

(1 K. x. 25; 2 Chr. ix. 24) Whether this was ever the case with the presents from Israelite subjects must remain uncertain. (4) Import duties, chiefly on the produce of the spice districts of Arabia (1 K. x. 15). (5) The monopoly of certain branches of commerce, as, for example, that of gold (1 K. ix. 28, xxii. 48), fine linen or byssus from Egypt (1 K. x. 28), and horses (ib. ver. 29). (6) The appropriation to the king's use of the early crop of hay (Am. vii. 1). This may, however, have been peculiar to the northern kingdom or occasioned by a special emergency (Ewald, *Proph. in loc.*)*

It is obvious that burdens such as these, coming upon a people previously unaccustomed to them, must have been almost intolerable. Even under Saul exemption from taxes is looked on as a sufficient reward for great military services (1 Sam. xvii. 25). Under the outward splendour and prosperity of the reign of Solomon there lay the deep discontent of an over-taxed people, and it contributed largely to the revolution that followed. The people complain not of Solomon's idolatry but of their taxes (1 K. xii. 4). Of all the king's officers he whom they hate most is ADORAM or ADONIRAM, who was "over the tribute" (1 K. xii. 18). At times, too, in the history of both the kingdoms there were special burdens. A tribute of 50 shekels a head had to be paid by Menahem to the Assyrian king (2 K. xv. 20), and under his successor Hoshea, this assumed the form of an annual tribute (2 K. xvii. 4; amount not stated). After the defeat of Josiah by Pharaoh-Necho, in like manner a heavy income-tax had to be imposed on the kingdom of Judah to pay the tribute demanded by Egypt (2 K. xxiii. 35), and the change of masters consequent on the battle of Carchemish brought in this respect no improvement (Jos. *Ant.* x. 9, §1-3).

III. Under the Persian empire, the taxes paid by the Jews were, in their broad outlines, the same in kind as those of other subject races. The financial system which gained for Darius Hystaspis the name of the "shopkeeper king" (*κἀπηλος*, Herod. iii. 89), involved the payment by each satrap of a fixed sum as the tribute due from his province (ibid.), and placed him accordingly in the position of a *publicanus*, or farmer of the revenue, exposed to all the temptation to extortion and tyranny inseparable from such a system. Here, accordingly, we get glimpses of taxes of many kinds. In Judaea, as in other provinces, the inhabitants had to provide in kind for the maintenance of the governor's household (comp. the case of Themistocles, Thuc. i. 138, and Herod. i. 192, ii. 98), besides a money-payment of 40 shekels a day (Neh. v. 14, 15). In Ezr. iv. 13, 20, vii. 24, we get a formal enumeration of the three great branches of the revenue. (1) The *הַקָּדֵשׁ*, fixed, *measured* payment, probably direct taxation (Grotius). (2) *הַבְּלִי*, the excise or *octroi* on articles of *consumption* (Ges. s. v.). (3) *הַמַּלְאָה*, probably the toll payable at bridges, fords, or certain stations on the high road. The influence of Ezra secured for the whole ecclesiastical order, from the priests down to the Nethinim, an immunity from all three (Ezr. vii. 24); but the burden

pressed heavily on the great body of the people, and they complained bitterly both of this and of the *ἀγγαρήιον*, or forced service, to which they and their cattle were liable (Neh. ix. 37). They were compelled to mortgage their vineyards and fields, borrowing money at 12 per cent., the interest being payable apparently either in money or in kind (Neh. v. 1-11). Failing payment, the creditors exercised the power (with or without the mitigation of the year of JUBILEE) of seizing the persons of the debtors and treating them as slaves (Neh. v. 5; comp. 2 K. iv. 1). Taxation was leading at Jerusalem to precisely the same evils as those which appeared from like causes in the early history of Rome. To this cause may probably be ascribed the incomplete payment of tithes or offerings at this period (Neh. xiii. 10, 12; Mal. iii. 8), and the consequent necessity of a special poll-tax of the third part of a shekel for the services of the Temple (Neh. x. 32). What could be done to mitigate the evil was done by Nehemiah, but the taxes continued, and oppression and injustice marked the government of the province accordingly (Eccl. v. 8).^b

IV. Under the Egyptian and Syrian kings the taxes paid by the Jews became yet heavier. The "farming" system of finance was adopted in its worst form. The Persian governors had had to pay a fixed sum into the treasury. Now the taxes were put up to auction. The contract sum for those of Phoenicia, Judaea, Samaria, had been estimated at about 8000 talents. An unscrupulous adventurer (*e. g.* Joseph, under Ptolemy Euergetes) would bid double that sum, and would then go down to the province, and by violence and cruelty, like that of Turkish or Hindoo collectors, squeeze out a large margin of profit for himself (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4, §1-5).

Under the Syrian kings we meet with an ingenious variety of taxation. Direct tribute (*φόροι*), an excise duty on salt, crown-taxes (*στέφανοι*, golden crowns, or their value, sent yearly to the king), one-half the produce of fruit trees, one-third that of corn land, a tax of some kind on cattle: these, as the heaviest burdens, are ostentatiously enumerated in the decrees of the two Demetriuses remitting them (1 Macc. x. 29, 30; xi. 35). Even after this, however, the golden crown and scarlet robe continue to be sent (1 Macc. xiii. 39). The proposal of the apostate Jason to farm the revenues at a rate above the average (460 talents, while Jonathan—1 Macc. xi. 28—pays 300 only), and to pay 150 talents more for a licence to open a circus (2 Macc. iv. 9), gives us a glimpse of another source of revenue. The exemption given by Antiochus to the priests and other ministers, with the deduction of one-third for all the residents in Jerusalem, was apparently only temporary (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3, §3).

V. The pressure of Roman taxation, if not absolutely heavier, was probably more galling, as being more thorough and systematic, more distinctively a mark of bondage. The capture of Jerusalem by Pompey was followed immediately by the imposition of a tribute, and within a short time the sum thus taken from the resources of the country amounted to 10,000 talents (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4, §4, 5). The decrees of Julius Caesar showed

the royal army.

^b The later date of the book is assumed in this reference. Comp. ECCLESIASTES.

* The history of the drought in the reign of Ahab (1 K. xviii. 5) shows that in such cases a power like this must have been essential to the support of the cavalry of

a characteristic desire to lighten the burdens that pressed upon the subjects of the republic. The tribute was not to be farmed. It was not to be levied at all in the Sabbatic year. One-fourth only was demanded in the year that followed (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, §5, 6). The people, still under the government of Hyrcanus, were thus protected against their own rulers. The struggle of the republican party after the death of the Dictator brought fresh burdens upon the whole of Syria, and Cassius levied not less than 700 talents from Judaea alone. Under Herod, as might be expected from his lavish expenditure in public buildings, the taxation became heavier. Even in years of famine a portion of the produce of the soil was seized for the royal revenue (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 9, §1), and it was not till the discontent of the people became formidable that he ostentatiously diminished this by one-third (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10, §4). It was no wonder that when Herod wished to found a new city in Trachonitis, and to attract a population of residents, he found that the most effective bait was to promise immunity from taxes (Jos. *Ant.* vii. 2, §1), or that on his death the people should be loud in their demands that Archelaus should release them from their burdens, complaining specially of the duty levied on all sales (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 8, §4).

When Judaea became formally a Roman province, the whole financial system of the Empire came as a natural consequence. The taxes were systematically farmed, and the publicans appeared as a new curse to the country. [PUBLICANS.] The Portoria were levied at harbours, piers, and the gates of cities. These were the τέλη of Matt. xvii. 24; Rom. xiii. 7. In addition to this there was the κῆνσος or poll-tax (Cod. D. gives ἐπικεφάλαιον in Mark xii. 15) paid by every Jew, and looked upon, for that reason, as the special badge of servitude. It was about the lawfulness of this payment that the rabbis disputed, while they were content to acquiesce in the payment of the customs (Matt. xxii. 17; Mark xii. 13; Luke xx. 20). It was against this apparently that the struggles of Judas of Galilee and his followers were chiefly directed (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1, §6; *B. J.* ii. 8, §1). United with this, as part of the same system, there was also, in all probability, a property-tax of some kind. Quirinus, after the deposition of Archelaus, was sent to Syria to complete the work—begun, probably, at the time of our Lord's birth—of valuing and registering property [CYRENIUS, TAXING], and this would hardly have been necessary for a mere poll-tax. The influence of Joazar the high-priest led the people generally (the followers of Judas and the Pharisee Sadduc were the only marked exceptions) to acquiesce in this measure and to make the required returns (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1, §1); but their discontent still continued, and, under Tiberius, they applied for some alleviation (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 42). In addition to these general taxes, the inhabitants of Jerusalem were subject to a special house-duty about this period; Agrippa, in his desire to reward the good-will of the people, remitted it (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 6, §3).

It can hardly be doubted that in this, as in most other cases, an oppressive taxation tended greatly to demoralise the people. Many of the

most glaring faults of the Jewish character are distinctly traceable to it. The fierce, vindictive cruelty of the Galilaeans, the Zealots, the Sicarii, was its natural fruit. It was not the least striking proof that the teaching of our Lord and His disciples was more than the natural outburst of popular feeling, that it sought to raise men to the higher region in which all such matters were regarded as things indifferent; and, instead of expressing the popular impatience of taxation, gave, as the true counsel, the precept "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's," "tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom." [E. H. P.]

TAXING. I. (ἡ ἀπογραφή: *descriptio*, Luke ii. 2; *professio*, Acts v. 37). The cognate verb ἀπογράφειν in like manner is rendered by "to be taxed" in the A. V.,* while the Vulgate employs "ut describeretur universus orbis" in Luke ii. 1, and "ut profiterentur singuli" in ver. 3. Both the Latin words thus used are found in classical writers with the meaning of a registration or formal return of population or property (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3, §47; *de Off.* i. 7; Sueton. *Tiber.* 30). The English word conveys to us more distinctly the notion of a tax or tribute actually levied, but it appears to have been used in the 16th century for the simple assessment of a subsidy upon the property of a given county (Bacon, *Hen. VII.* p. 67), or the registration of the people for the purpose of a poll-tax (Camden, *Hist. of Eliz.*). This may account for the choice of the word by Tindal in lieu of "description" and "profession," which Wyclif, following the Vulgate, had given. Since then "taxing" has kept its ground in most English versions with the exception of "tribute" in the Geneva, and "enrolment" in the Rhemish of Acts v. 37. The word ἀπογραφή by itself leaves the question whether the returns made were of population or property undetermined. Josephus, using the words ἡ ἀποτίμησις τῶν οὐσιῶν (*Ant.* xviii. 1, §1) as an equivalent, shows that "the taxing" of which Gamaliel speaks included both. That connected with the Nativity, the first step towards the complete statistical returns, was probably limited to the former (Greswell, *Harmony*, i. 542). In either case "Census" would have seemed the most natural Latin equivalent, but in the Greek of the N. T., and therefore probably in the familiar Latin of the period, as afterwards in the Vulg., that word slides off into the sense of the tribute actually paid (Matt. xxii. 17, xvii. 24).

II. Two distinct registrations, or taxings, are mentioned in the N. T., both of them by St. Luke. The first is said to have been the result of an edict of the emperor Augustus, that "all the world (i. e. the Roman empire) should be taxed" (ἀπογράφειν πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην) (Luke ii. 1), and is connected by the Evangelist with the name of Cyrenius, or Quirinus. The second, and more important (ἡ ἀπογραφή, Acts v. 37), is referred to in the report of Gamaliel's speech, and is there distinctly associated, in point of time, with the revolt of Judas of Galilee. The account of Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, §1; *B. J.* ii. 8, §1) brings together the two names which St. Luke keeps distinct, with an interval of several years between them. Cyrenius comes as governor of Syria after the deposition of Archelaus, accompanied by Coponius as procurator of Judaea. He is sent to make an assessment of the

* In Heb. xiii. 23 (πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς), where the idea is that of the registration of the

first-born as citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem, the A. V. has simply "written," the Vulg. "qui conscripti sunt"

value of property in Syria (no intimation being given of its extension to the οἰκουμένη), and it is this which rouses Judas and his followers to their rebellion. The chronological questions presented by these apparent discrepancies have been discussed, so far as they are connected with the name of the governor of Syria, under CYRENIUS. An account of the tumults caused by the taxing will be found under JUDAS OF GALILEE.

III. There are, however, some other questions connected with the statement of Luke ii. 1-3, which call for some notice.

(1.) The truth of the statement has been questioned by Strauss (*Leben Jesu*, i. 28) and De Wette (*Comm. in loc.*), and others, on the ground that neither Josephus nor any other contemporary writer mentions a census extending over the whole empire at this period (A.U.C. 750). An edict like this, causing a general movement from the cities where men resided to those in which, for some reason or other, they were to be registered, must, it is said, have been a conspicuous fact, such as no historian would pass over. (2.) Palestine, it is urged further, was, at this time, an independent kingdom under Herod, and therefore would not have come under the operation of an imperial edict. (3.) If such a measure, involving the recognition of Roman sovereignty, had been attempted under Herod, it would have roused the same resistance as the undisputed census under Quirinus did at a later period. (4.) The statement of St. Luke that "all went to be taxed, every one into his own city," is said to be inconsistent with the rules of the Roman census, which took cognizance of the place of residence only, not of the place of birth. (5.) Neither in the Jewish nor the Roman census would it have been necessary for the wife to travel with her husband in order to appear personally before the registrar (*censitor*). The conclusions from all these objections are, that this statement belongs to legend, not to history; that it was a contrivance, more or less ingenious, to account for the birth at Bethlehem (that being assumed in popular tradition as a pre-conceived necessity for the Messiah) of one whose kindred lived, and who himself had grown up at Nazareth; that the whole narrative of the Infancy of our Lord, in St. Luke's Gospel, is to be looked on as mythical. A sufficient defence of that narrative may, it is believed, be presented within comparatively narrow limits.

(1.) It must be remembered that our history of this portion of the reign of Augustus is defective. Tacitus begins his *Annals* with the emperor's death. Suetonius is gossiping, inaccurate, and ill-arranged. Dion Cassius leaves a gap from A.U.C. 748 to 756, with hardly any incidents. Josephus does not profess to give a history of the empire. It might easily be that a general census, circ. A.U.C. 749-750, should remain unrecorded by them. If the measure was one of frequent occurrence, it would be all the more likely to be passed over. The testimony of a writer, like St. Luke, obviously educated and well informed, giving many casual indications of a study of chronological data (Luke i. 5, iii.; Acts xxiv. 27), and of acquaintance with the Herodian family (Luke viii. 3, xxiii. 8; Acts xii. 20, xiii. 1) and other official people (Acts xxiii.-xxvi.), recognising distinctly the later and more conspicuous ἀπογραφή, must be admitted as fair presumptive evidence, hardly to be set aside in the absence of any evidence to the contrary. How hazardous such an inference from the silence of historians would be,

we may judge from the fact that there was undoubtedly a geometrical survey of the empire at some period in the reign of Augustus, of which none of the above writers take any notice (comp. the extracts from the *Rei Agrariae Scriptores* in Greswell, *Harmony*, i. p. 537). It has been argued further that the whole policy of Augustus rested on a perpetual communication to the central government of the statistics of all parts of the empire. The inscription on the monument of Ancyra (Gruter, *Corpus Inscript.* i. 230) names three general censuses in the years A.U.C. 726, 746, 767 (comp. Sueton. *Octav.* c. 28; Greswell, *Harm.* i. p. 535). Dion Cass. (lv. 13) mentions another in Italy in A.U.C. 757. Others in Gaul are assigned to A.U.C. 727, 741, 767. Strabo (vi. 4, §2) writing early in the reign of Tiberius speaks of μία τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τιμήσεων, as if they were common things. In A.U.C. 726, when Augustus offered to resign his power, he laid before the senate a "rationarium imperii" (Sueton. *Octav.* c. 28). After his death, in like manner, a "breviarium totius imperii" was produced, containing full returns of the population, wealth, resources of all parts of the empire, a careful digest apparently of facts collected during the labours of many years (Sueton. *Octav.* c. 101; Dion Cass. lv.; Tacit. *Ann.* i. 11). It will hardly seem strange that one of the routine official steps in this process should only be mentioned by a writer who, like St. Luke, had a special reason for noticing it. A census, involving property-returns, and the direct taxation consequent on them, might excite attention. A mere ἀπογραφή would have little in it to disturb men's minds, or force itself upon a writer of history.

There is, however, some evidence, more or less circumstantial, in confirmation of St. Luke's statement. (1.) The inference drawn from the silence of historians may be legitimately met by an inference drawn from the silence of objectors. It never occurred to Celsus, or Lucian, or Porphyry, questioning all that they could in the Gospel history, to question this. (2.) A remarkable passage in Suidas (*s. v. ἀπογραφή*) mentions a census, obviously differing from the three of the Ancyran monument, and agreeing, in some respects, with that of St. Luke. It was made by Augustus not as censor, but by his own imperial authority (δόξαν αὐτῷ; comp. ἐξήλαθε δόγμα, Luke ii. 1). The returns were collected by twenty commissioners of high rank. They included property as well as population, and extended over the whole empire. (3.) Tertullian, incidentally, writing controversially, not against a heathen, but against Marcion, appeals to the returns of the census for Syria under Sentius Saturninus as accessible to all who cared to search them, and proving the birth of Jesus in the city of David (Tert. *adv. Marc.* iv. 19). Whatever difficulty the difference of names may present [comp. CYRENIUS], here is, at any rate, a strong indication of the fact of a census of population, circ. A.U.C. 749, and therefore in harmony with St. Luke's narrative. (4.) Greswell (*Harm.* i. 476, iv. 6) has pointed to some circumstances mentioned by Josephus in the last year of Herod's life, and therefore coinciding with the time of the Nativity, which imply some special action of the Roman government in Syria, the nature of which the historian carelessly or deliberately suppresses.^b When Herod attends the council at Be-

^b The fulness with which Josephus dwells on the history of David's census and the tone in which he speaks of it

rytus there are mentioned as present, besides Saturninus and the Procurator, οἱ περὶ Πεδάβιον πρέσβεις, as though the officer thus named had come, accompanied by other commissioners, for some purpose which gave him for the time almost co-ordinate influence with the governor of Syria himself (*B. J.* i. 27, §2). Just after this again, Herod, for some unexplained reason, found it necessary to administer to the whole people an oath, not of allegiance to himself, but of goodwill to the emperor; and this oath 6000 of the Pharisees refused to take (*Joseph. Ant.* xvii. 2, §4; *B. J.* i. 29, §2). This statement implies, it is urged, some disturbing cause affecting the public tranquillity, a formal appearance of all citizens before the king's officers, and lastly, some measure specially distasteful to the Pharisees. The narrative of St. Luke offers an undesigned explanation of these phenomena.

(2.) The second objection admits of as satisfactory an answer. The statistical document already referred to included subject-kingdoms and allies, no less than the provinces (*Sueton. l. c.*). If Augustus had any desire to know the resources of Judaea, the position of Herod made him neither willing nor able to resist. From first to last we meet with repeated instances of subservience. He does not dare to try or punish his sons, but refers their cause to the emperor's cognizance (*Joseph. Ant.* xvi. 4, §1, xvii. 5, §8). He holds his kingdom on condition of paying a fixed tribute. Permission is ostentatiously given him to dispose of the succession to his throne as he likes best (*Joseph. Ant.* xvi. 4, §5). He binds his people, as we have seen, by an oath of allegiance to the emperor (*Joseph. Ant.* xvii. 2, §4). The threat of Augustus that he would treat Herod no longer as an ally but as a subject (*Joseph. Ant.* xvi. 9, §3), would be followed naturally enough by some such step as this, and the desire of Herod to regain his favour would lead him to acquiesce in it.

(3.) We need not wonder that the measure should have been carried into effect without any popular outbreak. It was a return of the population only, not a valuation of property; there was no immediate taxation as the consequence. It might offend a party like the Pharisees. It was not likely to excite the multitude. Even if it seemed to some the prognostication of a coming change, and of direct government by the Roman emperor, we know that there was a large and influential party ready to welcome that change as the best thing that could happen for their country (*Joseph. Ant.* xvii. 11, §2).

(4.) The alleged inconsistency of what St. Luke narrates is precisely what might be expected under the known circumstances of the case. The census, though Roman in origin, was effected by Jewish instrumentality, and in harmony therefore with Jewish customs. The alleged practice is, however, doubtful, and it has been maintained (*Huschke, über den Census, &c.* in Winer "Schatzung") that the inhabitants of the provinces were, as far as possible, registered in their *forum originis*—not in the place in which they were only residents. It may be noticed incidentally that the journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem belongs to a time when Galilee and Judaea were under the same ruler, and would therefore have been out of the question (as the subject of one prince would certainly not be

Ant. vii. 12) make it probable that there may have been a superstitious unwillingness to speak of this popu-

registered as belonging to another) after the death of Herod the Great. The circumstances of the Nativity indicate, if they do not prove, that Joseph went there only for personal enrolment, not because he was the possessor of house or land.

(5.) The last objection as to the presence of the Virgin, where neither Jewish nor Roman practice would have required it, is perhaps the most frivolous and vexatious of all. If Mary were herself of the house and lineage of David, there may have been special reasons for her appearance at Bethlehem. In any case the Scripture narrative is consistent with itself. Nothing could be more natural, looking to the unsettled state of Palestine at this period, than that Joseph should keep his wife under his own protection, instead of leaving her by herself in an obscure village, exposed to danger and reproach. In proportion to the hopes he had been taught to cherish of the birth of a Son of David, in proportion also to his acceptance of the popular belief that the Christ was to be born in the city of David (*Matt.* ii. 5; *John* vii. 42), would be his desire to guard against the accident of birth in the despised Nazareth out of which "no good thing" could come (*John* i. 46).

The literature connected with this subject is, as might be expected, very extensive. Every commentary contains something on it. Meyer, Wordsworth, and Alford may be consulted as giving the latest summaries. Good articles will be found under "Schatzung" in Winer, *Realwb.*; and Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.* A very full and exhaustive discussion of all points connected with the subject is given by Spanheim, *Dubia Evang.* ii. 3-9; and Richardus, *Diss. de Censu Augusti*, in Menthen's *Thesaurus*, ii. 428; comp. also Ellicott, *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 57. [E. H. P.]

TE'BAH (טַבָּח : Ταβέκ : *Tabee*). Eldest of the sons of Nahor, by his concubine Reumah (*Gen.* xii. 24). Josephus calls him Ταβαῖος (*Ant.* i. 6, §5).

TEBALI'AH (טַבְּלִיָּהוּ : Ταβλαί ; Alex. Ταβελίας : *Tabelias*). Third son of Hoshah of the children of Merari (1 Chr. xxvi. 11).

TEB'ETH. [MONTH.]

TEHIN'NAH (תְּחִינָה : Θαϊμάν ; Alex. Θαϊν : *Tehinna*). The father or founder of Ir-Nahash, the city of Nahash, and son of Eshton (1 Chr. iv. 12). His name only occurs in an obscure genealogy of the tribe of Judah, among those who are called "the men of Rechah."

TEIL-TREE. [OAK.]

TEKO'A and TEKO'AH (תְּקוֹא, but in 2 Sam. xiv. 2 only, תְּקוֹאָה : Θεχωέ and Θεχωά ; *Joseph. Θεκωέ, Θεκώα* : *Thecue*), a town in the tribe of Judah (2 Chr. xi. 6, as the associated places show), on the range of hills which rise near Hebron, and stretch eastward towards the Dead Sea. These hills bound the view of the spectator as he looks to the south from the summit of the Mount of Olives. Jerome (*in Amos, Prooem.*) says that Tekoa was six Roman miles from Bethlehem, and that as he wrote (*in Jerem.* vi. 1) he had that village daily before his eyes (*Thekoam quotidie oculis cernitur*). In his *Onomasticon* (art. *Eethei, Έκθευκέ*) he represents Tekoa as nine miles only from Jerusalem;

latter census, which would not apply to the property assessment of *Outrinus*.

but elsewhere he agrees with Eusebius a making the distance twelve miles. In the latter case he reckons by the way of Bethlehem, the usual course in going from the one place to the other; but there may have been also another and shorter way, to which he has reference in the other computation. Some suggest (Bachiene, *Palästina*, ii. p. 60) that an error may have crept into Jerome's text, and that we should read *twelve* there instead of *nine*. In 2 Chr. xx. 20 (see also 1 Macc. ix. 33), mention is made of "the wilderness of Tekoa," which must be understood of the adjacent region on the east of the town (see *infra*), which in its physical character answers so entirely to that designation. It is evident from the name (derived from עקף, "to strike," said of driving the stakes or pins into the ground for securing the tent), as well as from the manifest adaptation of the region to pastoral pursuits, that the people who lived here must have been occupied mainly as shepherds, and that Tekoa in its best days could have been little more than a cluster of tents, to which the men returned at intervals from the neighbouring pastures, and in which their families dwelt during their absence.

The biblical interest of Tekoa arises, not so much from any events which are related as having occurred there, as from its connexion with various persons who are mentioned in Scripture. It is not enumerated in the Hebrew catalogue of towns in Judah (Josh. xv. 49), but is inserted in that passage of the Septuagint. The "wise woman" whom Joab employed to effect a reconciliation between David and Absalom was obtained from this place (2 Sam. xiv. 2). Here also, Iia, the son of Ikkesh, one of David's thirty "mighty men" (גִּבּוֹרִים) was born, and was called on that account "the Tekoite" (2 Sam. xxiii. 26). It was one of the places which Rehoboam fortified, at the beginning of his reign, as a defence against invasion from the south (2 Chr. xi. 6). Some of the people from Tekoa took part in building the walls of Jerusalem, after the return from the Captivity (Neh. iii. 5, 27). In Jer. vi. 1, the prophet exclaims, "Blow the trumpet in Tekoa and set up a sign of fire in Beth-Haccerem"—the latter probably the "Frank Mountain," the cone-shaped hill so conspicuous from Bethlehem. It is the sound of the trumpet as a warning of the approach of enemies, and a signal-fire kindled at night for the same purpose, which are described here as so appropriately heard and seen, in the hour of danger, among the mountains of Judah. But Tekoa is chiefly memorable as the birthplace of the prophet Amos, who was here called by a special voice from heaven to leave his occupation as "a herdman" and "a gatherer of wild figs," and was sent forth thence to testify against the sins of the kingdom of Israel (Amos vii. 14). Accustomed to such pursuits, he must have been familiar with the solitude of the desert, and with the dangers there incident to a shepherd's life. Some effect of his peculiar training amid such scenes may be traced, as critics think (De Wette, *Eint. ins Alte Test.* p. 356), in the contents and style of his prophecy. Jerome (*ad Am.* i. 2) says, ". . . etiam Amos prophetam qui pastor de pastoribus fuit et pastor non in locis cultis et arboribus ac vineis consitis, aut certe inter sylvas et prata virentia, sed in lata eremi vastitate, in qua versatur leonum feritas et interfectio pecorum, artis suae usum esse sermonibus." Compare Am. ii. 13, iii. 4, 12, iv. 1, vi. 12, vii. 1; and see the striking remarks of Dr. Pusey, *Introd. to Amos*.

In the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 24, and iv. 5) Ashur, a posthumous son of Hezron and a brother of Caleb, is there mentioned as the father of Tekoa, which appears to mean that he was the founder of Tekoa, or at least the owner of that village. See Roediger in *Gesen. Thesaur.* iii. p. 1518.

Tekoa is known still as *Tekû'a*, and, though it lies somewhat aside from the ordinary route, has been visited and described by several recent travellers. The writer was there on the 21st of April, 1852, during an excursion from Jerusalem by the way of Bethlehem and *Urtás*. Its distance from *Beit Lahm* agrees precisely with that assigned by the early writers as the distance between Tekoa and Bethlehem. It is within sight also of the "Frank Mountain," beyond question the famous Herodium, or site of Herod's Castle, which Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 9, §5) represents as near the ancient Tekoa. It lies on an elevated hill, which spreads itself out into an irregular plain of moderate extent. Its "high position" (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 486) "gives it a wide prospect. Toward the north-east the land slopes down towards *Wady Khūreitūn*; on the other sides the hill is surrounded by a belt of level table land; beyond which are valleys, and then other higher hills. On the south, at some distance, another deep valley runs off south-east towards the Dead Sea. The view in this direction is bounded only by the level mountains of Moab, with frequent bursts of the Dead Sea, seen through openings among the rugged and desolate intervening mountains." The scene, on the occasion of the writer's journey above referred to, was eminently a pastoral one, and gave back no doubt a faithful image of the olden times. There were two encampments of shepherds there, consisting of tents covered with the black goat-skins so commonly used for that purpose; they were supported on poles and turned up in part on one side, so as to enable a person without to look into the interior. Flocks were at pasture near the tents and on the remoter hill-sides in every direction. There were horses and cattle and camels also, though these were not so numerous as the sheep and goats. A well of living water, on the outskirts of the village, was a centre of great interest and activity; women were coming and going with their pitchers, and men were filling the troughs to water the animals which they had driven thither for that purpose. The general aspect of the region was sterile and unattractive; though here and there were patches of verdure, and some of the fields, which had yielded an early crop, had been recently ploughed up, as if for some new species of cultivation. Fleecy clouds, white as the driven snow, were floating towards the Dead Sea, and their shadows, as they chased each other over the landscape, seemed to be fit emblems of the changes in the destiny of men and nations, of which there was so much to remind one at such a time and in such a place. Various ruins exist at Tekoa, such as the walls of houses, cisterns, broken columns, and heaps of building stones. Some of these stones have the so-called "bevelled" edges which are supposed to show a Hebrew origin. There was a convent here at the beginning of the 6th century, and a Christian settlement in the time of the Crusaders; and undoubtedly most of these remains belong to modern times rather than ancient. Among these should be mentioned a baptismal font, sculptured out of a limestone block, three feet and nine inches deep, with an internal diameter at the top of four feet, and designed evidently for baptism as administered

in the Greek Church. It stands in the open air, like a similar one which the writer saw at *Jufna*, near *Beitin*, the ancient Bethel. See more fully in the *Christian Review* (New York, 1853, p. 519).

Near *Tekú'a*, among the same mountains, on the brink of a frightful precipice, are the ruins of *Khúreitún*, possibly a corruption of *Kerioth* (Josh. xv. 25), and in that case perhaps the birthplace of Judas the traitor, who was thence called *Iscariot*, i. e. "man of *Kerioth*." It is impossible to survey the scenery of the place, and not feel that a dark spirit would find itself in its own element amid the seclusion and wildness of such a spot. High up from the bottom of the ravine is an opening in the face of the rocks which leads into an immense subterranean labyrinth, which many suppose may have been the *Cave of Adullam*, in which David and his followers sought refuge from the pursuit of Saul. It is large enough to contain hundreds of men, and is capable of defence against almost any attack that could be made upon it from without. When a party of the Turks fell upon *Tekú'a* and sacked it, A.D. 1138, most of the inhabitants, anticipating the danger, fled to this cavern, and thus saved their lives. It may be questioned (Robinson, i. 481) whether this was the actual place of David's retreat, but it illustrates, at all events, that peculiar geological formation of the country, which accounts for such frequent allusions to "dens and caves" in the narrations of the Bible. The writer was told, as a common opinion of the natives, that some of the passages of this particular excavation extended as far as to Hebron, several miles distant, and that all the cord at Jerusalem would not be sufficient to serve as clue for traversing its windings. [ODOLLAM.]

One of the gates of Jerusalem in Christian times seems to have borne the name of *Tekoa*. Arculf, at any rate, mentions the "gate called *Tecuitis*" in his enumeration of the gates of the city (A.D. 700). It appears to have led down into the valley of the *Kedron*, probably near the southern end of the East wall. But his description is not very clear. Can it be to this that St. Jerome alludes in the singular expression in the *Epit. Paulae* (§12), *revertar Jerosolymam et per Thecuam atque Ámos, rutilantem montis Oliveti Crucem aspiciam*. The Church of the Ascension on the summit of *Olivet* would be just opposite a gate in the East wall, and the "glittering cross" would be particularly conspicuous if seen from beneath its shadow. There is no more *primâ facie* improbability in a *Tekoa* gate than in a *Bethlehem*, *Jaffa*, or *Damascus* gate, all which still exist at Jerusalem. But it is strange that the allusions to it should be so rare, and that the circumstances which made *Tekoa* prominent enough at that period to cause a gate to be named after it should have escaped preservation. [H. B. H.]

TEKO'A (תְּקוֹאָה: Θεκωέ: *Thecue*). A name occurring in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. ii. 24, iv. 5), as the son of Ashur. There is little doubt that the town of *Tekoa* is meant, and that the notice implies that the town was colonized or founded by a man or a town of the name of *ASHUR*. [G.]

TEKO'ITE, THE (תְּקוֹאִי; in Chron. תְּקוֹאִי: δ Θεκωείτης, δ Θεκώ, δ Θεκωνείτης: *de Thequa*,

"In this instance his rendering is more worthy of notice, because it would have been easy for him to have inter-

Thecutes). *IRA* ben-Ikkesh, one of David's warriors, is thus designated (2 Sam. xxiii. 26; 1 Chr. xi. 28, xxvii. 9). The common people among the *TEKOITES* displayed great activity in the repairs of the wall of Jerusalem under Nehemiah. They undertook two lengths of the rebuilding (Neh. iii. 5, 27). It is however specially mentioned that their "lords" (אֲדֹנָיהֶם) took no part in the work. [G.]

TEL-A'BIB (תֵּל-אַבִּיב: μετέωρος: *ad acervum novarum frugum*) was probably a city of Chaldaea or Babylonia, not of Upper Mesopotamia, as generally imagined. (See Calmet on Ez. iii. 15, and Winer, *ad voc.*) The whole scene of Ezekiel's preaching and visions seems to have been Chaldaea Proper; and the river *Chebar*, as already observed [see *CHEBAR*], was not the *Khabour*, but a branch of the Euphrates. Ptolemy has in this region a *Thel-bencane* and a *Thal-atha* (*Geograph.* v. 20); but neither name can be identified with *Tel-abib*, unless we suppose a serious corruption. The element "Tel" in *Tel-abib*, is undoubtedly "hill." It is applied in modern times by the Arabs especially to the mounds or heaps which mark the site of ruined cities all over the Mesopotamian plain, an application not very remote from the Hebrew use, according to which "Tel" is "especially a heap of stones" (*Gesen. ad voc.*). It thus forms the first syllable in many modern, as in many ancient names, throughout Babylonia, Assyria, and Syria. (See Asseman, *Bibl. Orient.* iii. pt. ii. p. 784.)

The LXX. have given a translation of the term, by which we can see that they did not regard it as a proper name, but which is quite inexplicable. The Vulgate likewise translates, and correctly enough, so far as Hebrew scholarship is concerned; but there seems to be no reason to doubt that the word is really a proper name, and therefore ought not to be translated at all. [G. R.]

TE'LAH (תֵּלַח: Θαλαές; Alex. Θαλέ: *Thale*). A descendant of Ephraim, and ancestor of Joshua (1 Chr. vii. 25).

TEL'AIM (תֵּלַיִם, with the article: ἐν Γαλαγαλοῖς in both MSS., and so also Josephus: *quasi agnos*). The place at which Saul collected and numbered his forces before his attack on Amalek (1 Sam. xv. 4, only). It may be identical with *TELEM*, the southern position of which would be suitable for an expedition against Amalek; and a certain support is given to this by the mention of the name (*Thailam* or *Thelam*) in the LXX. of 2 Sam. iii. 12. On the other hand the reading of the LXX. in 1 Sam. xv. 4 (not only in the Vatican MS., but also in the Alex., usually so close an adherent of the Hebrew text), and of Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 7, §2), who is not given to follow the LXX. slavishly—viz. *Gilgal*, is remarkable; and when the frequent connexion of that sanctuary with Saul's history is recollected, it is almost sufficient to induce the belief that in this case the LXX. and Josephus have preserved the right name, and that instead of *Telaim* we should, with them, read *Gilgal*. It should be observed, however, that the Hebrew MSS. exhibit no variation in the name, and that, excepting the LXX. and the Targum, the Versions all agree with the Hebrew. The Targum renders it "lambs of the Passover," according to a curious fancy, mentioned elsewhere in the Jewish books (*Yalkut* on 1 Sam. i. 16). The Rabbis do, with whose tradition he was well acquainted

xx. 4, &c.), that the army met at the Passover, and that the census was taken by counting the lambs. This is partly endorsed by Jerome in the Vulgate. [G.]

TELASSAR (תֵּלַסָר: Θαεσθέν, Θεεμάθ: *Thelassar, Thalassar*) is mentioned in 2 K. xix. 12, and in Is. xxxvii. 12 as a city inhabited by "the children of Eden," which had been conquered, and was held in the time of Sennacherib by the Assyrians. In the former passage the name is rather differently given both in Hebrew and English. [THELASSAR.] In both it is connected with Gozan (Gauzanitis), Haran (Carrhae, now *Harran*), and Rezep (the *Razappa* of the Assyrian Inscriptions), all of which belong to the hill country above the Upper Mesopotamian plain, the district from which rise the *Khabûr* and *Belik* rivers. [See MESOPOTAMIA, GOZAN, and HARAN.] It is quite in accordance with the indications of locality which arise from this connection, to find Eden joined in another passage (Ez. xxvii. 23) with Haran and Asshur. Telassar, the chief city of a tribe known as the *Beni Eden*, must have been in Western Mesopotamia, in the neighbourhood of Harran and Orfa. It would be uncritical to attempt to fix the locality more exactly. The name is one which might have been given by the Assyrians to any place where they had built a temple to Asshur,^c and hence perhaps its application by the Targums to the Resen of Gen. x. 12, which must have been on the Tigris, near Nineveh and Calah. [RESEN.] [G. R.]

TEL'EM (תֵּלֵם: Μαινάμ^d; Alex. Τελεμ: *Telem*). One of the cities in the extreme south of Judah (Josh. xv. 24). It occurs between ZIPH (not the Ziph of David's escape) and BEALOTH: but has not been identified. The name *Dhullâm* is found in Van de Velde's map, attached to a district immediately to the north of the *Kubbet el-Baul*, south of *el Milh* and *Ar'arah*—a position very suitable; but whether the coincidence of the name is merely accidental or not, is not at present ascertainable. Telem is identified by some with Telaim, which is found in the Hebrew text of 1 Sam. xv. 4; but there is nothing to say either for or against this.

The LXX. of 2 Sam. iii. 12, in both MSS., exhibits a singular variation from the Hebrew text. Instead of "on the spot" (וְעַל-הַמָּקוֹם, A. V. incorrectly, "on his behalf") they read "to Thailam (or Thelam) where he was." If this variation should be substantiated, there is some probability that Telem or Telaim is intended. David was at the time king, and quartered in Hebron, but there is no reason to suppose that he had relinquished his marauding habits; and the south country, where Telem lay, had formerly been a favourite field for his expeditions (1 Sam. xxvii. 8-11).

The Vat. LXX. in Josh. xix. 7, adds the name Θαλάδα, between Remmon and Ether, to the towns of Simeon. This is said by Eusebius (*Onomast.*) and Jerome to have been then existing as a very large village called Thella, 16 miles south of Eleutheropolis. It is however claimed as equivalent to TOCHEN. [G.]

^b A similar fancy in reference to the name BEZEK (1 Sam. xi. 8) is found in the Midrash. It is taken literally as meaning "broken pieces of pottery," by which, as by counters, the numbering was effected. Bezek and Telaim are considered by the Talmudists as two of the ten numberings of Israel, past and future.

^c It would signify simply "the Hill of Asshur."

TEL'EM (תֵּלֵם: Τελεμήν; Alex. Τελλήμ: *Telem*). A porter or doorkeeper of the Temple in the time of Ezra, who had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 24). He is probably the same as TALMON in Neh. xii. 25, the name being that of a family rather than of an individual. In 1 Esd. ix. 25 he is called TOLBANES.

TEL-HAR'SA, or **TEL-HAR'ESHA** (תֵּל-חַרְשָׁא: Θελαρησά: *Thelharsa*) was one of the Babylonian towns, or villages, from which some Jews, who "could not show their father's house, nor their seed, whether they were of Israel," returned to Judaea with Zerubbabel (Ez. ii. 59; Neh. vii. 61). Gesenius renders the term "Hill of the Wood" (*Lex. ad voc.*). It was probably in the low country near the sea, in the neighbourhood of Tel-Melah and Cherub; but we cannot identify it with any known site. [G. R.]

TEL-ME'LAH (תֵּל-מֵלַח: Θελμελίχ, Θελμελέθ: *Thelmala*) is joined with Tel-Harsa and Cherub in the two passages already cited under TEL-HARSA. It is perhaps the Thelme of Ptolemy (v. 20), which some wrongly read as Theame (ΘΕΑΜΗ for ΘΕΑΜΗ), a city of the low salt tract near the Persian Gulf, whence probably the name, which means "Hill of Salt" (Gesen. *Lex. Heb. sub voc.*). Cherub, which may be pretty surely identified with Ptolemy's Chiripha (Χιριφά), was in the same region. [G. R.]

TE'MA (תֵּמָא: Θαιμάν: *Thema*). The ninth son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 15; 1 Chr. i. 30); whence the tribe called after him, mentioned in Job vi. 19, "The troops of Tema looked, the companies of Sheba waited for them," and by Jeremiah (xxv. 23), "Dedan, Tema, and Buz;" and also the land occupied by this tribe: "The burden upon Arabia. In the forest in Arabia shall ye lodge, O ye travelling companies of Dedanim. The inhabitants of the land of Tema brought water to him that was thirsty, they prevented with their bread him that fled" (Is. xxi. 13, 14).

The name is identified satisfactorily with Teymá, تيماء, a small town on the confines of Syria, between it and Wadi-l-Kurá, on the road of the Damascus pilgrim-caravan (*Marásid*, s. v.). It is in the neighbourhood of Doomat-el-Jendel, which agrees etymologically and by tradition with the Ishmaelite DUMAH, and the country of Keydár, or KEDAR. Teymá is a well-known town and district, and is appropriate in every point of view as the chief settlement of Ishmael's son Tema. It is commanded by the castle called El-Ablak (or El-Ablak el-Fard), of Es-Semáw-al (Samuel). Ibn-'Adiyá the Jew, a contemporary of Imrà-el-Keys (A.D. 550 cir.); but according to a tradition it was built by Solomon, which points at any rate to its antiquity (comp. El-Bekree, in *Marásid*, iv. 23); now in ruins, described as being built of rubble and crude bricks, and said to be named El-Ablak from having whiteness and redness in its structure (*Marásid*, s. v.).

Compare Tei-ane, "the Hill of Ana," a name which seems to have been applied in later times to the city called by the Assyrians "Asshur," and marked by the ruins at *Kileh Sherghat*. (Steph. Byz. ad voc. Τελάνη.)

^d The passage is in such confusion in the Vatican MS., that it is difficult rightly to assign the words, and impossible to infer anything from the equivalents.

Ablak). This fortress seems, like that of Doomat-el-Jendel, to be one of the strongholds that must have protected the caravan route along the northern frontier of Arabia; and they recall the passage following the enumeration of the sons of Ishmael: "These [are] the sons of Ishmael, and these [are] their names, by their towns, and by their castles; twelve princes according to their nations" (Gen. xxv. 16).

Teymá signifies "a desert," "an untilled district," &c. Freytag (*s. v.*) writes the name without a long final alif, but not so the *Marásid*.

Ptolemy (xix. 6) mentions *θέμμη* in Arabia Deserta, which may be the same place as the existing Teymá. The LXX. reading seems to have a reference to TEMAN, which see. [E. S. P.]

TE'MAN (תִּמְנָא: *Θαιμάν*: *Theman*). 1. A son of Eliphaz, son of Esau by Adah (Gen. xxxvi. 11; 1 Chr. i. 36, 53), afterwards named as a duke (phylarch) of Edom (ver. 15), and mentioned again in the separate list (vv. 40-43) of "the names of the rulers [that came] of Esau, according to their families, after their places, by their names;" ending, "these be the dukes of Edom, according to their habitations in the land of their possession: he [is] Esau the father of the Edomites."

2. A country, and probably a city, named after the Edomite phylarch, or from which the phylarch took his name, as may be perhaps inferred from the verses of Gen. xxxvi. just quoted. The Hebrew signifies "south," &c. (see Job ix. 9; Is. xliii. 6; besides the use of it to mean the south side of the Tabernacle in Ex. xxvi. and xxvii., &c.); and it is probable that the land of Teman was a southern portion of the land of Edom, or, in a wider sense, that of the sons of the East, the Beni-kedem. Teman is mentioned in five places by the Prophets, in four of which it is connected with Edom, showing it to be the same place as that indicated in the list of the dukes; twice it is named with Dedan—"Concerning Edom, thus saith the Lord of hosts: [Is] wisdom no more in Teman? is counsel perished from the prudent? is their wisdom vanished? Flee ye, turn back, dwell deep, O inhabitants of Dedan" (Jer. xlix. 7, 8); and "I will make it [Edom] desolate from Teman; and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword" (Ez. xxv. 13). This connection with the great Keturahite tribe of Dedan gives additional importance to Teman, and helps to fix its geographical position. This is further defined by a passage in the chapter of Jer. already cited, verses 20, 21, where it is said of Edom and Teman, "The earth is moved at the noise of their fall; at the cry the noise thereof was heard in the Red Sea (*yam Suf*). In the sublime prayer of Habakkuk, it is written, "God came from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran" (iii. 3). Jeremiah, it has been seen, speaks of the wisdom of Teman; and the prophecy of Obadiah implies the same (8, 9), "shall I not in that day, saith the Lord, even destroy the wise (men) out of Edom, and understanding out of the mount of Esau? And thy [mighty] men, O Teman, shall be dismayed." In wisdom, the descendants of Esau, and especially the inhabitants of Teman, seem to have been pre-eminent among the sons of the East.

In common with most Edomite names, Teman appears to have been lost. The occupation of the country by the Nabathaeans seems to have obliterated almost all of the traces (always obscure) of the migratory tribes of the desert. It is not likely that

much can ever be done by modern research to clear up the early history of this part of the "east country." True, Eusebius and Jerome mention Teman as a town in their day distant 15 miles (according to Eusebius) from Petra, and a Roman post. The identification of the existing Maan (see Burckhardt, with this Teman may be geographically correct, but it cannot rest on etymological grounds.

The gentile noun of Teman is תִּמְנִי (Job ii. 11; xxii. 1), and Eliphaz the Temanite was one of the wise men of Edom. The gen. n. occurs also in Gen. xxxvi. 34, where the land of Temani (so in the A. V.) is mentioned. [E. S. P.]

TE'MANI. [TEMAN.]

TE'MANITE. [TEMAN.]

TE'MENI (תִּמְנִי: *Θαιμάν*: *Themani*). Son of Ashur, the father of Tekoa, by his wife Naarah (1 Chr. iv. 6).

TEMPLE. There is perhaps no building of the ancient world which has excited so much attention since the time of its destruction as the Temple which Solomon built at Jerusalem, and its successor as rebuilt by Herod. Its spoils were considered worthy of forming the principal illustration of one of the most beautiful of Roman triumphal arches, and Justinian's highest architectural ambition was that he might surpass it. Throughout the middle ages it influenced to a considerable degree the forms of Christian churches, and its peculiarities were the watchwords and rallying points of all associations of builders. Since the revival of learning in the 16th century its arrangements have employed the pens of numberless learned antiquarians, and architects of every country have wasted their science in trying to reproduce its forms.

But it is not only to Christians that the Temple of Solomon is so interesting; the whole Mahomedan world look to it as the foundation of all architectural knowledge, and the Jews still recall its glories and sigh over their loss with a constant tenacity, unmatched by that of any other people to any other building of the ancient world.

With all this interest and attention it might fairly be assumed that there was nothing more to be said on such a subject—that every source of information had been ransacked, and every form of restoration long ago exhausted, and some settlement of the disputed points arrived at which had been generally accepted. This is, however, far from being the case, and few things would be more curious than a collection of the various restorations that have been proposed, as showing what different meanings may be applied to the same set of simple architectural terms.

The most important work on this subject, and that which was principally followed by restorers in the 17th and 18th centuries, was that of the brothers Pradi, Spanish Jesuits, better known as Villalpandi. Their work was published in folio at Rome, 1596-1604, superbly illustrated. Their idea of Solomon's Temple was, that both in dimensions and arrangement it was very like the Escorial in Spain. But it is by no means clear whether the Escorial was being built while their book was in the press, in order to look like the Temple, or whether its authors took their idea of the Temple from the palace. At all events their design is so much the more beautiful and commodious of the two, that we cannot but regret that Herrera was not employed on the book, and the Jesuits set to build the palace.

When the French expedition to Egypt, in the first years of this century, had made the world familiar with the wonderful architectural remains of that country, every one jumped to the conclusion that Solomon's Temple must have been designed after an Egyptian model, forgetting entirely how hateful that land of bondage was to the Israelites, and how completely all the ordinances of their religion were opposed to the idolatries they had escaped from—forgetting, too, the centuries which had elapsed since the Exode before the Temple was erected, and how little communication of any sort there had been between the two countries in the interval.

The Assyrian discoveries of Botta and Layard have within the last twenty years given an entirely new direction to the researches of the restorers, and this time with a very considerable prospect of success, for the analogies are now true, and whatever can be brought to bear on the subject is in the right direction. The original seats of the progenitors of the Jewish races were in Mesopotamia. Their language was practically the same as that spoken on the banks of the Tigris. Their historical traditions were consentaneous, and, so far as we can judge, almost all the outward symbolism of their religions was the same, or nearly so. Unfortunately, however, no Assyrian temple has yet been exhumed of a nature to throw much light on this subject, and we are still forced to have recourse to the later buildings at Persepolis, or to general deductions from the style of the nearly contemporary secular buildings at Nineveh and elsewhere, for such illustrations as are available. These, however, nearly suffice for all that is required for Solomon's Temple. For the details of that erected by Herod we must look to Rome.

Of the intermediate Temple erected by Zerubbabel we know very little, but, from the circumstance of its having been erected under Persian influences contemporaneously with the buildings at Persepolis, it is perhaps the one of which it would be most easy to restore the details with anything like certainty.

Before proceeding, however, to investigate the arrangements of the Temple, it is indispensable first carefully to determine those of the Tabernacle which Moses caused to be erected in the Desert of Sinai immediately after the promulgation of the Law from that mountain. For, as we shall presently see, the Temple of Solomon was nothing more nor less than an exact repetition of that earlier Temple, differing only in being erected of more durable materials, and with exactly double the dimensions of its prototype, but still in every essential respect so identical that a knowledge of the one is indispensable in order to understand the other.

TABERNACLE.

The written authorities for the restoration of the Tabernacle are, first, the detailed account to be found in the 26th chapter of Exodus, and repeated

* The cubit used throughout this article is assumed to be the ordinary cubit, of the length of a man's fore-arm from the elbow-joint to the tip of the middle finger, or 18 Greek inches, equal to 18½ English inches. There seems to be little doubt but that the Jews also used occasionally a shorter cubit of 5 handbreaths, or 15 inches, but only (in so far as can be ascertained) in speaking of vessels or of metal work, and never applied it to buildings. After the Babylonish Captivity they seem also occasionally to have employed the Babylonian cubit of 7 handbreaths, or 21 inches. This, however, can evidently have no application to the Tabernacle or Solomon's Temple, which was erected before the Captivity; nor

in the 36th, verses 8 to 38, without any variation beyond the slightest possible abridgement. Secondly, the account given of the building by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 6), which is so nearly a repetition of the account found in the Bible that we may feel assured that he had no really important authority before him except the one which is equally accessible to us. Indeed we might almost put his account on one side, if it were not that, being a Jew, and so much nearer the time, he may have had access to some traditional accounts which may have enabled him to realize its appearance more readily than we can do, and his knowledge of Hebrew technical terms may have enabled him to understand what we might otherwise be unable to explain.

The additional indications contained in the Talmud and in Philo are so few and indistinct, and are besides of such doubtful authenticity, that they practically add nothing to our knowledge, and may safely be disregarded.

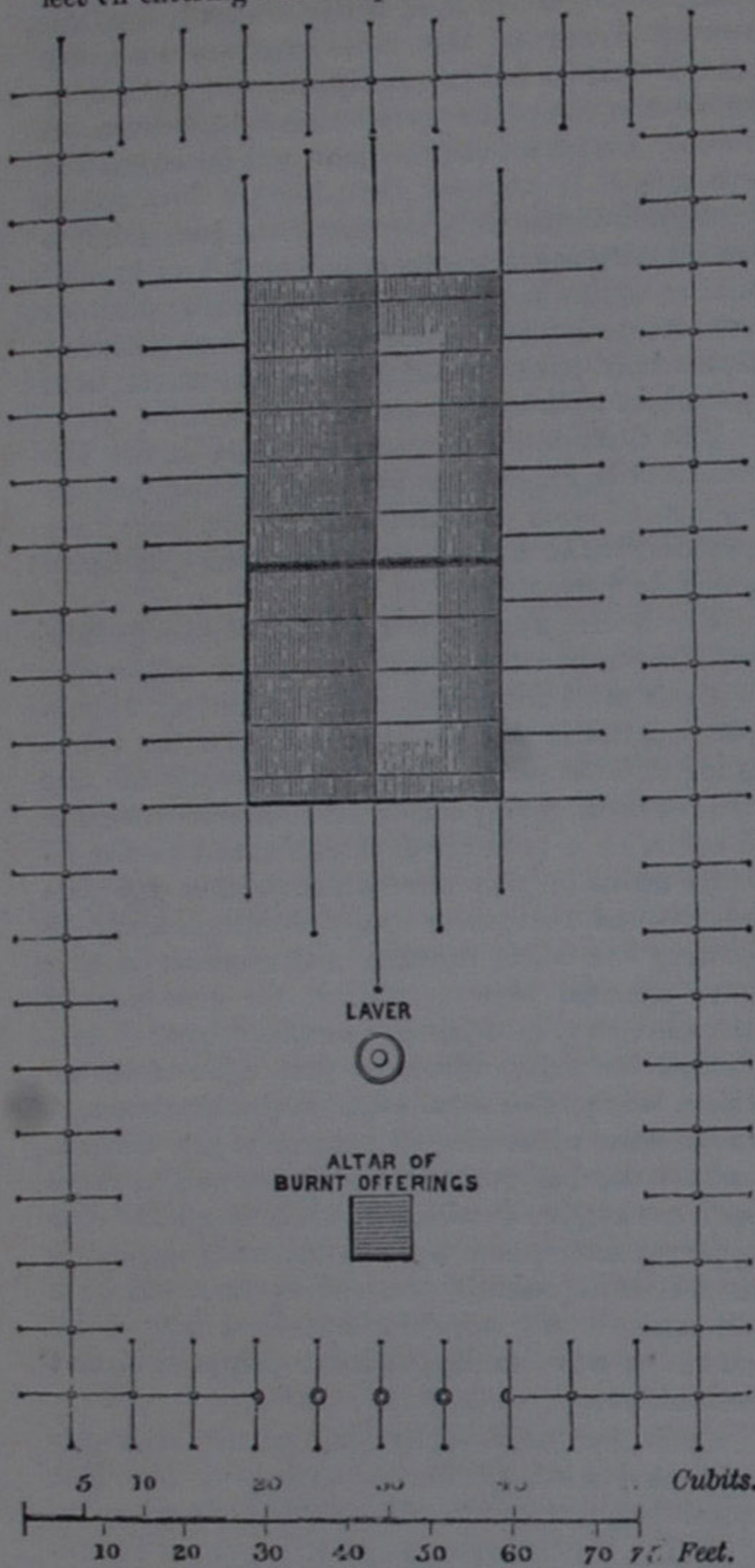
For a complicated architectural building these written authorities probably would not suffice without some remains or other indications to supplement them; but the arrangements of the Tabernacle were so simple that they are really all that are required. Every important dimension was either 5 cubits or a multiple of 5 cubits, and all the arrangements in plan were either squares or double squares, so that there really is no difficulty in putting the whole together, and none would ever have occurred were it not that the dimensions of the sanctuary, as obtained from the "boards" that formed its walls, appear at first sight to be one thing, while those obtained from the dimensions of the curtains which covered it appear to give another, and no one has yet succeeded in reconciling these with one another or with the text of Scripture. The apparent discrepancy is, however, easily explained, as we shall presently see, and never would have occurred to any one who had lived long under canvas or was familiar with the exigencies of tent architecture.

Outer Enclosure.—The court of the Tabernacle was surrounded by canvas screens—in the East called *Kannauts*—and still universally used to enclose the private apartments of important personages. Those of the Tabernacle were 5 cubits in height, and supported by pillars of brass 5 cubits apart, to which the curtains were attached by hooks and fillets of silver (*Ex.* xxvii. 9, &c.). This enclosure was only broken on the eastern side by the entrance, which was 20 cubits wide, and closed by curtains of fine twined linen wrought with needlework, and of the most gorgeous colours.

The space enclosed within these screens was a double square, 50 cubits, or 75 feet north and south, and 100 cubits or 150 ft. east and west. In the outer or eastern half was placed the altar of burnt-offerings, described in *Ex.* xxv. 1-8, and be-

can it be available to explain the peculiarities of Herod's Temple, as Josephus, who is our principal authority regarding it, most certainly did always employ the Greek cubit of 18 inches, or 400 to 1 stadium of 600 Greek feet; and the Talmud, which is the only other authority, always gives the same number of cubits where we can be certain they are speaking of the same thing; so that we may feel perfectly sure they both were using the same measure. Thus, whatever other cubits the Jews may have used for other purposes, we may rest assured that for the buildings referred to in this article the cubit of 18 inches, and that only, was the one employed.

tween it and the Tabernacle the laver (*Ant. m. 6, §2*), at which the priests washed their hands and feet on entering the Temple.



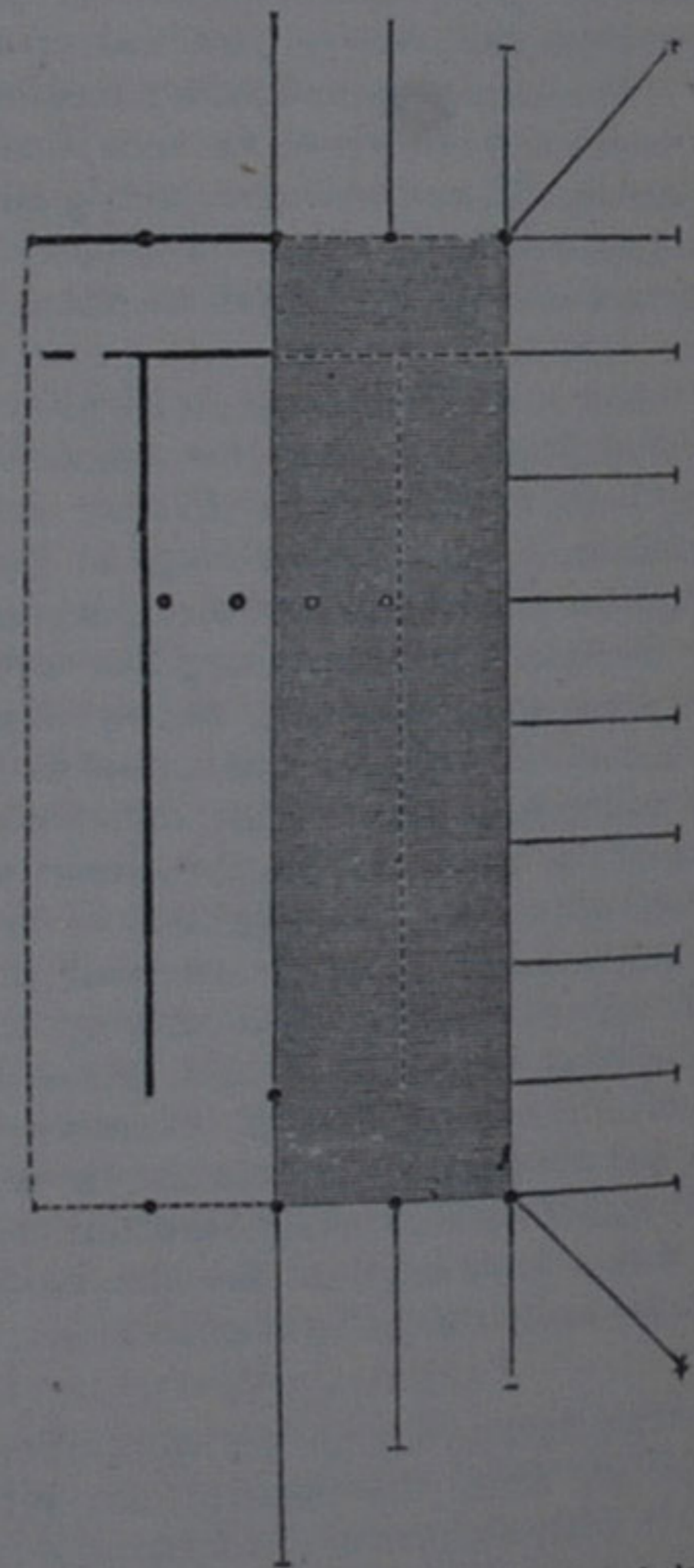
No. 1.—Plan of the Outer Court of the Tabernacle.

In the square towards the west was situated the Temple or Tabernacle itself. The dimensions in plan of this structure are easily ascertained. Josephus states them (*Ant. iii. 6, §3*) as 30 cubits long by 10 broad, or 45 feet by 15, and the Bible is scarcely less distinct, as it says that the north and south walls were each composed of twenty upright boards (*Ex. xxvi. 15, &c.*), each board one cubit and a half in width, and at the west end there were six boards equal to 9 cubits, which, with the angle boards or posts, made up the 10 cubits of Josephus.

Each of these boards was furnished with two tenons at its lower extremity, which fitted into silver sockets placed on the ground. At the top at least they were jointed and fastened together by bars of shittim or acacia wood run through rings of gold (*Ex. xxvi. 26*). Both authorities agree that there were five bars for each side, but a little difficulty arises from the Bible describing (*ver. 28*) a middle bar which reached from end to end. As we shall presently see this bar was probably applied to a totally different purpose, and we may therefore assume for the present that Josephus'

description of the mode in which they were applied is the correct one:—"Every one," he says (*Ant. iii. 6, §3*), "of the pillars or boards had a ring of gold affixed to its front outwards, into which were inserted bars gilt with gold, each of them 5 cubits long, and these bound together the boards; the head of one bar running into another after the manner of one tenon inserted into another. But for the wall behind there was only one bar that went through all the boards, into which one of the ends of the bars on both sides was inserted."

So far, therefore, everything seems certain and easily understood. The Tabernacle was an oblong rectangular structure, 20 cubits long by 10 broad, open at the eastern end, and divided internally into two apartments. The Holy of Holies, into which no one entered—not even the priest, except on very extraordinary occasions—was a cube, 10 cubits square in plan, and 10 cubits high to the top of the wall. In this was placed the Mercy-seat, surmounted by the cherubim, and on it was placed the Ark, containing the tables of the Law. In front of these was an outer chamber, called the Holy Place—20 cubits long by 10 broad, and 10 high, appropriated to the use of the priests. In it were placed the golden candlestick on one side, the table of shew-bread opposite, and between them in the centre the altar of incense.



No. 2.—The Tabernacle, showing one half ground plan and one half as covered by the curtains.

The roof of the Tabernacle was formed by 3, or rather 4, sets of curtains, the dimensions of two of which are given with great minuteness both in the Bible and by Josephus. The innermost (*Ex. xxvi. 1, &c.*), of fine twined linen according to our translation (Josephus calls them wool: *ἐπίσω, Ant. iii. 6, §4*), were ten in number, each 4 cubits wide and 28 cubits long. These were of various colours, and ornamented with cherubim of "cunning work." Five of these were sewn together so as to form larger

curtains, each 20 cubits by 28, and these two again were joined together, when used, by fifty gold buckles or clasps.

Above these were placed curtains of goats' hair, each 4 cubits wide by 30 cubits long, but eleven in number; these were also sewn together, six into one curtain, and five into the other, and, when used, were likewise joined together by fifty gold buckles.

Over these again was thrown a curtain of rams' skins with the wool on, dyed red, and a fourth covering is also specified as being of badgers' skins, so named in the A. V., but which probably really consisted of seal-skins. [BADGER-SKINS in Appendix A.] This did not of course cover the rams' skins, but most probably was only used as a coping or ridge piece to protect the junction of the two curtains of rams' skins which were laid on each slope of the roof, and probably only laced together at the top.

The question which has hitherto proved a stumbling block to restorers is, to know how these curtains were applied as a covering to the Tabernacle. Strange to say, this has appeared so difficult that, with hardly an exception, they have been content to assume that they were thrown over its walls as a pall is thrown over a coffin, and they have thus cut the Gordian knot in defiance of all probabilities, as well as of the distinct specification of the Pentateuch. To this view of the matter there are several important objections.

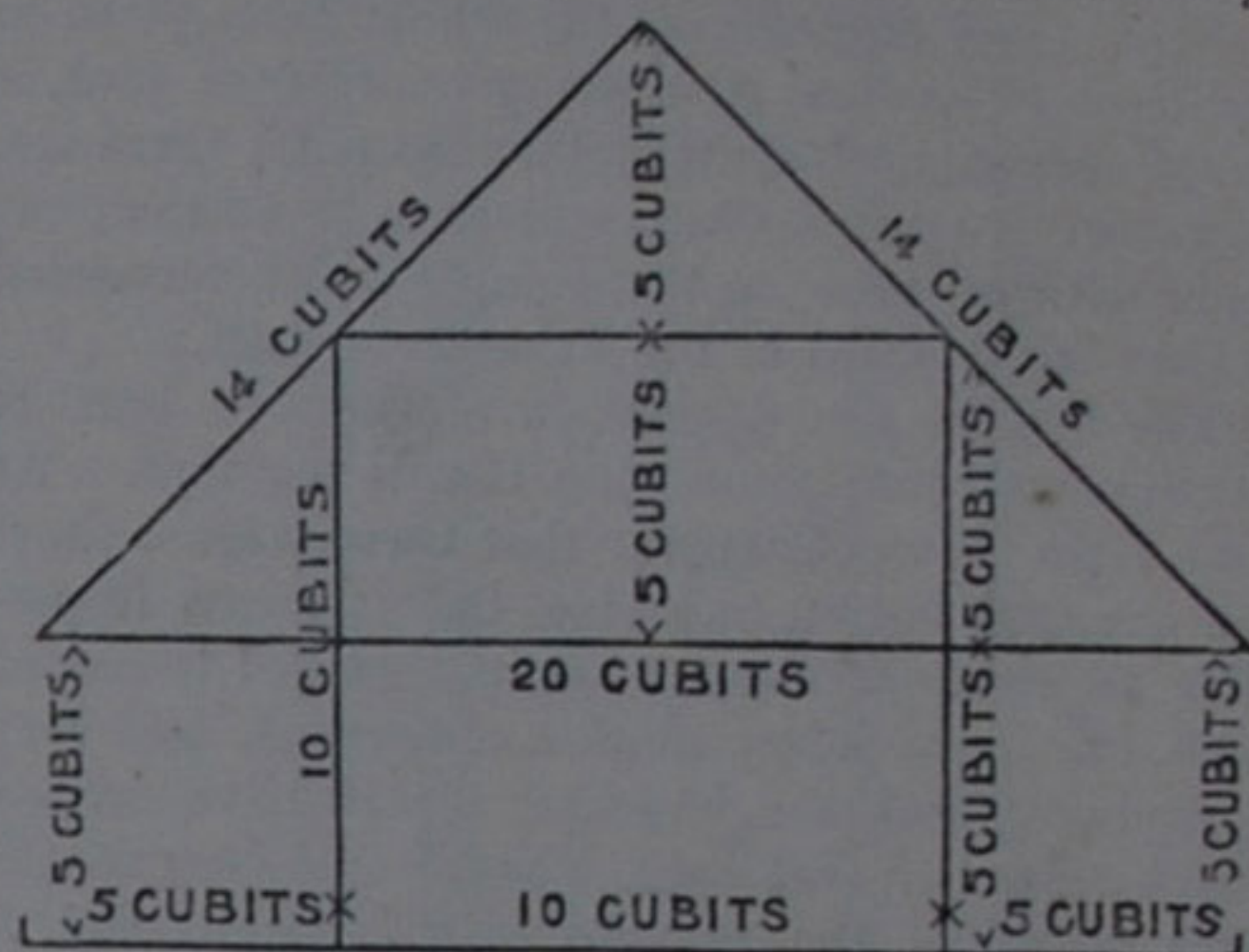
First. If the inner or ornamental curtain was so used, only about one-third of it would be seen; 9 cubits on each side would be entirely hidden between the walls of the Tabernacle and the goats'-hair curtain. It is true that Bähr (*Symbolik des Mosaischen Cultus*), Neumann (*Der Stiftshütte*, 1861), and others, try to avoid this difficulty by hanging this curtain so as to drape the walls inside; but for this there is not a shadow of authority, and the form of the curtain would be singularly awkward and unsuitable for this purpose. If such a thing were intended, it is evident that one curtain would have been used as wall-hangings and another as a ceiling, not one great range of curtains all joined the same way to hang the walls all round and form the ceiling at the same time.

A second and more cogent objection will strike anyone who has ever lived in a tent. It is, that every drop of rain that fell on the Tabernacle would fall through; for, however tightly the curtains might be stretched, the water could never run over the edge, and the sheep skins would only make the matter worse, as when wetted their weight would depress the centre, and probably tear any curtain that could be made, while snow lying on such a roof would certainly tear the curtains to pieces.

But a third and fatal objection is, that this arrangement is in direct contradiction to Scripture. We are there told (Ex. xxvi. 9) that half of one of the goats'-hair curtains shall be doubled back in front of the Tabernacle, and only the half of another (ver. 12) hang down behind; and (ver. 13), that one cubit shall hang down on each side—whereas this arrangement makes 10 cubits hang down all round, except in front.

The solution of the difficulty appears singularly obvious. It is simply, that the tent had a ridge, as all tents have had from the days of Moses down to the present day; and we have also very little difficulty in predicating that the angle formed by the two sides of the roof at the ridge was a right angle—not only because it is a reasonable and usual

angle for such a roof, and one that would most likely be adopted in so regular a building, but because its adoption reduces to harmony the only abnormal measurement in the whole building. As mentioned above, the principal curtains were only 28 cubits in length, and consequently not a multiple of 5; but if we assume a right angle at the ridge, each side of the slope was 14 cubits, and $14^2 + 14^2 = 392$, and $20^2 = 400$, two numbers which are practically identical in tent-building.



No. 3.—Diagram of the Dimensions of the Tabernacle in Section.

The base of the triangle, therefore, formed by the roof was 20 cubits, or in other words, the roof of the Tabernacle extended 5 cubits beyond the walls, not only in front and rear, but on both sides; and it may be added, that the width of the Tabernacle thus became identical with the width of the entrance to the enclosure; which but for this circumstance would appear to have been disproportionately large.

With these data it is easy to explain all the other difficulties which have met previous restorers.

First. The Holy of Holies was divided from the Holy Place by a screen of *four* pillars supporting curtains which no one was allowed to pass. But, strange to say, in the entrance there were *five* pillars in a similar space. Now, no one would put a pillar in the centre of an entrance without a motive; but the moment a ridge is assumed it becomes indispensable.

It may be assumed that all the five pillars were spaced within the limits of the 10 cubits of the breadth of the Tabernacle, viz. one in the centre, two opposite the two ends of the walls, and the other two between them; but the probabilities are so infinitely greater that those two last were beyond those at the angles of the tent, that it is hardly worth while considering the first hypothesis. By the one here adopted the pillars in front would, like every thing else, be spaced exactly 5 cubits apart.

Secondly. Josephus twice asserts (*Ant.* iii. 6, §4) that the Tabernacle was divided into three parts, though he specifies only two—the Adytum and the Pronaos. The third was of course the porch, 5 cubits deep, which stretched across the width of the house.

Thirdly. In speaking of the western end, the Bible always uses the plural, as if there were two sides there. There was, of course, at least one pillar in the centre beyond the wall,—there may have been five,—so that there practically were two sides there. It may also be remarked that the Pentateuch, in speaking (Ex. xxvi. 12) of this after part, calls it *Mishcan*, or the dwelling, as contradistinguished from *Ohel*, or the tent, which applies to the whole structure covered by the curtains.

Fourthly. We now understand why there are 10

breadth in the under curtains, and 11 in the upper. It was that they might break joint—in other words, that the seam of the one, and especially the great joining of the two divisions, might be over the centre of the lower curtain, so as to prevent the rain penetrating through the joints. It may also be remarked that, as the two cubits which were in excess at the west hung at an angle, the depth of fringe would be practically about the same as on the sides.

With these suggestions, the whole description in the Book of Exodus is so easily understood that it is not necessary to dilate further upon it; there are, however, two points which remain to be noticed, but more with reference to the Temple which succeeded it than with regard to the Tabernacle itself.

The first is the disposition of the side bars of shittim-wood that joined the boards together. At first sight it would appear that there were 4 short and one long bar on each side, but it seems impossible to see how these could be arranged to accord with the usual interpretation of the text, and very improbable that the Israelites would have carried about a bar 45 feet long, when 5 or 6 bars would have answered the purpose equally well, and 5 rows of bars are quite unnecessary, besides being in opposition to the words of the text.

The explanation hinted at above seems the most reasonable one—that the five bars named (vers. 26 and 27) were joined end to end, as Josephus asserts, and the bar mentioned (ver. 28) was the ridge-pole of the roof. The words of the Hebrew text will equally well bear the translation—"and the middle bar which is *between*," instead of "*in the midst of* the boards, shall reach from end to end." This would appear a perfectly reasonable solution but for the mechanical difficulty that no pole could be made stiff enough to bear its own weight and that of the curtains over an extent of 45 feet, without intermediate supports. A ridge-rope could easily be stretched to twice that distance, if required for the purpose, though it too would droop in the centre. A pole would be a much more appropriate and likely architectural arrangement—so much so, that it seems more than probable that one was employed with supports. One pillar in the centre where the curtains were joined would be amply sufficient for all practical purposes; and if the centre board at the

back of the Holy of Holies was 15 cubits high (which there is nothing to contradict), the whole would be easily constructed. Still, as no internal supports are mentioned either by the Bible or Josephus, the question of how the ridge was formed and supported must remain an open one, incapable of proof with our present knowledge, but it is one to which we shall have to revert presently.

The other question is—were the sides of the Verandah which surrounded the Sanctuary closed or left open? The only hint we have that this was done, is the mention of the western *sides* always in the plural, and the employment of *Mishcan* and *Ohel* throughout this chapter, apparently in opposition to one another, *Mishcan* always seeming to apply to an enclosed space, which was or might be dwelt in, *Ohel* to the tent as a whole or to the covering only; though here again the point is by no means so clear as to be decisive.

The only really tangible reason for supposing the sides were enclosed is, that the Temple of Solomon was surrounded on all sides but the front, by a range of small cells 5 cubits wide, in which the priests resided who were specially attached to the service of the Temple.

It would have been so easy to have done this in the Tabernacle, and its convenience—at night at least—so great, that I cannot help suspecting it was the case.

It is not easy to ascertain, with anything like certainty, at what distance from the tent the tent-pegs were fixed. It could not be less on the sides than 7 cubits, it may as probably have been 10. In front and rear the central peg could hardly have been at a less distance than 20 cubits; so that it is by no means improbable that from the front to rear the whole distance may have been 80 cubits, and from side to side 40 cubits, measured from peg to peg; and it is this dimension that seems to have governed the pegs of the enclosures, as it would just allow room for the fastenings of the enclosure on either side, and for the altar and laver in front. It is scarcely worth while, however, insisting strongly on these and some other minor points.

Enough has been said to explain with the woodcuts all the main points of the proposed restoration, and to show that it is possible to reconstruct the Tabernacle in strict conformity with every word



No. 4.—South-East View of the Tabernacle, as restored.

and every indication of the sacred text, and at the same time to show that the Tabernacle was a reasonable tent-like structure, admirably adapted to the purposes to which it was applied.

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

The Tabernacle accompanied the Israelites in all their wanderings, and remained their only Holy Place or Temple till David obtained possession of Jerusalem, and erected an altar in the threshing-floor of Araunah, on the spot where the altar of the Temple always afterwards stood. He also brought the Ark out of Kirjath-jearim (2 Sam. vi. 2; 1 Chr. xiii. 6) and prepared a tabernacle for it in the new city which he called after his own name. Both these were brought up thence by Solomon (2 Chr. v. 5); the Ark placed in the Holy of Holies, but the Tabernacle seems to have been put on one side as a relic (1 Chr. xxiii. 32). We have no account, however, of the removal of the original Tabernacle of Moses from Gibeon, nor anything that would enable us to connect it with that one which Solomon removed out of the City of David (2 Chr. v. 5). In fact, from the time of the building of the Temple, we lose sight of the Tabernacle altogether. It was David who first proposed to replace the Tabernacle by a more permanent building, but was forbidden for the reasons assigned by the prophet Nathan (2 Sam. vii. 5, &c.), and though he collected materials and made arrangements, the execution of the task was left for his son Solomon.

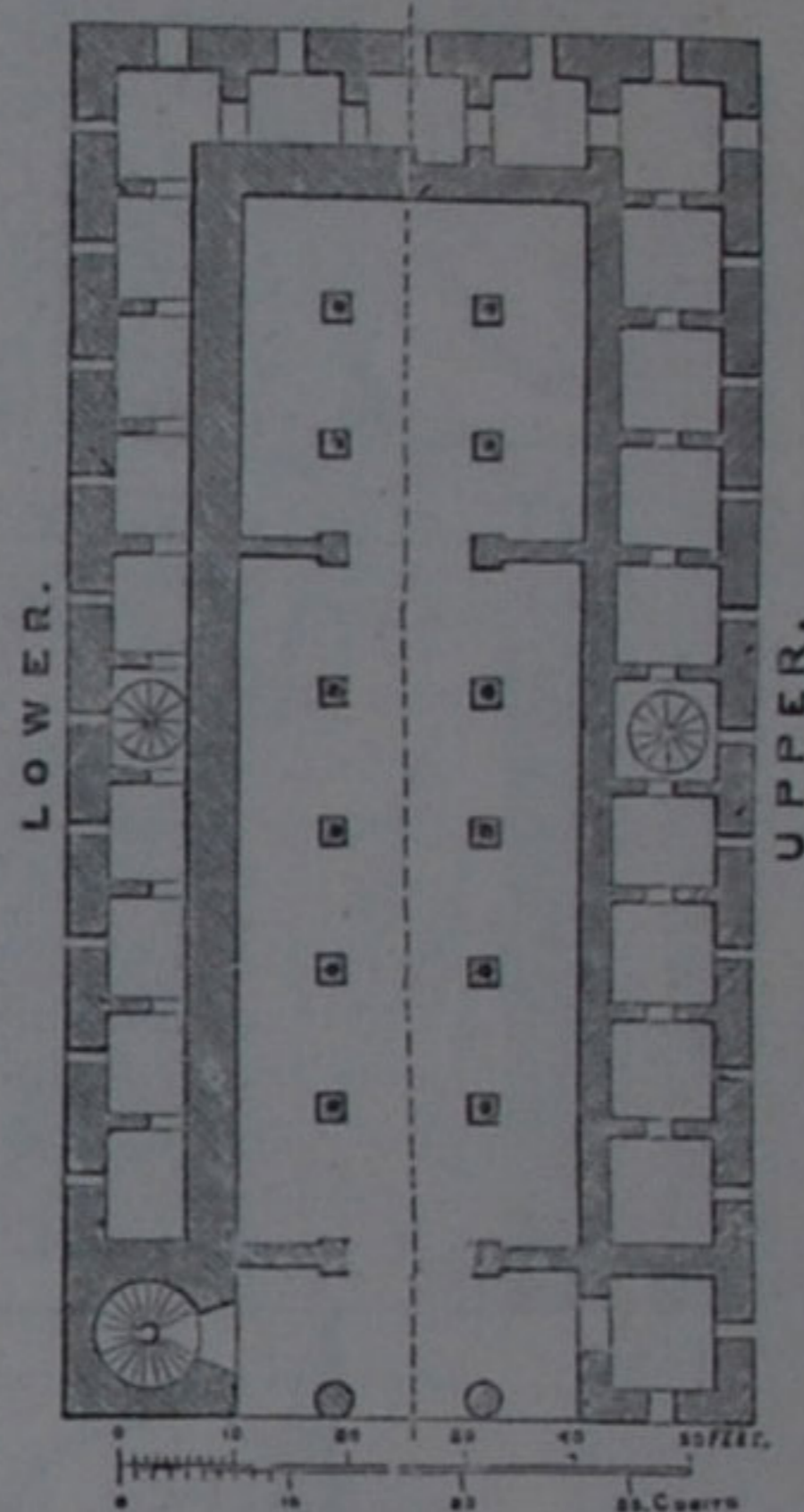
He, with the assistance of Hiram king of Tyre, commenced this great undertaking in the fourth year of his reign, and completed it in seven years, about 1005 B.C. according to the received chronology.

On comparing the Temple, as described in 1 Kings vi. and 2 Chronicles ii. and by Josephus vii. 3, with the Tabernacle, as just explained, the first thing that strikes us is that all the arrangements were identical, and the dimensions of every part were exactly double those of the preceding structure. Thus the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle was a cube, 10 cubits each way; in the Temple it was 20 cubits. The Holy Place or outer hall was 10 cubits wide by 20 long and 10 high in the Tabernacle. In the Temple all these dimensions were exactly double. The porch in the Tabernacle was 5 cubits deep, in the Temple 10: its width in both instances being the width of the house. The chambers round the House and the Tabernacle were each 5 cubits wide on the ground-floor, the difference being that in the Temple the two walls taken together made up a thickness of 5 cubits, thus making 10 cubits for the chambers.

Taking all these parts together, the ground-plan of the Temple measured 80 cubits by 40; that of the Tabernacle, as we have just seen, was 40 by 20; and what is more striking than even this, is that though the walls were 10 cubits high in the one and 20 cubits in the other, the whole height of the Tabernacle was 15, that of the Temple 30 cubits; the one roof rising 5, the other 10 cubits above the height of the internal walls.^b So exact indeed is this coincidence, that it not only confirms to the fullest extent the restoration of the Tabernacle which has just been explained, but it is a singular confirmation

^b In the Apocrypha there is a passage which bears curiously and distinctly on this subject. In Wisd. ix. 8 it is said, "Thou hast commanded me (*i. e.* Solomon) to build a Temple in Thy Holy mount, and an altar in the city wherein Thou dwellest, a resemblance of the Holy Tabernacle which Thou hast prepared from the beginning."

of the minute accuracy which characterised the writers of the Pentateuch and the Books of Kings and Chronicles in this matter; for not only are we able to check the one by the other at this distance of time with perfect certainty, but, now that we know the system on which they were constructed we might almost restore both edifices from Josephus' account of the Temple as re-erected by Herod, of which more hereafter.



No. 5.—Plan of Solomon's Temple, showing the disposition of the chambers in two stories.

The proof that the Temple, as built by Solomon, was only an enlarged copy of the Tabernacle, goes far also to change the form of another important question which has been long agitated by the students of Jewish antiquities, inasmuch as the inquiry as to whence the Jews derived the plan and design of the Temple must now be transferred to the earlier type, and the question thus stands, Whence did they derive the scheme of the Tabernacle?

From Egypt?

There is not a shadow of proof that the Egyptians ever used a moveable or tent-like temple, neither the pictures in their temples nor any historical records point to such a form, nor has any one hitherto ventured to suggest such an origin for that structure.

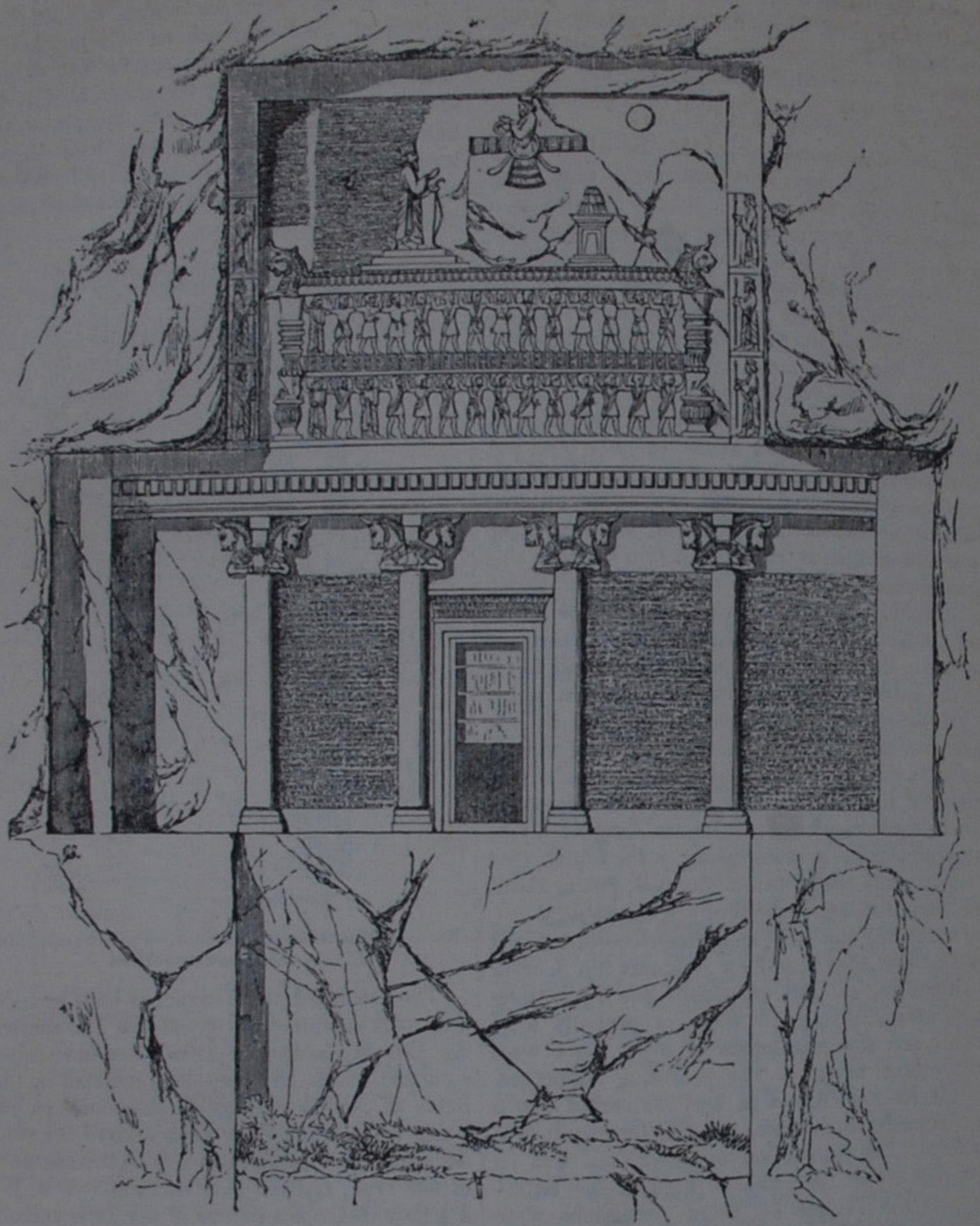
From Assyria?

Here too we are equally devoid of any authority or tangible data, for though the probabilities certainly are that the Jews would rather adopt a form from the kindred Assyrians than from the hated strangers whose land they had just left, we have nothing further to justify us in such an assumption.

From Arabia?

It is possible that the Arabs may have used moveable tent-like temples. They were a people nearly allied in race with the Jews. Moses' father-in-law was an Arab, and something he may have seen there may have suggested the form he adopted. But beyond this we cannot at present go.^c

^c The only thing resembling it we know of is the Holy Tent of the Carthaginians, mentioned by Diodorus Siculus, xx. 65, which, in consequence of a sudden change of wind at night blowing the flames from the altar on which victims were being sacrificed, towards τὴν ἱερὰν σκητὴν, it took fire, a circumstance which spread such



NO. 6.—Tomb of Darius near Persepolis.

For the present, at least, it must suffice to know that the form of the Temple was copied from the Tabernacle, and that any architectural ornaments that may have been added were such as were usually employed at that time in Palestine, and more especially at Tyre, whence most of the artificers were obtained who assisted in its erection.

So far as the dimensions above quoted are concerned, everything is as clear and as certain as anything that can be predicated of any building of which no remains exist, but beyond this there are certain minor problems by no means so easy to resolve, but fortunately they are of much less importance. The first is the

Height.—That given in 1 K. vi. 2—of 30 cubits—is so reasonable in proportion to the other dimensions, that the matter might be allowed to rest there were it not for the assertion (2 Chr. iii. 4) that the height, though apparently only of the porch, was 120 cubits = 180 feet (as nearly as may

be the height of the steeple of St. Martin's in the Fields). This is so unlike anything we know of in ancient architecture, that having no counterpart in the Tabernacle, we might at first sight feel almost justified in rejecting it as a mistake or interpolation, but for the assertion (2 Chr. iii. 9) that Solomon overlaid the *upper chambers* with gold, and 2 K. xxiii. 12, where the altars on the top of the *upper chambers*, apparently of the Temple, are mentioned. In addition to this, both Josephus and the Talmud persistently assert that there was a superstructure on the Temple equal in height to the lower part, and the total height they, in accordance with the Book of Chronicles, call 120 cubits or 180 feet (*Ant.* viii. 3, §2). It is evident, however, that he obtains these dimensions first by doubling the height of the lower Temple, making it 60 instead of 30 cubits, and in like manner exaggerating every other dimension to make up this quantity. Were it not for these authorities, it would satisfy

consternation throughout the army as to lead to its destruction.

The Carthaginians were a Shemitic people, and seem to have carried their Holy Tent about with their armies,

and to have performed sacrifices in front of it, precisely as was done by the Jews excepting, of course, the nature of the victims.

all the real exigencies of the case if we assumed that the upper chamber occupied the space between the roof of the Holy Place and the roof of the Temple. Ten cubits or 15 feet, even after deducting the thickness of the two roofs, is sufficient to constitute such an apartment as history would lead us to suppose existed there. But the evidence that there was something beyond this is so strong that it cannot be rejected.

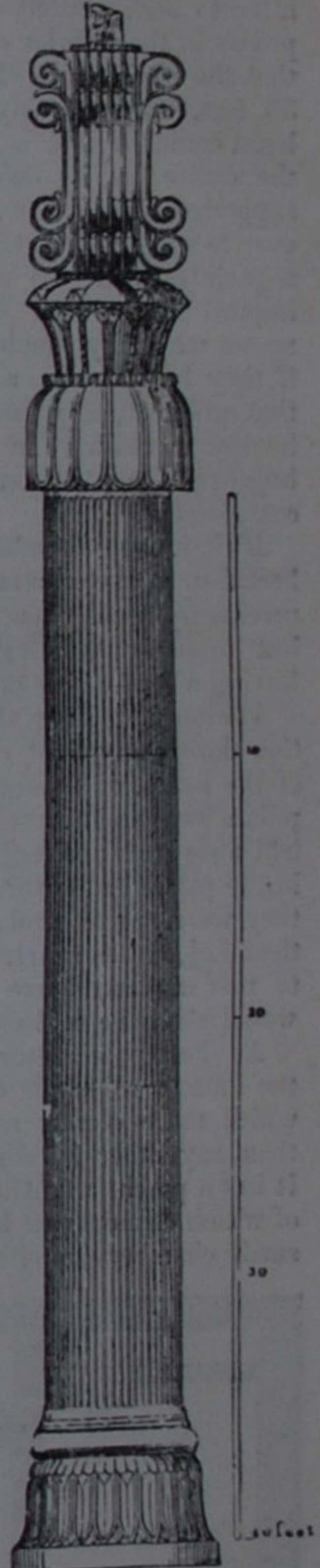
In looking through the monuments of antiquity for something to suggest what this might be, the only thing that occurs is the platform or Talar that existed on the roofs of the Palace Temples at Persepolis—as shown in Woodcut No. 6, which represents the Tomb of Darius, and is an exact reproduction of the façade of the Palace shown in plan, Woodcut No. 9. It is true these were erected five centuries after the building of Solomon's Temple; but they are avowedly copies in stone of older Assyrian forms, and as such may represent, with more or less exactness, contemporary buildings. Nothing in fact could represent more correctly "the altars on the top of the upper chambers" which Josiah beat down (2 K. xxiii. 12) than this, nor could anything more fully meet all the architectural or devotional exigencies of the case; but its height never could have been 60 cubits, or even 30, but it might very probably be the 20 cubits which incidentally Josephus (xv. 11, §3) mentions as "sinking down in the failure of the foundations, but was so left till the days of Nero." There can be little doubt but that the part referred to in this paragraph was some such superstructure as that shown in the last woodcut; and the incidental mention of 20 cubits is much more to be trusted than Josephus' heights generally are, which he seems systematically to have exaggerated when he was thinking about them.

Jachin and Boaz.—There are no features connected with the Temple of Solomon which have given rise to so much controversy, or been so difficult to explain, as the form of the two pillars of brass which were set up in the porch of the house. It has even been supposed that they were not pillars in the ordinary sense of the term, but obelisks; for this, however, there does not appear to be any authority. The porch was 30 feet in width, and a roof of that extent, even if composed of a

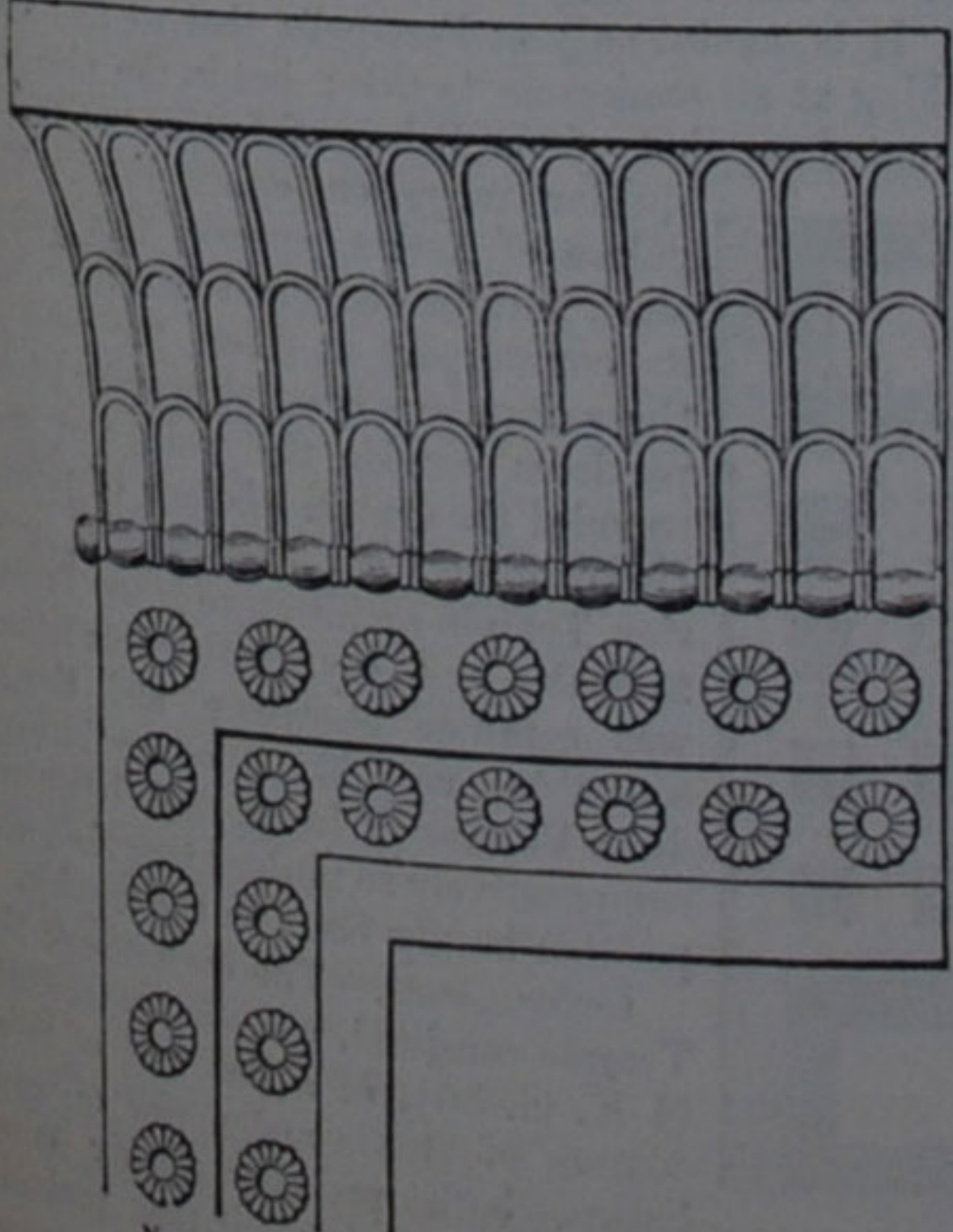
wooden beam, would not only look painfully weak without some support, but, in fact, almost impossible to construct with the imperfect science of these days. Another difficulty arises from the fact that the Book of Chronicles nearly doubles the dimensions given in Kings; but this arises from the systematic reduplication of the height which misled Josephus; and if we assume the Temple to have been 60 cubits high, the height of the pillars, as given in the Book of Chronicles, would be appropriate to support the roof of its porch, as those in Kings are the proper height for a temple 30 cubits high, which there is every reason to believe was the true dimension. According to 1 K. vii. 15 *et seq.*, the pillars were 18 cubits high and 12 in circumference, with capitals five cubits in height. Above this was (ver. 19, another member, called also chapter of lily-work, four cubits in height, but which from the second mention of it in ver. 22 seems more probably to have been an entablature, which is necessary to complete the order. As these members make out 27 cubits, leaving 3 cubits or 4½ feet for the slope of the roof, the whole design seems reasonable and proper.

If this conjecture is correct, we have no great difficulty in suggesting that the lily-work must have been something like the Persepolitan cornice (Woodcut No. 7), which is probably nearer in style to that of the buildings at Jerusalem than anything else we know of.

It seems almost in vain to try and speculate on what was the exact form of the decoration of these celebrated pillars. The nets of checker-work and wreaths of chain-work, and the pomegranates, &c., are all features applicable to metal architecture; and though we know that the old Tartar races did use metal architecture everywhere, and especially in bronze, from the very nature of the material every specimen has perished, and we have now no representations from which we can restore them. The styles we are familiar with were all derived more or less from wood, or from stone with wooden ornaments repeated in the harder material. Even at Persepolis, though we may feel certain that everything we see there had a wooden prototype, and may suspect that much of their wooden ornamentation was derived from the earlier metal forms, still it is so far removed from the original source that in the present state of our



No. 8.—Pillar of Northern Portico at Persepolis.



No. 7.—Cornice of lily-work at Persepolis.

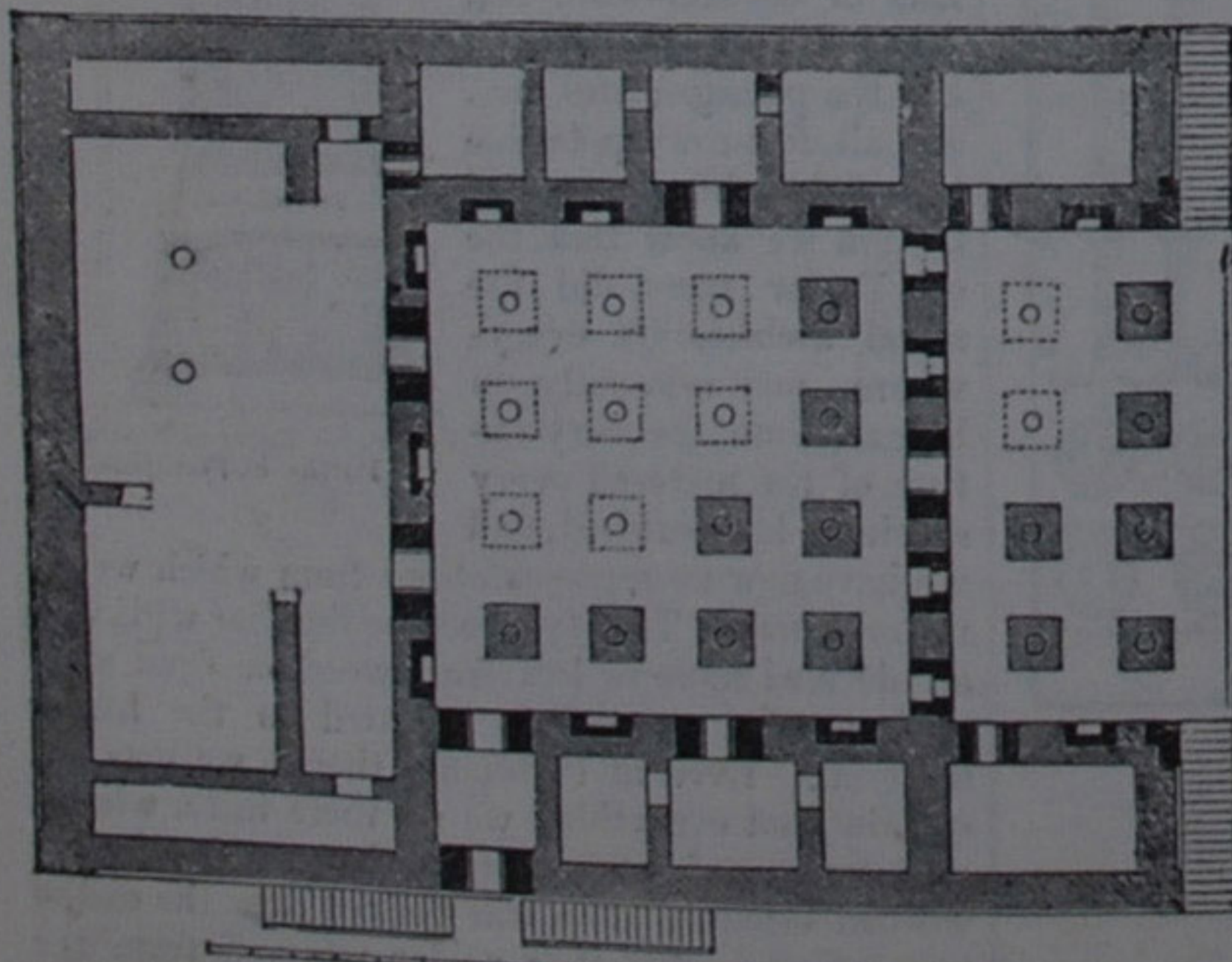
knowledge, it is dangerous to insist too closely on any point. Notwithstanding this, the pillars at Persepolis, of which Woodcut No. 8 is a type, are probably more like Jachin and Boaz than any other pillars which have reached us from antiquity, and give a better idea of the immense capitals of these columns than we obtain from any other examples; but being in stone, they are far more simple and less ornamental than they would have been in wood, and infinitely less so than their metal prototypes.

Internal Supports.—The existence of these two pillars in the porch suggests an inquiry which has hitherto been entirely overlooked: Were there any pillars in the interior of the Temple? Considering that the clear space of the roof was 20 cubits, or 30 feet, it may safely be asserted that no cedar beam could be laid across this without sinking in the centre by its own weight, unless trussed or supported from below. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the Tyrians in those days were acquainted with the scientific forms of carpentry implied in the first suggestion, and there is no reason why they should have resorted to them even if they knew how; as it cannot be doubted but that architecturally the introduction of pillars in the interior would have increased the apparent size and improved the artistic effect of the building to a very considerable degree.

If they were introduced at all, there must have been four in the sanctuary and ten in the hall, not necessarily equally spaced, in a transverse direction, but probably standing 6 cubits from the walls, leaving a centre aisle of 8 cubits.

The only building at Jerusalem whose construction throws any light on this subject is the House of the Forest of Lebanon. [PALACE.] There the pillars were an inconvenience, as the purposes of the hall were state and festivity; but though the pillars in the palace had nothing to support above the roof, they were spaced probably 10, certainly not more than $12\frac{1}{2}$, cubits apart. If Solomon had been able to roof a clear space of 20 cubits, he certainly would not have neglected to do it there.

At Persepolis there is a small building, called the Palace or Temple of Darius (Woodcut No. 9), which more closely resembles the Jewish Temple than any other building we are acquainted with. It has a porch, a central hall, an adytum—the plan of which cannot now be made out—and a range of small chambers on either side. The principal dif-



No. 9.—Palace of Darius at Persepolis Scale of 50 feet to 1 inch.

ference is that it has four pillars in its porch instead of two, and consequently four rows in its interior hall instead of half that number, as suggested above. All the buildings at Persepolis have their floors equally crowded with pillars, and, as there is no doubt but that they borrowed this peculiarity from Nineveh, there seems no *a priori* reason why Solomon should not have adopted this expedient to get over what otherwise would seem an insuperable constructive difficulty.

The question, in fact, is very much the same that met us in discussing the construction of the Tabernacle. No internal supports to the roofs of either of these buildings are mentioned anywhere. But the difficulties of construction without them would have been so enormous, and their introduction so usual and so entirely unobjectionable, that we can hardly understand their not being employed. Either building was possible without them, but certainly neither in the least degree probable.

It may perhaps add something to the probability of their arrangement to mention that the ten bases for the lavers which Solomon made would stand one within each inter-column on either hand, where they would be beautiful and appropriate ornaments. Without some such accentuation of the space, it seems difficult to understand what they were, and why ten.

Chambers.—The only other feature which remains to be noticed is the application of three tiers of small chambers to the walls of the Temple externally on all sides, except that of the entrance. Though not expressly so stated, these were a sort of monastery, appropriated to the residence of the priests who were either permanently or in turn devoted to the service of the Temple. The lowest storey was only 5 cubits in width, the next 6, and the upper 7, allowing an offset of 1 cubit on the side of the Temple, or of 9 inches on each side, on which the flooring joists rested, so as not to cut into the walls of the Temple. Assuming the wall of the Temple at the level of the upper chambers to have been 2 cubits thick, and the outer wall one—it could not well have been less—this would exactly make up the duplication of the dimension found as before mentioned for the verandah of the Tabernacle.

It is, again, only at Persepolis that we find anything at all analogous to this; but in the plan last quoted as that of the Palace of Darius, we find a similar range on either hand. The palace of Xerxes possesses this feature also; but in the great hall there, and its counterpart at Susa, the place of these chambers is supplanted by lateral porticoes outside the walls that surrounded the central phalanx of pillars. Unfortunately our knowledge of Assyrian Temple architecture is too limited to enable us to say whether this feature was common elsewhere, and though something very like it occurs in Buddhist Viharas in India, these latter are comparatively so modern that their disposition hardly bears on the inquiry.

Outer Court.—The enclosure of the Temple consisted, according to the Bible (1 K. vi. 36), of a low wall of three courses of stones and a row of cedar beams, both probably highly ornamented. As it is more than probable that the same duplication of dimensions

look place in this as in all the other features of the Tabernacle, we may safely assume that it was 10 cubits, or 15 feet, in height, and almost certainly 100 cubits north and south, and 200 east and west.

There is no mention in the Bible of any porticoes or gateways or any architectural ornaments of this enclosure, for though names which were afterwards transferred to the gates of the Temple do occur in 1 Chr. ix., xxiv., and xxvi., this was before the Temple itself was built; and although Josephus does mention such, it must be recollected that he was writing five centuries after its total destruction, and he was too apt to confound the past and the present in his descriptions of buildings which did not then exist. There was an eastern porch to Herod's Temple, which was called Solomon's Porch, and Josephus tells us that it was built by that monarch; but of this there is absolutely no proof, and as neither in the account of Solomon's building nor in any subsequent repairs or incidents is any mention made of such buildings, we may safely conclude that they did not exist before the time of the great rebuilding immediately preceding the Christian era.

TEMPLE OF ZERUBBABEL.

We have very few particulars regarding the Temple which the Jews erected after their return from the Captivity (cir. 520 B.C.), and no description that would enable us to realize its appearance. But there are some dimensions given in the Bible and elsewhere which are extremely interesting as affording points of comparison between it and the Temples which preceded it, or were erected after it.

The first and most authentic are those given in the Book of Ezra (vi. 3), when quoting the decree of Cyrus, wherein it is said, "Let the house be builded, the place where they offered sacrifices, and let the foundations thereof be strongly laid; the height thereof threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof threescore cubits, with three rows of great stones and a row of new timber." Josephus quotes this passage almost literally (xi. 4, §6), but in doing so enables us with certainty to translate the word here called *Row* as "Storey" (*δόμος*)—as indeed the sense would lead us to infer—for it could only apply to the three storeys of chambers that surrounded Solomon's, and afterward's Herod's Temple, and with this again we come to the wooden Talar which surmounted the Temple and formed a fourth storey. It may be remarked in passing, that this dimension of 60 cubits in height accords perfectly with the words which Josephus puts into the mouth of Herod (xv. 11, §1) when he makes him say that the Temple built after the Captivity wanted 60 cubits of the height of that of Solomon. For as he had adopted, as we have seen above, the height of 120 cubits, as written in the Chronicles, for that Temple, this one remained only 60.

The other dimension of 60 cubits in breadth, is 20 cubits in excess of that of Solomon's Temple, but there is no reason to doubt its correctness, for we find both from Josephus and the Talmud that it was the dimension adopted for the Temple when rebuilt, or rather repaired by Herod. At the same time we have no authority for assuming that any increase was made in the dimensions of either the

Holy Place or the Holy of Holies, since we find that these were retained in Ezekiel's description of an ideal Temple—and were afterwards those of Herod's. And as this Temple of Zerubbabel was still standing in Herod's time, and was more strictly speaking repaired than rebuilt by him, we cannot conceive that any of its dimensions were then diminished. We are left therefore with the alternative of assuming that the porch and the chambers all round were 20 cubits in width, including the thickness of the walls, instead of 10 cubits, as in the earlier building. This may perhaps to some extent be accounted for by the introduction of a passage between the Temple and the rooms of the priest's lodgings instead of each being a thoroughfare, as must certainly have been the case in Solomon's Temple.

This alteration in the width of the Pteromata made the Temple 100 cubits in length by 60 in breadth, with a height, it is said, of 60 cubits, including the upper room or Talar, though we cannot help suspecting that this last dimension is somewhat in excess of the truth.^d

The only other description of this Temple is found in Hecataeus the Abderite, who wrote shortly after the death of Alexander the Great. As quoted by Josephus (*cont. Ap. i. 22*), he says, that "In Jerusalem towards the middle of the city is a stone walled enclosure about 500 feet in length (*ὡς πεντάπλεθρος*), and 100 cubits in width, with double gates," in which he describes the Temple as being situated.

The last dimension is exactly what we obtained above by doubling the width of the Tabernacle enclosure as applied to Solomon's Temple, and may therefore be accepted as tolerably certain, but the 500 feet in length exceeds anything we have yet reached by 200 feet. It may be that at this age it was found necessary to add a court for the women or the Gentiles, a sort of Narthex or Galilee for those who could not enter the Temple. If this or these together were 100 cubits square, it would make up the "nearly 5 plethra" of our author. Hecataeus also mentions that the altar was 20 cubits square and 10 high. And although he mentions the Temple itself, he unfortunately does not supply us with any dimensions.

From these dimensions we gather, that if "the Priests and Levites and Elders of families were disconsolate at seeing how much more sumptuous the old Temple was than the one which on account of their poverty they had just been able to erect" (Ezr. iii. 12; Joseph. *Ant. xi. 4, §2*), it certainly was not because it was smaller, as almost every dimension had been increased one-third; but it may have been that the carving and the gold, and other ornaments of Solomon's Temple far surpassed this, and the pillars of the portico and the veils may all have been far more splendid, so also probably were the vessels; and all this is what a Jew would mourn over far more than mere architectural splendour. In speaking of these Temples we must always bear in mind that their dimensions were practically very far inferior to those of the Heathen. Even that of Ezra is not larger than an average parish church of the last century—Solomon's was smaller. It was the lavish display of the precious metals, the elaboration of carved ornament, and the beauty of the textile

upon, but both the Hebrew and LXX. are so clear that it was in the "street," or "place" of the Temple, that we cannot base any argument upon it, though it is curious as indicating what was passing in the mind of Josephus.

^d In recounting the events narrated by Ezra (x. 9), Josephus says (*Ant. xi. 5, §1*) that the assembly there referred to took place in the upper room, *ἐν τῷ ὑπερώϊῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, which would be a very curious illustration of the use of that apartment if it could be depended

fabrics, which made up their splendour and rendered them so precious in the eyes of the people, and there can consequently be no greater mistake than to judge of them by the number of cubits they measured. They were Temples of a Shemitic, not of a Celtic people.

TEMPLE OF EZEKIEL.

The vision of a Temple which the prophet Ezekiel saw while residing on the banks of the Chebar in Babylonia in the 25th year of the Captivity, does not add much to our knowledge of the subject. It is not a description of a Temple that ever was built or ever could be erected at Jerusalem, and can consequently only be considered as the *beau idéal* of what a Shemitic Temple ought to be. As such it would certainly be interesting if it could be correctly restored, but unfortunately the difficulties of making out a complicated plan from a mere verbal description are very great indeed, and are enhanced in this instance by our imperfect knowledge of the exact meaning of the Hebrew architectural terms, and it may also be from the prophet describing not what he actually knew, but only what he saw in a vision.

Be this as it may, we find that the Temple itself was of the exact dimensions of that built by Solomon, viz. an adytum (Ez. xl. 1-4), 20 cubits square, a naos, 20 × 40, and surrounded by cells of 10 cubits' width including the thickness of the walls, the whole, with the porch, making up 40 cubits by 80, or very little more than one four-thousandth part of the whole area of the Temple: the height unfortunately is not given. Beyond this were various courts and residences for the priests, and places for sacrifice and other ceremonies of the Temple, till he comes to the outer court, which measured 500 reeds on each of its sides; each reed (Ez. xl. 5) was 6 Babylonian cubits long, viz. of cubits each of one ordinary cubit and a handbreadth, or 21 inches. The

reed was therefore 10 feet 6 inches, and the side consequently 5250 Greek feet, or within a few feet of an English mile, considerably more than the whole area of the city of Jerusalem, Temple included!

It has been attempted to get over this difficulty by saying that the prophet meant cubits, not reeds; but this is quite untenable. Nothing can be more clear than the specification of the length of the reed, and nothing more careful than the mode in which reeds are distinguished from cubits throughout; as for instance in the two next verses (6 and 7) where a chamber and a gateway are mentioned, each of one reed. If cubit were substituted, it would be nonsense.

Notwithstanding its ideal character, the whole is extremely curious, as showing what were the aspirations of the Jews in this direction, and how different they were from those of other nations; and it is interesting here, inasmuch as there can be little doubt but that the arrangements of Herod's Temple were in a great measure influenced by the description here given. The outer court, for instance, with its porticoes measuring 400 cubits each way, is an exact counterpart on a smaller scale of the outer court of Ezekiel's Temple, and is not found in either Solomon's or Zerubbabel's; and so too, evidently, are several of the internal arrangements.

TEMPLE OF HEROD.

For our knowledge of the last and greatest of the Jewish Temples we are indebted almost wholly to the works of Josephus, with an occasional hint from the Talmud.

The Bible unfortunately contains nothing to assist the researches of the antiquary in this respect. With true Shemitic indifference to such objects, the writers of the New Testament do not furnish a single hint which would enable us to ascertain either what the situation or the dimensions of the

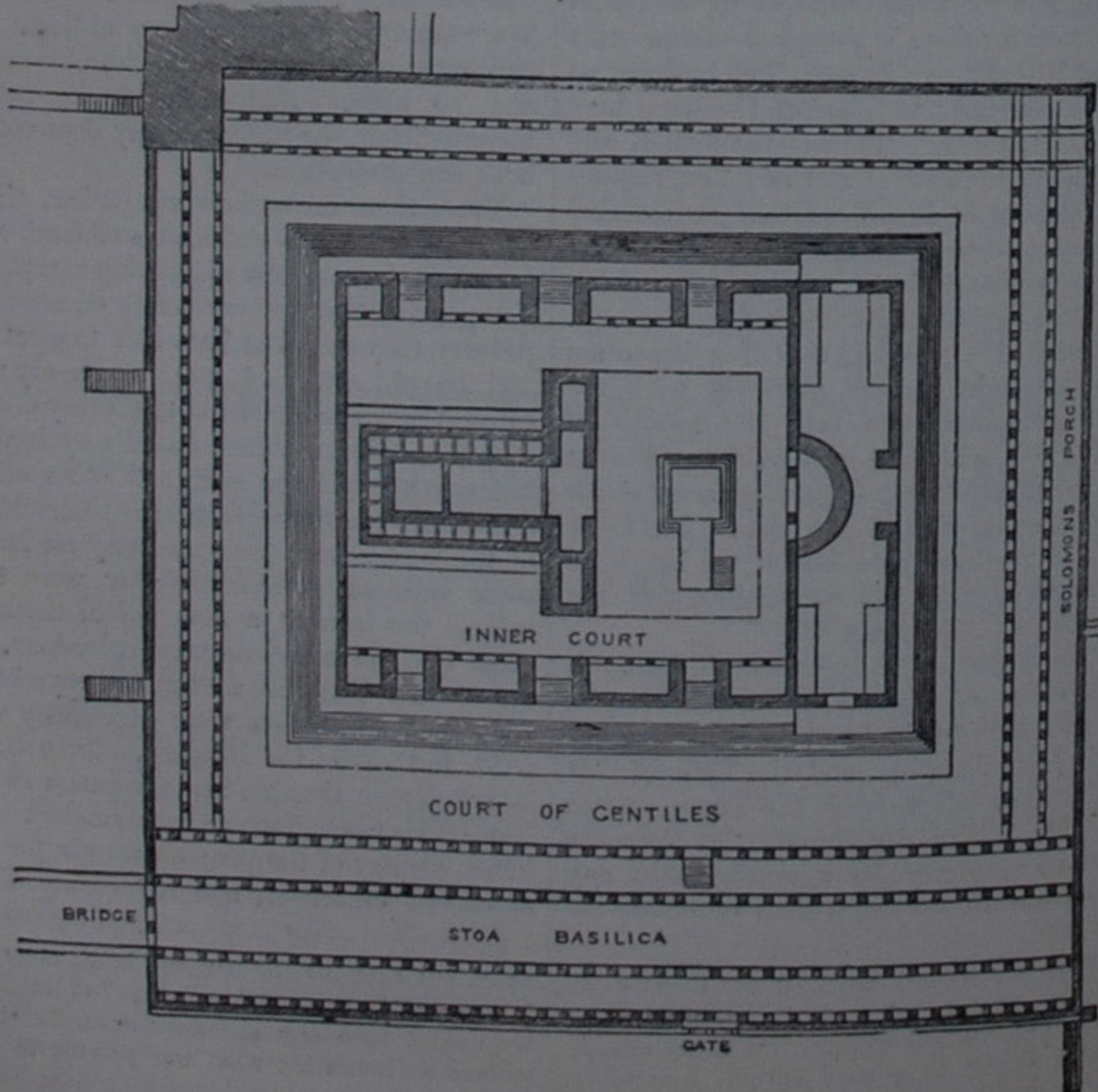


Fig. 10. — Temple of Herod restored. Scale of 200 feet to 1 inch.

Temple were, nor any characteristic feature of its architecture. But Josephus knew the spot personally, and his horizontal dimensions are so minutely accurate that we almost suspect he had before his eyes, when writing, some ground-plan of the building prepared in the quartermaster-general's department of Titus's army. They form a strange contrast with his dimensions in height, which, with scarcely an exception, can be shown to be exaggerated, generally doubled. As the buildings were all thrown down during the siege, it was impossible to convict him of error in respect to elevations, but as regards plan he seems always to have had a wholesome dread of the knowledge of those among whom he was living and writing.

The Temple or naos itself was in dimensions and arrangement very similar to that of Solomon, or rather that of Zerubbabel—more like the latter; but this was surrounded by an inner enclosure of great strength and magnificence, measuring as nearly as can be made out 180 cubits by 240, and adorned by porches and ten gateways of great magnificence; and beyond this again was an outer enclosure measuring externally 400 cubits each way, which was adorned with porticoes of greater splendour than any we know of attached to any temple of the ancient world: all showing how strongly Roman influence was at work in enveloping with Heathen magnificence the simple templar arrangements of a Shemitic people, which, however, remained nearly unchanged amidst all this external incrustation.

It has already been pointed out [JERUSALEM, vol. i. pp. 1019-20] that the Temple was certainly situated in the S.W. angle of the area now known as the Haram area at Jerusalem, and it is hardly necessary to repeat here the arguments there adduced to prove that its dimensions were what Josephus states them to be, 400 cubits, or one stadium, each way.

At the time when Herod rebuilt it he enclosed a space "twice as large" as that before occupied by the Temple and its courts (*B. J.* i. 21, §1), an expression that probably must not be taken too literally, at least if we are to depend on the measurements of Hecataeus. According to them the whole area of Herod's Temple was between four and five times greater than that which preceded it. What Herod did apparently was to take in the whole space between the Temple and the city wall on its eastern side, and to add a considerable space on the north and south to support the porticoes which he added there.

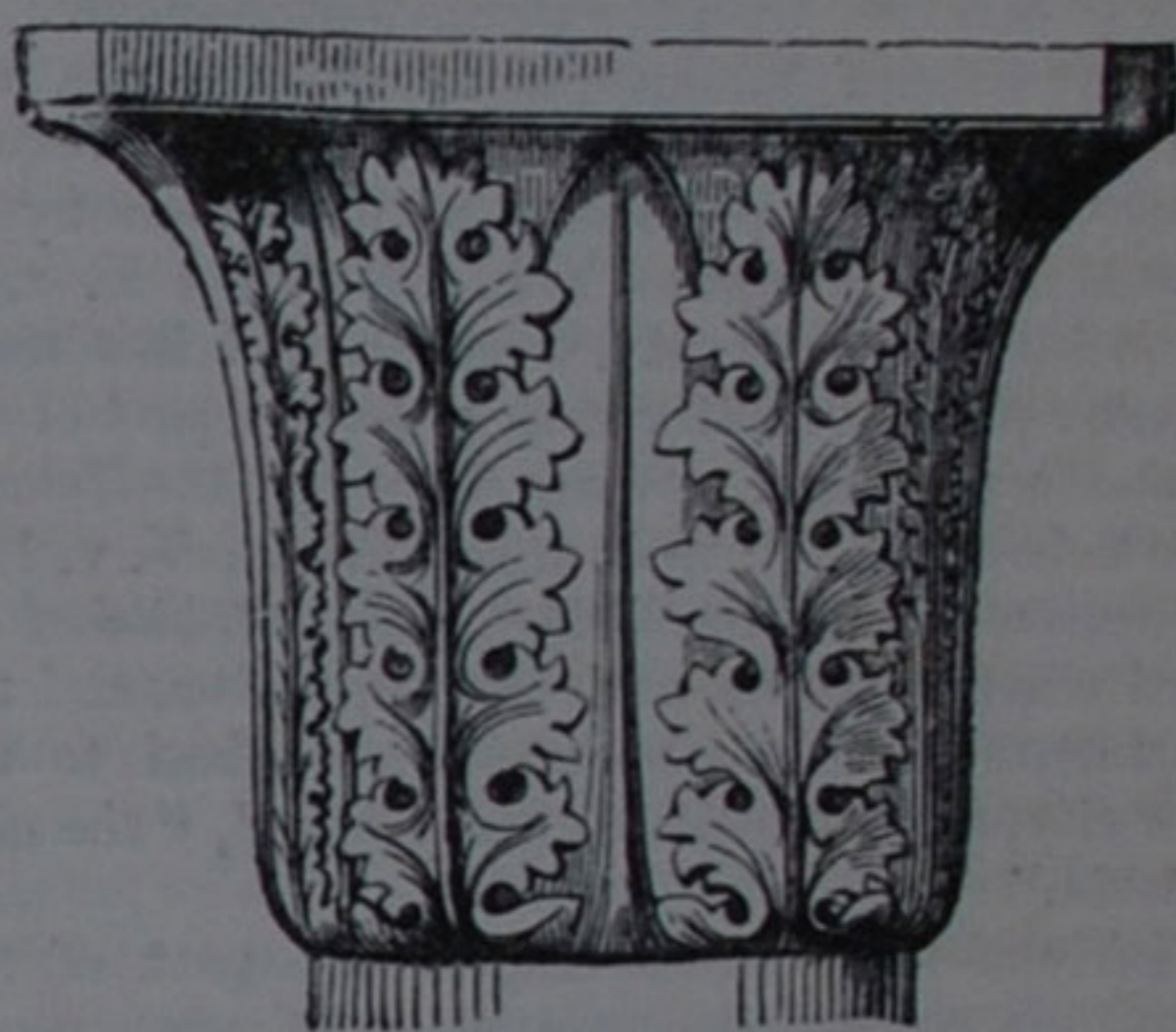
As the Temple terrace thus became the principal defence of the city on the east side, there were no gates or openings in that direction,^e and being situated on a sort of rocky brow—as evidenced from its appearance in the vaults that bound it on this side—it was at all future times considered unattackable from the eastward. The north side, too, where not covered by the fortress Antonia, became part of the defences of the city, and was likewise without external gates. But it may also have been that, as the tombs of the kings, and indeed the general cemetery of Jerusalem, were situated immediately to the northward of the Temple, there was some religious feeling in preventing too ready access

^e The Talmud, it is true, does mention a gate as existing in the eastern wall, but its testimony on this point is so unsatisfactory and in such direct opposition to Josephus and the probabilities of the case, that it may safely be disregarded.

^f Owing to the darkness of the place, blocked up as it now is, and the ruined state of the capital, it is not easy to get a correct delineation of it. This is to be regretted,

from the Temple to the burying-places (*Ez.* xliii. 7-9).

On the south side, which was enclosed by the wall of Ophel, there were double gates nearly in the centre (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5). These gates still exist at a distance of about 365 feet from the south-western angle, and are perhaps the only architectural features of the Temple of Herod which remain *in situ*. This entrance consists of a double archway of Cyclopean architecture on the level of the ground, opening into a square vestibule measuring 40 feet each way. In the centre of this is a pillar crowned by a capital of the Greek—rather than Roman—Corinthian order (Woodcut No. 11); the acanthus alternating with the water-leaf, as in the Tower of the Winds at Athens, and other Greek examples, but which was an arrangement abandoned by the Romans as early as the time of Augustus, and never afterwards employed.^f From this pillar spring four flat segmental arches, and the space between these



No. 11.—Capital of Pillar in Vestibule of southern entrance.

is roofed by flat domes, constructed apparently on the horizontal principle. The walls of this vestibule are of the same bevelled masonry as the exterior; but either at the time of erection or subsequently the projections seem to have been chiselled off in some parts so as to form pilasters. From this a double tunnel, nearly 200 feet in length, leads to a flight of steps which rise to the surface in the court of the Temple, exactly at that gateway of the inner Temple which led to the altar, and is the one of the four gateways on this side by which anyone arriving from Ophel would naturally wish to enter the inner enclosure. It seems to have been this necessity that led to the external gateway being placed a little more to the eastward than the exact centre of the enclosure, where naturally we should otherwise have looked for it.

We learn from the Talmud (*Mid.* ii. 6), that the gate of the inner Temple to which this passage led was called the "Water Gate;" and it is interesting to be able to identify a spot so prominent in the description of Nehemiah (xii. 37). The Water Gate is more often mentioned in the mediaeval references to the Temple than any other, especially by Mahomedan authors, though by them frequently confounded with the outer gate at the other end of this passage.

as a considerable controversy has arisen as to its exact character. It may therefore be interesting to mention that the drawing made by the architectural draughtsman who accompanied M. Renan in his late scientific expedition to Syria confirms to the fullest extent the character of the architecture, as shown in the view given above from Mr. Arundale's drawing.

Towards the westward there were four gateways to the external enclosure of the Temple (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5), and the positions of three of these can still be traced with certainty. The first or most southern led over the bridge the remains of which were identified by Dr. Robinson (of which a view is given in art. JERUSALEM, vol. i. p. 1019), and joined the Stoa Basilica of the Temple with the royal palace (*Ant.* ib.). The second was that discovered by Dr. Barclay, 270 feet from the S.W. angle, at a level of 17 feet below that of the southern gates just described. The site of the third is so completely covered by the buildings of the Meckmé that it has not yet been seen, but it will be found between 200 and 250 feet from the N.W. angle of the Temple area; for, owing to the greater width of the southern portico beyond that on the northern, the Temple itself was not in the centre of its enclosure, but situated more towards the north. The fourth was that which led over the causeway which still exists at a distance of 600 feet from the south-western angle.

In the time of Solomon, and until the area was enlarged by Herod, the ascent from the western valley to the Temple seems to have been by an external flight of stairs (*Neh.* xii. 37; *1 K.* x. 5, &c.), similar to those at Persepolis, and like them probably placed laterally so as to form a part of the architectural design. When, however, the Temple came to be fortified "modo arcis" (*Tacit. H.* v. 12), the causeway and the bridge were established to afford communication with the upper city, and the two intermediate lower entrances to lead to the lower city, or, as it was originally called, "the city of David."

Cloisters.—The most magnificent part of the Temple, in an architectural point of view, seems certainly to have been the cloisters which were added to the outer court when it was enlarged by Herod. It is not quite clear if there was not an eastern porch before this time, and if so, it may have been nearly on the site of that subsequently erected; but on the three other sides the Temple area was so extended at the last rebuilding that there can be no doubt but that from the very foundations the terrace walls and cloisters belonged wholly to the last period.

The cloisters in the west, north, and east side were composed of double rows of Corinthian columns, 25 cubits or 37 feet 6 inches in height (*B. J.* v. 5, §2) with flat roofs, and resting against the outer wall of the Temple. These, however, were immeasurably surpassed in magnificence by the royal porch or Stoa Basilica which overhung the southern wall. This is so minutely described by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 11, §5) that there is no difficulty in understanding its arrangement or ascertaining its dimensions. It consisted (in the language of Gothic architecture) of a nave and two aisles, that towards the Temple being open, that towards the country closed by a wall. The breadth of the centre aisle was 45 feet; of the side aisles 30 from centre to centre of the pillars; their height 50 feet, and that of the centre aisle 100 feet. Its section was thus something in excess of that of York Cathedral, while its total length was one stadium or 600 Greek feet, or 100 feet in excess of York, or our largest Gothic cathedrals.

^e It does not appear difficult to account for this extraordinary excess. The Rabbis adopted the sacred number of Ezekiel of 500 for their external dimensions of the Temple, without caring much whether it meant reeds or cubits, and though the commentators say that they only meant the smaller cubit of 15 inches, or 625 feet in all, this explanation will not hold good, as all their other

This magnificent structure was supported by 162 Corinthian columns, arranged in four rows, forty in each row—the two odd pillars forming apparently a screen at the end of the bridge leading to the palace, whose axis was coincident with that of the Stoa, which thus formed the principal entrance from the city and palace to the Temple.

At a short distance from the front of these cloisters was a marble screen or enclosure, 3 cubits in height, beautifully ornamented with carving, but bearing inscriptions in Greek and Roman characters forbidding any Gentile to pass within its boundaries. Again, at a short distance within this was a flight of steps supporting the terrace or platform on which the Temple itself stood. According to Josephus (*B. J.* v. 5, §2) this terrace was 15 cubits or 22½ feet high, and was approached first by fourteen steps, each we may assume about one foot in height, at the top of which was a berm or platform, 10 cubits wide, called the Chel; and there were again in the depth of the gateways five or six steps more leading to the inner court of the Temple, thus making 20 or 21 steps in the whole height of 22½ feet. To the eastward, where the court of the women was situated, this arrangement was reversed; five steps led to the Chel, and fifteen from that to the court of the Temple.

The court of the Temple, as mentioned above, was very nearly a square. It may have been exactly so, for we have not all the details to enable us to feel quite certain about it. The *Middoth* says it was 187 cubits E. and W., and 137 N. and S. (ii. 6). But on the two last sides there were the gateways with their exhedrae and chambers, which may have made up 25 cubits each way, though, with such measurements as we have, it appears they were something less.

To the eastward of this was the court of the women, the dimensions of which are not given by Josephus, but are in the *Middoth*, as 137 cubits square—a dimension we may safely reject, first, from the extreme improbability of the Jews allotting to the women a space more than ten times greater than that allotted to the men of Israel or to the Levites, whose courts, according to the same authority, were respectively 137 by 11 cubits; but, more than this, from the impossibility of finding room for such a court while adhering to the other dimensions given. If we assume that the enclosure of the court of the Gentiles, or the Chel, was nearly equidistant on all four sides from the cloisters, its dimension must have been about 37 or 40 cubits east and west, most probably the former.

The great ornament of these inner courts seems to have been their gateways, the three especially on the north and south leading to the Temple court. These, according to Josephus, were of great height, strongly fortified and ornamented with great elaboration. But the wonder of all was the great eastern gate leading from the court of the women to the upper court. This seems to have been the pride of the Temple area—covered with carving richly gilt, having apartments over it (*Ant.* xv. 11, §7), more like the Gopura^b of an Indian temple than anything else we are acquainted with in archi-

measurements agree so closely with those of Josephus that they evidently were using the same cubit of 18 inches. The fact seems to be, that having erroneously adopted 500 cubits instead of 400 for the external dimensions, they had 100 cubits to spare, and introduced them where no authority existed to show they were wrong.

^b *Handbook of Architecture*. p. 93 et seq.

ecture. It was also in all probability the one called the "Beautiful Gate" in the New Testament.

Immediately within this gateway stood the altar of burnt-offerings, according to Josephus (*B. J. v. 5, §6*), 50 cubits square and 15 cubits high, with an ascent to it by an inclined plane. The Talmud reduces this dimension to 32 cubits (*Middoth, iii. 1*), and adds a number of particulars, which make it appear that it must have been like a model of the Babylonian or other Assyrian temples. On the north side were the rings and stakes to which the victims were attached which were brought in to be sacrificed; and to the south an inclined plane led down, as before mentioned, to the Water Gate—so called because immediately in front of it was the great cistern excavated in the rock, first explored and described by Dr. Barclay (*City of the Great King, p. 526*), from which water was supplied to the Altar and the Temple. And a little beyond this, at the S.W. angle of the Altar was an opening (*Middoth, iii. 3*), through which the blood of the victims flowed¹ westward and southward to the king's garden at Siloam.

Both the Altar and the Temple were enclosed by a low parapet one cubit in height, placed so as to keep the people separate from the priests while the latter were performing their functions.

Within this last enclosure towards the westward stood the Temple itself. As before mentioned, its internal dimensions were the same as those of the Temple of Solomon, or of that seen by the Prophet in a vision, viz. 20 cubits or 30 feet, by 60 cubits or 90 feet, divided into a cubical Holy of Holies, and a holy place of 2 cubes; and there is no reason whatever for doubting but that the Sanctuary always stood on the identically same spot in which it had been placed by Solomon a thousand years before it was rebuilt by Herod.

Although the internal dimensions remained the same, there seems no reason to doubt but that the whole plan was augmented by the Pteromata or surrounding parts being increased from 10 to 20 cubits, so that the third Temple like the second, measured 60 cubits across, and 100 cubits east and west. The width of the façade was also augmented by wings or shoulders (*B. J. v. 5, §4*) projecting 20 cubits each way, making the whole breadth 100 cubits, or equal to the length. So far all seems certain, but when we come to the height, every measurement seems doubtful. Both Josephus and the Talmud seem delighted with the truly Jewish idea of a building which, without being a cube, was 100 cubits long, 100 broad, and 100 high—and everything seems to be made to bend to this simple ratio of proportion. It may also be partly owing to the difficulty of ascertaining heights as compared with horizontal dimensions, and the tendency that always exists to exaggerate these latter, that may have led to some confusion, but from whatever cause it arose, it is almost impossible to believe that the dimensions of the Temple as

regards height, were what they were asserted to be by Josephus, and specified with such minute detail in the *Middoth* (iv. 6). This authority makes the height of the floor 6, of the hall 40 cubits; the roofing 5 cubits in thickness; then the coenaculum or upper room 40, and the roof, parapet, &c., 9!—all the parts being named with the most detailed particularity.

As the Adytum was certainly not more than 20 cubits high, the first 40 looks very like a duplication, and so does the second; for a room 20 cubits wide and 40 high is so absurd a proportion that it is impossible to accept it. In fact, we cannot help suspecting that in this instance Josephus was guilty of systematically doubling the altitude of the building he was describing, as it can be proved he did in some other instances.^k

From the above it would appear, that in so far as the horizontal dimensions of the various parts of this celebrated building, or their arrangement in plan is concerned, we can restore every part with very tolerable certainty; and there does not appear either to be very much doubt as to their real height. But when we turn from actual measurement and try to realize its appearance or the details of its architecture, we launch into a sea of conjecture with very little indeed to guide us, at least in regard to the appearance of the Temple itself.

We know, however, that the cloisters of the outer court were of the Corinthian order, and from the appearance of nearly contemporary cloisters at Palmyra and Baalbec we can judge of their effect. There are also in the Haram area at Jerusalem a number of pillars which once belonged to these colonnades, and so soon as any one will take the trouble to measure and draw them, we may restore the cloisters at all events with almost absolute certainty.

We may also realize very nearly the general appearance of the inner fortified enclosure with its gates and their accompaniments, and we can also restore the Altar, but when we turn to the Temple itself, all is guess work. Still the speculation is so interesting, that it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding it.

In the first place we are told (*Ant. xv. 11, §5*) that the priests built the Temple itself in eighteen months, while it took Herod eight years to complete his part, and as only priests apparently were employed, we may fairly assume that it was not a rebuilding, but only a repair—it may be with additions—which they undertook. We know also from Maccabees, and from the unwillingness of the priest to allow Herod to undertake the rebuilding at all that the Temple, though at one time desecrated was never destroyed; so we may fairly assume that a great part of the Temple of Zerubbabel was still standing, and was incorporated in the new.

Whatever may have been the case with the Temple of Solomon, it is nearly certain that the style of the second Temple must have been identical with that of the buildings we are so familiar with at Persepolis

¹ A channel exactly corresponding to that described in the Talmud has been discovered by Signor Pierotti, running towards the south-west. In his published accounts he mistakes it for one flowing north-east, in direct contradiction to the Talmud, which is our only authority on the subject.

^k As it is not easy always to realize figured dimensions, it may assist those who are not in the habit of doing so to state that the western façade and nave of Lincoln Cathedral are nearly the same as those of Herod's Temple. Thus the façade with its shoulders is about 100 cubits wide.

The nave is 60 cubits wide and 60 high, and if you divide the aisle into three storeys you can have a correct idea of the chambers; and if the nave with its clerestory were divided by a floor, they would correctly represent the dimensions of the Temple and its upper rooms. The nave, however, to the transept, is considerably more than 100 cubits long, while the façade is only between 50 and 60 cubits high. Those, therefore, who adhere to the written text, must double its height in imagination to realize its appearance, but my own conviction is that the Temple was not higher in reality than the façade of the cathedral.

and Susa. In fact the Woodcut No. 6 correctly represents the second Temple in so far as its details are concerned; for we must not be led away with the modern idea that different people built in different styles, which they kept distinct and practised only within their own narrow limits. The Jews were too closely connected with the Persians and Babylonians at this period to know of any other style, and in fact their Temple was built under the superintendence of the very parties who were erecting the contemporary edifices at Persepolis and Susa.

The question still remains how much of this building or of its details were retained, or how much of Roman feeling added. We may at once dismiss the idea that anything was borrowed from Egypt. That country had no influence at this period beyond the limits of her own narrow valley, and we cannot trace one vestige of her taste or feeling in anything found in Syria at or about this epoch.

Turning to the building itself, we find that the only things that were added at this period were the wings to the façade, and it may consequently be surmised that the façade was entirely remodelled at this time, especially as we find in the centre a great arch, which was a very Roman feature, and very unlike anything we know of as existing before. This, Josephus says, was 25 cubits wide and 70 high, which is so monstrous in proportion, and, being wider than the Temple itself, so unlikely, that it may safely be rejected, and we may adopt in its stead the more moderate dimensions of the *Middoth* (iii. 7), which makes it 20 cubits wide by 40 high, which is not only more in accordance with the dimensions of the building, but also with the proportions of Roman architecture. This arch occupied the centre, and may easily be restored; but what is to be done with the 37 cubits on either hand? Were they plain like an unfinished Egyptian propylon, or covered with ornament like an Indian Gopura? My own impression is that the façade on either hand was covered with a series of small arches and panels four storeys in height, and more like the *Tâk Kesra* at Ctesiphon^m than any other building now existing. It is true that nearly five centuries elapsed between the destruction of the one building and the erection of the other. But Herod's Temple was not the last of its race, nor was Nushirvan's the first of its class, and its pointed arches and clumsy details show just such a degradation of style as we should expect from the interval which had elapsed between them. We know so little of the architecture of this part of Asia that it is impossible to speak with certainty on such a subject, but we may yet recover many of the lost links which connect the one with the other, and so restore the earlier examples with at least proximate certainty.

Whatever the exact appearance of its details may have been, it may safely be asserted that the triple Temple of Jerusalem—the lower court, standing on its magnificent terraces—the inner court, raised on its platform in the centre of this—and the Temple itself, rising out of this group and crowning the whole—must have formed, when combined with the

^m *Handbook of Architecture*, p. 375.

ⁿ Ewald is disposed to think that even in the form in which we have the Commandments there are some additions made at a later period, and that the second and the fourth commandments were originally as briefly imperative as the sixth or seventh (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 206). The difference between the reason given in Ex. xx. 11 for the fourth commandment, and that stated to have been given in Deut. v. 15. makes perhaps, such a conjecture possible.

beauty of its situation, one of the most splendid architectural combinations of the ancient world. [J. F.]

TEN COMMANDMENTS. (1.) The popular name in this, as in so many instances, is not that of Scripture. There we have the "ten words" (עֲשֵׂרֵת הַדְּבָרִים; τὰ δέκα ῥήματα; *verba decem*), not the Ten Commandments (Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13, x. 4, Heb.). The difference is not altogether an unmeaning one. The word of God, the "word of the Lord," the constantly recurring term for the fullest revelation, was higher than any phrase expressing merely a command, and carried with it more the idea of a self-fulfilling power. If on the one side there was the special contrast to which our Lord refers between the commandments of God and the traditions of men (Matt. xv. 3), the arrogance of the Rabbis showed itself, on the other, in placing the words of the Scribes on the same level as the words of God. [Comp. SCRIBES.] Nowhere in the later books of the O. T. is any direct reference made to their number. The treatise of Philo, however, *περὶ τῶν δέκα λογίων*, shows that it had fixed itself on the Jewish mind, and later still, it gave occasion to the formation of a new word ("The Decalogue" ἡ δεκάλογος, first in Clem. Al. *Paed.* iii. 12), which has perpetuated itself in modern languages. Other names are even more significant. These, and these alone, are "the words of the covenant," the unchanging ground of the union between Jehovah and His people, all else being as a superstructure, accessory and subordinate (Ex. xxxiv. 28). They are also the Tables of Testimony, sometimes simply "the testimony," the witness to men of the Divine will, righteous itself, demanding righteousness in man (Ex. xxv. 16, xxxi. 18, &c.). It is by virtue of their presence in it that the Ark becomes, in its turn, the Ark of the Covenant (Num. x. 33, &c.), that the sacred tent became the Tabernacle of Witness, of Testimony (Ex. xxxviii. 21, &c.). [TABERNACLE.] They remain there, throughout the glory of the kingdom, the primeval relics of a hoar antiquity (1 K. viii. 9), their material, the writing on them, the sharp incisive character of the laws themselves presenting a striking contrast to the more expanded teaching of a later time. Not less did the commandments themselves speak of the earlier age when not the silver and the gold, but the ox and the ass were the great representatives of wealth^a (comp. 1 Sam. xii. 3).

(2.) The circumstances in which the Ten great Words were first given to the people, surrounded them with an awe which attached to no other precept. In the midst of the cloud, and the darkness, and the flashing lightning, and the fiery smoke, and the thunder, like the voice of a trumpet, Moses was called to receive the Law without which the people would cease to be a holy nation. Here, as elsewhere, Scripture unites two facts which men separate. God, and not man, was speaking to the Israelites in those terrors, and yet in the language of later inspired teachers, other instrumentality was not excluded.^b The law was "ordained by angels" (Gal.

Scholia which modern annotators put into the margin are in the existing state of the O. T. incorporated into the text. Obviously both forms could not have appeared written on the Two Tables of Stone, yet Deut. v. 15, 22 not only states a different reason, but affirms that "all these words" were thus written. Keil (*Comm. on Ex.* xx.) seems on this point disposed to agree with Ewald.

^b Buxtorf, it is true, asserts that Jewish interpreters with hardly an exception, maintain that "Deum verbe

iii. 19), "spoken by angels" (Heb. ii. 2), received as the ordinance of angels (Acts vii. 53). The agency of those whom he thought of the Psalmist connected with the winds and the flaming fire (Ps. civ. 4; Heb. i. 7) was present also on Sinai. And the part of Moses himself was, as the language of St. Paul (Gal. iii. 19) affirms, that of "a mediator." He stood "between" the people and the Lord, "to show them the word of the Lord" (Deut. v. 5), while they stood afar off, to give form and distinctness to what would else have been terrible and overwhelming. The "voice of the Lord" which they heard in the thunderings and the sound of the trumpet, "full of majesty," "dividing the flames of fire" (Ps. xxix. 3-9), was for him a Divine word, the testimony of an Eternal will, just as in the parallel instance of John xii. 29, a like testimony led some to say, "it thundered," while others received the witness. No other words were proclaimed in like manner. The people shrank even from this nearness to the awful presence, even from the very echoes of the Divine voice. And the record was as exceptional as the original revelation. Of no other words could it be said that they were written as these were written, engraved on the Tables of Stone, not as originating in man's contrivance or sagacity, but by the power of the Eternal Spirit, by the "finger of God" (Ex. xxxi. 18, xxxii. 16; comp. note on TABERNACLE).

(3.) The number Ten was, we can hardly doubt, itself significant to Moses and the Israelites. The received symbol, then and at all times, of completeness (Bähr, *Symbolik*, i. 175-183), it taught the people that the Law of Jehovah was perfect (Ps. xix. 7). The fact that they were written not on one, but on two tables, probably in two groups of five each (*infra*), taught men (though with some variations from the classification of later ethics) the great division of duties towards God, and duties towards our neighbour, which we recognise as the groundwork of every true Moral system. It taught them also, five being the symbol of imperfection (Bähr, i. 183-187), how incomplete each set of duties would be when divorced from its companion. The recurrence of these numbers in the Pentateuch is at once frequent and striking. Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 212-217) has shown by a large induction how continually laws and precepts meet us in groups of five or ten. The numbers, it will be remembered, meet us again as the basis of all the proportions of the Tabernacle. [TEMPLE.] It would show an ignorance of all modes of Hebrew thought to exclude this symbolic aspect. We need not, however, shut out altogether that which some writers (*e. g.* Grotius, *De Decal.* p. 36) have substituted for it, the connexion of the Ten Words with a decimal system of numeration, with the ten fingers on which a man counts. Words which were to be the rule of life for the poor as well as the learned, the groundwork of education for all children, might well be connected with the simplest facts and processes in man's mental growth, and thus stamped more indelibly on the memory.^c

(4.) In what way the Ten Commandments were to be divided has, however, been a matter of much

controversy. At least four distinct arrangements present themselves.

(a.) In the received teaching of the Latin Church resting on that of St. Augustine (*Qu. in Ex.* 71, *Ep. ad Januar.* c. xi., *De Decal. &c.*, &c.) the first Table contained three commandments, the second the other seven. Partly on mystical grounds, because the Tables thus symbolized the Trinity of Divine Persons, and the Eternal Sabbath, partly as seeing in it a true ethical division, he adopted this classification. It involved, however, and in part proceeded from an alteration in the received arrangement. What we know as the first and second were united, and consequently the Sabbath law appeared at the close of the First Table as the third, not as the fourth commandment. The completeness of the number was restored in the Second Table by making a separate (the ninth) command of the precept, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife," which with us forms part of the tenth. It is an almost fatal objection to this order that in the First Table it confounds, where it ought to distinguish, the two sins of polytheism and idolatry; and that in the Second it introduces an arbitrary and meaningless distinction. The later theology of the Church of Rome apparently adopted it as seeming to prohibit image-worship only so far as it accompanied the acknowledgment of another God (*Catech. Trident.* iii. 2, 20).

(b.) The familiar division, referring the first four to our duty towards God, and the six remaining to our duty towards man, is, on ethical grounds, simple and natural enough. If it is not altogether satisfying, it is because it fails to recognise the symmetry which gives to the number five so great a prominence, and, perhaps also, because it looks on the duty of the fifth commandment from the point of view of modern ethics rather than from that of the ancient Israelites, and the first disciples of Christ (*infra*).

(c.) A modification of (a.) has been adopted by later Jewish writers (Jonathan ben Uzziel, Aben Ezra, Moses ben Nachman, in Suicer, *Thes.* s. v. *δεκάλογος*). Retaining the combination of the first and second commandments of the common order, they have made a new "word" of the opening declaration, "I am the Lord thy God which brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage," and so have avoided the necessity of the subdivision of the tenth. The objection to this division is, (1) that it rests on no adequate authority, and (2) that it turns into a single precept what is evidently given as the groundwork of the whole body of laws.

(d.) Rejecting these three, there remains that recognised by the older Jewish writers, Josephus (iii. 6, §6) and Philo (*De Decal.* i.), and supported ably and thoughtfully by Ewald (*Gesch. Isr.* ii. 208), which places five commandments in each Table; and thus preserves the *pentad* and *decad* grouping which pervades the whole code. A modern jurist would perhaps object that this places the fifth commandment in a wrong position, that a duty to parents is a duty towards our neighbour. From the Jewish point of view, it is believed, the place thus given to that commandment

natural suggestion but two notes of admiration (!). The analogy of Ten Great Commandments in the moral law of Buddhism might have shown him how naturally men crave for a number that thus helps them. A true system was as little likely to ignore the natural craving as a false. (Comp. note in Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* ii. 207.)

^c Decalogi per se immediate locutum esse" (*Diss. de Decal.*). The language of Josephus, however (*Ant.* xv. 5, §3), not less than that of the N. T., shows that at one time the traditions of the Jewish schools pointed to the opposite conclusion.

^e Bähr absorbed in symbolism, has nothing for this

was essentially the right one. Instead of duties towards God, and duties towards our neighbours, we must think of the First Table as containing all that belonged to the *Eὐσεβεία* of the Greeks, to the *Pietas* of the Romans, duties *i. e.* with no corresponding rights, while the Second deals with duties which involve rights, and come therefore under the head of *Justitia*. The duty of honouring, *i. e.* supporting, parents came under the former head. As soon as the son was capable of it, and the parents required it, it was an absolute, unconditional duty. His right to any maintenance from them had ceased. He owed them reverence, as he owed it to his Father in heaven (Heb. xii. 9). He was to show piety (*εὐσεβεῖν*) to them (1 Tim. v. 4). What made the "Corban" casuistry of the Scribes so specially evil was, that it was, in this way, a sin against the piety of the First Table, not merely against the lower obligations of the second (Mark vii. 11; comp. PIETY). It at least harmonises with this division that the second, third, fourth, and fifth commandments, all stand on the same footing as having special sanctions attaching to them, while the others that follow are left in their simplicity by themselves, as though the reciprocity of rights were in itself a sufficient ground for obedience.^d

(5.) To these Ten Commandments we find in the Samaritan Pentateuch an eleventh added:—"But when the Lord thy God shall have brought thee into the land of Canaan, whither thou goest to possess it, thou shalt set thee up two great stones, and shalt plaister them with plaister, and shalt write upon these stones all the words of this Law. Moreover, after thou shalt have passed over Jordan, thou shalt set up those stones which I command thee this day, on Mount Gerizim, and thou shalt build there an altar to the Lord thy God, an altar of stones: thou shalt not lift up any iron thereon. Of unhewn stones shalt thou build that altar to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer on it burnt-offerings to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt sacrifice peace-offerings, and shalt eat them there, and thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God in that mountain beyond Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanite that dwelleth in the plain country over against Gilgal, by the oak of Moreh, towards Sichem" (Walton, *Bibl. Polyglott.*). In the absence of any direct evidence we can only guess as to the history of this remarkable addition. (1.) It will be seen that the whole passage is made up of two which are found in the Hebrew text of Deut. xxvii. 2-7, and xi. 30, with the *substitution*, in the former, of Gerizim for Ebal. (2.) In the absence of confirmation from any other version, Ebal must, as far as textual criticism is concerned, be looked upon as the true reading, Gerizim as a falsification, casual or deliberate, of the text. (3.) Probably the choice of Gerizim as the site of the Samaritan temple was determined by the fact that it had been the Mount of Blessings, Ebal that of Curses. Possibly, as Walton suggests (*Prolegom.* c. xi.), the difficulty of understanding how the latter should have been chosen instead of the former, as a place

^d A further confirmation of the truth of this division is found in Rom. xiii. 9. St. Paul, summing up the duties "briefly comprehended" in the one great Law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," enumerates the last five commandments, but makes no mention of the fifth.

^a 1. אהל; οἶκος, σκηνή; *tabernaculum, tentorium*; often in A V. "tabernacle."

for sacrifice and offering, may have led them to look on the reading Ebal as erroneous. They were unwilling to expose themselves to the taunts of their Judæan enemies by building a temple on the Hill of Curses. They would claim the inheritance of the blessings. They would set the authority of their text against that of the scribes of the Great Synagogue. One was as likely to be accepted as the other. The "Hebrew verity" was not then acknowledged as it has been since. (4.) In other repetitions or transfers in the Samaritan Pentateuch we may perhaps admit the plea which Walton makes in its behalf (*l. c.*), that in the first formation of the Pentateuch as a Codex, the transcribers had a large number of separate documents to copy, and that consequently much was left to the discretion of the individual scribe. Here, however, that excuse is hardly admissible. The interpolation has every mark of being a bold attempt to claim for the schismatic worship on Gerizim the solemn sanction of the voice on Sinai, to place it on the same footing as the Ten great Words of God. The guilt of the interpolation belonged of course only to the first contrivers of it. The later Samaritans might easily come to look on their text as the true one, on that of the Jews as corrupted by a fraudulent omission. It is to the credit of the Jewish scribes that they were not tempted to retaliate, and that their reverence for the sacred records prevented them from suppressing the history which connected the rival sanctuary with the blessings of Gerizim.

(6.) The treatment of the Ten Commandments in the Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel is not without interest. There, as noticed above, the first and second commandments are united, to make up the second, and the words "I am the Lord thy God," &c., are given as the first. More remarkable is the addition of a distinct reason for the last five commandments no less than for the first five. "Thou shalt commit no murder, for because of the sins of murderers the sword goeth forth upon the world." So in like manner, and with the same formula, "death goeth forth upon the world" as the punishment of adultery, famine as that of theft, drought as that of false witness, invasion, plunder, captivity as that of covetousness (Walton, *Bibl. Polyglott.*).

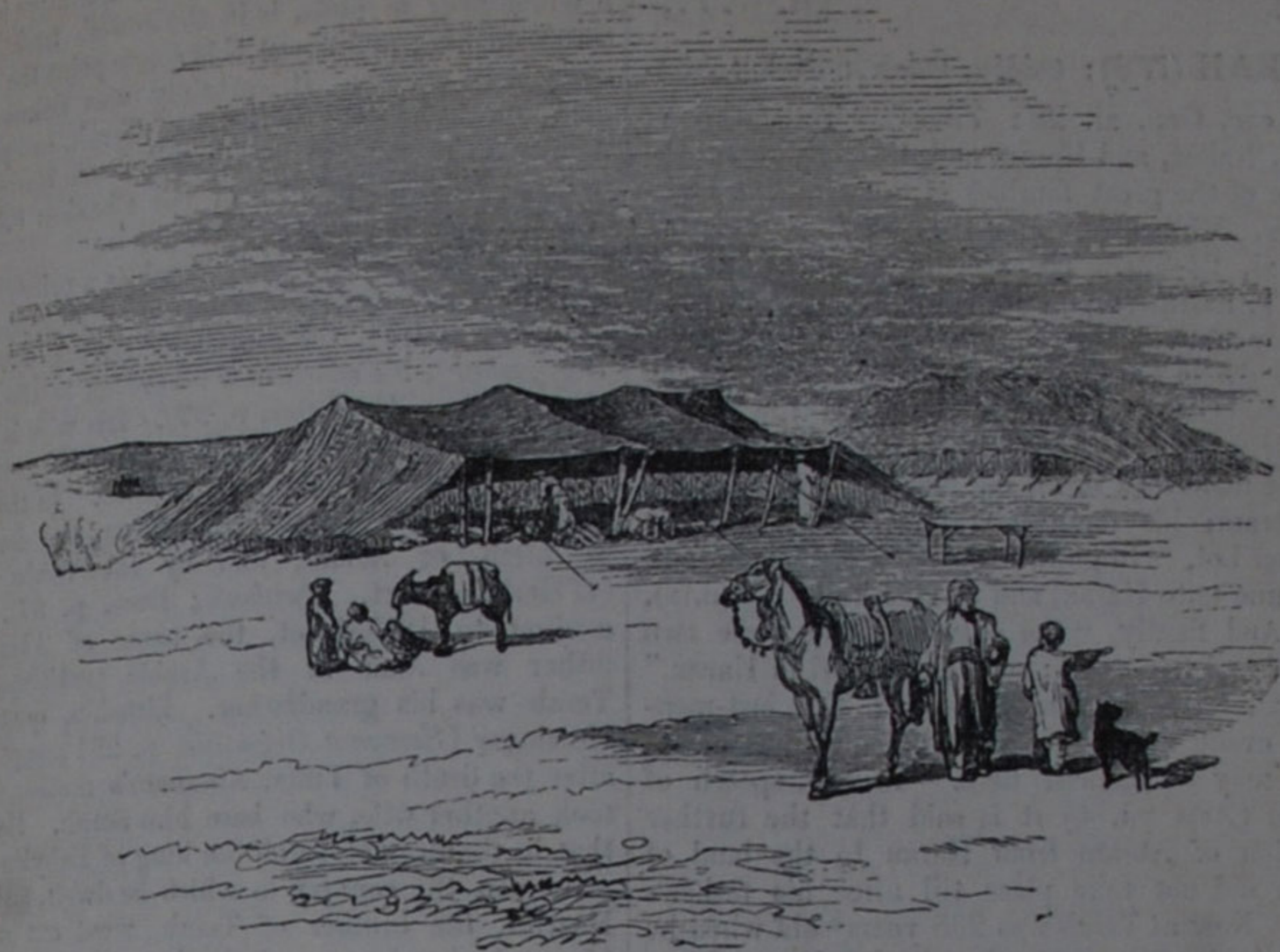
(7.) The absence of any distinct reference to the Ten Commandments as such in the *Pirke Aboth* (=Maxims of the Fathers) is both strange and significant. One chapter (ch. v.) is expressly given to an enumeration of all the Scriptural facts which may be grouped in decades, the ten words of Creation, the ten generations from Adam to Noah, and from Noah to Abraham, the ten trials of Abraham, the ten plagues of Egypt, and the like, but the ten divine words find no place in the list. With all their ostentation of profound reverence for the Law, the teaching of the Rabbis turned on other points than the great laws of duty. In this way, as in others, they made void the commandments of God that they might keep their own traditions.—Compare Stanley, *Jewish Church*, Lect. vii., in illustration of many of the points here noticed. [E. H. P.]

TENT.* Among the leading characteristics of

2. מִשְׁכָּן; σκηνή; *tentorium*; opposed to בית "house."

3. סֹכֶת (*succah*), only once "tent" (2 Sam. xi. 11).

4. קֶבֶד; κάμινος; *lupanar*; Arab. قبة whence with art. prefixed, comes *alcoba* (Span.) and "alcove" (Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 30): only once used (Num. xlv. 8).



ARAB TENT (Layard)

the nomade races, those two have always been numbered, whose origin has been ascribed to Jabal the son of Lamech (Gen. iv. 20), viz., to be tent-dwellers and keepers of cattle. The same may be said of the forefathers of the Hebrew race; nor was it until the return into Canaan from Egypt that the Hebrews became inhabitants of cities, and it may be remarked that the tradition of tent-usage survived for many years later in the Tabernacle of Shiloh, which consisted, as many Arab tents still consist, of a walled enclosure covered with curtains (Mishna, *Zebachim*, xiv. 6; Stanley, *S. and P.* p. 233). Among tent-dwellers of the present day must be reckoned, (1.) the great Mongol and Tartar hordes of central Asia, whose tent-dwellings are sometimes of gigantic dimensions, and who exhibit more contrivance both in the dwellings themselves and in their method of transporting them from place to place than is the case with the Arab races (Marco Polo, *Trav.* p. 128, 135, 211, ed. Bohn; Hor. 3 *Od.* xxiv. 10; Gibbon, c. xxvi., vol. iii. p. 298, ed. Smith). (2.) The Bedouin Arab tribes, who inhabit tents which are probably constructed on the same plan as those which were the dwelling-places of Abraham and of Jacob (Heb. xi. 9). A tent or pavilion on a magnificent scale, constructed for Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria, is described by Athenaeus, v. 196 foll.

An Arab tent is minutely described by Burckhardt. It is called *beit*, "house;" its covering consists of stuff, about three-quarters of a yard broad, made of black goats'-hair (Cant. i. 5; Shaw, *Trav.* p. 220), laid parallel with the tent's length. This is sufficient to resist the heaviest rain. The tent-poles, called *miud*, or columns, are usually nine in number, placed in three groups, but many tents have only one pole, others two or three. The ropes which hold the tent in its place are fastened, not to the tent-cover itself, but to loops consisting of a leathern thong tied to the ends of a stick, round which is twisted a piece of old cloth, which is itself sewed to the tent-cover. The ends of the tent-ropes are fastened to short sticks or pins, called *wed* or *aoutad*, which are driven into the ground with a mallet

(Judg. iv. 21). [PIN.] Round the back and sides of the tents runs a piece of stuff removable at pleasure to admit air. The tent is divided into two apartments, separated by a carpet partition drawn across the middle of the tent and fastened to the three middle posts. The men's apartment is usually on the right side on entering, and the women's on the left; but this usage varies in different tribes, and in the Mesopotamian tribes the contrary is the rule. Of the three side posts on the men's side, the first and third are called *yed* (hand); and the one in the middle is rather higher than the other two. Hooks are attached to these posts for hanging various articles (Gen. xviii. 10; Jud. xiii. 6; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. 187; Layard, *Nin. and Bas.* p. 261). [PILLAR.] Few Arabs have more than one tent, unless the family be augmented by the families of a son or a deceased brother, or in case the wives disagree, when the master pitches a tent for one of them adjoining his own. The separate tents of Sarah, Leah, Rachel, Zilpah, and Bilhah, may thus have been either separate tents or apartments in the principal tent in each case (Gen. xxiv. 67, xxxi. 33). When the pasture near an encampment is exhausted, the tents are taken down, packed on camels and removed (Is. xxxviii. 12; Gen. xxvi. 17, 22, 25). The beauty of an Arab encampment is noticed by Shaw (*Trav.* p. 221; see Num. xxiv. 5). Those who cannot afford more complete tents, are content to hang a cloth from a tree by way of shelter. In choosing places for encampment, Arabs prefer the neighbourhood of trees, for the sake of the shade and coolness which they afford (Gen. xviii. 4, 8; Niebuhr, *l. c.*). In observing the directions of the Law respecting the feast of Tabernacles, the Rabbinical writers laid down as a distinction between the ordinary tent and the booth, *succah*, that the latter must in no case be covered by a cloth, but be restricted to boughs of trees as its shelter (*Succah*, i. 3). In hot weather the Arabs of Mesopotamia often strike their tents and betake themselves to sheds of reeds and grass on the bank of the river (Layard, *Nineveh*, i. 123; Burckhardt, *Notes on Bed.* i. 37, 46; Volney, *Trav.* i. 398

Layard, *Nin. and Bab.* p. 171, 175; Niebuhr, *Voy.* i. l. c.) [H. W. P.]

TE'RAH (תֵּרַח: Θάβρα, Θάρα in Josh.; Alex. Θάρα, exc. Gen. xi. 28: *Thare*). The father of Abram, Nahor, and Haran, and through them the ancestor of the great families of the Israelites, Ishmaelites, Midianites, Moabites, and Ammonites (Gen. xi. 24-32). The account given of him in the O. T. narrative is very brief. We learn from it simply that he was an idolater (Josh. xxiv. 2), that he dwelt beyond the Euphrates in Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. xi. 28), and that in the south-westerly migration, which from some unexplained cause he undertook in his old age, he went with his son Abram, his daughter-in-law Sarai, and his grandson Lot, "to go into the land of Canaan, and they came unto Haran, and dwelt there" (Gen. xi. 31). And finally, "the days of Terah were two hundred and five years: and Terah died in Haran" (Gen. xi. 32). In connexion with this last-mentioned event a chronological difficulty has arisen which may be noticed here. In the speech of Stephen (Acts vii. 4) it is said that the further migration of Abram from Haran to the land of Canaan did not take place till after his father's death. Now as Terah was 205 years* old when he died, and Abram was 75 when he left Haran (Gen. xii. 4), it follows that, if the speech of Stephen be correct, at Abram's birth Terah must have been 130 years old; and therefore that the order of his sons—Abram, Nahor, Haran—given in Gen. xi. 26, 27, is not their order in point of age. [See LOT, 143b.] Lord Arthur Hervey says (*Geneal.* pp. 82, 83), "The difficulty is easily got over by supposing that Abram, though named first on account of his dignity, was not the eldest son, but probably the youngest of the three, born when his father was 130 years old—a supposition with which the marriage of Nahor with his elder brother Haran's daughter, Milcah, and the apparent nearness of age between Abram and Lot, and the three generations from Nahor to Rebecca corresponding to only two, from Abraham to Isaac, are in perfect harmony." From the simple facts of Terah's life recorded in the O. T. has been constructed the entire legend of Abram which is current in Jewish and Arabian traditions. Terah the idolater is turned into a maker of images, and "Ur of the Chaldees" is the original of the "furnace" into which Abram was cast (comp. Ez. v. 2). Rashi's note on Gen. xi. 28 is as follows:—"In the presence of Terah his father: in the lifetime of his father. And the Midrash Hagada says that he died beside his father, for Terah had complained of Abram his son, before Nimrod, that he had broken his images, and he cast him into a furnace of fire. And Haran was sitting and saying in his heart, If Abram overcome I am on his side, and if Nimrod overcome I am on his side. And when Abram was saved they said to Haran, On whose side art thou? He said to them, I am on Abram's side. So they cast him into the furnace of fire and he was burnt; and this is [what is meant by] *Ur Casdim* (Ur of the Chaldees)." In *Bereshith Rabba* (Par. 17) the story is told of Abraham being left to sell idols in his father's stead, which is repeated in Weil's *Biblical Legends*, p. 49. The whole legend depends upon the ambiguity of the word עֲבָד, which signifies "to make" and "to serve or worship,"

* The Sam. text and version make him 145, and so avoid this difficulty.

so that Terah, who in the Biblical narrative is only a worshipper of idols, is in the Jewish tradition an image-maker; and about this single point the whole story has grown. It certainly was unknown to Josephus, who tells nothing of Terah, except that it was grief for the death of his son Haran that induced him to quit Ur of the Chaldees (*Ant.* i. 6, § 6).

In the Jewish traditions Terah is a prince and a great man in the palace of Nimrod (Jellinek, *Bet ham-Midrash*, p. 27), the captain of his army (*Sepher Hayyashar*), his son-in-law according to the Arabs (Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, p. 97). His wife is called in the Talmud (*Baba Bathra*, fol. 91a) Amtelai, or Emtelai, the daughter of Carnebo. In the Book of the Jubilees she is called Edna, the daughter of Arem, or Aram; and by the Arabs Adna (D'Herbelot, art. *Abraham*; Beer, p. 97). According to D'Herbelot, the name of Abraham's father was Azar in the Arabic traditions, and Terah was his grandfather. Elmakin, quoted by Hottinger (*Smegma Orientale*, p. 281), says that, after the death of Yuna, Abraham's mother, Terah took another wife, who bare him Sarah. He adds that in the days of Terah the king of Babylon made war upon the country in which he dwelt, and that Hazrun, the brother of Terah, went out against him and slew him; and the kingdom of Babylon was transferred to Nineveh and Mosul. For all these traditions, see the Book of *Jashar*, and the works of Hottinger, D'Herbelot, Weil, and Beer above quoted. Philo (*De Somniis*) indulges in some strange speculations with regard to Terah's name and his migration. [W. A. W.]

TER'APHIM (תֵּרָפִים: θεραπεῖν, τὸ θεραπεῖν, τὰ θεραπεῖν, κενοτάφια, εἰδῶλα, γλυπτὰ, δῆλοι, ἀποφθεγγόμενοι: *theraphim, statua, idola, simulacra, figuræ idolorum, idololatria*), only in plural, images connected with magical rites. The subject of teraphim has been fully discussed in art. MAGIC (ii. 195-197), and it is therefore unnecessary here to do more than repeat the results there stated. The derivation of the name is obscure. In one case a single statue seems to be intended by the plural (1 Sam. xix. 13, 16). The teraphim carried away from Laban by Rachel do not seem to have been very small; and the image (if one be intended), hidden in David's bed by Michal to deceive Saul's messengers, was probably of the size of a man, and perhaps in the head and shoulders, if not lower, of human or like form; but David's sleeping-room may have been a mere cell without a window, opening from a large apartment, which would render it necessary to do no more than fill the bed. Laban regarded his teraphim as gods; and, as he was not ignorant of the true God, it would therefore appear that they were used by those who added corrupt practices to the patriarchal religion. Teraphim again are included among Micah's images, which were idolatrous objects connected with heretical corruptions rather than with heathen worship (Judg. xvii. 3-5, xviii. 17, 18, 20). Teraphim were consulted for oracular answers by the Israelites (Zech. x. 2; comp. Judg. xviii. 5, 6; 1 Sam. xv. 22, 23, xix. 13, 16, LXX.; and 2 K. xxiii. 24), and by the Babylonians, in the case of Nebuchadnezzar (Ez. xxi. 19-22). There is no evidence that they were ever worshipped. Though not frequently mentioned, we find they were used by the Israelites in the time of the Judges and of Saul, and until the reign of Josiah, who put them away

2 K. xxiii. 24, and apparently again after the captivity (Zecn. 1. 2). [R. S. P.]

TERESH (תֵּרֶשׁ): om. in Vat. and Alex.; FA. third hand has *Θάρας*, *Θάββας*: *Thares*. One of the two eunuchs who kept the door of the palace of Ahasuerus, and whose plot to assassinate the king was discovered by Mordecai (Esth. ii. 21, vi. 2). He was hanged. Josephus calls him Theodestes (*Ant.* xi. 6, §4), and says that the conspiracy was detected by Barnabazus, a servant of one of the eunuchs, who was a Jew by birth, and who revealed it to Mordecai. According to Josephus, the conspirators were crucified.

TERTIUS (Τέρτιος: *Tertius*) was the amanuensis of Paul in writing the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xvi. 22). He was at Corinth, therefore, and Cenchreae, the port of Corinth, at the time when the Apostle wrote to the Church at Rome. It is noticeable that Tertius intercepts the message which Paul sends to the Roman Christians, and inserts a greeting of his own in the first person singular (ἀσπάζομαι ἐγὼ Τέρτιος). Both that circumstance and the frequency of the name among the Romans may indicate that Tertius was a Roman, and was known to those whom Paul salutes at the close of the letter. *Secundus* (Acts xx. 4) is another instance of the familiar usage of the Latin ordinals employed as proper names. The idle pedantry which would make him and Silas the same person because *tertius* and תֵּרֶשׁ mean the same in Latin and Hebrew, hardly deserves to be mentioned (see Wolf, *Curae Philologicae*, tom. iii. p. 295). In regard to the ancient practice of writing letters from dictation, see Becker's *Gallus*, p. 180. Nothing certain is known of Tertius apart from this passage in the Romans. No credit is due to the writers who speak of him as bishop of Iconium (see Fabricius, *Lux Evangelica*, p. 117). [H. B. H.]

TE'TA (Vat. omits; Alex. Ατητα: *Topa*). The form under which the name *HATITA*, one of the doorkeepers of the Temple, appears in the lists of 1 Esd. v. 28.

TERTUL'LUS (Τερτυλλος, a diminutive form from the Roman name *Terius*, analogous to *Lucillus* from *Lucius*, *Fabullus* from *Fabius*, &c.), "a certain orator" (Acts xxiv. 1) who was retained by the High Priest and Sanhedrim to accuse the Apostle Paul at Caesarea before the Roman Procurator Antonius Felix. [PAUL.] He evidently belonged to the class of professional orators, multitudes of whom were to be found not only in Rome, but in other parts of the empire, to which they had betaken themselves in the hope of finding occupation at the tribunals of the provincial magistrates. Both from his name, and from the great probability that the proceedings were conducted in Latin (see especially Milman, *Bampton Lectures* for 1827, p. 185, note), we may infer that Tertullus was of Roman, or at all events of Italian origin. The Sanhedrim would naturally desire to secure his services on account of their own ignorance both of the Latin language and of the ordinary procedure of a Roman law-court.

The exordium of his speech is designed to conciliate the good will of the Procurator, and is accordingly overcharged with flattery. There is a strange contrast between the opening clause—

πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες διὰ σοῦ—and the brief summary of the Procurator's administration given by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 9):—"Antonius Felix per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem, jus regium servili ingenio exercuit" (comp. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54). But the commendations of Tertullus were not altogether unfounded, as Felix had really succeeded in putting down several seditious movements. [FELIX.] It is not very easy to determine whether St. Luke has preserved the oration of Tertullus entire. On the one hand we have the elaborate and artificial opening, which can hardly be other than an accurate report of that part of the speech; and on the other hand we have a narrative which is so very dry and concise, that, if there were nothing more, it is not easy to see why the orator should have been called in at all. The difficulty is increased if, in accordance with the greatly preponderating weight of external authority, we omit the words in vers. 6-8, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον . . . , ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ σέ. On the whole it seems most natural to conclude that the historian, who was almost certainly an ear-witness, merely gives an abstract of the speech, giving however in full the most salient points, and those which had the most forcibly impressed themselves upon him, such as the exordium, and the character ascribed to St. Paul (ver. 5).

The doubtful reading in vers. 6-8, to which reference has already been made, seems likely to remain an unsolved difficulty. Against the external evidence there would be nothing to urge in favour of the disputed passage, were it not that the statement which remains after its removal is not merely extremely brief (its brevity may be accounted for in the manner already suggested), but abrupt and awkward in point of construction. It may be added that it is easier to refer παρ' οὗ (ver. 8) to the Tribune Lysias than to Paul. For arguments founded on the words καὶ κατὰ . . . κρίνειν (ver. 6)—arguments which are dependent on the genuineness of the disputed words—see Lardner, *Credibility of the Gospel History*, b. i. ch. 2; Biscoe, *On the Acts*, ch. vi. §16.

We ought not to pass over without notice a strange etymology for the name Tertullus proposed by Calmet, in the place of which another has been suggested by his English editor (ed. 1830), who takes credit for having rejected "fanciful and improbable" etymologies, and substituted improvements of his own. Whether the suggestion is an improvement in this case the reader will judge:—"Tertullus, Τερτυλλος, liar, impostor, from τερατολόγος, a teller of stories, a cheat. [Qy. was his true appellation *Ter-Tullius*, 'thrice Tully,' that is, extremely eloquent, varied by Jewish wit into Tertullus?]" [W. B. J.]

TESTAMENT, NEW. [NEW TESTAMENT.]

TESTAMENT, OLD. [OLD TESTAMENT.]

TETRARCH (τετράρχης). Properly the sovereign or governor of the fourth part of a country. On the use of the title in Thessaly, Galatia, and Syria, consult the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, "Tetrarcha," and the authorities there referred to. "In the later period of the republic and under the empire, the Romans seem to have used the title (as also those of *ethnarch* and *phylarch*) to designate those tributary princes who were not of sufficient importance to be called

kings." In the New Testament we meet with the designation, either actually or in the form of its derivative *τετραρχεῖν*, applied to three persons:—

(1.) Herod Antipas (Matt. xiv. 1; Luke iii. 1, 19, ix. 7; Acts xiii. 1), who is commonly distinguished as "Herod the tetrarch," although the title of "king" is also assigned to him both by St. Matthew (xiv. 9) and by St. Mark (vi. 14, 22 sqq.). St. Luke, as might be expected, invariably adheres to the formal title, which would be recognized by Gentile readers. Herod is described by the last-named Evangelist (ch. iii. 1) as "tetrarch of Galilee;" but his dominions, which were bequeathed to him by his father Herod the Great, embraced the district of Peraea beyond the Jordan (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, §1): this bequest was confirmed by Augustus (Joseph. *B. J.* ii. 6, §3). After the disgrace and banishment of Antipas, his tetrarchy was added by Caligula to the kingdom of Herod Agrippa I. (*Ant.* xviii. 7, §2). [HEROD ANTIPAS.]

(2.) Herod Philip (the son of Herod the Great and Cleopatra, *not* the husband of Herodias), who is said by St. Luke (iii. 1) to have been "tetrarch of Ituraea, and of the region of Trachonitis." Josephus tells us that his father bequeathed to him Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas (*Ant.* xvii. 8, §1), and that his father's bequest was confirmed by Augustus, who assigned to him Batanaea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, with certain parts about Jamnia belonging to the "house of Zenodorus" (*B. J.* ii. 6, §3). Accordingly the territories of Philip extended eastward from the Jordan to the wilderness, and from the borders of Peraea northwards to Lebanon and the neighbourhood of Damascus. After the death of Philip his tetrarchy was added to the province of Syria by Tiberius (*Ant.* xviii. 4, §6), and subsequently conferred by Caligula on Herod Agrippa I., with the title of king (*Ant.* xviii. 6, §10). [HEROD PHILIP I.; HEROD AGRIPPA I.]

(3.) Lysanias, who is said (Luke iii. 1) to have been "tetrarch of Abilene," a small district surrounding the town of Abila, in the fertile valley of the Barada or Chrysorroas, between Damascus and the mountain-range of Antilibanus. [ABILENE.] There is some difficulty in fixing the limits of this tetrarchy, and in identifying the person of the tetrarch. [LYSANIAS.] We learn, however, from Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 6, §10, xix. 5, §1) that a Lysanias had been tetrarch of Abila before the time of Caligula, who added this tetrarchy to the dominions of Herod Agrippa I.—an addition which was confirmed by the emperor Claudius.

It remains to inquire whether the title of tetrarch, as applied to these princes, had any reference to its etymological signification. We have seen that it was at this time probably applied to petty princes without any such determinate meaning. But it appears from Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 11, §4; *B. J.* ii. 6, §3) that the tetrarchies of Antipas and Philip were regarded as constituting each a fourth part of their father's kingdom. For we are told that Augustus gave one-half of Herod's kingdom to his son Archelaus, with the appellation of ethnarch, and with a promise of the regal title; and that he divided the remainder into the two tetrarchies. Moreover, the revenues of Archelaus, drawn from his territory, which included Judaea, Samaria, and Idumaea, amounted to 400 talents, the tetrarchies

of Philip and Antipas producing 200 talents each. We conclude that in these two cases, at least, the title was used in its strict and literal sense. [W. B. J.]

THADDAE'US (*Θαδδαῖος*: *Thaddaeus*), a name in St. Mark's catalogue of the twelve Apostles (Mark iii. 18) in the great majority of MSS. In St. Matthew's catalogue (Matt. x. 3) the corresponding place is assigned to *Θαδδαῖος* by the Vatican MS. (B), and to *Λεββαῖος* by the Codex Bezae (D). The Received Text, following the first correction of the Codex Ephraemi (C)—where the original reading is doubtful—as well as several cursive MSS., reads *Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος*. We are probably to infer that *Λεββαῖος*, alone, is the original reading of Matt. x. 3, and *Θαδδαῖος* of Mark iii. 18. By these two Evangelists the tenth place among the Apostles is given to Lebbeus or Thaddaeus, the eleventh place being given to Simon the Canaanite. St. Luke, in both his catalogues (Luke vi. 15; Acts i. 13), places Simon Zelotes tenth among the Apostles, and assigns the eleventh place to *Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου*. As the other names recorded by St. Luke are identical with those which appear (though in a different order) in the first two Gospels, it seems scarcely possible to doubt that the three names of Judas, Lebbeus, and Thaddaeus were borne by one and the same person. [JUDE; LEBBAEUS.] [W. B. J.]

THA'HASH (*תַּחַשׁ*: *Tochos*: *Thahas*). Son of Nahor by his concubine Reumah (Gen. xxii. 24). He is called *Τάβας* by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §5).

THAMAH (*תַּמָּה*: *Θεμά*: *Thema*). "The children of Thamah" were a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 53). The name elsewhere appears in the A. V. as TAMAH.

THAMAR (*תָּמָר*: *Thamar*). TAMAR 1 (Matt. i. 3).

THAM'NATHA (*תַּמְנָתָה*: *Thamnata*). One of the cities of Judaea fortified by Bacchides after he had driven the Maccabees over the Jordan (1 Macc. ix. 50). Thamnatha no doubt represents an ancient TIMNATH, possibly the present *Tibneh*, half-way between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean. Whether the name should be joined to Pharathon, which follows it, or whether they should be independent, is matter of doubt. [PHARATHON.] [G.]

THANK-OFFERING, or PEACE-OFFERING (*זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים*, or simply *שְׁלָמִים*, and in Amos v. 22, *שְׁלָמִים*: *Θυσία σωτηρίου, σωτήριον*, occasionally *εἰρηνική*: *hostia pacificorum, pacifica*) the properly eucharistic offering among the Jews, in its theory resembling the MEAT-OFFERING, and therefore indicating that the offerer was already reconciled to, and in covenant with, God. Its ceremonial is described in Lev. iii. The nature of the victim was left to the sacrificer; it might be male or female, of the flock or of the herd, provided that it was unblemished; the hand of the sacrificer was laid on its head, the fat burnt, and the blood sprinkled, as in the burnt-offering; of the flesh, the breast and right shoulder were given to the priest; the rest belonged to the sacrificer, to be eaten, either on the day of sacrifice, or on the next day (Lev. vii. 11-18, 29-34), except in the case of the firstlings, which belonged to the priest alone

xxiii. 20). The eating of the flesh or the meat-offering was considered a partaking of the "table of the Lord;" and on solemn occasions, as at the dedication of the Temple of Solomon, it was conducted on an enormous scale, and became a great national feast.

The peace-offerings, unlike other sacrifices, were not ordained to be offered in fixed and regular course. The meat-offering was regularly ordained as the eucharistic sacrifice; and the only constantly recurring peace-offering appears to have been that of the two firstling lambs at Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 19). The general principle of the peace-offering seems to have been, that it should be entirely spontaneous, offered as occasion should arise, from the feeling of the sacrificer himself. "If ye offer a sacrifice of peace-offerings to the Lord, ye shall offer it at your own will" (Lev. xix. 5). On the first institution (Lev. vii. 11-17), peace-offerings are divided into "offerings of thanksgiving," and "vows or free-will offerings;" of which latter class the offering by a Nazarite, on the completion of his vow, is the most remarkable (Num. vi. 14). The very names of both divisions imply complete freedom, and show that this sacrifice differed from others, in being considered not a duty, but a privilege.

We find accordingly peace-offerings offered for the people on a great scale at periods of unusual solemnity or rejoicing; as at the first inauguration of the covenant (Ex. xxiv. 5), at the first consecration of Aaron and of the Tabernacle (Lev. ix. 18), at the solemn reading of the Law in Canaan by Joshua (Josh. viii. 31), at the accession of Saul (1 Sam. xi. 15), at the bringing of the ark to Mount Zion by David (2 Sam. vi. 17), at the consecration of the Temple, and thrice every year afterwards, by Solomon (1 K. viii. 63, ix. 25), and at the great passover of Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxx. 22). In two cases only (Judg. xx. 26; 2 Sam. xxiv. 25) peace-offerings are mentioned as offered with burnt-offerings at a time of national sorrow and fasting. Here their force seems to have been precatory rather than eucharistic. [See SACRIFICE.] [A. B.]

THARA (Θάρα: *Thare*). TERAH the father of Abraham (Luke iii. 34).

THAR'RA (*Thara*), Esth. xii. 1. A corrupt form of the name TERESH.

THAR'SHISH (תַּרְשִׁישִׁי: Θαρσεΐς: *Tharsis*).

1. In this more accurate form the translators of the A. V. have given in two passages (1 K. x. 22, xxii. 48) the name elsewhere presented as TARSHISH. In the second passage the name is omitted in both MSS. of the LXX., while the Vulgate has *in mari*.

2. (Θαρσεσαί; Alex. Θαρσεΐς: *Tharsis*.) A Benjamite, one of the family of Bilhan and the house of Jediel (1 Chr. vii. 10 only). The variation in the Vatican LXX. (Mai) is very remarkable. [G.]

THAS'SI (Θασσί, Θασσίς: *Thasi, Hassii*: Syr.

ܛܫܝܠ). The surname of Simon the son of Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 3). [MACCABEES, vol. ii. p. 166.] The derivation of the word is uncertain. Michaelis suggests תַּרְשִׁישִׁי, Chald. "the fresh grass springs

up," i. e. "the spring is come," in reference to the tranquillity first secured during the supremacy of Simon (Grimm, *ad* 1 Macc. ii. 3). This seems very far-fetched. Winer (*Realob.* "Simon") suggests a connexion with ܫܫܝܠ, *fervere*, as Grotius (*ad loc.*)

seems to have done before him. in Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 6, §1) the surname is written Μαρθῆς, with various readings Θαδῆς, Θαθῆς. [B. F. W.]

THEATRE (θέατρον: *theatron*). For the general subject, see *Dict. of Ant.* pp. 995-998. For the explanation of the biblical allusions, two or three points only require notice. The Greek term, like the corresponding English term, denotes the place where dramatic performances are exhibited, and also the scene itself or *spectacle* which is witnessed there. It occurs in the first or local sense in Acts xix. 29, where it is said that the multitude at Ephesus rushed to the theatre, on the occasion of the excitement stirred up against Paul and his associates by Demetrius, in order to consider what should be done in reference to the charges against them. It may be remarked also (although the word does not occur in the original text or in our English version) that it was in the theatre at Caesarea that Herod Agrippa I. gave audience to the Tyrian deputies, and was himself struck with death, because he heard so gladly the impious acclamations of the people (Acts xii. 21-23). See the remarkably confirmatory account of this event in Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8, §2). Such a use of the theatre for public assemblies and the transaction of public business, though it was hardly known among the Romans, was a common practice among the Greeks. Thus Valer. Max. ii. 2: *Legati in theatrum, ut est consuetudo Graeciae, introducti*. Justin xxii. 2: *Veluti reipublicae statum formaturus in theatrum ad contionem vocari jussit*. Corn. Nep. *Timol.* 4, §2: *Veniebat in theatrum, cum ibi concilium plebis haberetur*. The other sense of the term "theatre" occurs in 1 Cor. iv. 9, where the Common Version renders: "God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death; for we are made (rather, *were made*, θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν) a *spectacle* unto the world, and to angels, and to men." Instead of "spectacle" (so also Wiclif and the Rhemish translators after the Vulgate), some might prefer the more energetic Saxon, "gazing-stock," as in Tyndale, Cranmer, and the Geneva version. But the latter would be now inappropriate, if it includes the idea of scorn or exultation, since the angels look down upon the sufferings of the martyrs with a very different interest. Whether "theatre" denotes more here than to be an object of earnest attention (θέαμα), or refers at the same time to the theatre as the place where criminals were sometimes brought forward for punishment, is not agreed among interpreters. In Heb. xii. 1, where the writer speaks of our having around us "so great a cloud of witnesses" (τοσοῦτον ἔχοντες περικείμενον ἡμῖν νέφος μαρτύρων), he has in mind no doubt the agonistic scene, in which Christians are viewed as running a race, and not the theatre or stage where the eyes of the spectators are fixed on them. [H. B. H.]

THEBES (Ἰούβη: Θῆβαι, Διόσπολις, μερὶς Ἀμμών; in Jer. τὸν Ἀμμών τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς: *Alexandria, Al. populorum, tumultus Alexandriae, No-Amon*: A. V., No, the multitude of No, populous No).—A chief city of ancient Egypt, long the capital of the upper country, and the seat of the Diospolitan dynasties, that ruled over all Egypt at the era of its highest splendour. Upon the monuments this city bears three distinct names—that of the Nome, a sacred name, and the name by which it is commonly known in profane history. Of the twenty Nomes or districts into which Upper Egypt was divided, the fourth in

order, proceeding northward from Nubia, and designated in the hieroglyphics as *Za'm*—the Phthyrte of the Greeks—and Thebes appears as the "*Za'm-city*," the principal city or metropolis of the *Za'm* Nome. In later times the name *Za'm* was applied in common speech to a particular locality on the western side of Thebes.

The sacred name of Thebes was *P-amen*, "the abode of Amon," which the Greeks reproduced in their *Diospolis* (Διὸς πόλις), especially with the addition *the Great* (ἡ μεγάλη), denoting that this was the chief seat of Jupiter-Ammon, and distinguishing it from *Diospolis the Less* (ἡ μικρά). *No-Amon* is the name of Thebes in the Hebrew Scriptures (Jer. xlvi. 25; Nah. iii. 8). Ezekiel uses *No* simply to designate the Egyptian seat of Ammon, which the Septuagint translates by *Diospolis* (Ez. xxx. 14, 16). Gesenius defines this name by the phrase "portion of Ammon," i. e. the possession of the god Ammon, as the chief seat of his worship.

The name of Thebes in the hieroglyphics is explained under *NO-AMON*.

The origin of the city is lost in antiquity. Niebuhr is of opinion that Thebes was much older than Memphis, and that "after the centre of Egyptian life was transferred to Lower Egypt, Memphis acquired its greatness through the ruin of Thebes" (*Lectures on Ancient History*, Lect. vii.). Other authorities assign priority to Memphis. But both cities date from our earliest authentic knowledge of Egyptian history. The first allusion to Thebes in classical literature is the familiar passage of the *Iliad* (ix. 381-385):—"Egyptian Thebes, where are vast treasures laid up in the houses; where are a hundred gates, and from each two hundred men go forth with horses and chariots." Homer—speaking with a poet's licence, and not with the accuracy of a statistician—no doubt incorporated into his verse the glowing accounts of the Egyptian capital current in his time. Wilkinson thinks it conclusive against a literal understanding of Homer, that no traces of an ancient city-wall can be found at Thebes, and accepts as probable the suggestion of Diodorus Siculus that the "gates" of Homer may have been the propylaea of the temples:—"Non centum portas habuisse urbem, sed multa et ingentia templorum vestibula" (i. 45, 7). In the time of Diodorus, the city-wall, if any there was, had already disappeared, and the question of its existence in Homer's time was in dispute. But, on the other hand, to regard the "gates" of Homer as temple-porches is to make these the barracks of the army, since from these gates the horsemen and chariots issue forth to war. The almost universal custom of walling the cities of antiquity, and the poet's reference to the gates as pouring forth troops, point strongly to the supposition that the vast area of Thebes was surrounded with a wall having many gates.

Homer's allusion to the treasures of the city, and to the size of its standing army, numbering 20,000 chariots, shows the early repute of Thebes for wealth and power. Its fame as a great capital had crossed the sea when Greece was yet in its infancy as a nation. It has been questioned whether Herodotus visited Upper Egypt (see *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geog.* art. "Thebes"), but he says, "I went to Heliopolis and to Thebes, expressly to try whether the priests of those places would agree in their accounts with the priests at Memphis" (*Herod.* ii. 3). Afterwards he describes the features

of the Nile valley, and the chief points and distances upon the river, as only an eye-witness would be likely to record them. He informs us that "from Heliopolis to Thebes is nine days' sail up the river, the distance 4800 stadia . . . and the distance from the sea inland to Thebes 6120 stadia" (*Herod.* ii. 8, 9). In chap. 29 of the same book he states that he ascended the Nile as high as Elephantiné. Herodotus, however, gives no particular account of the city, which in his time had lost much of its ancient grandeur. He alludes to the temple of Jupiter there, with its ram-headed image, and to the fact that goats, never sheep, were offered in sacrifice. In the 1st century before Christ, Diodorus visited Thebes, and he devotes several sections of his general work to its history and appearance. Though he saw the city when it had sunk to quite secondary importance, he preserves the tradition of its early grandeur—its circuit of 140 stadia, the size of its public edifices, the magnificence of its temples, the number of its monuments, the dimensions of its private houses, some of them four or five stories high—all giving it an air of grandeur and beauty surpassing not only all other cities of Egypt, but of the world. Diodorus deplors the spoiling of its buildings and monuments by Cambyses (*Diod.* i. 45, 46). Strabo, who visited Egypt a little later—at about the beginning of the Christian era—thus describes (xvii. p. 816) the city under the name *Diospolis*:—"Vestiges of its magnitude still exist which extend 80 stadia in length. There are a great number of temples, many of which Cambyses mutilated. The spot is at present occupied by villages. One part of it, in which is the city, lies in Arabia; another is in the country on the other side of the river, where is the Memnonium." Strabo here makes the Nile the dividing line between Libya and Arabia. The temples of Karnak and Luxor are on the eastern side of the river, where was probably the main part of the city. Strabo gives the following description of the twin colossi still standing upon the western plain:—"Here are two colossal figures near one another, each consisting of a single stone. One is entire; the upper parts of the other, from the chair, are fallen down—the effect, it is said, of an earthquake. It is believed that once a day a noise, as of a slight blow, issues from the part of the statue which remains in the seat, and on its base. When I was at those places, with Aelius Gallus, and numerous friends and soldiers about him, I heard a noise at the first hour of the day, but whether proceeding from the base, or from the colossus, or produced on purpose by some of those standing around the base, I cannot confidently assert. For, from the uncertainty of the cause, I am inclined to believe anything rather than that stones disposed in that manner could send forth sound" (xvii. §46). Simple, honest, sceptical Strabo! Eighteen centuries later, the present writer interrogated these same stones as to the ancient mystery of sound; and not at sunrise, but in the glaring noon, the statue emitted a sharp, clear sound like the ringing of a disc of brass under a sudden concussion. This was produced by a ragged urchin, who, for a few piastres, clambered up the knees of the "vocal Memnon," and there effectually concealing himself from observation, struck with a hammer a sonorous stone in the lap of the statue. Wilkinson, who was one of the first to describe this sounding stone, conjectures that the priests had a secret chamber in the body of the statue, from which they could strike it unobserved at the instant of sunrise: this

producing in the credulous multitude the notion of a supernatural phenomenon. It is difficult to conceive, however, that such a trick, performed in open day, could have escaped detection, and we are therefore left to share the mingled wonder and scepticism of Strabo (see Wilkinson; also Thompson's *Photographic Views of Egypt, Past and Present*, p. 156).

Pliny speaks of Thebes in Egypt as known to fame as "a hanging city," *i. e.* built upon arches, so that an army could be led forth from beneath the city while the inhabitants above were wholly unconscious of it. He mentions also that the river flows through the middle of the city. But he questions the story of the arches, because, "if this had really been the case, there is no doubt that Homer would have mentioned it, seeing that he has celebrated the hundred gates of Thebes." Do not the two stories possibly explain each other? May there not have been near the river-line arched buildings used as barracks, from whose gateways issued forth 20,000 chariots of war?

But, in the uncertainty of these historical allusions, the *monuments* of Thebes are the most reliable witnesses for the ancient grandeur of the city. These are found in almost equal proportions upon both sides of the river. The parallel ridges which skirt the narrow Nile valley upon the east and west from the northern limit of Upper Egypt, here sweep outward upon either side, forming a circular plain whose diameter is nearly ten miles. Through the centre of this plain flows the river, usually at this point about half a mile in width, but at the inundation overflowing the plain, especially upon the western bank, for a breadth of two or more miles. Thus the two colossal statues, which are several hundred yards from the bed of the low Nile, have accumulated about their bases alluvial deposit to the depth of seven feet.

The plan of the city, as indicated by the principal monuments, was nearly quadrangular, measuring two miles from north to south, and four from east to west. Its four great landmarks were, Karnak and Luxor upon the eastern or Arabian side, and Qoornah and Medeenet Haboo upon the western or Libyan side. There are indications that each of these temples may have been connected with those facing it upon two sides by grand *dromoi*, lined with sphinxes and other colossal figures. Upon the western bank there was almost a continuous line of temples and public edifices for a distance of two miles, from Qoornah to Medeenet Haboo; and Wilkinson conjectures that from a point near the latter, perhaps in the line of the colossi, the "Royal Street" ran down to the river, which was crossed by a ferry terminating at Luxor on the eastern side. The recent excavations and discoveries of M. Mariette, now in course of publication (1863), may enable us to restore the ground-plan of the city and its principal edifices with at least proximate accuracy.

It does not enter into the design, nor would it fall within the limits of this article, to give a minute description of these stupendous monuments. Not only are verbal descriptions everywhere accessible through the pages of Wilkinson, Kenrick, and other standard writers upon Egypt, but the magnificently illustrated work of M. Mariette, already completed, the companion work of M. Mariette, just referred to, and multiplied photographs of the principal ruins, are within easy reach of the scholar through the munificence of public libraries. A mere

outline of the groups of ruins must here suffice. Beginning at the northern extremity on the western bank, the first conspicuous ruins are those of a palace-temple of the nineteenth dynasty, and therefore belonging to the middle style of Egyptian architecture. It bears the name *Menephtheion*, suggested by Champollion because it appears to have been founded by Menephtah (the Osirei of Wilkinson), though built principally by his son the great Rameses. The plan of the building is much obscured by mounds of rubbish, but some of the bas-reliefs are in a fine state of preservation. There are traces of a dromos, 128 feet in length, with sphinxes, whose fragments here and there remain. This building stands upon a slight elevation, nearly a mile from the river, in the now deserted village of old Qoornah.

Nearly a mile southward from the Menephtheion are the remains of the combined palace and temple known since the days of Strabo as the Memnonium. An examination of its sculptures shows that this name was inaccurately applied, since the building was clearly erected by Rameses II. Wilkinson suggests that the title Miamun attached to the name of this king misled Strabo in his designation of the building. The general form of the Memnonium is that of a parallelogram in three main sections, the interior areas being successively narrower than the first court, and the whole terminating in a series of sacred chambers beautifully sculptured and ornamented. The proportions of this building are remarkably fine, and its remains are in a sufficient state of preservation to enable one to reconstruct its plan. From the first court or area, nearly 180 feet square, there is an ascent by steps to the second court, 140 feet by 170. Upon three sides of this area is a double colonnade, and on the south side a single row of Osiride pillars, facing a row of like pillars on the north, the other columns being circular. Another ascent leads to the hall, 100 × 133, which originally had forty-eight huge columns to support its solid roof. Beyond the hall are the sacred chambers. The historical sculptures upon the walls and columns of the Memnonium are among the most finished and legible of the Egyptian monuments. But the most remarkable feature of these ruins is the gigantic statue of Rameses II., once a single block of syenite carved to represent the king upon his throne, but now scattered in fragments upon the floor of the first hall. The weight of this statue has been computed at 887 tons, and its height at 75 feet. By measurement of the fragments, the writer found the body 51 feet around the shoulders, the arm 11 feet 6 inches from shoulder to elbow, and the foot 10 feet 10 inches in length, by 4 feet 8 inches in breadth. This stupendous monolith must have been transported at least a hundred miles from the quarries of Assouan. About a third of a mile farther to the south are the two colossal statues already referred to, one of which is familiarly known as "the vocal Memnon." The height of each figure is about 53 feet above the plain.

Proceeding again toward the south for about the same distance, we find at Medeenet Haboo ruins upon a more stupendous scale than at any other point upon the western bank of Thebes. These consist of a temple founded by Thothmes I., but which also exhibits traces of the Ptolemaic architecture in the shape of pyramidal towers, gateways, colonnades, and vestibules, inscribed with the

memorials of the Roman era in Egypt. This temple, even with all its additions, is comparatively small; but adjacent to it is the magnificent ruin known as the southern Rameseion, the palace-temple of Rameses III. The general plan of this building corresponds with those above described; a series of grand courts or halls adorned with columns, conducting to the inner pavilion of the king or sanctuary of the god. The second court is one of the most remarkable in Egypt for the massiveness of its columns, which measure 24 feet in height by a circumference of nearly 23. Within this area are the fallen columns of a Christian church, which once established the worship of the true God in the very sanctuary of idols and amid their sculptured images and symbols. This temple presents some of the grandest effects of the old Egyptian architecture, and its battle-scenes are a valuable contribution to the history of Rameses III.

Behind this long range of temples and palaces are the Libyan hills, which, for a distance of five miles, are excavated to the depth of several hundred feet for sepulchral chambers. Some of these are of vast extent—one tomb, for instance, having a total area of 22,217 square feet. A retired valley in the mountains, now known as Beeban-el-Melook, seems to have been appropriated to the sepulchres of kings. Some of these, in the number and variety of their chambers, the finish of their sculptures, and the beauty and freshness of their frescoes, are among the most remarkable monuments of Egyptian grandeur and skill. It is from the tombs especially that we learn the manners and customs of domestic life, as from the temples we gather the record of dynasties and the history of battles. The preservation of these sculptured and pictorial records is due mainly to the dryness of the climate. The sacredness with which the Egyptians regarded their dead preserved these mountain catacombs from molestation during the long succession of native dynasties, and the sealing up of the entrance to the tomb for the concealment of the sarcophagus from human observation until its mummied occupant should resume his long-suspended life, has largely secured the city of the dead from the violence of invaders and the ravages of time. It is from the adornments of these subterranean tombs, often distinct and fresh as when prepared by the hand of the artist, that we derive our principal knowledge of the manners and customs of the Egyptians. Herodotus himself is not more minute and graphic than these silent but most descriptive walls. The illustration and confirmation which they bring to the sacred narrative, so well discussed by Hengstenberg, Osborn, Poole, and others, is capable of much ampler treatment than it has yet received. Every incident in the pastoral and agricultural life of the Israelites in Egypt and in the exactions of their servitude, every art employed in the fabrication of the tabernacle in the wilderness, every allusion to Egyptian rites, customs, laws, finds some counterpart or illustration in this picture-history of Egypt; and whenever the Theban cemetery shall be thoroughly explored, and its symbols and hieroglyphics fully interpreted by science, we shall have a commentary of unrivalled interest and value upon the books of Exodus and Leviticus, as well as the later historical books of the Hebrew Scriptures. The art of photography is already contributing to this result by furnishing scholars with materials for the leisurely study of the pictorial and monumental records of Egypt.

The eastern side of the river is distinguished by the remains of Luxor and Karnak, the latter being of itself a city of temples. The main colonnade of Luxor faces the river, but its principal entrance looks northward towards Karnak, with which it was originally connected by a dromos 6000 feet in length, lined on either side with sphinxes. At this entrance are two gigantic statues of Rameses II., one upon each side of the grand gateway; and in front of these formerly stood a pair of beautifully wrought obelisks of red granite, one of which now graces the Place de la Concorde at Paris.

The approach to Karnak from the south is marked by a series of majestic gateways and towers, which were the appendages of later times to the original structure. The temple properly faces the river, *i. e.* toward the north-west. The courts and pylons connected with this structure occupy a space nearly 1800 feet square, and the buildings represent almost every dynasty of Egypt, from Sesortasen I. to Ptolemy Euergetes I. Courts, pylons, obelisks, statues, pillars, everything pertaining to Karnak, are on the grandest scale. Nearest the river is an area measuring 275 feet by 329, which once had a covered corridor on either side, and a double row of columns through the centre, leading to the entrance of the hypostyle hall, the most wonderful monument of Egyptian architecture. This grand hall is a forest of sculptured columns; in the central avenue are twelve, measuring each 66 feet in height by 12 in diameter, which formerly supported the most elevated portion of the roof, answering to the clerestory in Gothic architecture; on either side of these are seven rows, each column nearly 42 feet high by 9 in diameter, making a total of 134 pillars in an area measuring 170 feet by 330. Most of the pillars are yet standing in their original site, though in many places the roof has fallen in. A moonlight view of this hall is the most weird and impressive scene to be witnessed among all the ruins of antiquity—the Coliseum of Rome not excepted. With our imperfect knowledge of mechanic arts among the Egyptians, it is impossible to conceive how the outer wall of Karnak—forty feet in thickness at the base, and nearly a hundred feet high—was built; how single blocks weighing several hundred tons were lifted into their place in the wall, or hewn into obelisks and statues to adorn its gates; how the majestic columns of the Grand Hall were quarried, sculptured, and set up in mathematical order; and how the whole stupendous structure was reared as a fortress in which the most ancient civilization of the world, as it were petrified or fossilized in the very flower of its strength and beauty, might defy the desolations of war, and the decay of centuries. The grandeur of Egypt is here in its architecture, and almost every pillar, obelisk, and stone tells its historic legend of her greatest monarchs.

We have alluded, in the opening of this article, to the debated question of the priority of Thebes to Memphis. As yet the data are not sufficient for its satisfactory solution, and Egyptologists are not agreed. Upon the whole we may conclude that before the time of Menes there was a local sovereignty in the Thebaid, but the historical nationality of Egypt dates from the founding of Memphis. "It is probable that the priests of Memphis and Thebes differed in their representations of early history, and that each sought to extol the glory of their own city. The history of Herodotus turns about Memphis as a centre; he mentions Thebes

only incidentally, and does not describe or allude to one of its monuments. Diodorus, on the contrary, is full in his description of Thebes, and says little of Memphis. But the distinction of Upper and Lower Egypt exists in geological structure, in language, in religion, and in historical tradition" (Kenrick). A careful digest of the Egyptian and Greek authorities, the Turin papyrus, and the monumental tablets of Abydos and Karnak, gives this general outline of the early history of Egypt:—That before Memphis was built, the nation was mainly confined to the valley of the Nile, and subdivided politically into several sovereignties, of which Thebes was one; that Menes, who was a native of *This* in the Thebaid, centralised the government at Memphis, and united the upper and lower countries; that Memphis retained its pre-eminence, even in the hereditary succession of sovereigns, until the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties of Manetho, when Diospolitan kings appear in his lists, who brought Thebes into prominence as a royal city; that when the Shepherds or Hyksos, a nomadic race from the east, invaded Egypt and fixed their capital at Memphis, a native Egyptian dynasty was maintained at Thebes, at times tributary to the Hyksos, and at times in military alliance with Ethiopia against the invaders; until at length, by a general uprising of the Thebaid, the Hyksos were expelled, and Thebes became the capital of all Egypt under the resplendent eighteenth dynasty. This was the golden era of the city as we have already described it from its monuments. The names and deeds of the Thothmes and the Rameses then figure upon its temples and palaces, representing its wealth and grandeur in architecture, and its prowess in arms. Then it was that Thebes extended her sceptre over Libya and Ethiopia on the one hand, and on the other over Syria, Media, and Persia; so that the walls of her palaces and temples are crowded with battle-scenes in which all contiguous nations appear as captives or as suppliants. This supremacy continued until the close of the nineteenth dynasty, or for a period of more than five hundred years; but under the twentieth dynasty—the Diospolitan house of Rameses numbering ten kings of that name—the glory of Thebes began to decline, and after the close of that dynasty her name no more appears in the lists of kings. Still the city was retained as the capital, in whole or in part, and the achievements of Shishonk the Bubastite, of Tirhakah the Ethiopian, and other monarchs of celebrity, are recorded upon its walls. The invasion of Palestine by Shishonk is graphically depicted upon the outer wall of the grand hall of Karnak, and the names of several towns in Palestine, as well as the general name of "the land of the king of Judah," have been deciphered from the hieroglyphics. At the later invasion of Judea by Sennacherib, we find Tirhakah, the Ethiopian monarch of the Thebaid, a powerful ally of the Jewish king. But a century later, Ezeiel proclaims the destruction of Thebes by the arm of Babylon:—"I will execute judgments in No;" "I will cut off the multitude of No;" "No shall be rent asunder, and Noph [Memphis] shall have distresses daily" (Ez. xxx. 14-16); and Jeremiah, predicting the same overthrow, says, "The Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel saith, Behold, I will punish the multitude of No, and Pharaoh, and Egypt, with their gods and their kings." The Persian invader completed the destruction that the Babylonian had begun; the hammer of Cambyses levelled the proud statue of Rameses, and his torch

consumed the temples and palaces of the city of the hundred gates. No-Ammon, the shrine of the Egyptian Jupiter, "that was situate among the rivers, and whose rampart was the sea," sank from its metropolitan splendour to the position of a mere provincial town; and, notwithstanding the spasmodic efforts of the Ptolemies to revive its ancient glory, became at last only the desolate and ruined sepulchre of the empire it had once embodied. It lies to-day a nest of Arab hovels amid crumbling columns and drifting sands. [J. P. T.]

THE'BEZ (תְּבֵז: Θήβης, Θαμασί; Alex. Θαμαίς, Θαμασει: *Thebes*). A place memorable for the death of the bravo Abimelech (Judg. ix. 50^a). After suffocating a thousand of the Shechemites in the hold of Baal-berith by the smoke of green wood—an exploit which recalls the notorious feat of a modern French general in Algeria (Eccl. i. 9, 10)—he went off with his band to Thebez. The town was soon taken, all but one tower, into which the people of the place crowded, and which was strong enough to hold out. To this he forced his way, and was about to repeat the barbarous stratagem which had succeeded so well at Shechem, when the fragment of millstone descended and put an end to his turbulent career. The story was well known in Israel, and gave the point to a familiar maxim in the camp (2 Sam. xi. 21).

Thebez is not mentioned again in the Bible. But it was known to Eusebius and Jerome. In their day the village still bore its old name, and was situated "in the district of Neapolis," 13 Roman miles therefrom, on the road to Scythopolis (*Onom.* Θήβης). There it still is; its name—*Tubás*—hardly changed; the village on a rising ground to the left of the road, a thriving, compact, and strong-looking place, surrounded by immense woods of olives, and by perhaps the best cultivated land in all Palestine. It was known to hap-Parchi in the 13th century (Zunz's *Benjamin*, ii. 426), and is mentioned occasionally by later travellers. But Dr. Robinson appears to have been the first to recognise its identity with Thebez (*B. R.* iii. 305). [G.]

THECO'E, THE WILDERNESS OF (τὴν ἔρημον Θεκωέ: *desertum Thecuæ*). The wild uncultivated pastoral tract lying around the town of Tekoa, more especially to the east of it (1 Macc. ix. 33). In the Old Test. (2 Chr. xx. 20) it is mentioned by the term *Midbar*, which answers to the Greek ἔρημος.

Thecoe is merely the Greek form of the name **TEKOA**. [G.]

THEL'ASAR (תְּלַסָּר: Θαεσθέν; Alex. Θαλασσαρ: *Thelassar*). Another form of the name examined under **TEL-ASSAR**. It occurs 2 K. xix. 12. The A. V. is unfortunate in respect of this name, for it has contrived to give the contracted Hebrew form in the longest English shape, and *vice versâ*. [G.]

THELER'SAS (Θελερσᾶς: *Theharsa*), 1 Esd. v. 36. The Greek equivalent of the name **TEL-HARSAS**.

THEMAN (Θαιμάν: *Theman*), Bar. iii. 22, 23. [**TEMAN**.]

^a In the Hebrew text Thebez occurs twice in the verse, but in the LXX. it stands thus, "And Abimelech went out of Bethelberith (Vulg. *inde*) and fell upon Thebes." &c.

THEOCANUS (Θεωκανός; Alex. Θεωκανός; *Thecan*). ΤΙΚΥΑΗ the father of Jahaziah (1 Esd. ix. 14).

THEODOTUS (Θεόδοτος; *Theodotius*, *Theodorus*). An envoy sent by Nicanor to Judas Macc. c. B.C. 162 (2 Macc. xiv. 19). [B. F. W.]

THEOPHILUS (Θεόφιλος). 1. The person to whom St. Luke inscribes his Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles (Luke i. 3; Acts i. 1). The important part played by Theophilus, as having immediately occasioned the composition of these two books, together with the silence of Scripture concerning him, has at once stimulated conjecture, and left the field clear for it. Accordingly we meet with a considerable number and variety of theories concerning him.

(1.) Several commentators, especially among the Fathers, have been disposed to doubt the personality of Theophilus, regarding the name either as that of a fictitious person, or as applicable to every Christian reader. Thus Origen (*Hom. i. in Luc.*) raises the question, but does not discuss it, his object being merely practical. He says that all who are beloved of God are Theophili, and may therefore appropriate to themselves the Gospel which was addressed to Theophilus. Epiphanius (*Haeres. li. p. 429*) speaks doubtfully: εἴτ' οὖν τινὶ Θεοφίλῳ τότε γράφων ἔλεγεν, ἢ παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ Θεὸν ἀγαπῶντι. Salvianus (*Epist. ix. ad Salonium*) apparently assumes that Theophilus had no historical existence. He justifies the composition of a work addressed "Ad Ecclesiam Catholicam," under the name of Timotheus, by the example of the Evangelist St. Luke, who addressed his Gospel nominally to a particular man, but really to "the love of God:" "nam sicut Theophili vocabulo amor, sic Timothei honor divinitatis exprimitur." Even Theophylact, who believes in the existence of Theophilus, takes the opportunity of moralizing upon his name: καὶ πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος θεοφιλῆς, καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν παθῶν ἀναδειξάμενος, Θεοφιλόσ ἐστι κράτιστος, ὃς καὶ ἄξιός τῳ ὄντι ἐστὶν ἀκούειν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου (*Argum. in Luc.*). Among modern commentators Hammond and Leclerc accept the allegorical view: Erasmus is doubtful, but on the whole believes Theophilus to have had a real existence.

(2.) From the honourable epithet *κράτιστε*, applied to Theophilus in Luke i. 3, compared with the use of the same epithet as applied by Claudius Lysias and Tertullus severally to Felix, and by St. Paul to Festus (Acts xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3, xxvi. 25), it has been argued with much probability, but not quite conclusively, that he was a person in high official position. Thus Theophylact (*Argum. in Luc.*) conjectures that he was a Roman governor, or a person of senatorial rank, grounding his conjecture expressly on the use of *κράτιστε*. Oecumenius (*ad Act. Apost. i. 1*) tells us that he was a governor, but gives no authority for the assertion. The traditional connexion of St. Luke with Antioch has disposed some to look upon Antioch as the abode of Theophilus, and possibly as the seat of his government. Bengel believes him to have been an inhabitant of Antioch, "ut veteres testantur." The belief may partly have grown out of a story in the so-called *Recognitions of St. Clement* (lib. x.), which represents a certain nobleman of Antioch of that name to have been converted by the preaching of St. Peter, and to have dedicated his own house as a church, in which, as we are told, the Apostle fixed his episcopal seat. Bengel thinks that the omission

of *κράτιστε* in Acts i. 1 proves that St. Luke was on more familiar terms with Theophilus than when he composed his Gospel.

(3.) In the Syriac Lexicon extracted from the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* of Castell, and edited by Michaelis (p. 948), the following description of Theophilus is quoted from Bar Bahlul, a Syrian lexicographer of the 10th century:—"Theophilus, primus credentium et celeberrimus apud Alexandrienses, qui cum aliis Aegyptiis Lucam rogabat, ut eis Evangelium scriberet." In the inscription of the Gospel according to St. Luke in the Syriac version we are told that it was published at Alexandria. Hence it is inferred by Jacob Hase (*Bibl. Bremensis Class. iv. Fasc. iii. Diss. 4*, quoted by Michaelis, *Introd. to the N. T.*, vol. iii. ch. vi. §4, ed. Marsh) and by Bengel (*Ordo Temporum*, p. 196, ed. 2), that Theophilus was, as asserted by Bar Bahlul, a convert of Alexandria. This writer ventures to advance the startling opinion that Theophilus, if an Alexandrian, was no other than the celebrated Philo, who is said to have borne the Hebrew name of Jedidiah (יהודיה, i. e. Θεόφιλος). It hardly seems necessary to refute this theory, as Michaelis has refuted it, by chronological arguments.

(4.) Alexander Morus (*Ad quaedam loca Nov. Foed. Notae: ad Luc. i. 1*) makes the rather hazardous conjecture that the Theophilus of St. Luke is identical with the person who is recorded by Tacitus (*Ann. ii. 55*) to have been condemned for fraud at Athens by the court of the Areopagus. Grotius also conjectures that he was a magistrate of Achaia baptized by St. Luke. The conjecture of Grotius must rest upon the assertion of Jerome (an assertion which, if it is received, renders that of Alex. Morus possible, though certainly most improbable), namely, that Luke published his Gospel in the parts of Achaia and Boeotia (Jerome, *Comm. in Matt. Prooem.*).

(5.) It is obvious to suppose that Theophilus was a Christian. But a different view has been entertained. In a series of Dissertations in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis*, of which Michaelis gives a *résumé* in the section already referred to, the notion that he was not a Christian is maintained by different writers, and on different grounds. Heumann, one of the contributors, assuming that he was a Roman governor, argues that he could not be a Christian, because no Christian would be likely to have such a charge entrusted to him. Another writer, Theodore Hase, believes that the Theophilus of Luke was no other than the deposed High Priest Theophilus the son of Ananus, of whom more will be said presently. Michaelis himself is inclined to adopt this theory. He thinks that the use of the word *κατηχήθης* in Luke i. 4, proves that Theophilus had an imperfect acquaintance with the facts of the Gospel (an argument of which Bishop Marsh very properly disposes in his note upon the passage of Michaelis), and further contends, from the *ἐν ἡμῖν* of Luke i. 1, that he was not a member of the Christian community. He thinks it probable that the Evangelist wrote his Gospel, during the imprisonment of St. Paul at Caesarea, and addressed it to Theophilus as one of the heads of the Jewish nation. According to this view, it would be regarded as a sort of historical apology for the Christian faith. In surveying this series of conjectures, and of traditions which are nothing more than conjectures, we find it easier to determine what is to be re-

jected than what we are to accept. In the first place, we may safely reject the Patristic notion that Theophilus was either a fictitious person, or a mere personification of Christian love. Such a personification is alien from the spirit of the New Testament writers, and the epithet *κράτιστε* is a sufficient evidence of the historical existence of Theophilus. It does not, indeed, prove that he was a governor, but it makes it most probable that he was a person of high rank. His supposed connexion with Antioch, Alexandria, or Achaia, rests on too slender evidence either to claim acceptance or to need refutation; and the view of Theodore Hase, although endorsed by Michaelis, appears to be incontestably negatived by the Gentile complexion of the Third Gospel. The grounds alleged by Heumann for his hypothesis that Theophilus was not a Christian are not at all trustworthy, as consisting of two very disputable premises. For, in the first place, it is not at all evident that Theophilus was a Roman governor; and in the second place, even if we assume that at that time no Christian would be appointed to such an office (an assumption which we can scarcely venture to make), it does not at all follow that no person in that position would become a Christian. In fact, we have an example of such a conversion in the case of Sergius Paulus (Acts xiii. 12). In the article on the GOSPEL OF LUKE [vol. ii. p. 155 a], reasons are given for believing that Theophilus was "not a native of Palestine . . . not a Macedonian, nor an Athenian, nor a Cretan. But that he was a native of Italy, and perhaps an inhabitant of Rome, is probable from similar data." All that can be conjectured with any degree of safety concerning him, comes to this, that he was a Gentile of rank and consideration, who came under the influence of St. Luke, or (not improbably) under that of St. Paul, at Rome, and was converted to the Christian faith. It has been observed that the Greek of St. Luke, which elsewhere approaches more nearly to the classical type than that of the other Evangelists, is purer and more elegant in the dedication to Theophilus than in any other part of his Gospel.

2. A Jewish High-Priest, the son of Annas or Ananus, brother-in-law to Caiaphas [ANNAS; CAIAPHAS], and brother and immediate successor of Jonathan. The Roman Prefect Vitellius came to Jerusalem at the Passover (A.D. 37), and deposed Caiaphas, appointing Jonathan in his place. In the same year, at the feast of Pentecost, he came to Jerusalem, and deprived Jonathan of the High Priesthood, which he gave to Theophilus (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4, §3, xviii. 5, §3). Theophilus was removed from his post by Herod Agrippa I., after the accession of that prince to the government of Judaea in A.D. 41, so that he must have continued in office about five years (Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 6, §2). Theophilus is not mentioned by name in the New Testament; but it is most probable that he was the High Priest who granted a commission to Saul to proceed to Damascus, and to take into custody any believers whom he might find there. [W. B. J.]

THE'RAS (Θέρρα: *Thia*: Syr. *Tharan*). The equivalent in 1 Esd. viii. 41, 61, for the AHAVA of the parallel passage in Ezra. Nothing whatever appears to be known of it.

THE'MELETH (Θερμελέθ: *Thelmela*), 1 Esd. v. 36. The Greek equivalent of the name TEL-MELAH.

THESSALONIANS, FIRST EPISTLE TO THE. 1. The date of the Epistle is made out

approximately in the following way. During the course of his second missionary journey, probably in the year 52, St. Paul founded the Church of Thessalonica. Leaving Thessalonica he passed on to Beroea. From Beroea he went to Athens, and from Athens to Corinth (Acts xvii. 1-xviii. 18). With this visit to Corinth, which extends over a period of two years or thereabouts, his second missionary journey closed, for from Corinth he returned to Jerusalem, paying only a brief visit to Ephesus on the way (xviii. 20, 21). Now it appears that, when this Epistle was written, Silvanus and Timotheus were in the Apostle's company (1 Thess. i. 1; comp. 2 Thess. i. 1)—a circumstance which confines the date to the second missionary journey, for though Timotheus was with him on several occasions afterwards, the name of Silvanus appears for the last time in connexion with St. Paul during this visit to Corinth (Acts xviii. 5; 2 Cor. i. 19). The Epistle then must have been written in the interval between St. Paul's leaving Thessalonica and the close of his residence at Corinth, *i. e.* according to the received chronology within the years 52-54. The following considerations however narrow the limits of the possible date still more closely. (1.) When St. Paul wrote, he had already visited, and probably left Athens (1 Thess. iii. 1). (2.) Having made two unsuccessful attempts to revisit Thessalonica, he had despatched Timothy to obtain tidings of his converts there. Timothy had returned before the Apostle wrote (iii. 2, 6). (3.) St. Paul speaks of the Thessalonians as "ensamples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia," adding that "in every place their faith to Godward was spread abroad" (i. 7, 8)—language prompted indeed by the overflowing of a grateful heart, and therefore not to be rigorously pressed, but still implying some lapse of time at least. (4.) There are several traces of a growth and progress in the condition and circumstances of the Thessalonian Church. Perhaps the mention of "rulers" in the Church (v. 12) ought not to be adduced as proving this, since some organisation would be necessary from the very beginning. But there is other evidence besides. Questions had arisen relating to the state of those who had fallen asleep in Christ, so that one or more of the Thessalonian converts must have died in the interval (iv. 13-18). The storm of persecution which the Apostle had discerned gathering on the horizon had already burst upon the Christians of Thessalonica (iii. 4, 7). Irregularities had crept in and sullied the infant purity of the Church (iv. 4, v. 14). The lapse of a few months however would account for these changes, and a much longer time cannot well be allowed. For (5) the letter was evidently written by St. Paul immediately on the return of Timothy, in the fulness of his gratitude for the joyful tidings (iii. 6). Moreover, (6) the Second Epistle also was written before he left Corinth, and there must have been a sufficient interval between the two to allow of the growth of fresh difficulties, and of such communication between the Apostle and his converts as the case supposes. We shall not be far wrong therefore in placing the writing of this Epistle early in St. Paul's residence at Corinth, a few months after he had founded the Church at Thessalonica, at the close of the year 52 or the beginning of 53. The statement in the subscription appearing in several MSS. and versions, that it was written "from Athens" is a superficial inference from 1 Thess. iii. 1, to which no weight should be attached. The views of critics who have

assigned to this Epistle a later date than the second missionary journey are stated and refuted in the Introductions of Koch (p. 23, &c.), and Lünemann, (§3).

2. The Epistles to the Thessalonians then (for the second followed the first after no long interval) are the earliest of St. Paul's writings—perhaps the earliest written records of Christianity. They belong to that period which St. Paul elsewhere styles "the beginning of the Gospel" (Phil. iv. 15). They present the disciples in the first flush of love and devotion, yearning for the day of deliverance, and straining their eyes to catch the first glimpse of their Lord descending amidst the clouds of heaven, till in their feverish anxiety they forget the sober business of life, absorbed in this one engrossing thought. It will be remembered that a period of about five years intervenes before the second group of Epistles—those to the Corinthians, Galatians, and Romans—were written, and about twice that period to the date of the Epistles of the Roman Captivity. It is interesting therefore to compare the Thessalonian Epistles with the later letters, and to note the points of difference. These differences are mainly threefold. (1.) In the general *style* of these earlier letters there is greater simplicity and less exuberance of language. The brevity of the opening salutation is an instance of this. "Paul to the Church of the Thessalonians in God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ, grace and peace to you" (1 Thess. i. 1; comp. 2 Thess. i. 1). The closing benediction is correspondingly brief:—"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you" (1 Thess. v. 28; comp. 2 Thess. iii. 18). And throughout the Epistles there is much more evenness of style, words are not accumulated in the same way, the syntax is less involved, parentheses are not so frequent, the turns of thought and feeling are less sudden and abrupt, and altogether there is less intensity and variety than we find in St. Paul's later Epistles. (2.) The *antagonism to St. Paul* is not the same. The direction of the attack has changed in the interval between the writing of these Epistles and those of the next group. Here the opposition comes from *Jews*. The admission of the Gentiles to the hopes and privileges of Messiah's kingdom on any condition is repulsive to them. They "forbad the Apostle to speak to the Gentiles that they might be saved" (ii. 16). A period of five years changes the aspect of the controversy. The opponents of St. Paul are now no longer *Jews*, so much as *Judaizing Christians* (Ewald, *Jahrb.* iii. 249; *Sendschr.*, p. 14). The question of the admission of the Gentiles has been solved by time, for they have "taken the kingdom of heaven by storm." But the antagonism to the Apostle of the Gentiles, having been driven from its first position, entrenched itself behind a second barrier. It was now urged that though the Gentiles may be admitted to the Church of Christ, the only door of admission is the Mosaic covenant-rite of circumcision. The language of St. Paul speaking of the Jewish Christians in this Epistle shows that the opposition to his teaching had not at this time assumed this second phase. He does not yet regard them as the disturbers of the peace of the Church, the false teachers who by imposing a bondage of ceremonial observances frustrate the free grace of God. He can still point to them as examples to his converts at Thessalonica (ii. 14). The change indeed was imminent, the signs of the gathering storm had already appeared (Gal. ii. 11), but

hitherto they were faint and indistinct, and had scarcely darkened the horizon of the Gentile Churches. (3.) It will be no surprise that the doctrinal teaching of the Apostle does not bear quite the same aspect in these as in the later Epistles. Many of the distinctive doctrines of Christianity, which are inseparably connected with St. Paul's name, though implicitly contained in the teaching of these earlier letters—as indeed they follow directly from the true conception of the Person of Christ—were yet not evolved and distinctly enunciated till the needs of the Church drew them out into prominence at a later date. It has often been observed for instance, that there is in the Epistles to the Thessalonians no mention of the characteristic contrast of "faith and works;" that the word "justification" does not once occur; that the idea of dying with Christ and living with Christ, so frequent in St. Paul's later writings, is absent in these. It was in fact the opposition of Judaizing Christians, insisting on a strict ritualism, which led the Apostle somewhat later to dwell at greater length on the true doctrine of a saving faith, and the true conception of a godly life. But the time had not yet come, and in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, as has been truly observed, the Gospel preached is that of the coming of Christ, rather than of the cross of Christ. There are many reasons why the subject of the second advent should occupy a larger space in the earliest stage of the Apostolical teaching than afterwards. It was closely bound up with the fundamental fact of the Gospel, the resurrection of Christ, and thus it formed a natural starting-point of Christian doctrine. It afforded the true satisfaction to those Messianic hopes which had drawn the Jewish converts to the fold of Christ. It was the best consolation and support of the infant Church under persecution, which must have been most keenly felt in the first abandonment of worldly pleasures and interests. More especially, as telling of a righteous Judge who would not overlook iniquity, it was essential to that call to repentance which must everywhere precede the direct and positive teaching of the Gospel. "Now He commandeth all men everywhere to repent, for He hath appointed a day in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom He hath ordained, whereof He hath given assurance unto all men in that He raised him from the dead" (Acts xvii. 30, 31).

3. The *occasion* of this Epistle was as follows. St. Paul had twice attempted to revisit Thessalonica, and both times had been disappointed. Thus prevented from seeing them in person, he had sent Timothy to inquire and report to him as to their condition (iii. 1-5). Timothy returned with most favourable tidings, reporting not only their progress in Christian faith and practice, but also their strong attachment to their old teacher (iii. 6-10). The First Epistle to the Thessalonians is the outpouring of the Apostle's gratitude on receiving this welcome news. At the same time the report of Timothy was not unmixed with alloy. There were certain features in the condition of the Thessalonian Church which called for St. Paul's interference, and to which he addresses himself in his letter (1.) The very intensity of their Christian faith, dwelling too exclusively on the day of the Lord's coming, had been attended with evil consequences. On the one hand a practical inconvenience had arisen. In their feverish expectation of this great crisis, some had been led to neglect their ordinary business, as

though the daily concerns of life were of no account in the immediate presence of so vast a change (iv. 11; comp. 2 Thess. ii. 1, iii. 6, 11, 12). On the other hand a theoretical difficulty had been felt. Certain members of the Church had died, and there was great anxiety lest they should be excluded from any share in the glories of the Lord's advent (iv. 13-18). St. Paul rebukes the irregularities of the former, and dissipates the fears of the latter. (2.) The flame of persecution had broken out, and the Thessalonians needed consolation and encouragement under their sore trial (ii. 14, iii. 2-4). (3.) An unhealthy state of feeling with regard to spiritual gifts was manifesting itself. Like the Corinthians at a later day, they needed to be reminded of the superior value of "prophesying," compared with other gifts of the Spirit which they exalted at its expense (v. 19, 20). (4.) There was the danger, which they shared in common with most Gentile Churches, of relapsing into their old heathen profligacy. Against this the Apostle offers a word in season (iv. 4-8). We need not suppose however that Thessalonica was worse in this respect than other Greek cities.

4. Yet notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the condition of the Thessalonian Church was highly satisfactory, and the most cordial relations existed between St. Paul and his converts there. This honourable distinction it shares with the other great Church of Macedonia, that of Philippi. At all times, and amidst every change of circumstance, it is to his Macedonian Churches that the Apostle turns for sympathy and support. A period of about ten years is interposed between the First Epistle to the Thessalonians and the Epistle to the Philippians, and yet no two of his letters more closely resemble each other in this respect. In both he drops his official title of Apostle in the opening salutation, thus appealing rather to their affection than to his own authority; in both he commences the body of his letter with hearty and unqualified commendation of his converts; and in both the same spirit of confidence and warm affection breathes throughout.

5. A comparison of the narrative in the Acts with the allusions in this and the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians is instructive. With some striking coincidences, there is just that degree of divergence which might be expected between a writer who had borne the principal part in the scenes referred to, and a narrator who derives his information from others, between the casual half-expressed allusions of a familiar letter and the direct account of the professed historian.

Passing over patent coincidences, we may single out one of a more subtle and delicate kind. It arises out of the form which the accusation brought against St. Paul and his companions at Thessalonica takes in the Acts: "All these do contrary to the decrees of Caesar, saying that there is another king, one Jesus" (xvii. 7). The allusions in the Epistles to the Thessalonians enable us to understand the ground of this accusation. It appears that the *kingdom* of Christ had entered largely into his oral teaching in this city, as it does into that of the Epistles themselves. He had charged his new converts to await the coming of the Son of God from heaven, as their deliverer (i. 10). He had dwelt long and earnestly (*προείπαμεν κο' διεμαρτυράμεθα*) on the terrors of the judgment which would overtake the wicked (iv. 6). He had even explained at length the signs which would usher in the last day (2 Thess. ii. 5). Either from malice or in ignorance such

language had been misrepresented, and he was accused of setting up a rival sovereign to the Roman Emperor.

On the other hand, the language of these Epistles diverges from the narrative of St. Luke on two or three points in such a way as to establish the independence of the two accounts, and even to require some explanation. (1.) The first of these relates to the composition of the Church of Thessalonica. In the First Epistle St. Paul addresses his readers distinctly as Gentiles, who had been converted from idolatry to the Gospel (i. 9, 10). In the Acts we are told that "some (of the Jews) believed . . . and of the devout Greeks (*i. e.* proselytes) a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few" (xvii. 4). If for *σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων* we read *σεβομένων καὶ Ἑλλήνων*, "proselytes and Greeks," the difficulty vanishes; but though internal probabilities are somewhat in favour of this reading, the array of direct evidence (now reinforced by the Cod. Sinaiticus) is against it. But even if we retain the common reading, the account of St. Luke does not exclude a number of believers converted directly from heathendom—indeed, if we may argue from the parallel case at Berea (xvii. 12), the "women" were chiefly of this class: and, if any divergence remains, it is not greater than might be expected in two independent writers, one of whom, not being an eye-witness, possessed only a partial and indirect knowledge. Both accounts alike convey the impression that the Gospel made but little progress with the Jews themselves. (2.) In the Epistle the persecutors of the Thessalonian Christians are represented as their fellow-countrymen, *i. e.* as heathens (*ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν*, ii. 14), whereas in the Acts the Jews are regarded as the bitterest opponents of the faith (xvii. 5). This is fairly met by Paley (*Horae Paul.* ix. No. 5), who points out that the Jews were the instigators of the persecution, which however they were powerless of themselves to carry out without aid from the heathen, as may be gathered even from the narrative of St. Luke. We may add also, that the expression *ἴδιοι συμφυλέται* need not be restricted to the heathen population, but might include many Hellenist Jews who must have been citizens of the free town of Thessalonica. (3.) The narrative of St. Luke appears to state that St. Paul remained only three weeks at Thessalonica (xvii. 2), whereas in the Epistle, though there is no direct mention of the length of his residence among them, the whole language (i. 4, ii. 4-11) points to a much longer period. The latter part of the assertion seems quite correct; the former needs to be modified. In the Acts it is stated simply that for three Sabbath days (three weeks) St. Paul taught in the synagogue. The silence of the writer does not exclude subsequent labour among the Gentile population, and indeed as much seems to be implied in the success of his preaching, which exasperated the Jews against him. (4.) The notices of the movements of Silas and Timotheus in the two documents do not accord at first sight. In the Acts St. Paul is conveyed away secretly from Berea to escape the Jews. Arrived at Athens, he sends to Silas and Timothy, whom he had left behind at Berea, urging them to join him as soon as possible (xvii. 14-16). It is evident from the language of St. Luke that the Apostle expects them to join him at Athens. Yet we hear nothing more of them for some time, when at length after St. Paul had passed on to Corinth, and several incidents had occurred since his arrival there, we

are told that Silas and Timotheus came from Macedonia (xviii. 5). From the First Epistle, on the other hand, we gather the following facts. St. Paul there tells us that they (*ἡμεῖς*, i. e. himself, and probably Silas), no longer able to endure the suspense, "consented to be left alone at Athens, and sent Timothy their brother" to Thessalonica (iii. 1, 2). Timothy returned with good news (iii. 6) (whether to Athens or Corinth does not appear), and when the two Epistles to the Thessalonians were written, both Timothy and Silas were with St. Paul (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; comp. 2 Cor. i. 19). Now, though we may not be prepared with Paley to construct an undesigned coincidence out of these materials, yet on the other hand there is no insoluble difficulty; for the events may be arranged in two different ways, either of which will bring the narrative of the Acts into accordance with the allusions of the Epistle. (i.) Timotheus was despatched to Thessalonica, not from Athens, but from Beroea, a supposition quite consistent with the Apostle's expression of "consenting to be left alone at Athens." In this case Timotheus would take up Silas somewhere in Macedonia on his return, and the two would join St. Paul in company; not however at Athens, where he was expecting them, but later on at Corinth, some delay having arisen. This explanation however supposes that the plurals "*we* consented, *we* sent" (*εὐδοκήσαμεν, ἐπέμψαμεν*), can refer to St. Paul alone. The alternative mode of reconciling the accounts is as follows:—(ii.) Timotheus and Silas did join the Apostle at Athens, where we learn from the Acts that he was expecting them. From Athens he despatched Timotheus to Thessalonica, so that he and Silas (*ἡμεῖς*) had to forego the services of their fellow-labourer for a time. This mission is mentioned in the Epistle, but not in the Acts. Subsequently he sends Silas on some other mission, not recorded either in the history or the Epistle; probably to another Macedonian Church, Philippi for instance, from which he is known to have received contributions about this time, and with which therefore he was in communication (2 Cor. xi. 9; comp. Phil. iv. 14-16; see Koch, p. 15). Silas and Timotheus returned together from Macedonia and joined the Apostle at Corinth. This latter solution, if it assumes more than the former, has the advantage that it preserves the proper sense of the plural "*we* consented, *we* sent," for it is at least doubtful whether St. Paul ever uses the plural of himself alone. The silence of St. Luke may in this case be explained either by his possessing only a partial knowledge of the circumstances, or by his passing over incidents of which he was aware, as unimportant.

6. This Epistle is rather practical than doctrinal. It was suggested rather by personal feeling, than by any urgent need, which might have formed a centre of unity, and impressed a distinct character on the whole. Under these circumstances we need not expect to trace unity of purpose, or a continuous argument, and any analysis must be more or less artificial. The body of the Epistle, however, may conveniently be divided into two parts, the former of which, extending over the first three chapters, is chiefly taken up with a retrospect of the Apostle's relation to his Thessalonian converts, and an explanation of his present circumstances and feelings, while the latter, comprising the 4th and 5th chapters, contains some seasonable exhortations. At the close of each of these divisions is a prayer, commencing with the same words, "May God Him-

self," etc., and expressed in somewhat similar language.

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1. Narrative portion (i. 2–iii. 13).

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(2.) ii. 1-12. He reminds them how pure and blameless his life and ministry among them had been.

(3.) ii. 13-16. He repeats his thanksgiving for their conversion, dwelling especially on the persecutions which they had endured.

(4.) ii. 17–iii. 10. He describes his own suspense and anxiety, the consequent mission of Timothy to Thessalonica, and the encouraging report which he brought back.

(5.) iii. 11-13. The Apostle's *prayer* for the Thessalonians.

2. Hortatory portion (iv. 1–v. 24).

(1.) iv. 1-8. Warning against impurity.

(2.) iv. 9-12. Exhortation to brotherly love and sobriety of conduct.

(3.) iv. 13–v. 11. Touching the Advent of the Lord.

(a.) The dead shall have their place in the resurrection, iv. 13-18.

(b.) The time however is uncertain, v. 1-3.

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(4.) v. 12-15. Exhortation to orderly living and the due performance of social duties.

(5.) v. 16-22. Injunctions relating to prayer and spiritual matters generally.

(6.) v. 23, 24. The Apostle's *prayer* for the Thessalonians.

The Epistle closes with personal injunctions and a benediction (v. 25-28).

7. The external evidence in favour of the *genuineness* of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians is chiefly negative, but this is important enough. There is no trace that it was ever disputed at any age or in any section of the Church, or even by any individual, till the present century. On the other hand, the allusions to it in writers before the close of the 2nd century are confessedly faint and uncertain—a circumstance easily explained, when we remember the character of the Epistle itself, its comparatively simple diction, its silence on the most important doctrinal questions, and, generally speaking, the absence of any salient points to arrest the attention and provoke reference. In Clement of Rome there are some slight coincidences of language, perhaps not purely accidental (c. 38, *κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ*, comp. 1 Thess. v. 18; *ib. σωζέσθε οὖν ἡμῖν ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ἐν Χ., I., comp. 1 Thess. v. 23*). Ignatius in two passages (*Polyc. 1, and Ephes. 10*) seems to be reminded of St. Paul's expression *ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε* (1 Thess. v. 17), but in both passages of Ignatius the word *ἀδιαλείπτως*, in which the similarity mainly consists, is absent in the Syriac, and is therefore probably spurious. The supposed references in Polycarp (c. iv. to 1 Thess. v. 17, and c. ii. to 1 Thess. v. 22) are also unsatisfactory. It is more important to observe that the Epistle was included in the Old Latin and Syriac Versions, that it is found in the Canon of the Muratorian fragment, and that it was also contained in that of Marcion. Towards

the close of the 2nd century from Irenaeus downwards, we find this Epistle directly quoted and ascribed to St. Paul.

The evidence derived from the character of the Epistle itself is so strong that it may fairly be called irresistible. It would be impossible to enter into the question of *style* here, but the reader may be referred to the Introduction of Jowett, who has handled this subject very fully and satisfactorily. An equally strong argument may be drawn also from the *matter* contained in the Epistle. Two instances of this must suffice. In the first place, the fineness and delicacy of touch with which the Apostle's relations towards his Thessalonian converts are drawn—his yearning to see them, his anxiety in the absence of Timothy, and his heartfelt rejoicing at the good news—are quite beyond the reach of the clumsy forgeries of the early Church. In the second place, the writer uses language which, however it may be explained, is certainly coloured by the anticipation of the speedy advent of the Lord—language natural enough on the Apostle's own lips, but quite inconceivable in a forgery written after his death, when time had disappointed these anticipations, and when the revival or mention of them would serve no purpose, and might seem to discredit the Apostle. Such a position would be an anachronism in a writer of the 2nd century.

The genuineness of this Epistle was first questioned by Schrader (*Apostel Paulus*), who was followed by Baur (*Paulus*, p. 480). The latter writer has elaborated and systematized the attack. The arguments which he alleges in favour of his view have already been anticipated to a great extent. They are briefly controverted by Lünemann, and more at length and with great fairness by Jowett. The following is a summary of Baur's arguments. (i.) He attributes great weight to the general character of the epistle, the difference of style, and especially the absence of distinctive Pauline doctrines—a peculiarity which has already been remarked upon and explained, § 2. (ii.) In the mention of the "wrath" overtaking the Jewish people (ii. 16), Baur sees an allusion to the destruction of Jerusalem, and therefore a proof of the later date of the Epistle. The real significance of these words will be considered below in discussing the apocalyptic passage in the Second Epistle. (iii.) He urges the contradictions to the account in the Acts—a strange argument surely to be brought forward by Baur, who postdates and discredits the authority of that narrative. The real extent and bearing of these divergences has been already considered. (iv.) He discovers references to the Acts, which show that the Epistle was written later. It has been seen however that the coincidences are subtle and incidental, and the points of divergence and *prima facie* contradictions, which Baur himself allows, and indeed insists upon, are so numerous as to preclude the supposition of copying. Schleiermacher (*Einkl. ins N. T.* p. 150) rightly infers the independence of the Epistle on these grounds. (v.) He supposes passages in this Epistle to have been borrowed from the acknowledged letters of St. Paul. The resemblances however which he points out are not greater than, or indeed so great as, those in other Epistles, and bear no traces of imitation.

8. A list of the Patristic commentaries comprising the whole of St. Paul's Epistles, will be found in the article on the EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. To this list should be added the work of Theodore of Mopsuestia, a portion of which con-

taining the shorter Epistles from Galatians onwards is preserved in a Latin translation. The part relating to the Thessalonians is at present only accessible in the compilation of Rabanus Maurus (where it is quoted under the name of Ambrose), which ought to be read with the corrections and additions given by Dom Pitra (*Spicil. Solesm.* i. p. 133). This commentary is attributed by Pitra to Hilary of Poitiers, but its true authorship was pointed out by Hort (*Journal of Class. and Sac. Phil.* iv. p. 302). The portion of Cramer's *Catena* relating to this Epistle seems to be made up of extracts from Chrysostom, Severianus, and Theodore of Mopsuestia.

For the more important recent works on the whole of St. Paul's Epistles the reader may again be referred to the article on the Epistle to the Romans. The notes on the Thessalonians in Meyer's Commentary are executed by Lünemann. Of special annotators on the Thessalonian Epistles, the chief are, in Germany, Flatt (1829), Pelt (1830), Schott (1834), and Koch (2nd ed. 1855, the First Epistle alone), and in England Jowett (2nd ed. 1859) and Ellicott (2nd ed. 1862). [J. B. L.]

THESSALONIANS, SECOND EPISTLE TO THE. 1. This Epistle appears to have been written from Corinth not very long after the First, for Silvanus and Timotheus were still with St. Paul (i. 1). In the former letter we saw chiefly the outpouring of strong personal affection, occasioned by the renewal of the Apostle's intercourse with the Thessalonians, and the doctrinal and hortatory portions are there subordinate. In the Second Epistle, on the other hand, his leading motive seems to have been the desire of correcting errors in the Church of Thessalonica. We notice two points especially which call forth his rebuke. *First*, it seems that the anxious expectation of the Lord's advent, instead of subsiding, had gained ground since the writing of the First Epistle. They now looked upon this great crisis as imminent, and their daily avocations were neglected in consequence. There were expressions in the First Epistle which, taken by themselves, might seem to favour this view; and at all events such was falsely represented to be the Apostle's doctrine. He now writes to soothe this restless spirit and quell their apprehensions by showing that many things must happen first, and that the end was not yet, referring to his oral teaching at Thessalonica in confirmation of this statement (ii. 1-12, iii. 6-12). *Secondly*, the Apostle had also a *personal* ground of complaint. His authority was not denied by any, but it was tampered with, and an unauthorised use was made of his name. It is difficult to ascertain the exact circumstances of the case from casual and indirect allusions, and indeed we may perhaps infer from the vagueness of the Apostle's own language that he himself was not in possession of definite information; but at all events his suspicions were aroused. Designing men might misrepresent his teaching in two ways, either by suppressing what he actually had written or said, or by forging letters and in other ways representing him as teaching what he had not taught. St. Paul's language hints in different places at both these modes of false dealing. He seems to have entertained suspicions of this dishonesty even when he wrote the First Epistle. At the close of that Epistle he binds the Thessalonians by a solemn oath, "in the name of the Lord," to see that the Epistle is read "to all the holy brethren" (v. 27)—a charge unintelligible in itself.

and only to be explained by supposing some misgivings in the Apostle's mind. Before the Second Epistle is written, his suspicions seem to have been confirmed, for there are two passages which allude to these misrepresentations of his teaching. In the first of these he tells them in vague language, which may refer equally well to a false interpretation put upon his own words in the First Epistle, or to a supplemental letter forged in his name, "not to be troubled either by spirit or by word or by letter, as coming from us, as if the day of the Lord were at hand." They are not to be deceived, he adds, by any one, whatever means he employs (*κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον*, ii. 2, 3). In the second passage at the close of the Epistle he says, "The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is a token in every Epistle: so I write" (iii. 17)—evidently a precaution against forgery. With these two passages should be combined the expression in iii. 14, from which we infer that he now entertained a fear of direct opposition:—"If any man obey not our word conveyed by our Epistle, note that man."

It will be seen then that the teaching of the Second Epistle is corrective of, or rather supplemental to, that of the First, and therefore presupposes it. Moreover, the First Epistle bears on its face evidence that it is the first outpouring of his affectionate yearnings towards his converts after his departure from Thessalonica; while on the other hand the Second Epistle contains a direct allusion to a previous letter, which may suitably be referred to the First:—"Hold fast the tradition which ye were taught either by word or by letter from us" (ii. 15). We can scarcely be wrong therefore in maintaining the received order of the two Epistles. It is due however to the great names of Grotius and of Ewald (*Jahrb.* iii. p. 250; *Sendschr.* p. 16) to mention that they reverse the order, placing the Second Epistle before the First in point of time—on different grounds indeed, but both equally insufficient to disturb the traditional order, supported as it is by the considerations already alleged.

2. This Epistle, in the range of subject as well as in style and general character, closely resembles the First; and the remarks made on that Epistle apply for the most part equally well to this. The structure also is somewhat similar, the main body of the Epistle being divided into two parts in the same way, and each part closing with a prayer (ii. 16, 17, iii. 16; both commencing with *αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος*). The following is a table of contents:—

The opening salutation (i. 1, 2).

1. A general expression of thankfulness and interest, leading up to the difficulty about the Lord's Advent (i. 3—ii. 17).

(1.) The Apostle pours forth his thanksgiving for their progress in the faith; he encourages them to be patient under persecution, reminding them of the judgment to come, and prays that they may be prepared to meet it (i. 3-12).

(2.) He is thus led to correct the erroneous idea that the judgment is imminent, pointing out that much must happen first (ii. 1-12).

(3.) He repeats his thanksgiving and exhortation, and concludes this portion with a prayer (ii. 13-17).

2. Direct exhortation (iii. 1-16).

(1.) He urges them to pray for him, and confidently anticipates their progress in the faith (iii. 1-5).

(2.) He reproves the idle, disorderly, and disobedient, and charges the faithful to withdraw from such (iii. 6-15).

This portion again closes with a prayer (iii. 16).

The Epistle ends with a special direction and benediction (iii. 17, 18).

3. The external evidence in favour of the Second Epistle is somewhat more definite than that which can be brought in favour of the First. It seems to be referred to in one or two passages of Polycarp (iii. 15, in Polyc. c. 11, and possibly i. 4 in the same chapter; cf. Polyc. c. 3, and see Lardner, pt. ii. c. 6); and the language in which Justin Martyr (*Dial.* p. 336 D) speaks of the Man of Sin is so similar that it can scarcely be independent of this Epistle. The Second Epistle, like the First, is found in the canons of the Syriac and Old Latin Versions, and in those of the Muratorian fragment and of the heretic Marcion; is quoted expressly and by name by Irenaeus and others at the close of the second century, and was universally received by the Church. The internal character of the Epistle too, as in the former case, bears the strongest testimony to its Pauline origin. (See Jowett, i. 143.)

Its genuineness in fact was never questioned until the beginning of the present century. Objections were first started by Christ. Schmidt (*Einkl. ins N. T.* 1804). He has been followed by Schrader (*Apostel Paulus*), Kern (*Tübing. Zeitschr. f. Theol.* 1839, ii. p. 145), and Baur (*Paulus der Apostel*). De Wette at first condemned this Epistle, but afterwards withdrew his condemnation and frankly accepted it as genuine.

It will thus be seen that this Epistle has been rejected by some modern critics who acknowledge the First to be genuine. Such critics of course attribute no weight to arguments brought against the First, such as we have considered already. The apocalyptic passage (ii. 1-12) is the great stumbling-block to them. It has been objected to, either as alluding to events subsequent to St. Paul's death, the Neronian persecution for instance; or as betraying religious views derived from the Montanism of the second century; or lastly, as contradicting St. Paul's anticipations expressed elsewhere, especially in the First Epistle, of the near approach of the Lord's advent. That there is no reference to Nero, we shall endeavour to show presently. That the doctrine of an Antichrist did not start into being with Montanism, is shown from the allusions of Jewish writers even before the Christian era (see Bertholdt, *Christ.* p. 69; Gfrörer, *Jahrb. des Heils*, pt. ii. p. 257); and appears still more clearly from the passage of Justin Martyr referred to in a former paragraph. That the language used of the Lord's coming in the Second Epistle does not contradict, but rather supplement the teaching of the First—postponing the day indeed, but still anticipating its approach as probable within the Apostle's lifetime—may be gathered both from expressions in the passage itself (*e. g.* ver. 7, "is already working"), and from other parts of the Epistle (i. 7, 8). Other special objections to the Epistle will scarcely command a hearing, and must necessarily be passed over here.

4. The most striking feature in the Epistle is this apocalyptic passage, announcing the revelation

of the "Man of Sin" (ii. 1-12); and it will not be irrelevant to investigate its meaning, bearing as it does on the circumstances under which the Epistle was written, and illustrating this aspect of the Apostle's teaching. He had dwelt much on the subject; for he appeals to the Thessalonians as knowing this truth, and reminds them that he had told them these things when he was yet with them.

(I.) The passage speaks of a great apostasy which is to usher in the advent of Christ, the great judgment. There are three prominent figures in the picture, Christ, Antichrist, and the Restrainer. Antichrist is described as the Man of Sin, the Son of Perdition, as the Adversary who exalteth himself above all that is called God, as making himself out to be God. Later on (for apparently the reference is the same) he is styled the "mystery of lawlessness," "the lawless one." The Restrainer is in one place spoken of in the masculine as a person (*ὁ κατέχων*), in another in the neuter as a power, an influence (*τὸ κατέχον*). The "mystery of lawlessness" is already at work. At present it is checked by the Restrainer; but the check will be removed, and then it will break out in all its violence. Then Christ will appear, and the enemy shall be consumed by the breath of His mouth, shall be brought to naught by the splendour of His presence.

(II.) Many different explanations have been offered of this passage. By one class of interpreters it has been referred to circumstances which passed within the circle of the Apostle's own experience, the events of his own lifetime, or the period immediately following. Others again have seen in it the prediction of a crisis yet to be realized, the end of all things. The former of these, the Praeterists, have identified the "Man of Sin" with divers historical characters—with Caligula, Nero, Titus, Simon Magus, Simon son of Giora, the high-priest Ananias, &c., and have sought for a historical counterpart to the Restrainer in like manner. The latter, the Futurists, have also given various accounts of the Antichrist, the mysterious power of evil which is already working. To Protestants for instance it is the Papacy; to the Greek Church, Mohammedanism. And in the same way each generation and each section in the Church has regarded it as a prophecy of that particular power which seemed to them and in their own time to be most fraught with evil to the true faith. A good account of these manifold interpretations will be found in Lünemann's Commentary on the Epistle, p. 204; *Schlussbem. zu ii. 1-12*. See also Alford, *Proleg.*

(III.) Now in arbitrating between the Praeterists and the Futurists, we are led by the analogy of other prophetic announcements, as well as by the language of the passage itself, to take a middle course. Neither is wholly right, and yet both are to a certain extent right. It is the special characteristic of prophecy to speak of the distant future through the present and immediate. The persons and events falling within the horizon of the prophet's own view, are the types and representatives of greater figures and crises far off, and as yet but dimly discerned. Thus the older prophets, while speaking of a delivery from the temporary oppression of Egypt or Babylon, spoke also of Messiah's kingdom. Thus our Lord himself, foretelling the doom which was even then hanging over the holy city, glances at the future judgment of the world as typified and portrayed in this; and the two are so interwoven that it is impossible to disentangle

them. Following this analogy, we may agree with the Praeterists that St. Paul is referring to events which fell under his own cognizance; for indeed the Restrainer is said to be restraining now, and the mystery of iniquity to be already working; while at the same time we may accept the Futurist view, that the Apostle is describing the end of all things, and that therefore the prophecy has not yet received its most striking and complete fulfilment. This commingling of the immediate and partial with the final and universal manifestation of God's judgments, characteristic of all prophecy, is rendered more easy in St. Paul's case, because he seems to have contemplated the end of all things as possibly, or even probably, near at hand; and therefore the particular manifestation of Antichrist, which he witnessed with his own eyes, would naturally be merged in and identified with the final Antichrist, in which the opposition to the Gospel will culminate.

(IV.) If this view be correct, it remains to inquire what particular adversary of the Gospel, and what particular restraining influence, St. Paul may have had in view. But, before attempting to approximate to an explanation, we may clear the way by laying down two rules. *First*. The imagery of the passage must be interpreted mainly by itself, and by the circumstances of the time. The symbols may be borrowed in some cases from the Old Testament; they may reappear in other parts of the New. But we cannot be sure that the same image denotes exactly the same thing in both cases. The language describing the Man of Sin is borrowed to some extent from the representation of Antiochus Epiphanes in the Book of Daniel, but Antiochus cannot be meant there. The great adversary in the Revelation seems to be the Roman power; but it may be widely different here. There were even in the Apostolic age "many Antichrists;" and we cannot be sure that the Antichrist present to the mind of St. Paul was the same with the Antichrist contemplated by St. John. *Secondly*. In all figurative passages it is arbitrary to assume that a person is denoted where we find a personification. Thus the "Man of Sin" here need not be an individual man; it may be a body of men, or a power, a spiritual influence. In the case of the Restrainer we seem to have positive ground for so interpreting it, since in one passage the neuter gender is used, "the thing which restraineth" (*τὸ κατέχον*), as if synonymous. (See Jowett's *Essay On the Man of Sin*, i. p. 178, rather for suggestions as to the mode of interpretation, than for the conclusion he arrives at.)

(V.) When we inquire then, what St. Paul had in view when he spoke of the "Man of Sin" and the Restrainer, we can only hope to get even an approximate answer by investigating the circumstances of the Apostle's life at this epoch. Now we find that the chief opposition to the Gospel, and especially to St. Paul's preaching at this time arose from the Jews. The Jews had conspired against the Apostle and his companions at Thessalonica, and he only saved himself by secret flight. Thence they followed him to Beroea, which he hurriedly left in the same way. At Corinth, whence the letters to the Thessalonians were written, they persecuted him still further, raising a cry of treason against him, and bringing him before the Roman proconsul. These incidents explain the strong expressions he uses of them in these Epistles. "They slew the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and per-

scuted the Apostles; they are hateful to God; they are the common enemies of mankind, whom the Divine wrath (*ἡ ὀργή*) at length overtakes" (1 Thess. ii. 15, 16). With these facts in view, it seems on the whole probable that the Antichrist is represented especially by Judaism. With a prophetic insight the Apostle foresaw, as he contemplated the moral and political condition of the race, the approach of a great and overwhelming catastrophe. And it is not improbable that our Lord's predictions of the vengeance which threatened Jerusalem blended with the Apostle's vision, and gave a colour to this passage. If it seem strange that "lawlessness" should be mentioned as the distinguishing feature of those whose very zeal for "the Law" stimulated their opposition to the Gospel, we may appeal to our Lord's own words (Matt. xxiii. 28), describing the Jewish teachers: "within they are full of hypocrisy and lawlessness (*ἀνομίας*)." Corresponding to this view of the Antichrist, we shall probably be correct in regarding the Roman Empire as the restraining power, for so it was taken by many of the Fathers, though without altogether understanding its bearing. It was to Roman justice and Roman magistrates that the Apostle had recourse at this time to shield him from the enmity of the Jews, and to check their violence. At Philippi, his Roman citizenship extorted an ample apology for ill-treatment. At Thessalonica, Roman law secured him fair play. At Corinth, a Roman proconsul acquitted him of frivolous charges brought by the Jews. It was only at a later date under Nero, that Rome became the antagonist of Christendom, and then she also in turn was fitly portrayed by St. John as the type of Antichrist. Whether the Jewish opposition to the Gospel entirely exhausted St. Paul's conception of the "mystery of lawlessness" as he saw it "already working" in his own day, or whether other elements did not also combine with this to complete the idea, it is impossible to say. Moreover at this distance of time and with our imperfect information, we cannot hope to explain the exact bearing of all the details in the picture. But following the guidance of history, we seem justified in adopting this as a probable, though only a partial, explanation of a very difficult passage.

5. A list of commentaries has been given in the article on the First Epistle. [J. B. L.]

THESSALONICA (*Θεσσαλονίκη*). The original name of this city was *Therma*; and that part of the Macedonian shore on which it was situated ("Medio flexu litoris sinus Thermaici," Plin. *H. N.* iv. 10) retained through the Roman period the designation of the Thermaic Gulf. The history of the city under its earlier name was of no great note (see Herod. vii. 128 seqq.; Thucyd. i. 61, ii. 29; Aesch. *De fals. Leg.* p. 31). It rose into importance with the decay of Greek nationality. Cassander the son of Antipater rebuilt and enlarged it, and named it after his wife Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great. The first author in which the new appellation occurs is Polybius (xxiii. 4). The name ever since, under various slight modifications, has been continuous, and the city itself has never ceased to be eminent. *Saloniki* (though Adrian-

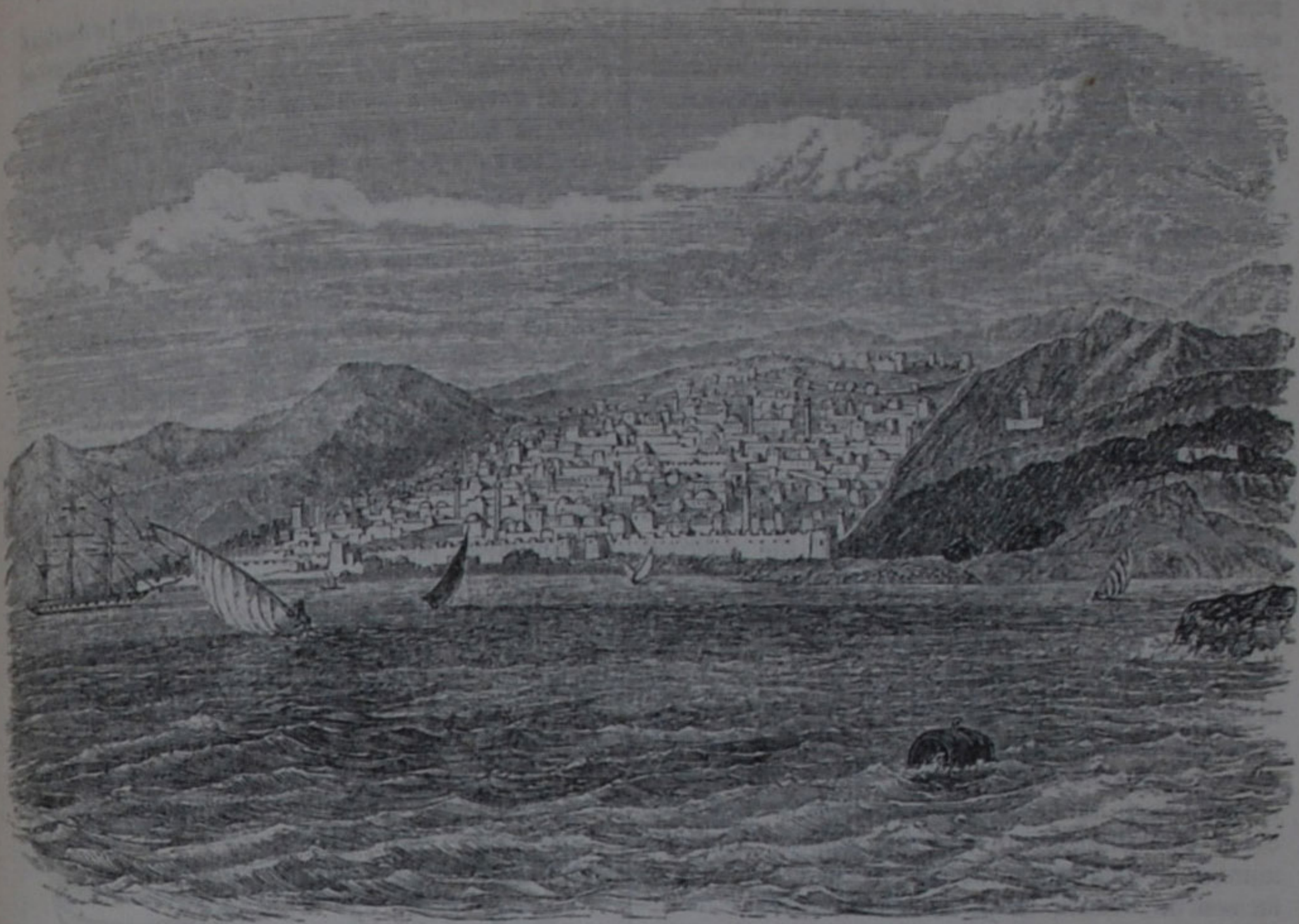
ople may possibly be larger) is still the most important town of European Turkey, next after Constantinople.

Under the Romans, when MACEDONIA was divided into four governments, Thessalonica was made the capital of the second (Liv. xlv. 29); afterwards, when the whole was consolidated into one province, this city became practically the metropolis. Notices of the place now become frequent. Cicero was here in his exile (*pro Planc.* 41), and some of his letters were written from hence during his journeys to and from his own province of Cilicia. During the first Civil War it was the head-quarters of the Pompeian party and the Senate (Dion Cass. xli. 20). During the second it took the side of Octavius (Plut. *Brut.* 46; Appian, *B. C.* iv. 118), whence apparently it reaped the honour and advantage of being made a "free city" (*libera civitas*, Plin. *l. c.*), a privilege which is commemorated on some of its coins. Strabo in the first century speaks of Thessalonica as the most populous city in Macedonia (*μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων εὐανδρεῖ*), similar language to which is used by Lucian in the second century (*Asin.* 46).

Thus we are brought to St. Paul's visit (with Silas and Timothy)^a during his second missionary journey, and to the introduction of Christianity into Thessalonica. Three circumstances must here be mentioned, which illustrate in an important manner this visit and this journey, as well as the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, which the Apostle wrote from Corinth very soon after his departure from his new Macedonian converts. (1.) This was the chief station on the great Roman Road, called the *Via Egnatia*, which connected Rome with the whole region to the north of the Aegean Sea. St. Paul was on this road at NEAPOLIS (Acts xvi. 11) and PHILIPPI (xvi. 12-40), and his route from the latter place (xvii. 1) had brought him through two of the well-known minor stations mentioned in the Itineraries. [AMPHIPOLIS; APOLLONIA.] (2.) Placed as it was on this great Road, and in connexion with other important Roman ways ("posita in gremio imperii Romani," to use Cicero's words), Thessalonica was an invaluable centre for the spread of the Gospel. And it must be remembered that, besides its inland communication with the rich plains of Macedonia and with far more remote regions, its maritime position made it a great emporium of trade by sea. In fact it was nearly, if not quite, on a level with Corinth and Ephesus in its share of the commerce of the Levant. Thus we see the force of what St. Paul says in his First Epistle, shortly after leaving Thessalonica—*ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἐξήχεται ὁ λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ* (i. 8). (3.) The circumstance noted in Acts xvii. 1, that here was the synagogue of the Jews in this part of Macedonia, had evidently much to do with the Apostle's plans, and also doubtless with his success. Trade would inevitably bring Jews to Thessalonica: and it is remarkable that, ever since, they have had a prominent place in the annals of the city. They are mentioned in the seventh century during the Slavonic wars; and again in the twelfth by Eustathius and Benjamin of Tudela. In the

^a Timothy is not mentioned in any part of the direct narrative of what happened at Thessalonica, though he appears as St. Paul's companion before at Philippi (Acts xvi. 1-13), and afterwards at Berea (xvii. 14, 15); but from his subsequent mission to Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii.

1-7; see Acts xviii. 5), and the mention of his name in the opening salutation of both Epistles to the Thessalonians, we can hardly doubt that he had been with the Apostle throughout.



Thessalonica.

fifteenth century there was a great influx of Spanish Jews. At the present day the numbers of residents in the Jewish quarter (in the south-east part of the town) are estimated at 10,000 or 20,000, out of an aggregate population of 60,000 or 70,000.

The first scene of the Apostle's work at Thessalonica was the Synagogue. According to his custom he began there, arguing from the Ancient Scriptures (Acts xvii. 2, 3): and the same general results followed, as in other places. Some believed, both Jews and proselytes, and it is particularly added, that among these were many influential women (ver. 4); on which the general body of the Jews, stirred up with jealousy, excited the Gentile population to persecute Paul and Silas (vers. 5-10). It is stated that the ministrations among the Jews continued for three weeks (ver. 2). Not that we are obliged to limit to this time the whole stay of the Apostles at Thessalonica. A flourishing Church was certainly formed there: and the Epistles show that its elements were much more Gentile than Jewish. St. Paul speaks of the Thessalonians as having turned "from idols;" and he does not here, as in other Epistles, quote the Jewish Scriptures. In all respects it is important to compare these two letters with the narrative in the Acts; and such references have the greater freshness from the short interval which elapsed between visiting the Thessalonians and writing to them. Such expressions as *ἐν θλίψει πολλῇ* (1 Thess. i. 6), and *ἐν πολλῇ ἐγῶνι* (ii. 2), sum up the suffering and conflict which Paul and Silas and their converts went through at Thessalonica. (See also 1 Thess. ii. 14, 15, iii. 3, 4; 2 Thess. i. 4-7.) The persecution took place through the instrumentality of worthless idlers (*τῶν ἀγοραίων ἀνδρας τινὰς πονηροῦς*, Acts xvii. 5), who, instigated by the Jews, raised a tumult. The house of Jason, with whom the Apostles seem to have been residing, was attacked; they themselves were not found, but Jason was brought before the authorities on the accusation that the Christians were trying

to set up a new King in opposition to the Emperor; a guarantee (*τὸ ἱκανόν*) was taken from Jason and others for the maintenance of the peace, and Paul and Silas were sent away by night southwards to BEROEA (Acts xvii. 5-10). The particular charge brought against the Apostles receives an illustration from the Epistles, where the *kingdom* of Christ is prominently mentioned (1 Thess. ii. 12; 2 Thess. i. 5). So again, the doctrine of the Resurrection is conspicuous both in St. Luke's narrative (xvii. 3), and in the first letter (i. 10, iv. 14, 16). If we pass from these points to such as are personal, we are enabled from the Epistles to complete the picture of St. Paul's conduct and attitude at Thessalonica, as regards his love, tenderness, and zeal, his care of individual souls, and his disinterestedness (see 1 Thess. i. 5, ii. 1-10). As to this last point, St. Paul was partly supported here by contributions from Philippi (Phil. iv. 15, 16), partly by the labour of his own hands, which he diligently practised for the sake of the better success of the Gospel, and that he might set an example to the idle and selfish. (He refers very expressly to what he had said and done at Thessalonica in regard to this point. See 1 Thess. ii. 9, iv. 11; comparing 2 Thess. iii. 8-12.) [THESSALONIANS, EPISTLES TO.] To complete the account of St. Paul's connexion with Thessalonica, it must be noticed that he was certainly there again, though the name of the city is not specified, on his third missionary journey, both in going and returning (Acts xx. 1-3). Possibly he was also there again, after his liberation from his first imprisonment. See Phil. i. 25, 26, ii. 24, for the hope of revisiting Macedonia, entertained by the Apostle at Rome, and 1 Tim. i. 3; 2 Tim. iv. 13; Tit. iii. 12, for subsequent journeys in the neighbourhood of Thessalonica.

Of the first Christians of Thessalonica, we are able to specify by name the above-mentioned Jason (who may be the same as the Apostle's own kinsman mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21), Demas (at least conjec

turally; see 2 Tim. iv. 10), Gaius, who shared some of St. Paul's perils at Ephesus (Acts xix. 29), Secundus, who accompanied him from Macedonia to Asia on the eastward route of his third missionary journey, and was probably concerned in the business of the collection; see Acts xx. 4), and especially Aristarchus (who, besides being mentioned here with Secundus, accompanied St. Paul on his voyage to Rome, and had therefore probably been with him during the whole interval, and is also specially referred to in two of the Epistles written during the first Roman imprisonment. See Acts xxvii. 2; Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24; also Acts xix. 29, for his association with the Apostle at Ephesus in the earlier part of the third journey).

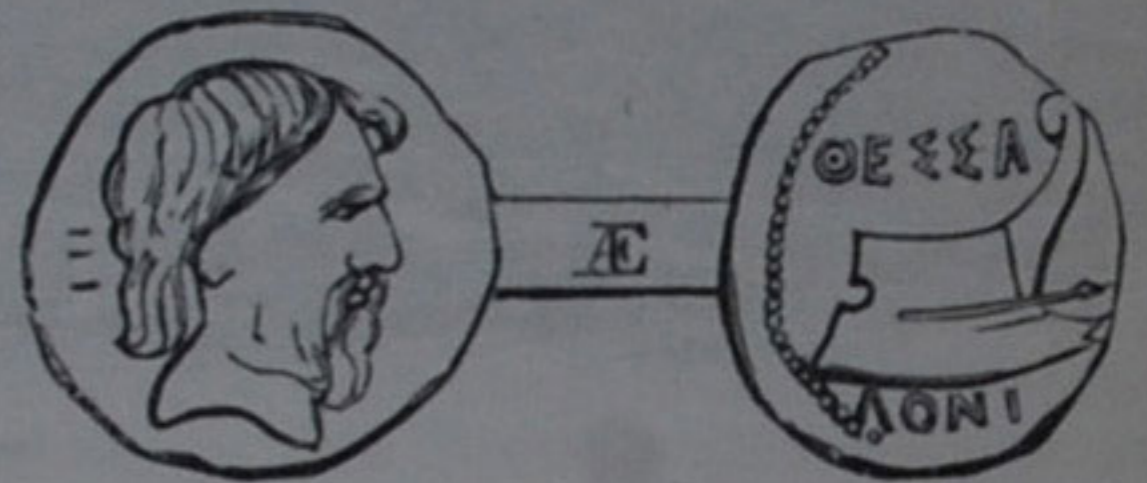
We must recur, however, to the narrative in the Acts, for the purpose of noticing a singularly accurate illustration which it affords of the political constitution of Thessalonica. Not only is the *demus* mentioned (τὸν δῆμον, Acts xvii. 5) in harmony with what has been above said of its being a "free city," but the peculiar title, *politarchs* (πολιτάρχας, ib. 6), of the chief magistrates. This term occurs in no other writing; but it may be read to this day conspicuously on an arch of the early Imperial times, which spans the main street of the city. From this inscription it would appear that the number of politarchs was seven. The whole may be seen in Böeckh, *Corp. Insc.* No. 1967.

This seems the right place for noticing the other remains at Thessalonica. The arch first mentioned (called the *Vardár* gate) is at the western extremity of the town. At its eastern extremity is another Roman arch of later date, and probably commemorating some victory of Constantine. The main street, which both these arches cross, and which intersects the city from east to west, is undoubtedly the line of the *Via Egnatia*. Near the course of this street, and between the two arches, are four Corinthian columns supporting an architrave, and believed by some to have belonged to the Hippodrome, which is so famous in connection with the history of Theodosius. Two of the mosques have been anciently heathen temples. The city walls are of late Greek construction, but resting on a much older foundation, with hewn stones of immense thickness. The castle contains the fragments of a shattered triumphal arch, erected in the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

A word must be said, in conclusion, on the later ecclesiastical history of Thessalonica. For during several centuries this city was the bulwark, not simply of the later Greek Empire, but of Oriental Christendom, and was largely instrumental in the conversion of the Slavonians and Bulgarians. Thus it received the designation of "the Orthodox City;" and its struggles are very prominent in the writings of the Byzantine historians. Three conspicuous passages are, its capture by the Saracens, A.D. 904 (Jo. Cameniata, *De Excidio Thessaionicensi*, with Theophanes Continuatus, 1838); by the Crusaders in 1185 (Nicetas Choniates, *De Andron. Comneno*, 1835; also Eustath. *De Thessaionicâ a Latinis captâ*, in the same vol. with Leo Grammaticus, 1842); and finally by the Turks under Amurath II. in 1430 (Jo. Anagnostes, *De Thessalonicensi Excidio Narratio*, with Phrantzes and Cananus, 1838). The references are to the Bonn editions. A very large part of the population at the present

day is Greek; and Thessalonica may still be destined to take a prominent part in struggles connected with nationality and religion.

The travellers to whom it is most important to refer, as having given full accounts of this place, are Clarke (*Travels in Europe, &c.*, 1810-1823), Sir H. Holland (*Travels in the Ionian Isles, &c.*, 1815), Cousinery (*Voyage dans la Macedoine*, 1831), and Leake (*Northern Greece*, 1835). An antiquarian essay on the subject by the Abbé Belley will be found in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. xxxviii. *Sect. Hist.* pp. 121-146. But the most elaborate work is that of Tafel, the first part of which was published at Tübingen in 1835. This was afterwards reprinted as "Prolegomena" to the *Dissertatio de Thessalonicâ ejusque Agro Geographico*, Berlin, 1839. With this should be compared his work on the *Via Egnatia*. The Commentaries on the Epistles to the Thessalonians of course contain useful compilations on the subject. Among these, two of the most copious are those of Koch (Berlin, 1849) and Lünemann (Göttingen, 1850). [J. S. H.]



Coin of Thessalonica.

THEU'DAS (Θευδᾶς: *Theodas*: and probably = תודא), the name of an insurgent mentioned in Gamaliel's speech before the Jewish council (Acts v. 35-39) at the time of the arraignment of the Apostles. He appeared, according to Luke's account, at the head of about four hundred men; he sought not merely to lead the people astray by false doctrine, but to accomplish his designs by violence; he entertained a high conceit of himself (λέγων εἶναί τινα εαυτόν); was slain at last (ἀνῆρέθη), and his party was dispersed and brought to nothing (διελύθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν). Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 5, §1) speaks of a Theudas who played a similar part in the time of Claudius, about A.D. 44, *i. e.* some ten or twelve years at least later than the delivery of Gamaliel's speech; and since Luke places his Theudas, in the order of time, before Judas the Galilean, who made his appearance soon after the dethronement of Archelaüs, *i. e.* A.D. 6 or 7 (*Jos. B. J.* ii. 8, §1; *Ant.* xviii. 1, §6, xx. 5, §2), it has been charged that the writer of the Acts either fabricated the speech put into the mouth of Gamaliel, or has wrought into it a transaction which took place thirty years or more after the time when it is said to have occurred (see Zeller, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 132, seq.). Here we may protest, at the outset, against the injustice of hastily imputing to Luke so gross an error; for having established his character in so many decisive instances in which he has alluded, in the course of the Acts, to persons, places, customs, and events in sacred and profane history, he has a right to the presumption that he was well informed also as to the facts in this particular passage.^a Every principle of just criticism demands that, instead of

^a It may not be amiss to remind the reader of some fine remarks, in illustration of Luke's historical accuracy, in Gnoluck's *Glaubwürdigkeit der Evang. Geschichte*, pp.

161-177, 375-389. See also Ebrard, *Evangelische Kritik*, pp. 678, sq.; and Lechler, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*, pp. 6, sq.

distrusting him as soon as he goes beyond our means of verification, we should avail ourselves of any supposition for the purpose of upholding his credibility which the conditions of the case will allow.

Various solutions of the difficulty have been offered. The two following have been suggested as especially commending themselves by their fulfilment of every reasonable requisition, and as approved by learned and judicious men:—(1.) Since Luke represents Theudas as having preceded Judas the Galilean [see vol. i. p. 1160], it is certain that he could not have appeared later, at all events, than the latter part of the reign of Herod the Great. The very year, now, of that monarch's death was remarkably turbulent; the land was overrun with belligerent parties, under the direction of insurrectionary chiefs or fanatics. Josephus mentions but three of these disturbers *by name*; he passes over the others with a general allusion. Among those whom the Jewish historian has omitted the name, may have been the Theudas whom Gamaliel cites as an example of unsuccessful innovation and insubordination. The name was not an uncommon one (Winer, *Realwb.* ii. 609); and it can excite no surprise that one Theudas, who was an insurgent, should have appeared in the time of Augustus, and another, fifty years later, in the time of Claudius. As analogous to this supposition is the fact that Josephus gives an account of four men named *Simon*, who followed each other within forty years, and of three named *Judas*, within ten years, who were all instigators of rebellion. This mode of reconciling Luke with Josephus is affirmed by Lardner (*Credibility*, vol. i. p. 429), Bengel, Kuinoel, Olshausen, Anger (*de Tempp. in Act. Apost. Ratione*, p. 185), Winer, and others.

(2.) Another explanation (essentially different only as proposing to identify the person) is, that Luke's Theudas may have been one of the three insurgents whose names are mentioned by Josephus in connexion with the disturbances which took place about the time of Herod's death. Sonntag (*Theol. Stud. u. Kritik*. 1837, p. 622, &c.) has advanced this view, and supported it with much learning and ability. He argues that the Theudas referred to by Gamaliel is the individual who occurs in Josephus under the name of Simon (*B. J.* ii. 4, §2; *Ant.* xvii. 10, §6), a slave of Herod, who attempted to make himself king, amid the confusion which attended the vacancy of the throne when that monarch died. He urges the following reasons for that opinion: first, this Simon, as he was the most noted among those who disturbed the public peace at that time, would be apt to occur to Gamaliel as an illustration of his point; secondly, he is described as a man of the same lofty pretensions (*εἶναι ἄξιος ἀπίστας παρ' ὀντινοῦν = λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτόν*); thirdly, he died a violent death, which Josephus does not mention as true of the other two insurgents; fourthly, he appears to have had comparatively few adherents, in conformity with Luke's *ὡσεὶ τετρακοσίων*; and, lastly, his having been originally a slave accounts for the twofold appellation, since it was very common among the Jews to assume a different name on changing their occupation or mode of life. It is very possible, therefore, that Gamaliel speaks of him as Theudas, because, having borne that name so long at Jerusalem, he was best known by it to the members of the Sanhedrim; and that Josephus, on the contrary, who wrote for Romans and Greeks, speaks of him as Simon, because it was under that name that he set

himself up as king, and in that way acquired his foreign notoriety (see Tacit. *Hist.* v. 9).

There can be no valid objection to either of the foregoing suppositions: both are reasonable, and both must be disproved before Luke can be justly charged with having committed an anachronism in the passage under consideration. So impartial a witness as Jost, the historian of the Jews (*Geschichte der Israeliten*, ii. Anh. p. 76), admits the reasonableness of such combinations, and holds in this case to the credibility of Luke, as well as that of Josephus. The considerate Lardner (*Credibility*, vol. i. p. 433), therefore, could well say here, "Indeed I am surprised that any learned man should find it hard to believe that there were two impostors of the name of Theudas in the compass of forty years." It is hardly necessary to advert to other modes of explanation. Josephus was by no means infallible, as Strauss and critics of his school may almost be said to take for granted; and it is possible certainly (this is the position of some) that Josephus himself may have misplaced the time of Theudas, instead of Luke, who is charged with that oversight. Calvin's view that Judas the Galilean appeared not *after* but *before* Theudas (*μετὰ τοῦτου = insuper vel praeterea*), and that the examination of the Apostles before the Sanhedrim occurred in the time of Claudius (contrary to the manifest chronological order of the Acts), deserves mention only as a waymark of the progress which has been made in Biblical exegesis since his time. Among other writers, in addition to those already mentioned, who have discussed this question or touched upon it, are the following:—Wieseler, *Chronologie der Apost. Zeitalters*, 138; Neander, *Geschichte der Pflanzung*, i. 75, 76; Guerike, *Beiträge zur Einleit. ins N. Test.* 90; Baumgarten, *Apostelgeschichte*, i. 114; Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* ii. 704; Biscoe, *History of the Acts*, 428; and Wordsworth's *Commentary*, ii. 26.

[H. B. H.]

THIEVES, THE TWO. The men who under this name appear in the history of the crucifixion were robbers (*λησται*) rather than thieves (*κλεπται*), belonging to the lawless bands by which Palestine was at that time and afterwards infested (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10, §8, xx. 8, §10). Against these brigands every Roman procurator had to wage continual war (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 13, §2). The parable of the Good Samaritan shows how common it was for them to attack and plunder travellers even on the high road from Jerusalem to Jericho (Luke x. 30). It was necessary to use an armed police to encounter them (Luke xxii. 52). Often, as in the case of Barabbas, the wild robber life was connected with a fanatic zeal for freedom, which turned the marauding attack into a popular insurrection (Mark xv. 7). For crimes such as these the Romans had but one sentence. Crucifixion was the penalty at once of the robber and the rebel (Jos. *B. J.* ii. 13, §2).

Of the previous history of the two who suffered on Golgotha we know nothing. They had been tried and condemned, and were waiting their execution before our Lord was accused. It is probable enough, as the death of Barabbas was clearly expected at the same time, that they were among the *συστασιασται* who had been imprisoned with him, and had taken part in the insurrection in which zeal, and hate, and patriotism, and lust of plunder were mingled in wild confusion.

They had expected to die with Jesus Barabbas.

[Comp. BARABBAS.] They find themselves with one who bore the same name, but who was described in the superscription on his cross as Jesus of Nazareth. They could hardly fail to have heard something of his fame as a prophet, of his triumphal entry as a king. They now find him sharing the same fate as themselves, condemned on much the same charge (Luke xxiii. 5). They too would bear their crosses to the appointed place, while He fainted by the way. Their garments would be parted among the soldiers. For them also there would be the drugged wine, which He refused, to dull the sharp pain of the first hours on the cross. They catch at first the prevailing tone of scorn. A king of the Jews who could neither save himself nor help them, whose followers had not even fought for him (John xviii. 36), was strangely unlike the many chieftains whom they had probably known claiming the same title (Jos. Ant. xvii. 10, §8), strangely unlike the "notable prisoner" for whom they had not hesitated, it would seem, to incur the risk of bloodshed. But over one of them there came a change. The darkness which, at noon, was beginning to steal over the sky awed him, and the divine patience and silence and meekness of the sufferer touched him. He looked back upon his past life, and saw an infinite evil. He looked to the man dying on the cross beside him, and saw an infinite compassion. There indeed was one unlike all other "kings of the Jews" whom the robber had ever known. Such an one must be all that He had claimed to be. To be forgotten by that king seems to him now the most terrible of all punishments; to take part in the triumph of His return, the most blessed of all hopes. The yearning prayer was answered, not in the letter, but in the spirit. To him alone, of all the myriads who had listened to Him, did the Lord speak of Paradise [comp. PARADISE], waking with that word the thoughts of a purer past and the hopes of an immediate rest. But its joy was to be more than that of fair groves and pleasant streams. "Thou shalt be *with me*." He should be *remembered* there.

We cannot wonder that a history of such wonderful interest should at all times have fixed itself on men's minds, and led them to speculate and ask questions which we have no data to answer. The simplest and truest way of looking at it has been that of those who, from the great Alexandrian thinker (Origen, in Rom. iii.) to the writer of the most popular hymn of our own times, have seen in the "dying thief" the first great typical instance that "a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." Even those whose thoughts were less deep and wide acknowledged that in this and other like cases the baptism of blood supplied the place of the outward sign of regeneration (Hilar. De Trinit. c. x.; Jerome, Ep. xiii.). The logical speculations of the Pelagian controversy overclouded, in this as in other instances, the clear judgment of Augustine. Maintaining the absolute necessity of baptism to salvation, he had to discuss the question whether the penitent thief had been baptised or not, and he oscillates, with melancholy indecision, between the two answers. At times he is disposed to rest contented with the solution which had satisfied others. Then again he ventures on the conjecture that the water which sprang forth from the pierced side had sprinkled him, and so had been a sufficient baptism. Finally, yielding to the inexorable logic of a sacramental theory, he rests in the assumption that he probably had been baptised

before, either in his prison or before he entered on his robber-life (comp. *De Anima*, i. 11, iii. 12; *Serm. de Temp.* 130; *Retract.* i. 26, iii. 18, 55).

Other conjectures turn more on the circumstances of the history. Bengel, usually acute, here overshoots the mark, and finds in the Lord's words to him, dropping all mention of the Messianic kingdom, an indication that the penitent thief was a Gentile, the impenitent a Jew, and that thus the scene on Calvary was typical of the position of the two Churches (*Gnomon N. T. in Luke xxiii.*). Stier (*Words of the Lord Jesus*, in loc.) reads in the words of reproof (*οὐδὲ φοβῆσθαι τὸν θεόν*) the language of one who had all along listened with grief and horror to the revilings of the multitude, the burst of an indignation previously suppressed. The Apocryphal Gospels, as usual, do their best to lower the divine history to the level of a legend. They follow the repentant robber into the unseen world. He is the first to enter Paradise of all mankind. Adam and Seth and the patriarchs find him already there bearing his cross. Michael the archangel had led him to the gate, and the fiery sword had turned aside to let him pass (*Evang. Nicod.* ii. 10). Names were given to the two robbers. Demas or Dismas was the penitent thief, hanging on the right, Gestas the impenitent on the left (*Evang. Nicod.* i. 10; *Narrat. Joseph.* c. 3). The cry of entreaty is expanded into a long wordy prayer (*Narr. Jos.* l. c.), and the promise suffers the same treatment. The history of the Infancy is made prophetic of that of the Crucifixion. The holy family, on their flight to Egypt, come upon a band of robbers. One of them, Titus (the names are different here), has compassion, purchases the silence of his companion, Dumachus, and the infant Christ prophesies that after thirty years Titus shall be crucified with him, and shall go before him into Paradise (*Evang. Infant.* c. 23). As in other instances [comp. MAGI], so in this, the fancy of inventors seems to have been fertile in names. Bede (*Collectan.*) gives Matha and Joca as those which prevailed in his time. The name given in the Gospel of Nicodemus has, however, kept its ground, and St. Dismas takes his place in the hagiology of the Syrian, the Greek, and the Latin Churches.

All this is, of course, puerile enough. The captious objections to the narrative of St. Luke as inconsistent with that of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and the inference drawn from them that both are more or less legendary, are hardly less puerile (Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, ii. 519; Ewald, *Christus, Gesch.* v. 438). The obvious answer to this is that which has been given by Origen (*Hom.* 35 in *Matt.*), Chrysostom (*Hom.* 88 in *Matt.*), and others (comp. Suicer, s. v. *ληστῆς*). Both began by reviling. One was subsequently touched with sympathy and awe. The other explanation, given by Cyprian (*De Passione Domini*), Augustine (*De Cons. Evang.* iii. 16), and others, which forces the statement of St. Matthew and St. Mark into agreement with that of St. Luke by assuming a *synecdoche*, or *syllipsis*, or *enallage*, is, it is believed, far less satisfactory. The technical word does but thinly veil the contradiction which this hypothesis admits but does not explain. [E. H. P.]

THIMNATHAH (תִּמְנַתָּה): Θαμναθά; Alex. Θαμνα: Themnatha). A town in the allotment of Dan (Josh. xix. 43 only). It is named between Elon and Ekron. The name is the same as that of

the residence of Samson's wife (inaccurately given in A. V. TIMNAH); but the position of that place, which seems to agree with the modern *Tibneh* below *Zareah*, is not so suitable, being fully ten miles from *Akir*, the representative of Ekron. *Tirzah* appears to have been almost as common a name as *Gibeah*, and it is possible that there may have been another in the allotment of Dan besides that represented by *Tibneh*. [G.]

THISBE (Θισβη, or Θιβη). A name found only in Tob. i. 2, as that of a city of Naphtali from which Tobit's ancestor had been carried captive by the Assyrians. The real interest of the name resides in the fact that it is maintained by some interpreters (Hiller, *Onom.* 236, 947; Reland, *Pal.* 1035) to be the place which had the glory of giving

birth to ELIJAH THE TISHBITE. This, however, is, at the best, very questionable, and derives its main support from the fact that the word employed in 1 K. xvii. 1 to denote the relation of Elijah to Gilead, if pointed as it now stands in the Received Hebrew Text, signifies that he was not a native of Gilead but merely a resident there, and came originally from a different and foreign district. But it is also possible to point the word so that the sentence shall mean "from Tishbi of Gilead," in which case all relation between the great Prophet and Thisbe of Naphtali at once falls to the ground. [See TISHBITE.]

There is however a truly singular variation in the texts of the passage in Tobit, a glance at which will show how hazardous it is to base any definite topographical conclusions upon it.—

A. V.	VULGATE.	LXX.	REVISED GREEK TEXT.	VETUS LATINA.
Out of Thisbe which is at the right hand of that city which is called properly Nephthali in Galilee above Aser.* [Marg. or Kedesh of Nephthali in Galilee, Judg. iv. 6.] * i. e. probably, Hazor.	Out of the tribe and city of Nephthali which is in the upper parts of Galilee above Naasson, behind the road which leads to the west, having on the left hand the city of Sephet.	Out of Thisbe which is at the right hand of Kudiôs of Nephthaleim in Galilee above Aser.	Out of Thibe which is at the right hand of Kudiôn of Nephthaleim in Upper Galilee above Asser, behind the setting sun on the right of Phogor (Peor).	Out of the city of Bihil which is on the right hand of Edisse, a city of Nephtholim in Upper Galilee over against Naason, behind the road which leads to the west on the left of Raphain. [Another MS. reads Gebriel, Cydiscus, and Raphaim, for Bihil, Edisse, and Raphain.]

Assuming that Thisbe, and not Thibe, is the correct reading of the name, it has been conjectured (apparently for the first time by Keil, *Comm. über die Könige*, 247) that it originated in an erroneous rendering of the Hebrew word מַתְּשִׁבִי, which word in fact occurs in the Hebrew version of the passage, and may be pointed in two ways, so as to mean either "from the inhabitants of," or "from Tishbi," i. e. Thisbe. The reverse suggestion, in respect of the same word in 1 K. xvii. 1, has been already alluded to. [TISHBITE.] But this, though very ingenious, and quite within the bounds of possibility, is at present a mere conjecture, since none of the texts support it, and there is no other evidence in its favour.

No name resembling Thisbe or Thibe has been yet encountered in the neighbourhood of *Kedes* or *Safed*, but it seems impossible to suppose that the minute definition of the Latin and Revised Greek Texts—equalled in the sacred books only by the well-known description of the position of Shiloh in Judg. xxi. 19—can be mere invention. [G.]

THISTLE. [THORNS and THISTLES.]

THOM'AS (Θωμάς: *Thomas*), one of the Apostles. According to Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 13) his real name was Judas. This may have been a mere confusion with Thaddaeus, who is mentioned in the extract. But it may also be that Thomas was a surname. The word תאומא, *Thoma*,* means "a twin;" and so it is translated in John xi. 16, xxi. 2, ὁ δίδυμος. Out of this name has grown the tradition that he had a twin-sister, Lydia (*Patres Apost.* p. 272), or that he was a twin-brother of our Lord (*Thilo, Acta Thomae*, p. 94); which last, again, would

confirm his identification with Judas (comp. Matt. xiii. 55).

He is said to have been born at Antioch (*Patres Apost.* pp. 272, 512).

In the catalogue of the Apostles he is coupled with Matthew in Matt. x. 3, Mark iii. 18, Luke vi. 15, and with Philip in Acts i. 13.

All that we know of him is derived from the Gospel of St. John; and this amounts to three traits, which, however, so exactly agree together, that, slight as they are, they place his character before us with a precision which belongs to no other of the twelve Apostles, except Peter, John, and Judas Iscariot. This character is that of a man, slow to believe, seeing all the difficulties of a case, subject to despondency, viewing things on the darker side, and yet full of ardent love for his Master.

The first trait is his speech when our Lord determined to face the dangers that awaited Him in Judaea on his journey to Bethany. Thomas said to his fellow-disciples, "Let us also go (καὶ ἡμεῖς) that we may die with Him" (John xi. 16). He entertained no hope of His escape—he looked on the journey as leading to total ruin; but he determined to share the peril. "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

The second was his speech during the Last Supper. "Thomas saith unto Him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest, and how can we know the way" (xiv. 5)? It was the prosaic, incredulous doubt as to moving a step in the unseen future, and yet an eager inquiry to know how this step was to be taken.

The third was after the Resurrection. He was absent—possibly by accident, perhaps characteristically—from the first assembly when Jesus had appeared. The others told him what they had seen. He broke forth into an exclamation, the terms of which convey to us at once the vehemence of his doubt, and at the same time the vivid picture that

* In Cant. vii. 4, it is simply תאומ, exactly our "Tom." The frequency of the name in England is derived not from the Apostle, but from St. Thomas of Canterbury.

his mind retained of his Master's form as he had last seen Him lifeless on the cross. "Except I see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not, I cannot, believe" (*οὐ μὴ πιστεύσω*), John xx. 25.

On the eighth day he was with them at their gathering, perhaps in expectation of a recurrence of the visit of the previous week; and Jesus stood amongst them. He uttered the same salutation, "Peace be unto you;" and then turning to Thomas, as if this had been the special object of His appearance, uttered the words which convey as strongly the sense of condemnation and tender reproof, as those of Thomas had shown the sense of hesitation and doubt. "Bring thy finger hither [*ᾧδε*—as if Himself pointing to His wounds] and see my hands; and bring thy hand and thrust it in my side; and do not become (*μὴ γίνου*) unbelieving (*ἄπιστος*), but believing (*πιστός*)." "He answers to the words that Thomas had spoken to the ears of his fellow-disciples only; but it is to the thought of his heart rather than to the words of his lips that the Searcher of hearts answers. . . . Eye, ear, and touch, at once appealed to, and at once satisfied—the form, the look, the voice, the solid and actual body: and not the senses only, but the mind satisfied too; the knowledge that searches the very reins and the hearts; the love that loveth to the end, infinite and eternal" (Arnold's *Serm.* vi. 238).

The effect^b on Thomas is immediate. The conviction produced by the removal of his doubt became deeper and stronger than that of any of the other Apostles. The words in which he expressed his belief contain a far higher assertion of his Master's divine nature than is contained in any other expression used by Apostolic lips, "My Lord, and my God." Some have supposed that *κύριος* refers to the human, *θεός* to the divine nature. This is too artificial. It is more to the point to observe the exact terms of the sentence, uttered (as it were) in astonished awe. "It is then my Lord and my God!"^c And the word "my" gives it a personal application to himself. Additional emphasis is given to this declaration from its being the last incident narrated in the direct narrative of the Gospel (before the supplement of ch. xxi.), thus corresponding to the opening words of the prologue. "Thus Christ was acknowledged on earth to be what St. John had in the beginning of his Gospel declared Him to be from all eternity; and the words of Thomas at the end of the 20th chapter do but repeat the truth which St. John had stated before in his own words at the beginning of the first" (Arnold's *Serm.* vi. 401).

The answer of our Lord sums up the moral of the whole narrative: "Because^d thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they that have not seen me, and yet have believed" (xx. 29). By this incident, therefore, Thomas, "the Doubting Apostle," is raised at once to the Theologian in the original sense of the word. "Ab eo dubitatum est," says Augustine, "ne a nobis dubitaretur." It is this feature of his character which has been caught in later ages, when for the first time its peculiar lesson became apparent. In the famous

^b It is useless to speculate whether he obeyed our Lord's invitation to examine the wounds. The impression is that he did not.

^c It is obviously of no dogmatic importance whether the words are an address or a description. That they are

statue of him by Thorwaldsen in the church at Copenhagen, he stands, the thoughtful, meditative sceptic, with the rule in his hand for the due measuring of evidence and argument. This scene was one of the favourite passages of the English theologian who in this century gave so great an impulse to the progress of free inquiry combined with fervent belief, of which Thomas is so remarkable an example. Two discourses on this subject occur in Dr. Arnold's published volumes of *Sermons* (v. 312, vi. 233). Amongst the last words which he repeated before his own sudden death (*Life and Correspondence*, 7th ed. 617) was the blessing of Christ on the faith of Thomas.

In the N. T. we hear of Thomas only twice again, once on the Sea of Galilee with the seven disciples, where he is ranked next after Peter (John xxi. 2), and again in the assemblage of the Apostles after the Ascension (Acts i. 13).

The close of his life is filled with traditions or legends; which, as not resting on Biblical grounds, may be briefly despatched.

The earlier traditions, as believed in the 4th century (Eus. *H. E.* i. 13, iii. 1; Socrat. *H. E.* i. 19), represent him as preaching in Parthia or Persia, and as finally buried at Edessa (Socr. *H. E.* iv. 18). Chrysostom mentions his grave at Edessa, as being one of the four genuine tombs of Apostles; the other three being Peter, Paul, and John (*Hom. in Heb.* 26). With his burial at Edessa agrees the story of his sending Thaddaeus to Abgarus with our Lord's letter (Eus. *H. E.* i. 13).

The later traditions carry him further East, and ascribe to him the foundation of the Christian Church in Malabar, which still goes by the name of "the Christians of St. Thomas;" and his tomb is shown in the neighbourhood. This, however, is now usually regarded as arising from a confusion with a later Thomas, a missionary from the Nestorians.

His martyrdom (whether in Persia or India) is said to have been occasioned by a lance; and is commemorated by the Latin Church on Dec. 21, by the Greek Church on Oct. 6, and by the Indians on July 1.

(For these traditions and their authorities, see Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Dec. 21). An apocryphal "Gospel of Thomas" (chiefly relating to the Infancy) is published in Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*. The Apocryphal "Acts of Thomas" by Thilo (*Codex Apocryphus*). [A. P. S.]

THOMO'I (Θομοΐ: *Coësi*). THAMAH or TAMAH (1 Esd. v. 32).

THORNS and THISTLES. There appear to be eighteen or twenty Hebrew words which point to different kinds of prickly or thorny shrubs, but the context of the passages where the several terms occur affords, for the most part, scarcely a single clue whereby it is possible to come to anything like a satisfactory conclusion with regard to their respective identifications. These words are variously rendered in the A. V. by "thorns," "briers," "thistles," &c. It were a hopeless task to enter into a discussion of these numerous Hebrew terms; we shall not therefore attempt it, but confine our remarks to some of the most important names, and

the latter, appears from the use of the nominative *ὁ κύριος*. The form *ὁ θεός* proves nothing, as this is used for the vocative. At the same time it should be observed that the passage is said to Christ, *ἔλεπεν αὐτῷ*.

^d "Thomas" (Θῶμα) is omitted in the best MSS.

those which seem to afford some slight indications as to the plants they denote.

1. *Atád* (אֲתָד: ἡ ῥάμνος: *rhamnus*) occurs as the name of some spinous plant in Judg. ix. 14, 15, where the A. V. renders it by "bramble" (Marg. "thistle"), and in Ps. lviii. 9 (A. V. "thorns"). The plant in question is supposed to be *Lycium Europaeum*, or *L. afrum* (Box-thorn), both of which species occur in Palestine (see Strand, *Flor. Palaest.* Nos. 124, 125). Dioscorides (i. 119) thus speaks of the ῥάμνος: "The Rhamnus, which some call *persephonion*, others *leucacantha*, the Romans White-thorn, or *Cerbalis*, and the Carthaginians *atadin*, is a shrub which grows around hedges; it has erect branches with sharp spines, like the *oxyacantha* (Hawthorn?), but with small, oblong, thick, soft leaves." Dioscorides mentions three kinds of rhamnus, two of which are identified by Sprengel, in his Commentary, with the two species of *Lycium* mentioned above.* See Belon, *Observations de Plus. Sing. &c.*, ii. ch. 78; Rauwolff, *Trav. B.* iii. ch. 8; Prosper Alpinus, *De Plant. Aegypt.* p. 21; Celsius, *Hierob.* i. p. 199. The Arabic

name of this plant (أطد, *atád*) is identical with the Hebrew; but it was also known by the name of 'Ausej. (عوسج).



Lycium Europaeum.

Lycium Europaeum is a native of the south of Europe and the north of Africa; in the Grecian islands it is common in hedges (*English Cyclop.*

* In his *Hist. Rei Herb.*, however, he refers the ῥάμνος to the *Zizyphus vulgaris*.

"*Lycium*"). See also the passages in Belon and Rauwolff cited above.

2. *Chédek* (צֶדֶק: ἄκανθα, σῆς ἐκτρόγων. *spina, paintrus*) occurs in Prov. xv. 19, "The way of the slothful is as an hedge of *Chédek* (A. V. 'thorns')," and in Mic. vii. 4, where the A. V. has "brier." The Alexand. LXX., in the former passage, interprets the meaning thus, "The ways of the slothful are strewed with thorns." Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 35), referring the Heb. term to the

Arabic *Chadak* (حَدَق), is of opinion that some spinous species of the *Solanum* is intended. The Arabic term clearly denotes some kind of *Solanum*; either the *S. melongela*, var. *esculentum*, or the *S. Sodomium* ("apple of Sodom"). Both these kinds are beset with prickles; it is hardly probable, however, that they are intended by the Heb. word. Several varieties of the Egg-plant are found in Palestine, and some have supposed that the famed Dead Sea apples are the fruit of the *S. Sodomium* when suffering from the attacks of some insect; but see on this subject VINE OF SODOM. The Heb. term may be generic, and intended to denote any thorny plant suitable for hedges.

3. *Chóach* (חֹאך: ἄκαν, ἄκανθα, ἀκχιύχ, κνίδη: *paliurus, lappa, spina, tribulus*), a word of very uncertain meaning which occurs in the sense of some thorny plant in Is. xxxiv. 13, Hos. ix. 6, Prov. xxvi. 9, Cant. ii. 2, 2 K. xiv. 9, "the *chóach* of Lebanon sent to the cedar of Lebanon," &c. See also Job xxxi. 40: "Let *chóach* (A. V. 'thistles') grow instead of wheat." Celsius (*Hierob.* i. p. 477) believes the black-thorn (*Prunus sylvestris*) is denoted, but this would not suit the passage in Job just quoted, from which it is probable that some thorny weed of a quick growth is intended. Perhaps the term is used in a wide sense to signify any thorny plant; this opinion may, perhaps, receive some slight confirmation from the various renderings of the Hebrew word as given by the LXX. and Vulgate.

4. *Dardar* (דַּרְדָּר: τριβόλος: *tribulus*) is mentioned twice in connexion with the Heb. *kóts* (קֹץ), viz. in Gen. iii. 18, "thorns and *thistles*" (A. V.), and in Hos. x. 8, "the thorn and the *thistle* shall come up on their altars." The Greek τριβόλος occurs in Matt. vii. 16, "Do men gather figs of thistles?" See also Heb. vi. 8, where it is rendered "briers" by the A. V. There is some difference of opinion as to the plant or plants indicated by the Greek τριβόλος and the Latin *tribulus*. Of the two kinds of land *tribuli* mentioned by the Greeks (Dioscorides, iv. 15; Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* vi. 7, §5), one is supposed by Sprengel, Stackhouse, Royle, and others, to refer to the *Tribulus terrestris*, Linn., the other to the *Fagonia Cretica*; but see Schneider's Comment. on Theophrastus l. c., and Du Molin (*Flore Poétique Ancienne*, p. 305), who identifies the *tribulus* of Virgil with the *Centaurea calcitrapa*, Linn. ("star-thistle"). Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. p. 128) argues in favour of the *Fagonia Arabica*, of which a figure is given in Shaw's *Travels* (Catal. Plant. No. 229); see also Forskål, *Flor. Arab.* p. 88. It is probable that either the *Tribulus terrestris*, which, however, is not a spiny or thorny plant, but has spines on the fruit, or else the *C. calcitrapa*, is the plant which is more particularly intended by the word *dardar*.



Tribulus Terrestris.

5. *Shámir* (שָׁמִיר), almost always found in connexion with the word *shaith* (שַׁיִת), occurs in several places of the Hebrew text; it is variously rendered by the LXX., *χέσπος*, *χόρτος*, *δέρβις*, *ἀργωστis*, *ξηρά*. According to Abu'fadh, cited by Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 188), "the Samur (سمر) of the Arabs is a thorny tree; it is a species of *Sidra* which does not produce fruit." No thorny plants are more conspicuous in Palestine and the Bible Lands than different kinds of *Rhamnaceae* such as *Paliurus aculeatus* (Christ's Thorn), and *Zizyphus Spina Christi*; this latter plant is the *nebk* of the Arabs, which grows abundantly in Syria and Palestine, both in wet and dry places; Dr. Hooker noticed a specimen nearly 40 ft. high, spreading as widely as a good *Quercus ilex* in England. The *nebk* fringes the banks of the Jordan, and flourishes on the marshy banks of the Lake of Tiberias; it forms either a shrub or a tree, and, indeed, is quite common all over the country. The Arabs have the terms *Salam*, *Sidra*, *Dhâl*, *Nabca*, which appear to denote either varieties or different species of *Paliurus* and *Zizyphus*, or different states perhaps of the same tree; but it is a difficult matter to assign to each its particular signification. The *Naãtsôts* (נַעֲצוֹט) of Is. vii. 19, lv. 13, probably denotes some species of *Zizyphus*. The "crown of thorns" which was put in derision upon our Lord's head just before his crucifixion, was probably composed of the thorny twigs of the *nebk* (*Zizyphus Spina Christi*) mentioned above; being common everywhere, they could readily be procured. "This plant," says Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 288), "was very suitable for the purpose, as it has many sharp thorns, and its flexible, pliant, and round branches might easily be plaited in the form of a crown; and what, in my opinion, seems to be the greatest proof is, that the leaves much resemble those of ivy, as they are a very deep green.^b Perhaps the enemies of Christ would have a plant somewhat resembling that with which emperors and generals were used to be crowned, that there might be calumny even in the punishment." Still, as Rosenmüller (*Bib. Bot.* p. 201) remarks, "there being so many kinds of thorny plants in Palestine, all conjectures must

remain uncertain, and can never lead to any satisfactory result." Although it is not possible to fix upon any one definite Hebrew word as the representative of any kind of "thistle," yet there can be no doubt this plant must be occasionally alluded to. Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 280) noticed six species of *Cardui* and *Cnici* on the road between Jerusalem and Rama; and Miss Beaufort speaks of giant thistles of the height of a man on horseback, which she saw near the ruins of Fellhâm (*Egyptian Sep. and Syrian Shrines*, ii. 45, 50). We must also notice another thorny plant and very troublesome weed, the rest-harrow (*Ononis spinosa*), which covers entire fields and plains both in Egypt and Palestine, and which, as Hasselquist says (p. 289), is no doubt referred to in some parts of the Holy Scripture.

Dr. Thomson (*The Land and the Book*, p. 59) illustrates Isa. xxxiii. 12, "the people shall be as the burning of lime, as thorns cut up shall they be burned in the fire," by the following observation, "Those people yonder are cutting up thorns with their mattocks and pruning-hooks, and gathering them into bundles to be burned in these burnings of lime. It is a curious fidelity to real life that when the thorns are merely to be destroyed, they are never cut up, but set on fire where they grow. They are cut up only for the lime-kiln." See also p. 342 for other Scriptural allusions. [W. H.]

THRA' CIA (Θρακία, ἡ). A Thracian horseman is incidentally mentioned in 2 Macc. xii. 35, apparently one of the bodyguard of Gorgias, governor of Idumaea under Antiochus Epiphanes. Thrace at this period included the whole of the country within the boundary of the Strymon, the Danube, and the coasts of the Aegean, Propontis, and Euxine—all the region, in fact, now comprehended in Bulgaria and Roumelia. In the early times it was inhabited by a number of tribes, each under its own chief, having a name of its own and preserving its own customs, although the same general character of ferocity and addiction to plunder prevailed throughout. Thucydides describes the limits of the country at the period of the Peloponnesian war, when Sitalces king of the Odrysae, who inhabited the valley of the Hebrus (*Maritza*), had acquired a predominant

^b Hasselquist must have intended to restrict the similarity here spoken of entirely to the colour of the leaves,

for the plants do not in the slightest degree resemble each other in the form of the leaves.

power in the country, and derived what was for those days a large revenue from it. This revenue, however, seems to have arisen mainly out of his relations with the Greek trading communities established on different points of his seaboard. Some of the clans, even within the limits of his dominion, still retained their independence; but after the establishment of a Macedonian dynasty under Lysimachus, the central authority became more powerful; and the wars on a large scale which followed the death of Alexander furnished employment for the martial tendencies of the Thracians, who found a demand for their services as mercenaries everywhere. Cavalry was the arm which they chiefly furnished, the rich pastures of Roumelia abounding in horses. From that region came the greater part of Sitalces's cavalry, amounting to nearly 50,000.

The only other passage, if any, containing an allusion to Thrace, to be found in the Bible, is Gen. x. 2, where—on the hypothesis that the sons of Japhet, who are enumerated, may be regarded as the eponymous representatives of different branches of the Japetic family of nations—*Tiras* has by some been supposed to mean Thrace; but the only ground for this identification is a fancied similarity between the two names. A stronger likeness, however, might be urged between the name *Tiras* and that of the *Tyrsi* or *Tyrzeni*, the ancestors of the Italian Etruscans, whom, on the strength of a local tradition, Herodotus places in Lydia in the ante-historical times. Strabo brings forward several facts to show that, in the early ages, Thracians existed on the Asiatic as well as the European shore; but this circumstance furnishes very little help towards the identification referred to. (Herodotus, i. 94, v. 3, *seqq.*; Thucydides, ii. 97; Tacitus, *Annal.* iv. 35; Horat. *Sat.* i. 6.) [J. W. B.]

THRASE'AS (Θρασαῖος; *Tharsaeas*). Father of Apollonius (1). 2 Macc. iii. 5. [APOLLONIUS.]

THREE TAVERNS (Τρεῖς Ταβερναί: *Tres Tabernae*), a station on the Appian Road, along which St. Paul travelled from Puteoli to Rome (Acts xxviii. 15). The distances, reckoning southwards from Rome, are given as follows in the *Antonine Itinerary*, "to Aricia, 16 miles; to Three Taverns, 17 miles; to Appii Forum, 10 miles;" and, comparing this with what is observed still along the line of road, we have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that "Three Taverns" was near the modern *Cisterna*. For details see the *Dict. of Greek and Rom. Geog.* ii. 1226 b, 1291 b.

Just at this point a road came in from Antium on the coast. This we learn from what Cicero says of a journey from that place to his villa at Formiae (*Att.* ii. 12). There is no doubt that "Three Taverns" was a frequent meeting-place of travellers. The point of interest as regards St. Paul is that he met here a group of Christians who (like a previous group whom he had met at APPII FORUM) came from Rome to meet him in consequence of having heard of his arrival at PUTEOLI. A good illustration of this kind of intercourse along the Appian Way is supplied by Josephus (*Ant.* xvii. 12, §1) in his account of the journey of the pretender Herod-Alexander. He landed at Puteoli (Dicaearchia) to gain over the Jews that were there; and "when the report went about him that he was coming to Rome, the whole multitude of the Jews that were there went out to meet him, ascribing it to Divine Providence that he had so unexpectedly escaped."

[J. S. H.]

THRESHING. [AGRICULTURE, i. p. 31.]

THRESHOLD. 1. [see GATE]. 2. Of the two words so rendered in A. V., one, *niphthán** seems to mean sometimes, as the Targum explains it, a projecting beam or corbel, at a higher point than the threshold properly so called (Ez. ix. 3, x. 4, 18).

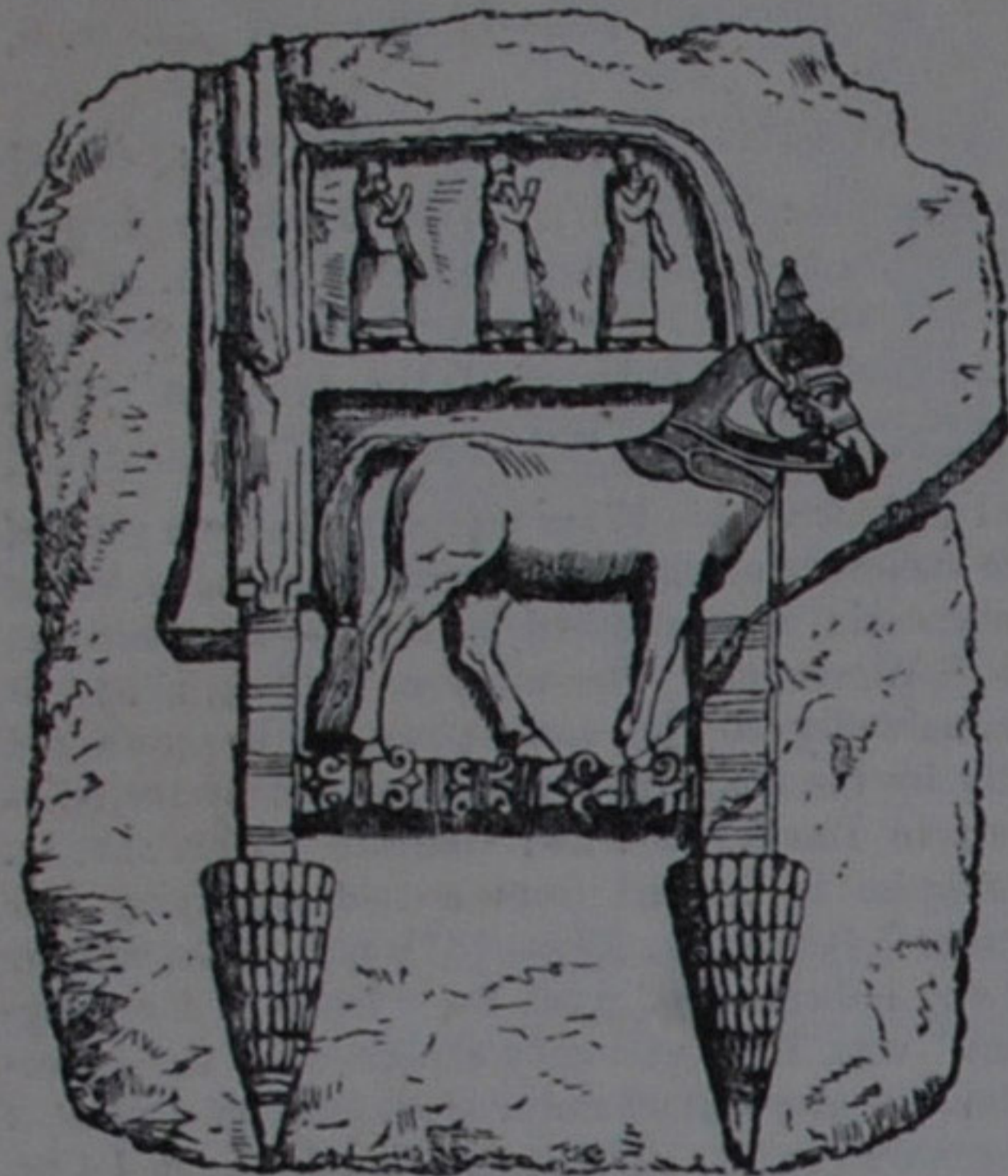
THRESHOLDS, THE (שַׁבְּתֵי: ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ: *vestibula*). This word, *ha-Asuppi*, appears to be inaccurately rendered in Neh. xii. 25, though its real force has perhaps not yet been discovered. The "house of the Asuppim" (בֵּית אֲסַפִּים), or simply "the Asuppim," is mentioned in 1 Chr. xxvi. 15, 17, as a part, probably a gate, of the enclosure of the "House of Jehovah," i. e. the Tabernacle, as established by David—apparently at its S.W. corner. The allusion in Neh. xii. 25 is undoubtedly to the same place, as is shown not only by the identity of the name, but by the reference to David (ver. 24; compare 1 Chr. xxv. 1). *Asuppim* is derived from a root signifying "to gather" (Gesenius, *Thes.* 131), and in the absence of any indication of what the "house of the Asuppim" was, it is variously explained by the lexicographers as a storechamber (Gesenius) or a place of assembly (Fürst, Bertheau). The LXX. in 1 Chr. xxvi. have οἶκος Ἐσεφείν: Vulg. *domus seniorum concilium*. On the other hand the Targum renders the word by שְׁקִיף, "a lintel," as if deriving it from שָׁקַף.

[G.]

THRONE (כִּסֵּא). The Hebrew term *cissé* applies to any elevated seat occupied by a person in authority, whether a high-priest (1 Sam. i. 9), a judge (Ps. cxxii. 5), or a military chief (Jer. i. 15). The use of a chair in a country where the usual postures were squatting and reclining, was at all times regarded as a symbol of dignity (2 K. iv. 10; Prov. ix. 14). In order to specify a throne in our sense of the term, it was necessary to add to *cissé* the notion of royalty: hence the frequent occurrence of such expressions as "the throne of the kingdom" (Deut. xvii. 18; 1 K. i. 46; 2 Chr. vii. 18). The characteristic feature in the royal throne was its elevation: Solomon's throne was approached by six steps (1 K. x. 19; 2 Chr. ix. 18); and Jehovah's throne is described as "high and lifted up" (Is. vi. 1). The materials and workmanship were costly: that of Solomon is described as a "throne of ivory" (i. e. inlaid with ivory), and overlaid with pure gold in all parts except where the ivory was apparent. It was furnished with arms or "stays," after the manner of the Assyrian chair of state depicted on the next page. The steps were also lined with pairs of lions, the number of them being perhaps designed to correspond with that of the tribes of Israel. As to the form of the chair, we are only informed in 1 K. x. 19 that "the top was round behind" (apparently meaning either that the back was rounded off at the top, or that there was a circular canopy over it): in lieu of this particular we are told in 2 Chr. ix. 18 that "there was a footstool of gold, fastened to the throne," but the verbal agreement of the descriptions in other respects leads to the presumption that this variation arises out of a corrupted text (Thenius, *Comm.* in 1 K. i. c.), a presumption which is favoured by the fact that the

* שַׁבְּתֵי; αἰθριον, *limen* (see Ges. 1141).

terms **כִּסֵּי** and the Hophal form **סִמְחָיִם** occur nowhere else. The king sat on his throne on state occasions, as when granting audiences (1 K. ii. 19, xxii. 10; Esth. v. 1), receiving homage (2 K. xi. 19), or administering justice (Prov. xx. 8).



Assyrian throne or chair of state (Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 301).

At such times he appeared in his royal robes (1 K. xxii. 10; Jon. iii. 6; Acts xii. 21). The throne was the symbol of supreme power and dignity (Gen. xii. 40), and hence was attributed to Jehovah both in respect to his heavenly abode (Ps. xi. 4, ciii. 19; Is. lxvi. 1; Acts vii. 49; Rev. iv. 2), or to his earthly abode at Jerusalem (Jer. iii. 17), and more particularly in the Temple (Jer. xvii. 12; Ez. xliii. 7). Similarly, "to sit upon the throne," implied the exercise of regal power (Deut. xvii. 18; 1 K. xvi. 11; 2 K. x. 30; Esth. i. 2), and "to sit upon the throne of another person," succession to the royal dignity (1 K. i. 13). In Nehemiah iii. 7, the term *cissé* is applied to the official residence of the governor, which appears to have been either on or near to the city wall. [W. L. B.]

THUMMIM. [URIM and THUMMIM.]

THUNDER (**רָעַם**). In a physical point of view, the most noticeable feature in connexion with thunder is the extreme rarity of its occurrence during the summer months in Palestine and the adjacent countries. From the middle of April to the middle of September it is hardly ever heard. Robinson, indeed, mentions an instance of thunder in the early part of May (*Researches*, i. 430), and Russell in July (*Aleppo*, ii. 289), but in each case it is stated to be a most unusual event. Hence it was selected by Samuel as a striking expression of the Divine displeasure towards the Israelites:—"Is it not wheat harvest to-day? I will call upon the Lord, and he shall send thunder and rain" (1 Sam. xii. 17). Rain in harvest was deemed as extraordinary as snow in summer (Prov. xxvi. 1), and Jerome asserts that he had never witnessed it in the latter part of June, or in July (*Comm.* on Am. iv. 7): the same observations apply equally to thunder, which is rarely unaccompanied with rain (Russell, i. 72, ii. 285). In the imaginative philosophy of the Hebrews, thunder was regarded as the voice of Jehovah (Job xxxvii. 2, 4, 5, xl. 9; Ps. xviii. 13, xxix. 3-9; Is. xxx. 30, 31), who dwelt behind the

thunder-cloud (Ps. lxxxi. 7). Hence thunder is occasionally described in the Hebrew by the term "voices" (Ex. ix. 23, 28; 1 Sam. xii. 17). Hence the people in the Gospel supposed that the voice of the Lord was the sound of thunder (John xii. 29). Thunder was, to the mind of the Jew, the symbol of Divine power (Ps. xviii. 3, &c.), and vengeance (1 Sam. ii. 10; 2 Sam. xxii. 14; Ps. lxxvii. 18; Is. xxix. 6; Rev. viii. 5). It was either the sign or the instrument of His wrath on numerous occasions, as during the plague of hail in Egypt (Ex. ix. 23, 28), at the promulgation of the Law (Ex. xix. 16), at the discomfiture of the Philistines (1 Sam. vii. 10), and when the Israelites demanded a king (1 Sam. xii. 17). The term thunder was transferred to the war-shout of a military leader (Job xxxix. 25), and hence Jehovah is described as "causing His voice to be heard" in the battle (Is. xxx. 30). It is also used as a superlative expression in Job xxvi. 14, where the "thunder of his power" is contrasted with the "little portion," or rather the *gentle whisper* that can be heard. In Job xxxix. 19, "thunder" is a mistranslation for "a flowing mane." [W. L. B.]

THYATIRA (**Θυάτειρα**, τὰ: *civitas Thyatirenorum*). A city on the Lycus, founded by Seleucus Nicator. It was one of the many Macedonian colonies established in Asia Minor, in the sequel of the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander. It lay to the left of the road from Pergamus to Sardis, on the southern incline of the watershed which separates the valley of the Caicus (*Bakyrtschai*) from that of the Hermus, on the very confines of Mysia and Ionia, so as to be sometimes reckoned within the one, and sometimes within the other. In earlier times it had borne the names of Pelopia, Semiramis, and Euhippia. At the commencement of the Christian era, the Macedonian element so preponderated as to give a distinctive character to the population; and Strabo simply calls it a Macedonian colony. The original inhabitants had probably been distributed in hamlets round about, when Thyatira was founded. Two of these, the inhabitants of which are termed *Areni* and *Nagdemi*, are noticed in an inscription of the Roman times. The resources of the neighbouring region may be inferred both from the name Euhippia and from the magnitude of the booty which was carried off in a foray conducted jointly by Eumenes of Pergamus and a force detached by the Roman admiral from Canae, during the war against Antiochus. During the campaign of B.C. 190, Thyatira formed the base of the king's operations; and after his defeat, which took place only a few miles to the south of the city, it submitted, at the same time with its neighbour Magnesia-on-Sipylus, to the Romans, and was included in the territory made over by them to their ally the Pergamene sovereign.

During the continuance of the Attalic dynasty, Thyatira scarcely appears in history; and of the various inscriptions which have been found on the site, now called *Ak Hissar*, not one unequivocally belongs to earlier times than those of the Roman empire. The prosperity of the city seems to have received a new impulse under Vespasian, whose acquaintance with the East, previously to mounting the imperial throne, may have directed his attention to the development of the resources of the Asiatic cities. A bilingual inscription, in Greek and Latin, belonging to the latter part of his reign, shows him to have restored the roads in the domain of Thyatira. From others, between this time and that

of Caracalla, there is evidence of the existence of many corporate guilds in the city. Bakers, potters, tanners, weavers, robemakers, and dyers (οἱ βαφεῖς), are specially mentioned. Of these last there is a notice in no less than three inscriptions, so that dyeing apparently formed an important part of the industrial activity of Thyatira, as it did of that of Colossae and Laodicea. With this guild there can be no doubt that Lydia, the seller of purple stuffs (πορφυρόπωλις), from whom St. Paul met with so favourable a reception at Philippi (Acts xvi. 14), was connected.

The principal deity of the city was Apollo, worshipped as the sun-god under the surname Tyrimnas. He was no doubt introduced by the Macedonian colonists, for the name is Macedonian. One of the three mythical kings of Macedonia, whom the genealogists placed before Perdiccas—the first of the Temenidae that Herodotus and Thucydides recognize—is so called; the other two being Caranus and Coenus, manifestly impersonations of the chief and the tribe. The inscriptions of Thyatira give Tyrimnas the titles of πρόπολις and προπάτωρ θεός; and a special priesthood was attached to his service. A priestess of Artemis is also mentioned, probably the administratrix of a cult derived from the earlier times of the city, and similar in its nature to that of the Ephesian Artemis. Another superstition, of an extremely curious nature, which existed at Thyatira, seems to have been brought thither by some of the corrupted Jews of the dispersed tribes. A fane stood outside the walls, dedicated to Sambatha—the name of the sibyl who is sometimes called Chaldaean, sometimes Jewish, sometimes Persian—in the midst of an enclosure designated “the Chaldaean’s court” (τοῦ Χαλδαίου περιβόλου). This seems to lend an illustration to the obscure passage in Rev. ii. 20, 21, which Grotius interprets of the wife of the bishop. The drawback against the commendation bestowed upon the angel of the Thyatiran Church is that he tolerates “that woman, that Jezebel, who, professing herself to be a prophetess, teaches and deludes my servants into committing fornication and eating things offered to idols.” Time, however, is given her to repent; and this seems to imply a form of religion which had become condemnable from the admixture of foreign alloy, rather than one idolatrous *ab initio*. Now there is evidence to show that in Thyatira there was a great amalgamation of races. Latin inscriptions are frequent, indicating a considerable influx of Italian immigrants; and in some Greek inscriptions many Latin words are introduced. Latin and Greek names, too, are found accumulated on the same individuals,—such as Titus Antonius Alfenus Arignotus, and Julia Severina Stratonice. But amalgamation of different races, in pagan nations, always went together with a syncretism of different religions, every relation of life having its religious sanction. If the sibyl Sambatha was really a Jewess, lending her aid to this proceeding, and not discountenanced by the authorities of the Judaeo-Christian Church at Thyatira, both the censure and its qualification become easy of explanation.

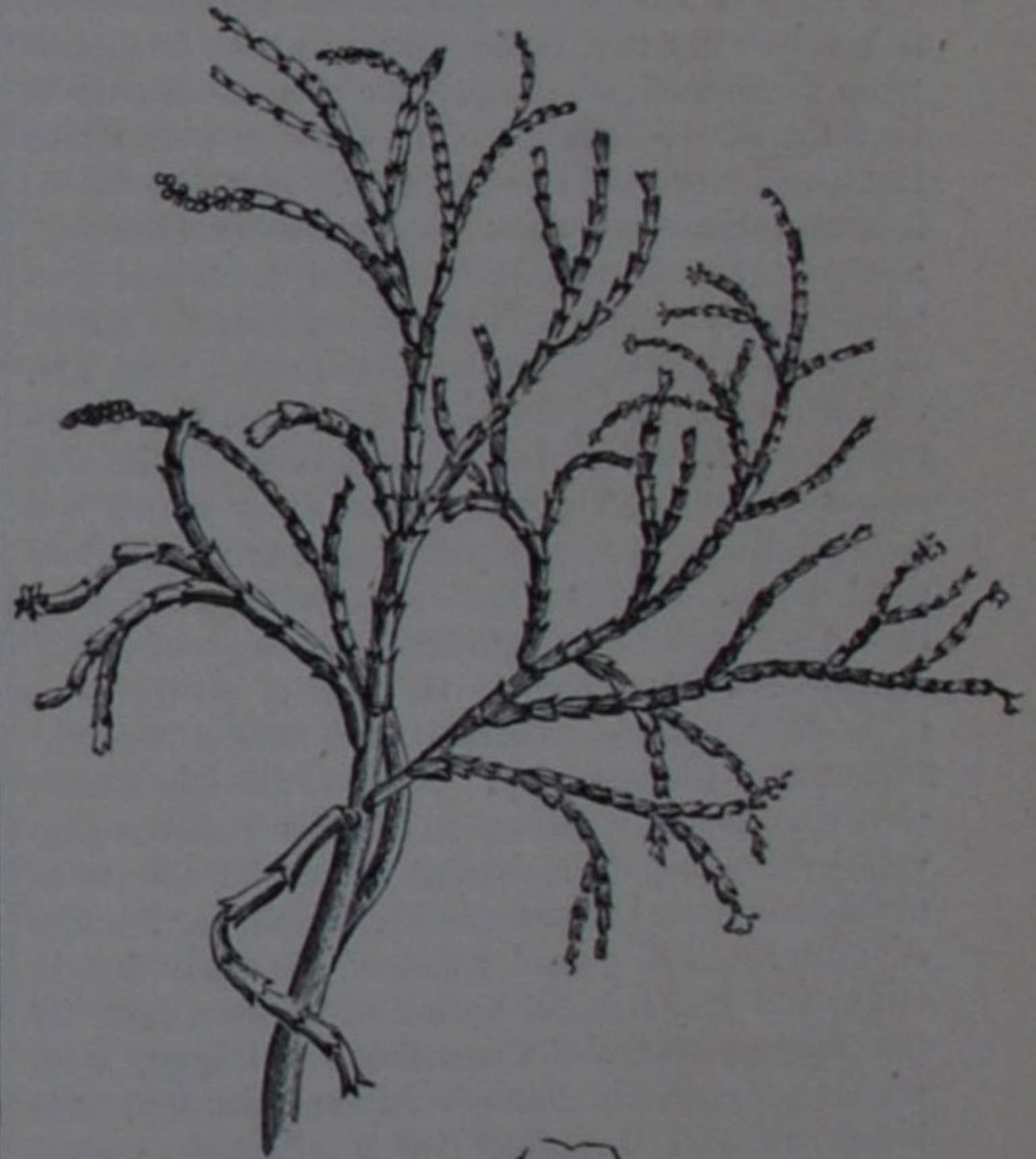
It seems also not improbable that the imagery of the description in Rev. ii. 18, ὁ ἔχων τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὡς φλόγα πυρρός, καὶ οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ ὅμοιοι χαλκολιβάνῳ, may have been suggested by the current pagan representations of the tutelary deity of the city. See a parallel case at Smyrna. [SMYRNA.]

Besides the cults which have been mentioned, there is evidence of a deification of Rome, of Ha-

Iran, and of the imperial family. Games were celebrated in honour of Tyrimnas, of Hercules, and of the reigning emperor. On the coins before the imperial times, the heads of Bacchus, of Athene, and of Cybele, are also found: but the inscriptions only indicate a cult of the last of these.

(Strabo, xiii. c. 4; Pliny, *N. H.* v. 31; Liv. xxxvii. 8, 21, 44; Polybius, xvi. 1, xxxii. 25; Stephanus Byzant. *sub v.* Θυάτειρα; Boeckh, *Inscript. Graec. Thyatir.*, especially Nos. 3484-3499; Suidas, *v.* Σαμβήθη; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 35; Clinton, *F. H.* ii. 221; Hoffmann, *Griechenland*, ii. 1714.) [J. W. B.]

THYINE WOOD (ξύλον θύϊνον: *lignum thyinum*) occurs once only, viz. in Rev. xviii. 12, where the margin has “sweet” (wood). It is mentioned as one of the valuable articles of commerce that should be found no more in Babylon (Rome), whose fall is here predicted by St. John. There can be little doubt that the wood here spoken of is that of the *Thuya articulata*, Desfont., the *Callitris quadrivalvis* of present botanists. This tree was much prized by the ancient Greeks and Romans, on account



Thuya articulata.

of the beauty of its wood for various ornamental purposes. It is the *θυεία* of Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.* iii. 4, §§2, 6); the *θύϊνον ξύλον* of Dioscorides (i. 21). By the Romans the tree was called *citrus*, the wood *citrum*. It is a native of Barbary, and grows to the height of 15 to 25 feet. Pliny (*N. H.* xiii. 15) says that the *citrus* is found abundantly in Mauretania. He speaks of a mania amongst his countrymen for tables made of its wood; and tells us that when the Roman ladies were upbraided by their husbands for their extravagance in pearls, they retorted upon them their excessive fondness for tables made of this wood. Fabulous prices were given for tables and other ornamental furniture made of citrus wood (see Pliny, *l. c.*). The Greek and Roman writers frequently allude to this wood. See a number of references in Celsius, *Hierob.* ii. 25. The roof of the mosque at

Cordova, built in the 9th cent., is of "thyine wood" (Loudon's *Arboretum*, iv. 2463). Lady Calcott says the wood is dark nut-brown, close grained, and very fragrant.* The resin known by the name of Saldarach is the produce of this tree, which belongs to the cypress tribe (*Cupressineae*), of the nat. order *Coniferae*. [W. H.]

TIBERIAS (Τιβεριάς: *Tiberias*), a city in the time of Christ, on the Sea of Galilee; first mentioned in the New Testament (John vi. 1, 23, xxi. 1), and then by Josephus (*Ant.* xviii., *Bel. Jud.* ii. 9, §1), who states that it was built by Herod Antipas, and was named by him in honour of the emperor Tiberius. It was probably a new town, and not a restored or enlarged one merely; for "Rakkath" (Josh. xix. 35), which is said in the Talmud to have occupied the same position, lay in the tribe of Naphtali (if we insist on the boundaries as indicated by the clearest passages), whereas Tiberias appears to have been within the limits of Zebulun (Matt. iv. 13). See Winer, *Realeo.* ii. p. 619. The same remark may be made respecting Jerome's statement, that Tiberias succeeded to the place of the earlier Chinnereth (*Onomasticon*, sub voce); for this latter town, as may be argued from the name itself, must have been further north than the site of Tiberias. The tenacity with which its Roman name has adhered to the spot (see *infra*) indicates the same fact; for, generally speaking, foreign names in the East applied to towns previously known under names derived from the native dialect, as *e. g.* Epiphania for Hammath (Josh. xix. 35), Palmyra for Tadmor (2 Chr. viii. 4), Ptolemais for Akko (Acts xxi. 7), lost their foothold as soon as the foreign power passed away which had imposed them, and gave place again to the original appellations. Tiberias was the capital of Galilee from the time of its origin until the reign of Herod Agrippa II., who changed the seat of power back again to Sepphoris, where it had been before the founding of the new city. Many of the inhabitants were Greeks and Romans, and foreign customs prevailed there to such an extent as to give offence to the stricter Jews [HERODIANS]. Herod, the founder of Tiberias, had passed most of his early life in Italy, and had brought with him thence a taste for the amusements and magnificent buildings, with which he had been familiar in that country. He built a stadium there, like that in which the Roman youth trained themselves for feats of rivalry and war. He erected a palace, which he adorned with figures of animals, "contrary," as Josephus says (*Vit.* §12, 13, 64), "to the law of our countrymen." The place was so much the less attractive to the Jews, because, as the same authority states (*Ant.* xviii. 2, §3), it stood on the site of an ancient burial-ground, and was viewed, therefore, by the more scrupulous among them almost as a polluted and forbidden locality. Coins of the city of Tiberias are still extant, which are referred to the times of Tiberias, Trajan, and Hadrian.

The ancient name has survived in that of the modern *Tūbarīeh*, which occupies unquestionably the original site, except that it is confined to narrower limits than those of the original city. Near *Tūbarīeh*, about a mile further south along the shore are the celebrated warm baths, which the Roman naturalists (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* v. 15) reckoned among

* "It is highly balsamic and odoriferous, the resin, no doubt, preventing the ravages of insects as well as the influence of the air" (Loudon's *Arb. l. c.*).

the greatest known curiosities of the world. [HAMMATH.] The intermediate space between these baths and the town abounds with the traces of ruins, such as the foundations of walls, heaps of stone, blocks of granite, and the like; and it cannot be doubted, therefore, that the ancient Tiberias occupied also this ground, and was much more extensive than its modern successor. From such indications, and from the explicit testimony of Josephus, who says (*Ant.* xviii. 2, §3) that Tiberias was near Ammaus (Ἀμμαούς), or the Warm Baths, there can be no uncertainty respecting the identification of the site of this important city. It stood anciently as now, on the western shore, about two-thirds of the way between the northern and southern end of the Sea of Galilee. There is a margin or strip of land there between the water and the steep hills (which elsewhere in that quarter come down so boldly to the edge of the lake), about two miles long and a quarter of a mile broad. The tract in question is somewhat undulating, but approximates to the character of a plain. *Tūbarīeh*, the modern town, occupies the northern end of this parallelogram, and the Warm Baths the southern extremity; so that the more extended city of the Roman age must have covered all, or nearly all of the peculiar ground whose limits are thus clearly defined. (See Robinson's *Bib. Res.*, ii. 380; and Porter's *Handbook*, ii. 421.) The present *Tūbarīeh* has a rectangular form, is guarded by a strong wall on the land side, but is left entirely open towards the sea. A few palm-trees still remain as witnesses of the luxuriant vegetation which once adorned this garden of the Promised Land, but they are greatly inferior in size and beauty to those seen in Egypt. The oleander grows here profusely, almost rivalling that flower so much admired as found on the neighbouring Plain of Gennesaret. The people, as of old, draw their subsistence in part from the adjacent lake. The spectator from his position here commands a view of almost the entire expanse of the sea, except the southern part, which is cut off by a slight projection of the coast. The precipices on the opposite side appear almost to overhang the water, but on being approached are found to stand back at some distance, so as to allow travellers to pass between them and the water. The lofty Hermon, the modern *Jebel-esh-Sheikh*, with its glistening snow-heaps, forms a conspicuous object of the landscape in the north-east. Many rock-tombs exist in the sides of the hills, behind the town, some of them no doubt of great antiquity, and constructed in the best style of such monuments. The climate here in the warm season is very hot and unhealthy; but most of the tropical fruits, as in other parts of the valley of the Jordan, become ripe very early, and, with industry, might be cultivated in great abundance and perfection. The article on GENNESARET [vol. i. p. 675] should be read in this connexion, since it is the relation of Tiberias to the surrounding region and the lake, which gave to it its chief importance in the first Christian age. The place is four and a half hours from Nazareth, one hour from Mejdal, possibly the ancient Magdala, and thirteen hours, by the shortest route, from *Bāniās* or Caesarea Philippi.

It is remarkable that the Gospels give no information, that the Saviour, who spent so much of his public life in Galilee, ever visited Tiberias. The surer meaning of the expression, "He went away beyond the sea of Galilee of Tiberias" in John vi. 1 (πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς Γαλιλαίας τῆς Τιβε

is not that Jesus embarked from Tiberias, but, as Meyer remarks, that He crossed from the west side of the *Galilean sea of Tiberias* to the opposite side. A reason has been assigned for this singular fact, which may or may not account for it. As Herod, the murderer of John the Baptist, resided most of the time in this city, the Saviour may have kept purposely away from it, on account of the sanguinary and artful (Luke xiii. 32) character of that ruler. It is certain, from Luke xxiii. 8, that though Herod had heard of the fame of Christ, he never saw Him in person until they met at Jerusalem, and never witnessed any of his miracles. It is possible that the character of the place, so much like that of a Roman colony, may have been a reason why He who was sent to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, performed so little labour in its vicinity. The head of the lake, and especially the Plain of Gennesaret, where the population was more dense and so thoroughly Jewish, formed the central point of his Galilean ministry. The feast of Herod and his courtiers, before whom the daughter of Herodias danced, and in fulfilment of the tetrarch's rash oath demanded the head of the dauntless reformer, was held in all probability at Tiberias, the capital of the province. If, as Josephus mentions (*Ant.* xviii. 5, §2), the Baptist was imprisoned at the time in the castle of Machaerus beyond the Jordan, the order for his execution could have been sent thither, and the bloody trophy forwarded to the implacable Herodias at the palace where she usually resided. Gams (*Johannes der Tauffer im Gefängnis*, p. 47, &c.) suggests that John, instead of being kept all the time in the same castle, may have been confined in different places, at different times. The three passages already referred to are the only ones in the New Testament which mention Tiberias by name, viz. John vi. 1, and xxi. 1 (in both instances designating the lake on which the town was situated), and John vi. 23, where boats are said to have come from Tiberias near to the place at which Jesus had supplied miraculously the wants of the multitude. Thus the lake in the time of Christ, among its other appellations, bore also that of the principal city in the neighbourhood; and in like manner, at the present day, *Bahr Tübarieh*, "Sea of Tübarieh," is almost the only name under which it is known among the inhabitants of the country.

Tiberias has an interesting history, apart from its strictly Biblical associations. It bore a conspicuous part in the wars between the Jews and the Romans. The Sanhedrim, subsequently to the fall of Jerusalem, after a temporary sojourn at Jamnia and Sepphoris, became fixed there about the middle of the 2nd century. Celebrated schools of Jewish learning flourished there through a succession of several centuries. The Mishna was compiled at this place by the great Rabbi Judah Hakkodesh (A.D. 190). The Masorah, or body of traditions, which transmitted the readings of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and preserved by means of the vowel system the pronunciation of the Hebrew, originated in a great measure at Tiberias. The place passed, under Constantine, into the power of the Christians; and during the period of the Crusades was lost and won repeatedly by the different combatants. Since that time it has been possessed successively by Persians, Arabs, and Turks; and contains now, under the Turkish rule, a mixed population of Mahomedans, Jews, and Christians, variously estimated at from two to four thousand.

The Jews constitute, perhaps, one-fourth of the entire number. They regard Tiberias as one of the four holy places (Jerusalem, Hebron, Safed, are the others), in which, as they say, prayer must be offered without ceasing, or the world would fall back instantly into chaos. One of their singular opinions is that the Messiah when He appears will emerge from the waters of the lake, and, landing at Tiberias, proceed to Safed, and there establish his throne on the highest summit in Galilee. In addition to the language of the particular country, as Poland, Germany, Spain, from which they or their families emigrated, most of the Jews here speak also the Rabbinic Hebrew, and modern Arabic. They occupy a quarter in the middle of the town, adjacent to the lake; just north of which, near the shore, is a Latin convent and church, occupied by a solitary Italian monk. Tiberias suffered terribly from the great earthquake in 1837, and has not yet recovered by any means from the effects of that disaster. In 1852, the writer of this article (later travellers report but little improvement) rode into the city over the dilapidated walls; in other parts of them not overthrown, rents were visible from top to bottom, and some of the towers looked as if they had been shattered by battering-rams. It is supposed that at least seven hundred of the inhabitants were destroyed at that time. This earthquake was severe and destructive in other parts of Galilee. It was a similar calamity no doubt, such as had left a strong impression on the minds of the people, to which Amos refers, at the beginning of his prophecy, as forming a well-known epoch from which other events were reckoned. There is a place of interment near Tiberias, in which a distinguished Rabbi is said to be buried with 14,000 of his disciples around him. The grave of the Arabian philosopher Lokman, as Burckhardt states, was pointed out here in the 14th century. Raumer's *Palästina* (p. 125) mentions some of the foregoing facts, and others of a kindred nature. The later fortunes of the place are sketched somewhat at length in Dr. Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, iii. 267-274 (ed. 1841). It is unnecessary to specify other works, as Tiberias lies in the ordinary route of travellers in the East, and will be found noticed more or less fully in most of the books of any completeness in this department of authorship.

Professor Stanley, in his *Notices of some Localities*, &c. (p. 193), has added a few charming touches to the admirable description already given in his *Sinai and Pal.* (368-82). [H. B. H.]

TIBE'RIAS, THE SEA OF (*ἡ θάλασσα τῆς Τιβεριάδος*: *mare Tiberiadis*). This term is found only in John xxi. 1, the other passage in which it occurs in the A. V. (ib. vi. 1) being, if the original is accurately rendered, "the sea of Galilee, of Tiberias." St. John probably uses the name as more familiar to non-residents in Palestine than the indigenous name of the "sea of Galilee," or "sea of Gennesaret," actuated no doubt by the same motive which has induced him so constantly to translate the Hebrew names and terms which he uses (such as Rabbi, Rabboni, Messias, Cephas, Siloam, &c.) into the language of the Gentiles. [GENNESARET SEA OF.] [G.]

TIBE RIUS (*Τιβέριος*: in full, Tiberius Claudius Nero), the second Roman emperor, successor of Augustus, who began to reign A.D. 14, and reigned until A.D. 37. He was the son of Tiberius Claudius Nero and Livia, and hence a stepson of

Augustus. He was born at Rome on the 16th of November, B.C. 45. He became emperor in his fifty-fifth year, after having distinguished himself as a commander in various wars, and having evinced talents of a high order as an orator, and an administrator of civil affairs. His military exploits and those of Drusus, his brother, were sung by Horace (*Carm.* iv. 4, 14). He even gained the reputation of possessing the sterner virtues of the Roman character, and was regarded as entirely worthy of the imperial honours to which his birth and supposed personal merits at length opened the way. Yet on being raised to the supreme power, he suddenly became, or showed himself to be, a very different man. His subsequent life was one of inactivity, sloth, and self-indulgence. He was despotic in his government, cruel and vindictive in his disposition. He gave up the affairs of the state to the vilest favourites, while he himself wallowed in the very kennel of all that was low and debasing. The only palliation of his monstrous crimes and vices which can be offered is, that his disgust of life, occasioned by his early domestic troubles, may have driven him at last to despair and insanity. Tiberius died at the age of seventy-eight, after a reign of twenty-three years. The ancient writers who supply most of our knowledge respecting him are Suetonius, Tacitus (who describes his character as one of



Coin of Tiberius.

studied dissimulation and hypocrisy from the beginning), *Annal.* i.-vi.; Vell. Patere. L. ii. 94, etc.; and Dion Cass. xli.-xlviii. The article in the *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Biog.* (vol. iii. pp. 1117-1127) furnishes a copious outline of the principal events in his life, and holds him up in his true light as deserving the scorn and abhorrence of men.

The city of TIBERIAS took its name from this emperor. It will be seen that the Saviour's public life, and some of the introductory events of the apostolic age, must have fallen within the limits of his administration. The memorable passage in Tacitus (*Annal.* xv. 44) respecting the origin of the Christian sect, places the crucifixion of the Redeemer under Tiberius: "Ergo abolendo rumori (that of his having set fire to Rome) Nero subdidit reos, et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia invisos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat." The martyrdom of Stephen belongs in all probability to the last year, or last but one of this reign. In Luke iii. 1 he is termed Tiberius Caesar; John the Baptist, it is there said, began his ministry in the *fifteenth year* of his reign (*ἡγεμονία*). This chronological notation is an important one in determining the year of Christ's birth and entrance on his public work [*JESUS CHRIST*, vol. i. p. 1074]. Augustus admitted Tiberius to a share in the empire two or three years before his own death; and it is a question, therefore, whether the *fifteenth year* of which Luke speaks, should be reckoned from the time of the co-partnership, or from that when Tiberius began to reign alone. The former is the computation more generally adopted; but the data which relate to this point in the chronology of the Saviour's life may be reconciled easily with the one view or the other. Some discussion, more or less extended, in reference to this inquiry will be found in Kr2nd's *Chronologie*, p. 66; Sepp's *Leben Christi*,

i. 1, &c.; Friedlieb's *Leben Jesu Christi*, 47, &c.; Ebrard's *Kritik*, 184; Tischendorf's *Synopsis*, xvi.; Greswell's *Dissertations*, i. 334; and Robinson's *Harmony of the Gospels*, 181. [H. B. H.]

TIB'HATH (תִּבְחָת: Ματαβέθ *Thebath*), a city of Hadadezer, king of Zobah (1 Chr. xviii. 8), which in 2 Sam. viii. 8 is called Betah, probably by an accidental transposition of the first two letters. Its exact position is unknown, but if Aram-Zobah is the country between the Euphrates and Coelesyria [see SYRIA], we must look for Tibhath on the eastern skirts of the Anti-Libanus, or of its continuation, the *Jebel Shahshabu* and the *Jebel Rieha*. [G. R.]

TIB'NI (תִּבְנִי: Θαμνί: *Thebni*). After Zimri had burnt himself in his palace, there was a division in the northern kingdom, half of the people following Tibni the son of Ginath, and half following Omri (1 K. xvi. 21, 22). Omri was the choice of the army. Tibni was probably put forward by the people of Tirzah, which was then besieged by Omri and his host. The struggle between the contending factions lasted four years (comp. 1 K. xvi. 15, 23); but the only record of it is given in the few words of the historian: "The people that followed Omri prevailed against the people that followed Tibni the son of Ginath; so Tibni died, and Omri reigned." The LXX. add that Tibni was bravely seconded by his brother Joram, for they tell us, in a clause which Ewald pronounces to be undoubtedly genuine, "and Thamni and Joram his brother died at that time; and Ambri reigned after Thamni." [W. A. W.]

TIDAL (תִּדְעָל: Θαργάλ: *Thadal*) is mentioned only in Gen. xiv. 1, 9. He there appears among the kings confederated with, and subordinate to, Chedorlaomer, the sovereign of Elam, who leads two expeditions from the country about the mouth of the Tigris into Syria. The name, Tidal, is certainly an incorrect representation of the original. If the present Hebrew text is accepted, the king was called *Thid'al*; while, if the Septuagint more nearly represents the original, his name was *Thargal*, or perhaps *Thurgal*. This last rendering is probably to be preferred, as the name is then a significant one in the early Hamitic dialect of the lower Tigris and Euphrates country—*Thurgal* being "the great chief"—βασιλεύς ὁ μέγας (*naqa wazarka*) of the Persians. Thargal is called "king of nations" (מֶלֶךְ גּוֹיִם), by which it is reasonable to understand that he was a chief over various nomadic tribes to whom no special tract of country could be assigned, since at different times of the year they inhabited different portions of Lower Mesopotamia. This is the case with the Arabs of these parts at the present day. Thargal, however, should from his name have been a Turanian. [G. R.]

TIG'LATH-PILE'SER (תִּגְלַת-פִּלְאֶסֶר: Θαλαθφελλασάρ, Θαλαθαλλασάρ: *Theglath Phalasar*). In 1 Chr. v. 26, and again in 2 Chr. xxviii. 20, the name of this king is written תִּלְגַּת-פִּלְנֶסֶר "Tilgath-pilneser;" but in this form there is a double corruption. The native word reads as

* The LXX. evidently read תִּגְלַת for תִּלְגַּת, and therefore wrote Θαλαθφελλασάρ, representing the γ by a γ. The Alex. Codex, however, has ΘΑΛΑΤΑ, which originally was doubtless ΘΑΔΑΤΑ, agreeing so far with the present Hebrew text.

Tigulti-pal-tsira, for which the Tiglath-pil-esser of 2 Kings is a fair equivalent. The signification of the name is somewhat doubtful. M. Oppert renders it, "Adoratio [sit] filio Zodiaci," and explains "the son of the Zodiac" as *Nin*, or Hercules (*Expédition Scientifique en Mésopotamie*, ii. 352).

Tiglath-Pileser is the second Assyrian king mentioned in Scripture as having come into contact with the Israelites. He attacked Samaria in the reign of Pekah, on what ground we are not told, but probably because Pekah withheld his tribute, and, having entered his territories, "took Ijon, and Abel-beth-maachah, and Janoak, and Kedesh, and Hazor, and Gilead, and Galilee, and all the land of Naphtali, and carried them captive to Assyria" (2 K. xv. 29): thus "lightly afflicting the land of Zebulun and the land of Naphtali" (Is. ix. 1)—the most northern, and so the most exposed portion of the country. The date of this invasion cannot at present be fixed; but it was, apparently, many years afterwards that Tiglath-Pileser made a second expedition into these parts, which had more important results than his former one. It appears that, after the date of his first expedition, a close league was formed between Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, having for its special object the humiliation of Judaea, and intended to further generally the interests of the two allies. At first great successes were gained by Pekah and his confederate (2 K. xv. 37; 2 Chr. xxviii. 6-8); but, on their proceeding to attack Jerusalem itself, and to threaten Ahaz, who was then king, with deposition from his throne, which they were about to give to a pretender, "the son of Tabeal" (Is. vii. 6), the Jewish monarch applied to Assyria for assistance, and Tiglath-Pileser, consenting to aid him, again appeared at the head of an army in these regions. He first marched, naturally, against Damascus, which he took (2 K. xvi. 9), razing it (according to his own statement) to the ground, and killing Rezin, the Damascene monarch. After this, probably, he proceeded to chastise Pekah, whose country he entered on the north-east, where it bordered upon "Syria of Damascus." Here he overran the whole district to the east of Jordan, no longer "lightly afflicting" Samaria, but injuring her far "more grievously, by the way of the sea, in Galilee of the Gentiles" (Is. ix. 1), carrying into captivity "the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh" (1 Chr. v. 26), who had previously held this country, and placing them in Upper Mesopotamia from Harran to about Nisibis (ib.). Thus the result of this expedition was the absorption of the kingdom of Damascus, and of an important portion of Samaria, into the Assyrian empire; and it further brought the kingdom of Judah into the condition of a mere tributary and vassal of the Assyrian monarch.

Before returning into his own land, Tiglath-Pileser had an interview with Ahaz at Damascus (2 K. xvi. 10). Here doubtless was settled the amount of tribute which Judaea was to pay annually; and it may be suspected that here too it was explained to Ahaz by his suzerain that a certain deference to the Assyrian gods was due on the part of all tributaries, who were usually required to set up in their capital "the Laws of Asshur," or "altars to the Great Gods" [see vol. i. p. 132 a]. The "altar" which Ahaz "saw at Damascus," and of which he sent the

pattern to Urijah the priest (2 K. xvi. 10, 11), was probably such a badge of subjection.

This is all that Scripture tells us of Tiglath-Pileser. He appears to have succeeded Pul, and to have been succeeded by Shalmaneser; to have been contemporary with Rezin, Pekah, and Ahaz; and therefore to have ruled Assyria during the latter half of the eighth century before our era. From his own inscriptions we learn that his reign lasted at least seventeen years; that, besides warring in Syria and Samaria, he attacked Babylonia, Media, Armenia, and the independent tribes in the upper regions of Mesopotamia, thus, like the other great Assyrian monarchs, warring along the whole frontier of the empire; and finally, that he was (probably) not a legitimate prince, but an usurper and the founder of a dynasty. This last fact is gathered from the circumstance that, whereas the Assyrian kings generally glory in their ancestry, Tiglath-Pileser omits all mention of his, not even recording his father's name upon his monuments. It accords remarkably with the statements of Berosus (in Euseb. *Chron. Can.* i. 4) and Herodotus (i. 95), that about this time, *i. e.* in the latter half of the eighth century B.C., there was a change of dynasty in Assyria, the old family, which had ruled for 520 (526) years, being superseded by another not long before the accession of Sennacherib. The authority of these two writers, combined with the monumental indications, justifies us in concluding that the founder of the Lower Dynasty or Empire, the first monarch of the New Kingdom, was the Tiglath-Pileser of Scripture, whose date must certainly be about this time, and whose monuments show him to have been a self-raised sovereign. The exact date of the change cannot be positively fixed; but it is probably marked by the era of Nabonassar in Babylon, which synchronises with B.C. 747. According to this view, Tiglath-Pileser reigned certainly from B.C. 747 to B.C. 730, and possibly a few years longer, being succeeded by Shalmaneser at least as early as B.C. 725.* [SHALMANESER.]

The circumstances under which Tiglath-Pileser obtained the crown have not come down to us from any good authority; but there is a tradition on the subject which seems to deserve mention. Alexander Polyhistor, the friend of Sylla, who had access to the writings of Berosus, related that the first Assyrian dynasty continued from Ninus, its founder, to a certain Beleüs (Pul), and that he was succeeded by Belêtaras, a man of low rank, a mere vine-dresser (*φυτουργός*), who had the charge of the gardens attached to the royal palace. Belêtaras, he said, having acquired the sovereignty in an extraordinary way, fixed it in his own family, in which it continued to the time of the destruction of Nineveh (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii. 210). It can scarcely be doubted that Belêtaras here is intended to represent Tiglath-Pileser, Belêtar being in fact another mode of expressing the native *Pal-tsira* or *Palli-tsir* (Oppert), which the Hebrews represented by Pileser. Whether there is any truth in the tradition may perhaps be doubted. It bears too near a resemblance to the Oriental stories of Cyrus, Gyges, Amasis, and others, to have in itself much claim to our acceptance. On the other hand, it harmonises with the remarkable fact—unparalleled in the rest of the Assyrian records—that Tiglath-

* In the Assyrian Chronological Canon, of which there are four copies in the British Museum, all more or less fragmentary, the reign of Tiglath-Pileser seems to be reckoned at either 16 or 17 years. (See *Atanarum* No. 1812, p. 84.)

* In the Assyrian Chronological Canon, of which there are four copies in the British Museum, all more or less fragmentary, the reign of Tiglath-Pileser seems to be

Pileser is absolutely silent on the subject of his ancestry, neither mentioning his father's name, nor making any allusion whatever to his birth, descent, or parentage.

Tiglath-Pileser's wars do not, generally, appear to have been of much importance. In Babylonia he took Sippara (Sepharvaim), and several places of less note in the northern portion of the country; but he does not seem to have penetrated far, or to have come into contact with Nabonassar, who reigned from B.C. 747 to B.C. 733 at Babylon. In Media, Armenia, and Upper Mesopotamia, he obtained certain successes, but made no permanent conquests. It was on his western frontier only that his victories advanced the limits of the empire. The destruction of Damascus, the absorption of Syria, and the extension of Assyrian influence over Judaea, are the chief events of Tiglath-Pileser's reign, which seems to have had fewer external triumphs than those of most Assyrian monarchs. Probably his usurpation was not endured quite patiently, and domestic troubles or dangers acted as a check upon his expeditions against foreign countries.

No palace or great building can be ascribed to this king. His slabs, which are tolerably numerous, show that he must have built or adorned a residence at Calah (*Nimrud*), where they were found; but, as they were not discovered *in situ*, we cannot say anything of the edifice to which they originally belonged. They bear marks of wanton defacement; and it is plain that the later kings purposely injured them; for not only is the writing often erased, but the slabs have been torn down, broken, and used as building materials by Esar-haddon in the great palace which he erected at Calah, the southern capital [see vol. i. p. 573.] The dynasty of Sargon was hostile to the first two princes of the Lower Kingdom, and the result of their hostility is that we have far less monumental knowledge of Salmeser and Tiglath-Pileser than of various kings of the Upper Empire. [G. R.]

TIGRIS (Τίγρις: *Tygris, Tigris*) is used by the LXX. as the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew *Hiddekel* (הַדְּקֵל); and occurs also in several of the apocryphal books, as in Tobit (vi. 1), Judith (i. 6), and Ecclesiasticus (xxiv. 25). The meaning, and various forms, of the word have been considered under **HIDDEKEL**. It only remains, therefore, in the present article, to describe the course and character of the stream.

The Tigris, like the Euphrates, rises from two principal sources. The most distant, and therefore the true, source is the western one, which is in lat. $38^{\circ} 10'$, long. $39^{\circ} 20'$ nearly, a little to the south of the high mountain lake called *Göljik* or *Gölenjik*, in the peninsula formed by the Euphrates where it sweeps round between *Palou* and *Telek*. The Tigris' source is near the south-western angle of the lake, and cannot be more than two or three miles from the channel of the Euphrates. The course of the Tigris is at first somewhat north of east, but after pursuing this direction for about 25 miles it makes a sweep round to the south, and descends by *Arghari Maden* upon Diarbekr. Here it is already a river of considerable size, and is crossed by a bridge of ten arches a little below that city (Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, p. 326). It then turns suddenly to the east, and flows in this direction, past *Osman Kieui* to *Til*, where it once more alters its course and takes that south-easterly

direction, which it pursues, with certain slight variations, to its final junction with the Euphrates. At *Osman Kieui* it receives the second or Eastern Tigris, which descends from Niphates (the modern *Ala-Tugh*) with a course almost due south, and, collecting on its way the waters of a large number of streams, unites with the Tigris half-way between *Diarbekr* and *Til*, in long. 41° nearly. The courses of the two streams to the point of junction are respectively 150 and 100 miles. A little below the junction, and before any other tributary of importance is received, the Tigris is 150 yards wide and from three to four feet deep. Near *Til* a large stream flows into it from the north-east, bringing almost as much water as the main channel ordinarily holds (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 49). This branch rises near *Billi*, in northern Kurdistan, and runs at first to the north-east, but presently sweeps round to the north, and proceeds through the districts of *Shattak* and *Boktan* with a general westerly course, crossing and recrossing the line of the 38th parallel, nearly to *Sert*, whence it flows south-west and south to *Til*. From *Til* the Tigris runs southward for 20 miles through a long, narrow, and deep gorge, at the end of which it emerges upon the comparatively low but still hilly country of Mesopotamia, near *Jezireh*. Through this it flows with a course which is south-south-east to *Mosul*, thence nearly south to *Kileh-Sherghat*, and again south-south-east to *Samara*, where the hills end and the river enters on the great alluvium. The course is now more irregular. Between *Samara* and Baghdad a considerable bend is made to the east; and, after the *Shat-el-Hie* is thrown off in lat. $32^{\circ} 30'$, a second bend is made to the north, the regular south-easterly course being only resumed a little above the 32nd parallel, from which point the Tigris runs in a tolerably direct line to its junction with the Euphrates at *Kurnah*. The length of the whole stream, exclusive of meanders, is reckoned at 1146 miles. It can be descended on rafts during the flood season from Diarbekr, which is only 150 miles from its source; and it has been navigated by steamers of small draught nearly up to Mosul. From Diarbekr to Samara the navigation is much impeded by rapids, rocks, and shallows, as well as by artificial *bunds* or dams, which in ancient times were thrown across the stream, probably for purposes of irrigation. Below *Samara* there are no obstructions; the river is deep, with a bottom of soft mud; the stream moderate; and the course very meandering. The average width of the Tigris in this part of its course is 200 yards, while its depth is very considerable.

Besides the three head-streams of the Tigris, which have been already described, the river receives, along its middle and lower course, no fewer than five important tributaries. These are the river of *Zakko* or Eastern Khabour, the Great Zab (*Zab Ala*), the Lesser Zab (*Zab Asfal*), the *Adhem*, and the *Diyaleh* or ancient *Gyndes*. All these rivers flow from the high range of Zagros, which shuts in the Mesopotamian valley on the east, and is able to sustain so large a number of great streams from its inexhaustible springs and abundant snows. From the west the Tigris obtains no tributary of the slightest importance, for the *Tharthar*, which is said to have once reached it, now ends in a salt lake, a little below *Tekrit*. Its volume, however, is continually increasing as it descends, in consequence of the great bulk of water

brought into it from the east, particularly by the Great Zab and the Diyaleh; and in its lower course it is said to be a larger stream and to carry a greater body than the Euphrates (Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 62).

The Tigris, like the Euphrates, has a flood season. Early in the month of March, in consequence of the melting of the snows on the southern flank of Niphates, the river rises rapidly. Its breadth gradually increases at Diarbekr from 100 or 120 to 250 yards. The stream is swift and turbid. The rise continues through March and April, reaching its full height generally in the first or second week of May. At this time the country about Baghdad is often extensively flooded, not, however, so much from the Tigris as from the overflow of the Euphrates, which is here poured into the eastern stream through a canal. Further down the river, in the territory of the *Beni-Lam* Arabs, between the 32nd and 31st parallels, there is a great annual inundation on both banks. About the middle of May the Tigris begins to fall, and by midsummer it has reached its natural level. In October and November there is another rise and fall in consequence of the autumnal rains; but compared with the spring flood that of autumn is insignificant.

The Tigris is at present better fitted for purposes of traffic than the Euphrates (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 475); but in ancient times it does not seem to have been much used as a line of trade. The Assyrians probably floated down it the timber which they were in the habit of cutting in Amanus and Lebanon, to be used for building purposes in their capital; but the general line of communication between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf was by the Euphrates. [See vol. i. p. 591.] According to the historians of Alexander (Arrian, *Exp. Al.* vii. 7; comp. Strab. xv. 3, §4), the Persians purposely obstructed the navigation of the lower Tigris by a series of dams which they threw across from bank to bank between the embouchure and the city of Opis, and such trade as there was along its course proceeded by land (Strab. *ibid.*). It is probable that the dams were in reality made for another purpose, namely, to raise the level of the waters for the sake of irrigation; but they would undoubtedly have also the effect ascribed to them, unless in the spring flood time, when they might have been shot by boats descending the river. Thus there may always have been a certain amount of traffic down the stream; but up it trade would scarcely have been practicable at any time further than Samara or Tekrit, on account of the natural obstructions, and of the great force of the stream. The lower part of the course was opened by Alexander (Arrian, vii. 7); and Opis, near the mouth of the Diyaleh, became thenceforth known as a mart (*ἐμπόριον*), from which the neighbouring districts drew the merchandise of India and Arabia (Strab. xvi. 1, §9). Seleucia, too, which grew up soon after Alexander, derived no doubt a portion of its prosperity from the facilities for trade offered by this great stream.

We find but little mention of the Tigris in Scripture. It appears indeed under the name of Hiddekel, among the rivers of Eden (Gen. ii. 14), and is there correctly described as "running eastward to Assyria." But after this we hear no more of it, if we except one doubtful allusion in Nahum (ii. 6), until the Captivity, when it becomes well known to the prophet Daniel, who had to cross it

in his journeys to and from Susa (Shushan). With Daniel it is "the Great River"—הַנְּהַר הַגָּדוֹל—an expression commonly applied to the Euphrates; and by its side he sees some of his most important visions (Dan. x. to xii.). No other mention of the Tigris seems to occur except in the apocryphal books; and there it is unconnected with any real history.

The Tigris, in its upper course, anciently ran through Armenia and Assyria. Lower down, from about the point where it enters on the alluvial plain, it separated Babylonia from Susiana. In the wars between the Romans and the Parthians, we find it constituting, for a short time (from A.D. 114 to A.D. 117), the boundary line between these two empires. Otherwise it has scarcely been of any political importance. The great chain of Zagros is the main natural boundary between Western and Central Asia; and beyond this, the next defensible line is the Euphrates. Historically it is found that either the central power pushes itself westward to that river; or the power ruling the west advances eastward to the mountain barrier.

The water of the Tigris, in its lower course, is yellowish, and is regarded as unwholesome. The stream abounds with fish of many kinds, which are often of a large size (see Tobit vi. 11, and compare Strab. xi. 14, §8). Abundant water-fowl float on the waters. The banks are fringed with palm-trees and pomegranates, or clothed with jungle and reeds, the haunt of the wild-boar and the lion.

(The most important notices of the Tigris to be found in the classical writers are the following: Strabo, xi. 14, §8, and xvi. 1, §9-13; Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* vii. 7; and Plin. *H. N.* vi. 27. The best modern accounts are those of Col. Chesney, *Euphrates Expedition*, i. 16, &c., and Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 622, 623; with which may be compared Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 49-51, and 464-476; Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, 3-8; Jones in *Transactions of the Geographical Society of Bombay*, vol. ix.; Lynch in *Journal of Geographical Society*, vol. ix.; and Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, i. 552, 553.) [G. R.]

TIK'VAH (תִּיקְוָה; *Θεκουάν*; Alex. *Θεκκοέ*: *Thecua*). 1. The father of Shallum the husband of the prophetess Huldah (2 K. xxii. 14). He is called TIKVATH in the A. V. of 2 Chr. xxxiv. 22.

2. (*Θεκωέ*; Alex. *Θεκουέ*: *Thecuc*.) The father of Jahaziah (Ezr. x. 15). In 1 Esd. ix. 14 he is called THEOCANUS.

TIK'VATH (תִּיקְוָה; Keri, תִּיקְוָה; properly *Tôkhêhath* or *Tokhath*: *Θεκωέ*; Alex. *Θακουάθ*: *Thecuath*). TIKVAH the father of Shallum (2 Chr. xxxiv. 22).

TILE. For general information on the subject see the articles BRICK, POTTERY, SEAL. The expression in the A. V. rendering of Luke v. 19, "through^a the tiling," has given much trouble to expositors, from the fact that Syrian houses are in general covered, not with tiles, but with plaster terraces. Some suggestions towards the solution of this difficulty have been already given. [HOUSE, vol. i. p. 837.] An additional one may here be offered. 1. Terrace-roofs, if constructed improperly, or at the wrong season of the year, are apt to crack, and to become so saturated with rain as to be easily penetrable. May not the roof of the house in which our Lord performed his miracle, have been in this

^a εὐὰ τῶν κεράμων.

condition, and been pierced, or, to use St. Mark's ^b word, "broken up," by the bearers of the paralytic? (Arundell, *Trav. in Asia Minor*, i. 171; Russell, *Aleppo*, i. 35).

2. Or may the phrase "through the tiling" be accounted for thus? Greek houses were often, if not always, roofed with tiles (Pollux, vii. 161; Vitruvius, iii. 3). Did not St. Luke, a native, probably, of Greek Antioch, use the expression "tiles," as the form of roof which was most familiar to himself and to his Greek readers without reference to the particular material of the roof in question? (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4; Jerome, *Prolog. to Com. on St. Matth.* vol. vii. p. 4; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, i. 367.) It may perhaps be worth remarking that houses in modern Antioch, at least many of them, have tiled roofs (Fisher, *Views in Syria*, i. 19, vi. 56). [H. W. P.]

TIL'GATH-PILNE'SER (תִּלְגַּת פִּלְנֵסֶר; תִּלְגַּת פִּלְנֵסֶר; Θαλαβασαράρ, Θαλαβασαράρ, Θαλαβασαράρ; Alex. Θαλαβ φαλαβασαράρ: *Theglathphalnasar, Thelgathphalnasar*). A variation, and probably a corruption, of the name TIGLATH-PILESER. It is peculiar to the Books of Chronicles, being found in 1 Chr. v. 6, 26; 2 Chr. xxviii. 20. [G.]

TILON (תִּילֹן; Keri, תִּילֹן; Ἰνών; Alex. Θιλών: *Thilon*). One of the four sons of Shimon, whose family is reckoned in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 20).

TIMAE'US (Τίμαιος: *Timaeus*). The father of the blind man, Bar-timaeus, who was restored to sight by Jesus as He left Jericho (Mark x. 46).

TIMBREL, TABRET. By these words the A. V. translates the Heb. תִּפְתֵּל, *tóph*, which is derived from an imitative root occurring in many languages not immediately connected with each other.

Σ,

It is the same as the Arabic and Persian دُف, *duff*, which in Spanish becomes *adufe*, a tambourine. The root, which signifies to beat or strike, is found in the Greek τύπανον or τύμπανον, Lat. *tympanum*, It. *tamburo*, Sp. *tambor*, Fr. *tambour*, Prov. *tabor*, Eng. *tabor*, *tabouret*, *timbrel*, *tambourine*, A. S. *dubban*, to strike, Eng. *tap*, and many others.^c In Old English *tabor* was used for any drum. Thus Rob. of Gloucester, p. 396 (ed. Hearne, 1810):

"Vor of trompes and of tabors the Saracens made there
So gret noise, that Cristenmen al distourbed were."

In Shakspeare's time it seems to have become an instrument of peace, and is thus contrasted with the drum: "I have known when there was no music with him but the drum and tife; and now had he rather hear the *tabor* and the pipe" (*Much Ado*, ii. 3). *Tabouret* and *tambourine* are diminutives of *tabor*, and denote the instrument now known as the *tambourine*:—

"Or Mimoe's whistling to his *tabouret*,
Selling a laughter for a cold meal's meat."

HALL, *Sat.* iv. 1, 78.

Tabret is a contraction of *tabouret*. The word is retained in the A. V. from Coverdale's translation

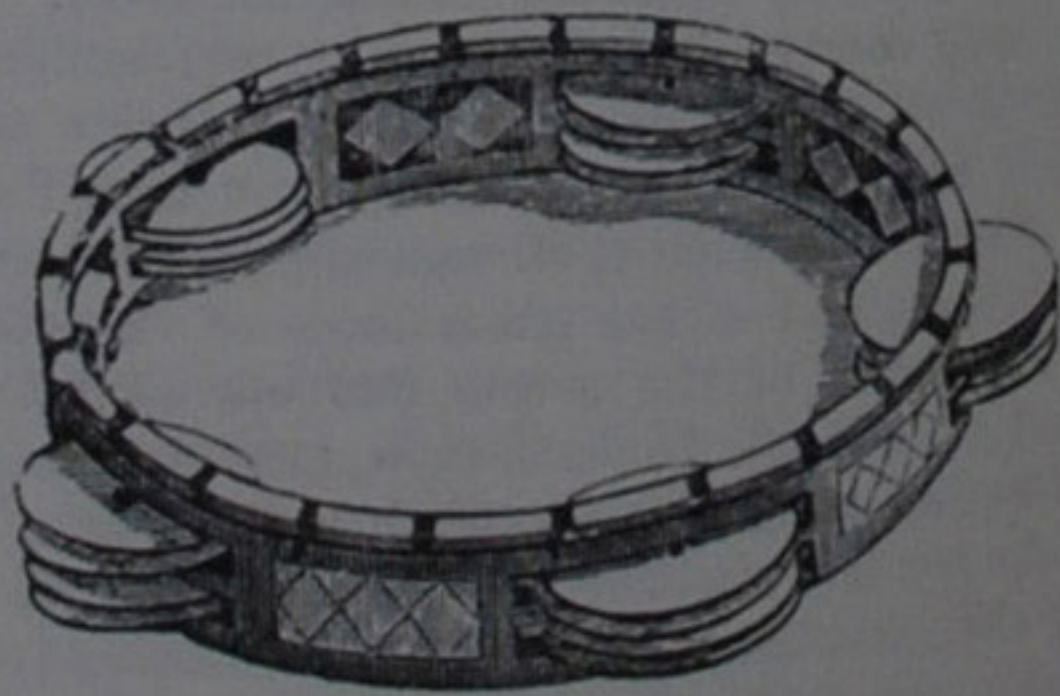
^b ἐξορύξαντες (Mark ii. 4).

^c It is usual for etymologists to quote the Arab. *tunbūr* as the original of *tambour* and *tabor*; but unfortunately the *tunbūr* is a guitar, and not a drum (Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 152, 2nd ed.). The parallel Arabic word is *tabl*, which

in all passages except Is. xxx. 32, where it is omitted in Coverdale, and Ez. xxviii. 13, where it is rendered "beauty."

The Heb. *tóph* is undoubtedly the instrument described by travellers as the *duff* or *diff* of the Arabs. It was used in very early times by the Syrians of Padan-aram at their merry-makings (Gen. xxxi. 27). It was played principally by women (Ex. xv. 20; Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6; Ps. lxxviii. 25 [26]) as an accompaniment to the song and dance (comp. Jud. iii. 7), and appears to have been worn by them as an ornament (Jer. xxxi. 4). The *tóph* was one of the instruments played by the young prophets whom Saul met on his return from Samuel (1 Sam. x. 5), and by the Levites in the Temple-band (2 Sam. vi. 5; 1 Chr. xiii. 8). It accompanied the merriment of feasts (Is. v. 12, xxiv. 8), and the joy of triumphal processions (Judg. xi. 34; 1 Sam. xviii. 6), when the women came out to meet the warriors returning from victory, and is everywhere a sign of happiness and peace (Job xxi. 12; Is. xxx. 32; Jer. xxxi. 4). So in the grand triumphal entry of God into His Temple, described in strong figures in Ps. lxxviii., the procession is made up by the singers who marched in front, and the players on stringed instruments who brought up the rear, while round them all danced the young maidens with their timbrels (Ps. lxxviii. 25 [26]).

The *diff* of the Arabs is described by Russell (*Aleppo*, p. 94, 1st ed.) as "a hoop (sometimes with pieces of brass fixed in it to make a jingling) over which a piece of parchment is distended. It is beat with the fingers, and is the true tympanum of the ancients, as appears from its figure in several relievos, representing the orgies of Bacchus and rites of Cybele." The same instrument was used by the Egyptian dancing-women whom Hasselquist saw (*Trav.* p. 59, ed. 1766). In Barbary it is called *tar*, and "is made like a sieve, consisting (as Isidore^d describes the tympanum) of a rim or thin hoop of wood with a skin of parchment stretched over the top of it. This serves for the *bass* in all their concerts, which they accordingly touch very artfully with their fingers, or with the knuckles or palms of their hands, as the time and measure require, or as force and softness are to be communicated to the several parts of the performance" (Shaw, *Trav.* p. 202).



Tar. (Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, 366, 5th ed.)

The tympanum was used in the feasts of Cybele (Her. iv. 76), and is said to have been the invention of Dionysus and Rhea (Eur. *Bacch.* 59). It was played by women, who beat it with the palms

denotes a kind of drum, and is the same with the Rabb. Heb. *tablá*, and Span. *atabal*, a kettle-drum. The instrument and the word may have come to us through the Saracens.

^d *Orig.* iii. 31

of their hands (Ovid, *Met.* iv. 29), and Juvenal (*Sat.* iii. 64) attributes to it a Syrian origin: "Jam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes Et linguam, et mores et cum tibicine chordas Obliquas, necnon gentilia tympana secum Vexit."

In the same way the *tabor* is said to have been introduced into Europe by the Crusaders, who adopted it from the Saracens, to whom it was peculiar (see Du Cange's note on De Joinville's *Hist. du Roy Saint Louis*, p. 61).

The author of *Shilte Haggibborim* (c. 2) gives the Greek *κύμβαλον* as the equivalent of *tôph*, and says it was a hollow basin of metal, beaten with a stick of brass or iron.

The passage of Ezekiel (xxviii. 13) is obscure, and appears to have been early corrupted. Instead of תִּפְיָה, "thy tabrets," the Vulg. and Targum read תִּפְיָה, "thy beauty," which is the rendering adopted in Coverdale's and Cranmer's Bibles. The LXX. seem to have read תִּפְיָה, as in ver. 16. If the ordinary text be adopted, there is no reason for taking *tôph*, as Jerome suggests, in the sense of the setting of a gem, "pala qua gemma contipatur." [W. A. W.]

TIM'NA, TIM'NAH (תִּמְנָה: Θαμνά: *Thamna*). 1. A concubine of Eliphaz son of Esau, and mother of Amalek (Gen. xxxvi. 12; in 1 Chr. i. 36 named as a son of Eliphaz): it may be presumed that she was the same as Timna, sister of Lotan, and daughter of Seir the Horite (ver. 22, and 1 Chr. i. 39).

2. A duke, or phylarch, of Edom in the last list in Gen. xxxvi. 40-43 (1 Chr. i. 51-54), where the dukes are named "according to their families, after their places, by their names . . . according to their habitations:" whence we may conclude, as in the case of TEMAN, that Timnah was also the name of a place or a district. [E. S. P.]

TIM'NAH (תִּמְנָה). A name which occurs, simple and compounded, and with slight variations of form, several times, in the topography of the Holy Land. The name is derived by the lexicographers (Gesenius, Simonis, Fürst) from a root signifying to "portion out, or divide;" but its frequent occurrence, and the analogy of the topographical names of other countries, would rather imply that it referred to some natural feature of the country.

1. (λίβα, Θαμνά; Alex. νοτον, Θαμνα; Joseph. Θαμνά: *Thamna, Thamnan*.) A place which formed one of the landmarks on the north boundary of the allotment of Judah (Josh. xv. 10). It was obviously near the western end of the boundary, being between Bethshemesh and the "shoulder of Ekron." It is probably identical with the THIMNATHAH of Josh. xix. 43, one of the towns of Dan, also named in connexion with Ekron, and that again with the Timnath, or more accurately Timnathah, of Samson, and the Thamnatha of the Maccabees. Its absence from the list of the towns of Judah (Josh. xv.), though mentioned in describing the course of the boundary. The modern representative of all these various forms of the same name is probably *Tibneh*, a village about two miles west of *Ain Shems* (Bethshemesh), among the broken undulating country by which the central mountains of this part of

Palestine descend to the maritime plain. It has been shown in several other cases [KEILAH, & .] that this district contained towns which in the lists are enumerated as belonging to the plain. Timnah is probably another instance of the same thing, for in 2 Chr. xxviii. 18 a place of the same name is mentioned as among the cities of the Shefelah, which from its occurrence with Bethshemesh, Gideroth, Gimzo, all more or less in the neighbourhood of Ekron, is probably the same as that just described as in the hills. After the Danites had deserted their original allotment for the north, their towns would naturally fall into the hands of Judah, or of the Philistines, as the continual struggle between them might happen to fluctuate.

In the later history of the Jews Timnah must have been a conspicuous place. It was fortified by Bacchides as one of the most important military posts of Judaea (1 Macc. ix. 50), and it became the head of a district or toparchy, which was called after its name, and was reckoned the fourth in order of importance among the fourteen into which the whole country was divided at the time of Vespasian's invasion (Joseph. *B. J.* iii. 3, §5; and see Pliny, v. 14).

Tibneh is now spoken of as "a deserted site" (Rob. ii. 16), and not a single Western traveller appears to have visited it, or even to have seen it, though its position is indicated with tolerable certainty. [TIMNATH.]

2. (Θαμνάθα; Alex. Θαμνα: *Thamna*.) A town in the mountain district of Judah (Josh. xv. 57). It is named in the same group with Maon, Ziph, and Carmel, which are known to have been south of Hebron. It is, therefore, undoubtedly a distinct place from that just examined. [G.]

TIM'NATH. The form in which the translators of the A. V. inaccurately present two names which are certainly distinct, though it is possible that they refer to the same place.

1. **TIMNAH** (תִּמְנָה, *i. e.* Timnah: Θαμνά: *Thamnatha*). The scene of the adventure of Judah with his daughter-in-law Tamar (Gen. xxxviii. 12, 13, 14). There is nothing here to indicate its position. The expression "went up to Timnah" (ver. 12) indicates that it was on higher ground than the spot from which Judah started. But as we are ignorant where that was, the indication is of no service. It seems to have been the place where Judah's flocks were kept. There was a road to it (A. V. "way"). It may be identified either with the Timnah in the mountains of Judah, which was in the neighbourhood of Carmel where Nabal kept his huge flocks of sheep; or with the Timnathah so familiar in the story of Samson's conflicts. In favour of the latter is the doubtful suggestion named under ENAM and TAPPUAH, that in the words translated "an open place" there is a reference to those two towns. In favour of the former is the possibility of the name in Gen. xxxviii. being not Timnah but Timnathah (as in the Vulgate), which is certainly the name of the Philistine place connected with Samson. More than this cannot be said.

The place is named in the specification of the allotment of the tribe of Dan, where the A. V. exhibits it accurately as THIMNATHAH, and its name doubtless survives in the modern *Tibneh* which is said to lie below *Zareah*, about three miles to the S.W. of it, where the great Wady es-Sirar issues upon the plain.

* The LXX., as above, derived it from *teman*, the South.

2. TIMNATHAH (תִּמְנַתָּה: Θαμναθᾶ; Joseph. Θαμνά: *Thamnatha*). The residence of Samson's wife (Judg. xiv. 1, 2, 5). It was then in the occupation of the Philistines. It contained vineyards, haunted however by such savage animals as indicate that the population was but sparse. It was on higher ground than Ashkelon (xiv. 19), but lower than Zorah, which we may presume was Samson's starting point (xiii. 25). [G.]

TIM'NATH-HE'RES (תִּמְנַת־הֶרֶס: Θαμναθαρές; Alex. Θαμναθαρ εως: *Thamnath Sare*). The name under which the city and burial place of Joshua, previously called TIMNATH-SERAH, is mentioned in Judg. ii. 9. The constituent consonants of the word are the same, but their order is reversed. The authorities differ considerably in their explanations. The Jews adopt Heres as the real name; interpret it to mean the sun; and see in it a reference to the act of making the sun stand still, which is to them the greatest exploit of Joshua's life. Others (as Fürst, i. 442), while accepting Heres as the original form, interpret that word as "clay," and as originating in the character of the soil. Others again, like Ewald (*Gesch.* ii. 347, 8), and Bertheau (*On Judges*), take Serah to be the original form, and Heres an ancient but unintentional error. [G.]

TIM'NATH-SE'RAH (תִּמְנַת־סֶרַח: Θαμναθαράς, Θαμναθασαχάρα; Alex. Θαμναθ. σαρα, Θαμνασασαχ; Joseph. Θαμνά: *Thamnath Serea, Thamnath Sare*). The name of the city which at his request was presented to Joshua after the partition of the country was completed (Josh. xix. 50); and in "the border" of which he was buried (xxiv. 30). It is specified as "in Mount Ephraim on the north side of Mount Gaash." In Judg. ii. 9, the name is altered to TIMNATH-HERES. The latter form is that adopted by the Jewish writers, who interpret Heres as meaning the sun, and account for the name by stating that the figure of the sun (*temunath ha-cheres*) was carved upon the sepulchre, to indicate that it was the tomb of the man who had caused the sun to stand still (Rashi, *Comment.* on both passages). Accordingly, they identify the place with *Kefar cheres*, which is said by Rabbi Jacob (Carmoly, *Itinéraires*, &c., 186), hap-Parchi (*Asher's Benj.* 434), and other Jewish travellers down to Schwarz in our own day (151), to be about 5 miles S. of Shechem (*Nablus*). No place with that name appears on the maps, the closest approach to it being *Kefr-Harit*, which is more nearly double that distance S.S.W. of *Nablus*. Wherever it be, the place is said by the Jews still to contain the tombs of Joshua, of Nun, and of Caleb (Schwarz, 151).

Another and more promising identification has, however, been suggested in our own day by Dr. Eli Smith (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1843). In his journey from *Jifna* to *Mejdel-Yaba*, about six miles from the former, he discovered the ruins of a considerable town on a gentle hill on the left (south) of the road. Opposite the town (apparently to the south) was a much higher hill, in the north side of which are several excavated sepulchres, which in size and in the richness and character of their decorations resemble the so-called "Tombs of the Kings" at Jerusalem. The whole bears the name of *Tibneh*, and although without further examination it can hardly be affirmed to be the Timnah of Joshua, yet the identification appears probable.

Timnath-Serah and the tomb of its illustrious owner were shown in the time of Jerome, who mentions them in the *Epitaphium Paulae* (§13). Beyond its being south of Shechem, he gives no indication of its position, but he dismisses it with the following characteristic remark, a fitting tribute to the simple self-denial of the great soldier of Israel:—"Satisque mirata est, quod distributor possessionum sibi montana et aspera delegisset." [G.]

TIM'NITE, THE (תִּמְנִי: τοῦ Θαμνεί; Alex. δ Θαμναθαίος: *Thamnathaeus*), that is, the Timnathite (as in the Alex. LXX., and Vulg.). Samson's father-in-law (Judg. xv. 6).

TIMON (Τίμων: *Timon*). One of the seven, commonly called "deacons" [DEACON], who were appointed to act as almoners on the occasion of complaints of partiality being raised by the Hellenistic Jews at Jerusalem (Acts vi. 1-6). Like his colleagues, Timon bears a Greek name, from which, taken together with the occasion of their appointment, it has been inferred with much probability that the seven were themselves Hellenists. The name of Timon stands fifth in the catalogue. Nothing further is known of him with certainty; but in the "Synopsis de Vita et Morte Prophetarum Apostolorum et Discipulorum Domini," ascribed to Dorotheus of Tyre (*Bibl. Patrum*, iii. p. 149), we are informed that he was one of the "seventy-two" disciples (the catalogue of whom is a mere congeries of New Testament names), and that he afterwards became bishop of Bostra (? "Bostra Arabum"), where he suffered martyrdom by fire. [W. B. J.]

TIMO'THEUS (Τιμόθεος). 1. A "captain of the Ammonites" (1 Macc. v. 6), who was defeated on several occasions by Judas Maccabaeus, B.C. 164 (1 Macc. v. 6, 11, 34-44). He was probably a Greek adventurer (comp. *Jos. Ant.* xii. 8, §1), who had gained the leadership of the tribe. Thus Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8, §1, quoted by Grimm, on 1 Macc. v. 6) mentions one "Zeno, surnamed Cotylas, who was despot of Rabbah" in the time of Johannes Hyrcanus.

2. In 2 Macc. a leader named Timotheus is mentioned as having taken part in the invasion of Nicanor (B.C. 166: 2 Macc. viii. 30, ix. 3). At a later time he made great preparations for a second attack on Judas, but was driven to a stronghold, Gazara, which was stormed by Judas, and there Timotheus was taken and slain (2 Macc. x. 24-37). It has been supposed that the events recorded in this latter narrative are identical with those in 1 Macc. v. 6-8, an idea rendered more plausible by the similarity of the names Jazer and Gazara (in Lat. Gazer, Jazare, Gazara). But the name Timotheus was very common, and it is evident that Timotheus the Ammonite leader was not slain at Jazer (1 Macc. v. 34); and Jazer was on the east side of Jordan, while Gazara was almost certainly the same as Gezer. [JAAZER; GAZARA.] It may be urged further, in support of the substantial accuracy of 2 Macc., that the second campaign of Judas against Timotheus (1) (1 Macc. v. 27-44) is given in 2 Macc. xii. 2-24, after the account of the capture of Gazara and the death of Timotheus (2) there. Wernsdorff assumes that all the differences in the narratives are blunders in 2 Macc. (*De fide Libr. Macc.* §1xx.), and in this he is followed by Grimm (on 2 Macc. x. 24, 32). But, if any reliance is to be placed on 2 Macc., the differences of place and circumstances are rightly taken by Patritius to

mark different events (*De Libr. Macc.* § xxxii. p. 259).

3. The Greek name of TIMOTHY (Acts xvi. 1, xvii. 14, &c.). He is called by this name in the A. V. in every case except 2 Cor. i. 1, Philem. 1, Heb. xiii. 23, and the Epistles addressed to him.

[B. F. W.]

TIMOTHY (Τιμόθεος: *Timotheus*). The disciple thus named was the son of one of those mixed marriages which, though condemned by stricter Jewish opinion, and placing their offspring on all but the lowest step in the Jewish scale of precedence,^a were yet not uncommon in the later periods of Jewish history. The father's name is unknown: he was a Greek, i. e. a Gentile by descent (Acts xvi. 1, 3). If in any sense a proselyte, the fact that the issue of the marriage did not receive the sign of the covenant would render it probable that he belonged to the class of half-converts, the so-called Proselytes of the Gate, not those of Righteousness [comp. PROSELYTES]. The absence of any personal allusion to the father in the Acts or Epistles suggests the inference that he must have died or disappeared during his son's infancy. The care of the boy thus devolved upon his mother Eunice and her mother Lois (2 Tim. i. 5). Under their training his education was emphatically Jewish. "From a child" he learnt (probably in the LXX. version) to "know the Holy Scriptures" daily. The language of the Acts leaves it uncertain whether Lystra or Derbe were the residence of the devout family. The latter has been inferred, but without much likelihood, from a possible construction of Acts xx. 4, the former from Acts xvi. 1, 2 (comp. Neander, *Pfl. und Leit.* i. 288; Alford and Huther, *in loc.*). In either case the absence of any indication of the existence of a synagogue makes this devout consistency more noticeable. We may think here, as at Philippi, of the few devout women going forth to their daily worship at some river-side oratory (Conybeare and Howson, i. 211). The reading *παρὰ τίνων*, in 2 Tim. iii. 14, adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf, indicates that it was from them as well as from the Apostle that the young disciple received his first impression of Christian truth. It would be natural that a character thus fashioned should retain throughout something of a feminine piety. A constitution far from robust (1 Tim. v. 23), a morbid shrinking from opposition and responsibility (1 Tim. iv. 12-16, v. 20, 21, vi. 11-14; 2 Tim. ii. 1-7), a sensitiveness even to tears (2 Tim. i. 4), a tendency to an ascetic rigour which he had not strength to bear (1 Tim. v. 23), united, as it often is, with a temperament exposed to some risk from "youthful lusts"^b (2 Tim. ii. 22) and the softer emotions (1 Tim. v. 2)—these we may well think of as characterising the youth as they afterwards characterised the man.

The arrival of Paul and Barnabas in Lycaonia (Acts xiv. 6) brought the message of glad-tidings to Timotheus and his mother, and they received it with "unfeigned faith" (2 Tim. i. 5). If at Lystra, as seems probable from 2 Tim. iii. 11, he

may have witnessed the half-completed sacrifice, the half-finished martyrdom, of Acts xiv. 19. The preaching of the Apostle on his return from his short circuit prepared him for a life of suffering (Acts xiv. 22). From that time his life and education must have been under the direct superintendence of the body of elders (ib. 23). During the interval of seven years between the Apostle's first and second journeys, the boy grew up to manhood. His zeal, probably his asceticism, became known both at Lystra and Iconium. The mention of the two Churches as united in testifying to his character (Acts xvi. 2), leads us to believe that the early work was prophetic of the later, that he had been already employed in what was afterwards to be the great labour of his life, as "the messenger of the Churches," and that it was his tried fitness for that office which determined St. Paul's choice. Those who had the deepest insight into character, and spoke with a prophetic utterance, pointed to him (1 Tim. i. 18, iv. 14), as others had pointed before to Paul and Barnabas (Acts xiii. 2), as specially fit for the missionary work in which the Apostle was engaged. Personal feeling led St. Paul to the same conclusion (Acts xvi. 3), and he was solemnly set apart (the whole assembly of the elders laying their hands on him, as did the Apostle himself) to do the work and possibly to bear the title of Evangelist (1 Tim. iv. 14; 2 Tim. i. 6, iv. 5).^c A great obstacle, however, presented itself. Timotheus, though inheriting, as it were, from the nobler side (Wetstein, *in loc.*), and therefore reckoned as one of the seed of Abraham, had been allowed to grow up to the age of manhood without the sign of circumcision, and in this point he might seem to be disclaiming the Jewish blood that was in him and choosing to take up his position as a heathen. Had that been his real position, it would have been utterly inconsistent with St. Paul's principle of action to urge on him the necessity of circumcision (1 Cor. vii. 18; Gal. ii. 3, v. 2). As it was, his condition was that of a negligent, almost of an apostate Israelite; and, though circumcision was nothing, and uncircumcision was nothing, it was a serious question whether the scandal of such a position should be allowed to frustrate all his efforts as an Evangelist. The fact that no offence seems to have been felt hitherto is explained by the predominance of the Gentile element in the churches of Lycaonia (Acts xiv. 27). But his wider work would bring him into contact with the Jews, who had already shown themselves so ready to attack, and then the scandal would come out. They might tolerate a heathen, as such, in the synagogue or the church, but an uncircumcised Israelite would be to them a horror and a portent. With a special view to their feelings, making no sacrifice of principle, the Apostle, who had refused to permit the circumcision of Titus, "took and circumcised" Timotheus (Acts xvi. 3); and then, as conscious of no inconsistency, went on his way distributing the decrees of the council of Jerusalem, the great charter of the freedom of the Gentiles (ib. 4). Henceforth Timotheus was one of his most constant

to overcome the prejudice which the Jews would naturally have against him on this ground.

^b Comp. the elaborate dissertation, *De νεωτερικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις*, by Bosius, in Hase's *Thesaurus*, vol. ii.

^c Iconium has been suggested by Conybeare and Howson (l. 289) as the probable scene of the ordination.

^a The children of these marriages were known as Mamzerim (bastards), and stood just above the NETHINIM. This was, however, *caeteris paribus*. A bastard who was a wise student of the Law was, in theory, above an ignorant high-priest (Gem. Hieros. *Horajoth*, fol. 84, in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* in Matt. xxiii. 14); and the education of Timotheus (2 Tim. iii. 15) may therefore have helped

companions. Not since he parted from Barnabas had he found one whose heart so answered to his own. If Barnabas had been as the brother and friend of early days, he had now found one whom he could claim as his own true son by a spiritual parentage (1 Cor. iv. 17; 1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2). They and Silvanus, and probably Luke also, journeyed to Philippi (Acts xvi. 12), and there already the young Evangelist was conspicuous at once for his filial devotion and his zeal (Phil. ii. 22). His name does not appear in the account of St. Paul's work at Thessalonica, and it is possible that he remained some time at Philippi, and then acted as the messenger by whom the members of that Church sent what they were able to give for the Apostle's wants (Phil. iv. 15). He appears, however, at Beroea, and remains there when Paul and Silas are obliged to leave (Acts xvii. 14), going on afterwards to join his master at Athens (1 Thess. iii. 2). From Athens he is sent back to Thessalonica (ib.), as having special gifts for comforting and teaching. He returns from Thessalonica, not to Athens but to Corinth,^d and his name appears united with St. Paul's in the opening words of both the letters written from that city to the Thessalonians (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1). Here also he was apparently active as an Evangelist (2 Cor. i. 19), and on him, probably, with some exceptions, devolved the duty of baptising the new converts (1 Cor. i. 14). Of the next five years of his life we have no record, and can infer nothing beyond a continuance of his active service as St. Paul's companion. When we next meet with him it is as being sent on in advance when the Apostle was contemplating the long journey which was to include Macedonia, Achaia, Jerusalem, and Rome (Acts xix. 22). He was sent to "bring" the churches "into remembrance of the ways" of the Apostle (1 Cor. iv. 17). We trace in the words of the "father" an anxious desire to guard the son from the perils which, to his eager but sensitive temperament, would be most trying (1 Cor. xvi. 10). His route would take him through the churches which he had been instrumental in founding, and this would give him scope for exercising the gifts which were afterwards to be displayed in a still more responsible office. It is probable, from the passages already referred to, that, after accomplishing the special work assigned to him, he returned by the same route and met St. Paul according to a previous arrangement (1 Cor. xvi. 11), and was thus with him when the second epistle was written to the Church of Corinth (2 Cor. i. 1). He returns with the Apostle to that city, and joins in messages of greeting to the disciples whom he had known personally at Corinth and who had since found their way to Rome (Rom. xvi. 21). He forms one of the company of friends who go with St.

^d Dr. Wordsworth infers from 2 Cor. ix. 11, and Acts xviii. 5 that he brought contributions to the support of the Apostle from the Macedonian Churches, and thus released him from his continuous labour as a tent-maker.

^e The writer has to thank Prof. Lightfoot for calling his attention to an article ("They of Caesar's Household") in *Journ. of Class. and Sacred Philology*, No. X., in which the hypothesis is questioned, on the ground that the Epigrams are later than the Epistles, and that they connect the name of Pudens with heathen customs and vices. On the other hand it may be urged that the bantering tone of the Epigrams forbids us to take them as evidences of character. Pudens tells Martial that he does not "like his poems." "Oh, that is because you read too many at a

Paul to Philippi and then sail by themselves, waiting for his arrival by a different ship (Acts xx. 3-6). Whether he continued his journey to Jerusalem, and what became of him during St. Paul's two years' imprisonment, are points on which we must remain uncertain. The language of St. Paul's address to the elders of Ephesus (Acts xx. 17-35) renders it unlikely that he was then left there with authority. The absence of his name from Acts xxvii. in like manner leads to the conclusion that he did not share in the perilous voyage to Italy. He must have joined him, however, apparently soon after his arrival in Rome, and was with him when the Epistles to the Philippians, to the Colossians, and to Philemon were written (Phil. i. 1, ii. 19; Col. i. 1; Philem. 1). All the indications of this period point to incessant missionary activity. As before, so now, he is to precede the personal coming of the Apostle, inspecting, advising, reporting (Phil. ii. 19-23), caring especially for the Macedonian Churches as no one else could care. The special messages of greeting sent to him at a later date (2 Tim. iv. 21) show that at Rome also, as elsewhere, he had gained the warm affection of those among whom he ministered. Among those most eager to be thus remembered to him, we find, according to a fairly supported hypothesis, the names of a Roman noble [PUDENS], of a future bishop of Rome [LINUS], and of the daughter of a British king [CLAUDIA] (Williams, *Claudia and Pudens*; Conybeare and Howson, ii. 501; Alford, *Excursus in Greek Test.* iii. 104). It is interesting to think of the young Evangelist as having been the instrument by which one who was surrounded by the fathomless impurity of the Roman world was called to a higher life, and the names which would otherwise have appeared only in the foul epigrams of Martial (i. 32, iv. 13, v. 48, xi. 53) raised to a perpetual honour in the salutations of an apostolic epistle.^e To this period of his life (the exact time and place being uncertain) we may probably refer the imprisonment of Heb. xiii. 23, and the trial at which he "witnessed the good confession" not unworthy to be likened to that of the Great Confessor before Pilate (1 Tim. vi. 13).

Assuming the genuineness and the later date of the two epistles addressed to him [comp. the following article], we are able to put together a few notices as to his later life. It follows from 1 Tim. i. 3 that he and his master, after the release of the latter from his imprisonment, revisited the provincial Asia, that the Apostle then continued his journey to Macedonia,^f while the disciple remained, half-reluctantly, even weeping at the separation (2 Tim. i. 4), at Ephesus, to check, if possible, the outgrowth of heresy and licentiousness which had sprung up there. The time during which he was thus to exercise authority as the delegate of an

time" (iv. 29). He begs him to correct their blemishes. "You want an autograph copy then, do you?" (vii. 11). The slave En- or Eucolpos (the name is possibly a wilful distortion of Eubulus) does what *might* be the fulfilment of a Christian vow (Acts xviii. 18), and this is the occasion of the suggestion which seems most damnable (v. 48). With this there mingles however, as in iv. 13, vi. 58, the language of a more real esteem than is common in Martial (comp. some good remarks in Rev. W. B. Galway, *A Clergyman's Holidays*, pp. 35-49).

^f Dr. Wordsworth, in an interesting note on 2 Tim. i. 15, supposes the parting to have been in consequence of St. Paul's second arrest, and sees in this the explanation of the tears of Timothy.

Apostle—a vicar apostolic rather than a bishop—was of uncertain duration (1 Tim. iii. 14). The position in which he found himself might well make him anxious. He had to rule presbyters, most of whom were older than himself (1 Tim. iv. 12), to assign to each a stipend in proportion to his work (ib. v. 17), to receive and decide on charges that might be brought against them (ib. v. 1, 19, 20), to regulate the almsgiving and the sisterhoods of the Church (ib. v. 3-10), to ordain presbyters and deacons (ib. iii. 1-13). There was the risk of being entangled in the disputes, prejudices, covetousness, sensuality of a great city. There was the risk of injuring health and strength by an over-rained asceticism (ib. iv. 4, v. 23). Leaders of rival sects were there—Hymenæus, Philetus, Alexander—to oppose and thwart him (1 Tim. i. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 17, iv. 14, 15). The name of his beloved teacher was no longer honoured as it had been; the strong affection of former days had vanished, and “Paul the aged” had become unpopular, the object of suspicion and dislike (comp. Acts xx. 37 and 2 Tim. i. 15). Only in the narrowed circle of the faithful few, Aquila, Priscilla, Mark, and others, who were still with him, was he likely to find sympathy or support (2 Tim. iv. 19). We cannot wonder that the Apostle, knowing these trials, and, with his marvellous power of bearing another’s burdens, making them his own, should be full of anxiety and fear for his disciple’s steadfastness; that admonitions, appeals, warnings should follow each other in rapid and vehement succession (1 Tim. i. 18, iii. 15, iv. 14, v. 21, vi. 11). In the second epistle to him this deep personal feeling utters itself yet more fully. The friendship of fifteen years was drawing to a close, and all memories connected with it throng upon the mind of the old man, now ready to be offered, the blameless youth (2 Tim. iii. 15), the holy household (ib. i. 5), the solemn ordination (ib. i. 6), the tears at parting (ib. i. 4). The last recorded words of the Apostle express the earnest hope, repeated yet more earnestly, that he might see him once again (ib. iv. 9, 21). Timotheus is to come before winter, to bring with him the cloak for which in that winter there would be need (2 Tim. iv. 13). We may hazard the conjecture that he reached him in time, and that the last hours of the teacher were soothed by the presence of the disciple whom he loved so truly. Some writers have even seen in Heb. xiii. 23 an indication that he shared St. Paul’s imprisonment and was released from it by the death of Nero (Conybeare and Howson, ii. 502; Neander, *Pfl. und Leit.* i. 552). Beyond this all is apocryphal and uncertain. He continues, according to the old traditions, to act as bishop of Ephesus (Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 14), and dies a martyr’s death under Domitian or Nerva (Niceph. *H. E.* iii. 11). The great festival of Artemis (the *καταγώγιον* of that goddess) led him to protest against the licence and frenzy which accompanied it. The mob were roused to fury, and put him to death with clubs (comp. Polycrates and Simeon Metaphr. in Henschen’s *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 24). Some later critics—Schleiermacher, Mayerhoff—have seen in him the author of the whole or part of the Acts (Olshausen, *Commentar.* ii. 612).

A somewhat startling theory as to the intervening period of his life has found favour with Calmet (s. v. *Timothée*), Tillemont (i. 147), and others. If he continued, according to the received

tradition, to be bishop of Ephesus, then he, and no other, must have been the “angel” of that church to whom the message of Rev. ii. 1-7 was addressed. It may be urged, as in some degree confirming this view, that both the praise and the blame of that message are such as harmonise with the impressions as to the character of Timotheus derived from the Acts and the Epistles. The refusal to acknowledge the self-styled Apostles, the abhorrence of the deeds of the Nicolaitans, the unwearied labour, all this belongs to “the man of God” of the Pastoral Epistles. And the fault is no less characteristic. The strong language of St. Paul’s entreaty would lead us to expect that the temptation of such a man would be to fall away from the glow of his “first love,” the zeal of his first faith. The promise of the Lord of the Churches is in substance the same as that implied in the language of the Apostle (2 Tim. ii. 4-6).

The conjecture, it should be added, has been passed over unnoticed by most of the recent commentators on the Apocalypse (comp. Alford and Wordsworth, *in loc.*). Trench (*Seven Churches of Asia*, p. 64) contrasts the “angel” of Rev. ii. with Timotheus as an “earlier angel” who, with the generation to which he belonged, had passed away when the Apocalypse was written. It must be remembered, however, that, at the time of St. Paul’s death, Timotheus was still “young,” probably not more than thirty-five, that he might, therefore, well be living, even on the assumption of the later date of the Apocalypse, and that the traditions (*valeant quantum*) place his death after that date. Bengel admits this, but urges the objection that he was not the bishop of any single diocese, but the superintendent of many churches. This however may, in its turn, be traversed, by the answer that the death of St. Paul may have made a great difference in the work of one who had hitherto been employed in travelling as his representative. The special charge committed to him in the Pastoral Epistles might not unnaturally give fixity to a life which had previously been wandering.

An additional fact connected with the name of Timothy is that two of the treatises of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite are addressed to him (*De Hierarch. Coel.* i. 1; comp. Le Nourry, *Dissert.* c. ix., and Halloix, *Quaest.* iv. in Migne’s edition).

[E. H. P.]

TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO. *Authorship.*

—The question whether these Epistles were written by St. Paul was one to which, till within the last half-century, hardly any answer but an affirmative one was thought possible. They are reckoned among the Pauline Epistles in the Muratorian Canon and the Peshito version. Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 25) places them among the *ὁμολογούμενα* of the N. T., and, while recording the doubts which affected the 2nd Epistle of St. Peter and the other *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, knows of none which affect these. They are cited as authoritative by Tertullian (*De Praescr.* c. 25; *ad Uxorem*, i. 7), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 11), Irenæus (*Adv. Haer.* iv. 16, §3, ii. 14, §8). Parallelisms, implying quotation, in some cases with close verbal agreement, are found in Clem. Rom. 1 *Cor.* c. 29 (comp. 1 Tim. ii. 8); Ignat. *ad Magn.* c. 8 (1 Tim. i. 4); Polycarp, c. 4 (comp. 1 Tim. vi. 7, 8); Theophilus of Antioch *ad Autol.* iii. 126 (comp. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2). There were indeed some notable exceptions to this consensus. The three Pastoral Epistles were all re-

jected by Marcion (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* v. 21; Iren. i. 29), Basilides, and other Gnostic teachers (Hieron. *Præf. in Titum*). Tatian, while strongly maintaining the genuineness of the Epistle to Titus, denied that of the other two (Hieron. *ib.*). In these instances we are able to discern a dogmatic reason for the rejection. The sects which these leaders represented could not but feel that they were condemned by the teaching of the Pastoral Epistles. Origen mentions some who excluded 2 Tim. from the Canon for a very different reason. The names of Jannes and Jambres belonged to an Apocryphal history, and from such a history St. Paul never would have quoted (Origen, *Comm. in Matt.* 117).

The Pastoral Epistles have, however, been subjected to a more elaborate scrutiny by the criticism of Germany. The first doubts were uttered by J. C. Schmidt. These were followed by the *Sendschreiben* of Schleiermacher, who, assuming the genuineness of 2 Tim. and Titus, undertook, on that hypothesis, to prove the spuriousness of 1 Tim. Bolder critics saw that the position thus taken was untenable, that the three Epistles must stand or fall together. Eichhorn (*Einl.* iii.) and De Wette (*Einleit.*) denied the Pauline authorship of all three. There was still, however, an attempt to maintain their authority as embodying the substance of the Apostle's teaching, or of letters written by him, on the hypothesis that they had been sent forth after his death by some over-zealous disciple, who wished, under the shadow of his name, to attack the prevailing errors of the time (Eichhorn, *ib.*). One writer (Schott, *Isagoge Hist. Crit.* p. 324) ventures on the hypothesis that Luke was the writer. Baur (*Die sogenannten Pastoral-Briefe*), here as elsewhere more daring than others, assigns them to no earlier period than the latter half of the second century, after the death of Polycarp in A.D. 167 (p. 138). On this hypothesis 2 Tim. was the earliest, 1 Tim. the latest of the three, each probably by a different writer (p. 72-76). They grew out of the state of parties in the Church of Rome, and, like the Gospel of St. Luke and the Acts, were intended to mediate between the extreme Pauline and the extreme Petrine sections of the Church (p. 58). Starting from the data supplied by the Epistle to the Philippians, the writers, first of 2 Tim., then of Titus, and lastly of 1 Tim., aimed, by the insertion of personal incidents, messages, and the like, at giving to their compilations an air of verisimilitude (p. 70).

It will be seen from the above statement that the question of authorship is here more than usually important. There can be no solution as regards these Epistles like that of an obviously dramatic and therefore legitimate personation of character, such as is possible in relation to the authorship of Ecclesiastes. If the Pastoral Epistles are not Pauline, the writer clearly meant them to pass as such, and the *animus decipiendi* would be there in its most flagrant form. They would have to take their place with the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, or the Pseudo-Ignatian Epistles. Where we now see the traces, full of life and interest, of the character of "Paul the aged," firm, tender, zealous, loving, we should have to recognise only the tricks, sometimes skilful, sometimes clumsy, of some unknown and dishonest controversialist.

Consequences such as these ought not, it is true, to lead us to suppress or distort one iota of evidence. They may well make us cautious, in ex-

amining the evidence, not to admit conclusions that are wider than the premises, nor to take the premises themselves for granted. The task of examining is rendered in some measure easier by the fact that, in the judgment of most critics, hostile as well as friendly, the three Pastoral Epistles stand on the same ground. The intermediate hypotheses of Schleiermacher (*supra*) and Credner (*Einl. ins N. T.*), who looks on Titus as genuine, 2 Tim. as made up out of two genuine letters, and 1 Tim. as altogether spurious, may be dismissed as individual eccentricities, hardly requiring a separate notice. In dealing with objections which take a wider range, we are meeting those also which are confined to one or two out of the three Epistles.

The chief elements of the alleged evidence of spuriousness may be arranged as follows:—

I. *Language*.—The style, it is urged, is different from that of the acknowledged Pauline Epistles. There is less logical continuity, a want of order and plan, subjects brought up, one after the other, abruptly (Schleiermacher). Not less than fifty words, most of them striking and characteristic, are found in these Epistles which are not found in St. Paul's writings (see the list in Conybeare and Howson, App. I., and Huther's *Einleit.*). The formula of salutation (*χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη*), half-technical words and phrases, like *εὐσέβεια* and its cognates (1 Tim. ii. 2, iii. 16, vi. 6, *et al.*), *παρακαταθήκη* (1 Tim. i. 18, vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 12, 14, ii. 2), the frequently-recurring *πιστὸς ὁ λόγος* (1 Tim. i. 15, iii. 1, iv. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 11), the use of *ὑγιαίνουσα* as the distinctive epithet of a true teaching, these and others like them appear here for the first time (Schleierm. and Baur). Some of these words, it is urged, *φανερῶν, ἐπιφάνεια, σωτήρ, φῶς ἀπόροιστον*, belong to the Gnostic terminology of the 2nd century.

On the other side it may be said, (1) that there is no test so uncertain as that of language and style thus applied; how uncertain we may judge from the fact that Schleiermacher and Neander find no stumbling-blocks in 2 Tim. and Titus, while they detect an un-Pauline character in 1 Tim. A difference like that which marks the speech of men divided from each other by a century may be conclusive against the identity of authorship, but short of that there is hardly any conceivable divergency which may not coexist with it. The style of one man is stereotyped, formed early, and enduring long. The sentences move after an unvarying rhythm; the same words recur. That of another changes, more or less, from year to year. As his thoughts expand they call for a new vocabulary. The last works of such a writer, as those of Bacon and of Burke, may be florid, redundant, figurative, while the earlier were almost meagre in their simplicity. In proportion as the man is a solitary thinker, or a strong assertor of his own will, will he tend to the former state. In proportion to his power of receiving impressions from without, of sympathising with others, will be his tendency to the latter. Apart from all knowledge of St. Paul's character, the alleged peculiarities are but of little weight in the adverse scale. With that knowledge we may see in them the natural result of the intercourse with men in many lands, of that readiness to become all things to all men, which could hardly fail to show itself in speech as well as in action. Each group of his Epistles has, in like manner, its characteristic words and phrases. (2) If this is true generally, it is so yet more emphatically when the

circumstances of authorship are different. The language of a Bishop's Charge is not that of his letters to his private friends. The Epistles, which St. Paul wrote to the churches as societies, might well differ from those which he wrote, in the full freedom of open speech, to a familiar friend, to his own "true son." It is not strange that we should find in the latter a Luther-like vehemence of expression (e.g. *κεκαυστηριασμένων*, 1 Tim. iv. 2, *διαπαρτριβαὶ διεφθαρμένων ἀνθρώπων τὸν νοῦν*, 1 Tim. vi. 5, *σεσωρευμένα ἁμαρτίας*, 2 Tim. iii. 6), mixed sometimes with words that imply that which few great men have been without, a keen sense of humour, and the capacity, at least, for satire (e.g. *γραῶδεις μύθους*, 1 Tim. iv. 7; *φλύαροι καὶ περίεργοι*, 1 Tim. v. 13; *τετύφωται*, 1 Tim. vi. 4; *γαστέρες ἀργαί*, Tit. i. 12). (3) Other letters, again, were dictated to an amanuensis. These have every appearance of having been written with his own hand, and this can hardly have been without its influence on their style, rendering it less diffuse, the transitions more abrupt, the treatment of each subject more concise. In this respect it may be compared with the other two autograph Epistles, those to the Galatians and Philemon. A list of words given by Alford (iii. *Proleg.* c. vii.) shows a considerable resemblance between the former of the two and the Pastoral Epistles. (4) It may be added, that to whatever extent a forger of spurious Epistles would be likely to form his style after the pattern of the recognised ones, so that men might not be able to distinguish the counterfeit from the true, to that extent the diversity which has been dwelt on is, within the limits that have been above stated, not against, but for the genuineness of these Epistles. (5) Lastly, there is the positive argument that there is a large common element, both of thoughts and words, shared by these Epistles and the others. The grounds of faith, the law of life, the tendency to digress and go off at a word, the personal, individualising affection, the free reference to his own sufferings for the truth, all these are in both, and by them we recognise the identity of the writer. The evidence can hardly be given within the limits of this article, but its weight will be felt by any careful student. The coincidences are precisely those, in most instances, which the forger of a document would have been unlikely to think of, and give but scanty support to the perverse ingenuity which sees in these resemblances a proof of compilation, and therefore of spuriousness.

II. It has been urged (chiefly by Eichhorn, *Eint.* p. 315) against the reception of the Pastoral Epistles that they cannot be fitted in to the records of St. Paul's life in the Acts. To this there is a threefold answer. (1) The difficulty has been enormously exaggerated. If the dates assigned to them must, to some extent, be conjectural, there are, at least, two hypotheses in each case (*infra*) which rest on reasonably good grounds. (2) If the difficulty were as great as it is said to be, the mere fact that we cannot fix the precise date of three letters in the life of one of whose ceaseless labours and journeyings we have, after all, but fragmentary records, ought not to be a stumbling-block. The hypothesis of a release from the imprisonment with which the history of the Acts ends removes all difficulties; and if this be rejected (Baur, p. 67), as itself not resting on sufficient evidence, there is, in any case, a wide gap of which we know nothing. It may at least claim to be a theory

which explains phenomena. (3) Here, as before, the reply is obvious, that a man composing counterfeit Epistles would have been likely to make them square with the acknowledged records of the life.

III. The three Epistles present, it is said, a more developed state of Church organisation and doctrine than that belonging to the lifetime of St. Paul. (1) The rule that the bishop is to be "the husband of one wife" (1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 6) indicates the strong opposition to second marriages which characterised the 2nd century (Baur, pp. 113-120). (2) The "younger widows" of 1 Tim. v. 11 cannot possibly be literally widows. If they were, St. Paul, in advising them to marry, would be excluding them, according to the rule of 1 Tim. v. 9, from all chance of sharing in the Church's bounty. It follows therefore that the word *χήραι* is used, as it was in the 2nd century, in a wider sense, as denoting a consecrated life (Baur, pp. 42-49). (3) The rules affecting the relation of the bishops and elders indicate a hierarchic development characteristic of the Petrine element, which became dominant in the Church of Rome in the post-Apostolic period, but foreign altogether to the genuine Epistles of St. Paul (Baur, pp. 80-89). (4) The term *αἰρετικός* is used in its later sense, and a formal procedure against the heretic is recognised, which belongs to the 2nd century rather than the 1st. (5) The upward progress from the office of deacon to that of presbyter, implied in 1 Tim. iii. 13, belongs to a later period (Baur, *l. c.*).

It is not difficult to meet objections which contain so large an element of mere arbitrary assumption. (1) Admitting Baur's interpretation of 1 Tim. iii. 2 to be the right one, the rule which makes monogamy a condition of the episcopal office is very far removed from the harsh, sweeping censures of all second marriages which we find in Athenagoras and Tertullian. (2) There is not a shadow of proof that the "younger widows" were not literally such. The *χήραι* of the Pastoral Epistles are, like those of Acts vi. 1, ix. 39, women dependent on the alms of the Church, not necessarily deaconesses, or engaged in active labours. The rule fixing the age of sixty for admission is all but conclusive against Baur's hypothesis. (3) The use of *ἐπίσκοποι* and *πρεσβύτεροι* in the Pastoral Epistles as equivalent (Tit. i. 5, 7), and the absence of any intermediate order between the bishops and deacons (1 Tim. iii. 1-8), are quite unlike what we find in the Ignatian Epistles and other writings of the 2nd century. They are in entire agreement with the language of St. Paul (Acts xx. 17, 28; Phil. i. 1). Few features of these Epistles are more striking than the absence of any high hierarchic system. (4) The word *αἰρετικός* has its counterpart in the *αἰρέσεις* of 1 Cor. xi. 19. The sentence upon Hymenæus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20) has a precedent in that of 1 Cor. v. 5. (5) The best interpreters do not see in 1 Tim. iii. 13 the transition from one office to another (comp. Ellicott, *in loc.*, and DEACON). If it is there, the assumption that such a change is foreign to the Apostolic age is entirely an arbitrary one.

IV. Still greater stress is laid on the indications of a later date in the descriptions of the false teachers noticed in the Pastoral Epistles. These point, it is said, unmistakeably to Marcion and his followers. In the *ἀντιθέσεις τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως* (1 Tim. vi. 20) there is a direct reference to the treatise which he wrote under the title of *Ἀντιθέσεις*, setting forth the contradiction between

the Old and New Testament (Baur, p. 26). The "genealogies" of 1 Tim. i. 4, Tit. iii. 9, in like manner, point to the Aeons of the Valentinians and Ophites (*ibid.* p. 12). The "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats," fits in to Marcion's system, not to that of the Judaizing teachers of St. Paul's time (*ibid.* p. 24). The assertion that "the law is good" (1 Tim. i. 8) implies a denial, like that of Marcion, of its divine authority. The doctrine that the "Resurrection was past already" (2 Tim. ii. 18), was thoroughly Gnostic in its character. In his eagerness to find tokens of a later date everywhere, Baur sees in the writer of these Epistles not merely an opponent of Gnosticism, but one in part infected with their teaching, and appeals to the doxologies of 1 Tim. i. 17, vi. 15, and their Christology throughout, as having a Gnostic stamp on them (pp. 28-33).

Carefully elaborated as this part of Baur's attack has been, it is perhaps the weakest and most capricious of all. The false teachers of the Pastoral Epistles are predominantly Jewish, *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* (1 Tim. i. 7), belonging altogether to a different school from that of Marcion, giving heed to "Jewish fables" (Tit. i. 4) and "disputes connected with the Law" (Tit. iii. 9). Of all monstrosities of Exegesis few are more wilful and fantastic than that which finds in *νομοδιδάσκαλοι* Antinomian teachers and in *μαχαί νομικάι* Antinomian doctrine (Baur, p. 17). The natural suggestion that in Acts xx. 30, 31, St. Paul contemplates the rise and progress of a like perverse teaching, that in Col. ii. 8-23 we have the same combination of Judaism and a self-styled *γνώσις* (1 Tim. vi. 20) or *φιλοσοφία* (Col. ii. 8), leading to a like false asceticism, is set aside summarily by the rejection both of the Speech and the Epistle as spurious. Even the denial of the Resurrection, we may remark, belongs as naturally to the mingling of a Sadduceean element with an Eastern mysticism as to the teaching of Marcion. The self-contradictory hypothesis that the writer of 1 Tim. is at once the strongest opponent of the Gnostics, and that he adopts their language, need hardly be refuted. The whole line of argument, indeed, first misrepresents the language of St. Paul in these Epistles and elsewhere, and then assumes the entire absence from the first century of even the germs of the teaching which characterised the second (comp. Neander, *Pfl. und Leit.* i. p. 401; Heydenreich, p. 64).

Date.—Assuming the two Epistles to Timothy to have been written by St. Paul, to what period of his life are they to be referred? The question as it affects each Epistle may be discussed separately.

First Epistle to Timothy.—The direct data in this instance are very few. (1) i. 3, implies a journey of St. Paul from Ephesus to Macedonia, Timothy remaining behind. (2) The age of Timothy is described as *νεότης* (iv. 12). (3) The general resemblance between the two Epistles indicates that they were written at or about the same time. Three hypotheses have been maintained as fulfilling these conditions.

(A) The journey in question has been looked on as an unrecorded episode in the two years' work at Ephesus of Acts xix. 10.

(B) It has been identified with the journey of Acts xx. 1, after the tumult at Ephesus.

On either of these suppositions the date of the Epistle has been fixed at various periods after St. Paul's arrival at Ephesus, before the conclusion of his first imprisonment at Rome.

(C) It has been placed in the interval between St. Paul's first and second imprisonments at Rome.

Of these conjectures, A and B have the merit of bringing the Epistle within the limit of the authentic records of St. Paul's life, but they have scarcely any other. Against A, it may be urged that a journey to Macedonia would hardly have been passed over in silence either by St. Luke in the Acts, or by St. Paul himself in writing to the Corinthians. Against B, that Timothy, instead of remaining at Ephesus when the Apostle left, had gone on into Macedonia before him (Acts xix. 22). The hypothesis of a possible return is traversed by the fact that he is with St. Paul in Macedonia at the time when 2 Cor. was written and sent off. In favour of C as compared with A or B, is the internal evidence of the contents of the Epistle. The errors against which Timothy is warned are present, dangerous, portentous. At the time of St. Paul's visit to Miletus in Acts xx., *i. e.*, according to those hypotheses, subsequent to the Epistle, they are still only looming in the distance (ver. 30). All the circumstances referred to, moreover, imply the prolonged absence of the Apostle. Discipline had become lax, heresies rife, the economy of the Church disordered. It was necessary to check the chief offenders by the sharp sentence of excommunication (1 Tim. i. 20). Other Churches called for his counsel and directions, or a sharp necessity took him away, and he hastens on, leaving behind him, with full delegated authority, the disciple in whom he most confided. The language of the Epistle also has a bearing on the date. According to the hypotheses A and B, it belongs to the same periods as 1 and 2 Cor. and the Ep. to the Romans, or, at the latest, to the same group as Philippians and Ephesians; and, in this case, the differences of style and language are somewhat difficult to explain. Assume a later date, and then there is room for the changes in thought and expression which, in a character like St. Paul's, were to be expected as the years went by. The only objections to the position thus assigned are—(1) the doubtfulness of the second imprisonment altogether, which has been discussed in another place [PAUL]; and (2), the "youth" of Timothy at the time when the letter was written (iv. 12). In regard to the latter, it is sufficient to say that, on the assumption of the later date, the disciple was probably not more than 34 or 35, and that this was young enough for one who was to exercise authority over a whole body of Bishop-presbyters, many of them older than himself (v. 1).

Second Epistle to Timothy.—The number of special names and incidents in the 2nd Epistle make the chronological data more numerous. It will be best to bring them, as far as possible, together, noticing briefly with what other facts each connects itself, and to what conclusion it leads. Here also there are the conflicting theories of an earlier and later date, (A) during the imprisonment of Acts xxviii. 30, and (B) during the second imprisonment already spoken of.

(1) A parting apparently recent, under circumstances of special sorrow (i. 4). Not decisive. The scene at Miletus (Acts xx. 37) suggests itself, if we assume A. The parting referred to in 1 Tim. i. 3 might meet B.

(2) A general desertion of the Apostle even by the disciples of Asia (i. 15). Nothing in the Acts indicates anything like this before the imprison-