verb "to pill" appears in *Eng.* as identical in meaning with "to peel" = "to strip," and in this sense is used in the above passages from *Gen.* Of the next stage in its mean-

ing as = plunder, we have traces in the word "pil-lage," pilfer. If the difference between the two forms be more than accidental, it would seem, as if in the English of the 17th century "peel" was used for the latter signification. The "people scattered and peeled," are those that have been plundered of all they have.⁴ The soldiers of Nebuchadnezzar's army (*Ez.* xxix. 18), however, have their shoulder *peeled* in the literal sense. The skin is worn off with carrying earth to pile up the mounds during the protracted siege of Tyre. [*E. H. P.*]

PIL'TAI (פִּלְטָי: Φελτῆι: *Pheltai*). The representative of the priestly house of Moadiah, of Maadiah, in the time of Joiakim the son of Jeshua (*Neh.* xii. 17).

PINE-TREE. 1. *Tidhâr*,* from a root signifying to *revolve*. What tree is intended is not certain. Gesenius inclines to think the oak, as implying duration. It has been variously explained to be the Indian plane, the larch, and the elm (Celsius, *Hierob.* ii. 271). But the rendering "pine," seems least probable of any, as the root implies either curvature or duration, of which the latter is not particularly applicable to the pine, and the former remarkably otherwise. The LXX. rendering in *Is.* xli. 19, *βραθυδαρ*, appears to have arisen from a confused amalgamation of the words *berôsh* and *tidhâr*, which follow each other in that passage. Of these *berôsh* is sometimes rendered "cypress," and might stand for "juniper." That species of juniper which is called *savin*, is in Greek *βραθύ*. The word *δαρ* is merely an expression in Greek letters for *tidhâr*. (Pliny, *xxiv.* 11, 61; Schleusner, *s. v.*; Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 78.) [*FR.*]

2. *Shemen*† (*Neh.* viii. 15), is probably the wild olive. The cultivated olive was mentioned just before (*Ges.* p. 1437). [*H. W. P.*]

PINNACLE (τὸ πτερύγιον; *pinna, pinnaculum*: only in *Matt.* iv. 5, and *Luke* iv. 9). The word is used in O. T. to render, 1. *Cánaph*, a wing or border, e. g. of a garment (*Num.* xv. 38; *1 Sam.* xv. 27, xxiv. 4). 2. *Snappir*, fin of a fish (*Lev.* xi. 9. So *Arist. Anim.* i. 5, 14). 3. *Kâtsâh*, edge; *A. V.* end (*Ex.* xxviii. 26). Hesychius explains πτ. as ἀκρωτήριον.

It is plain, 1. that τὸ πτερ. is not a pinnacle, but the pinnacle. 2. That by the word itself we should understand an edge or border, like a feather or a fin. The only part of the Temple which answered to the modern sense of pinnacle was the golden spikes erected on the roof, to prevent birds from settling there (*Joseph. B. J.* v. 5, §6). To meet the sense, therefore, of "wing" or to use our modern word founded on the same notion, "aisle," Lightfoot suggests the porch or vestibule which projected, like shoulders on each side of the Temple (*Joseph. B. J.* v. 5, §4; *Vitruv.* iii. 2).

Another opinion fixes on the royal porch adjoining the Temple, which rose to a total height of 400 cubits above the valley of Jehoshaphat (*Joseph. Ant.* xv. 11, §5, xx. 9, §7).

* תִּדְהָר; πεύκη; *pinus* (*Is.* ix. 13); from תָּהַר "revolve" (*Ges.* p. 323). In *Is.* xli. 19, *βραθυδαρ* *ulmus*.

† טַפְּסִי; ξύλον κυπαρίσσινον; *lignum pulcherrimum*.
 1. כַּנְפֵי; πτερύγιον; *angulus*.
 2. סַנְפִּיר; πτερ. *pinnula*.
 3. קָצֵה; πτερ; *summitas*.

^a ἡ ἐπιπένη ὁ στῆλος τὸ ἀνεκκοιστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.
^b A double translation of the Hebrew word: *εὐρετῆ* translated in the erroneous idea that the word is connected with מִצֵּבֶה "to find."
^c This is given in the margin of the A. V.
^d Comp. "peeling their prisoners," *Milton, P. R.* iv.
^e "To peel the chiefs, the people to devour."
Dryden, Homer, Iliad (Richardson)