

ment of Acts xxviii. 30. Everything in Acts xix. and xx., and not less the language of the Epistle to the Ephesians, speaks of general and strong affection. This, therefore, so far as it goes, must be placed on the side of B.

(3) The position of St. Paul as suffering (i. 12), in bonds (ii. 9), expecting "the time of his departure" (iv. 6), forsaken by almost all (iv. 16). Not quite decisive, but tending to B rather than A. The language of the Epistles belonging to the first imprisonment imply, it is true, bonds (Phil. i. 13, 16; Eph. iii. 1, vi. 20), but in all of them the Apostle is surrounded by many friends, and is hopeful, and confident of release (Phil. i. 25; Philem. 22).

(4) The mention of Onesiphorus, and of services rendered by him both at Rome and Ephesus (i. 16-18). Not decisive again, but the tone is rather that of a man looking back on a past period of his life, and the order of the names suggests the thought of the ministrations at Ephesus being subsequent to those at Rome. Possibly too the mention of "the household," instead of Onesiphorus himself, may imply his death in the interval. This therefore tends to B rather than A.

(5) The abandonment of St. Paul by Demas (iv. 10). Strongly in favour of B. Demas was with the Apostle when the Epistles to the Colossians (iv. 14) and Philemon (24) were written. 2 Tim. must therefore, in all probability, have been written after them; but, if we place it anywhere in the first imprisonment, we are all but compelled^a by the mention of Mark, for whose coming the Apostle asks in 2 Tim. iv. 11, and who is with him in Col. iv. 10, to place it at an earlier age.

(6) The presence of Luke (iv. 11). Agrees well enough with A (Col. iv. 14), but is perfectly compatible with B.

(7) The request that Timothy would bring Mark (iv. 11). Seems at first, compared as above, with Col. iv. 14, to support A, but, in connexion with the mention of Demas, tends decidedly to B.

(8) Mention of Tychicus as sent to Ephesus (iv. 12). Appears, as connected with Eph. vi. 21, 22, Col. iv. 7, in favour of A, yet, as Tychicus was continually employed on special missions of this kind, may just as well fit in with B.

(9) The request that Timothy would bring the cloak and books left at Troas (iv. 13). On the assumption of A, the last visit of St. Paul to Troas would have been at least four or five years before, during which there would probably have been opportunities enough for his regaining what he had left. In that case, too, the circumstances of the journey present no trace of the haste and suddenness which the request more than half implies. On the whole, then, this must be reckoned as in favour of B.

(10) "Alexander the coppersmith did me much evil," "greatly withstood our words" (iv. 14, 15). The part taken by a Jew of this name in the uproar of Acts xix., and the natural connexion of the *χαλκεύς* with the artisans represented by Demetrius, suggest a reference to that event as something recent, and so far support A. On the other hand, the name Alexander was too common to make us certain as to the identity, and if it were the same, the hypothesis of a later date only requires us to assume what was probable enough, a renewed hostility.

(11) The abandonment of the Apostle in his first

defence (*ἀπολογία*), and his deliverance "from the mouth of the lion" (iv. 16, 17). Fits in as a possible contingency with either hypothesis, but, like the mention of Demas in (5), must belong, at any rate, to a time much later than any of the other Epistles written from Rome.

(12) "Erastus abode at Corinth, but Trophimus I left at Miletus sick" (iv. 20). Language, as in (9), implying a comparatively recent visit to both places. If, however, the letter were written during the first imprisonment, then Trophimus had not been left at Miletus, but had gone on with St. Paul to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29),^b and the mention of Erastus as remaining at Corinth would have been superfluous to one who had left that city at the same time as the Apostle (Acts xx. 4).

(13) "Hasten to come before winter." Assuming A, the presence of Timothy in Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 1; Philem. 1, might be regarded as the consequence of this; but then, as shown in (5) and (7), there are almost insuperable difficulties in supposing this Epistle to have been written before those three.

(14) The salutations from Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia. Without laying much stress on this, it may be said that the absence of these names from all the Epistles, which, according to A, belong to the same period, would be difficult to explain. B leaves it open to conjecture that they were converts of more recent date. They are mentioned too as knowing Timothy, and this implies, as at least probable, that he had already been at Rome, and that this letter to him was consequently later than those to the Philippians and Colossians.

On the whole, it is believed that the evidence preponderates strongly in favour of the later date, and that the Epistle, if we admit its genuineness, is therefore a strong argument for believing that the imprisonment of Acts xxviii. was followed by a period first of renewed activity and then of suffering.

Places.—In this respect as in regard to time, 1 Tim. leaves much to conjecture. The absence of any local reference but that in i. 3, suggests Macedonia or some neighbouring district. In A and other MSS. in the Peshito, Ethiopic, and other versions, Laodicea is named in the inscription as the place whence it was sent, but this appears to have grown out of a traditional belief resting on very insufficient grounds, and incompatible with the conclusion which has been above adopted, that this is the Epistle referred to in Col. iv. 16 as that from Laodicea (Theophyl. *in loc.*). The Coptic version with as little likelihood states that it was written from Athens (Huther, *Einleit.*).

The Second Epistle is free from this conflict of conjectures. With the solitary exception of Böttger, who suggests Caesarea, there is a *consensus* in favour of Rome, and everything in the circumstances and names of the Epistle leads to the same conclusion (*ibid.*).

Structure and Characteristics.—The peculiarities of language, so far as they affect the question of authorship, have been already noticed. Assuming the genuineness of the Epistles, some characteristic features remain to be noticed.

(1) The ever-deepening sense in St. Paul's heart of the Divine Mercy, of which he was the object, as shown in the insertion of *ἔλεος* in the salutations of both Epistles, and in the *ἡλεήθην* of 1 Tim. i. 13.

^a The qualifying words might have been omitted, but for the fact that it has been suggested that Demas, having forsaken St. Paul, repented and returned (Lardner, vi. 388).

^b The conjecture that the "leaving" referred to took place during the voyage of Acts xxvii. is purely arbitrary and at variance with vers. 5 and 6 of that chapter.

(2) The greater abruptness of the Second Epistle. From first to last there is no plan, no treatment of subjects carefully thought out. All speaks of strong overflowing emotion, memories of the past, anxieties about the future.

(3) The absence, as compared with St. Paul's other Epistles, of Old Testament references. This may connect itself with the fact just noticed, that these Epistles are not argumentative, possibly also with the request for the "books and parchments" which had been left behind (2 Tim. iv. 13). He may have been separated for a time from the *ἱερὰ γράμματα*, which were commonly his companions.

(4) The conspicuous position of the "faithful sayings" as taking the place occupied in other Epistles by the O. T. Scriptures. The way in which these are cited as authoritative, the variety of subjects which they cover, suggest the thought that in them we have specimens of the prophecies of the Apostolic Church which had most impressed themselves on the mind of the Apostle, and of the disciples generally. 1 Cor. xiv. shows how deep a reverence he was likely to feel for such spiritual utterances. In 1 Tim. iv. 1, we have a distinct reference to them.

(5) The tendency of the Apostle's mind to dwell more on the universality of the redemptive work of Christ (1 Tim. ii. 3-6, iv. 10), his strong desire that all the teaching of his disciples should be "sound" (*ὑγιαίνουσα*), commending itself to minds in a healthy state, his fear of the corruption of that teaching by morbid subtleties.

(6) The importance attached by him to the practical details of administration. The gathered experience of a long life had taught him that the life and well-being of the Church required these for its safeguards.

(7) The recurrence of doxologies (1 Tim. i. 17, vi. 15, 16; 2 Tim. iv. 18) as from one living perpetually in the presence of God, to whom the language of adoration was as his natural speech.

It has been thought desirable, in the above discussion of conflicting theories, to state them simply as they stand, with the evidence on which they rest, without encumbering the page with constant reference to authorities. The names of writers on the N. T. in such a case, where the grounds of reasoning are open to all, add little or nothing to the weight of the conclusions drawn from them. Full particulars will, however, be found in the introductions of Alford, Wordsworth, Huther, Davidson, Wiesinger, Hug. Conybeare and Howson (*App. i.*) give a good tabular summary both of the objections to the genuineness of the Epistles and of the answers to them, and a clear statement in favour of the later date. The most elaborate argument in favour of the earlier is to be found in N. Lardner, *History of Apost. and Evang.* (*Works*, vi. pp. 315-375). [E. H. P.]

TIN (כֶּסֶף : *κασσίτερος* : *stannum*). Among the various metals found among the spoils of the Midianites, tin is enumerated (Num. xxxi. 22). It was known to the Hebrew metal-workers as an alloy of other metals (Is. i. 25; Ez. xxii. 18, 20). The markets of Tyre were supplied with it by the ships of Tarshish (Ez. xxvii. 12). It was used for plummets (Zech. iv. 10), and was so plentiful as to furnish the writer of Ecclesiasticus (xlvii. 18) with a figure by which to express the wealth of Solomon, whom he apostrophizes thus: "Thou didst gather gold as tin, and didst multiply silver as lead." In the Homeric times the Greeks were familiar with it.

Twenty layers of tin were in Agamemnon's cuirass given him by Kinyres (*Il. xi. 25*), and twenty bosses of tin were upon his shield (*Il. xi. 34*). Copper, tin, and gold were used by Hephaestus in welding the famous shield of Achilles (*Il. xviii. 474*). The fence round the vineyard in the device upon it was of tin (*Il. xviii. 564*), and the oxen were wrought of tin and gold (*ibid. 574*). The grooves of Achilles, made by Hephaestus, were of tin beaten fine, close fitting to the limb (*Il. xviii. 612, xxi. 592*). His shield had two folds or layers of tin between two outer layers of bronze and an inner layer of gold (*Il. xx. 271*). Tin was used in ornamenting chariots (*Il. xxiii. 503*), and a cuirass of bronze overlaid with tin is mentioned in *Il. xxiii. 561*. No allusion to it is found in the *Odyssey*. The melting of tin in a smelting-pot is mentioned by Hesiod (*Theog. 862*).

Tin is not found in Palestine. Whence, then, did the ancient Hebrews obtain their supply? "Only three countries are known to contain any considerable quantity of it: Spain and Portugal, Cornwall and the adjacent parts of Devonshire, and the islands of Junk, Ceylon, and Banca, in the Straits of Malacca" (Kenrick, *Phoenicia*, p. 212). According to Diodorus Siculus (v. 46) there were tin-mines in the island of Panchaia, off the east coast of Arabia, but the metal was not exported. There can be little doubt that the mines of Britain were the chief source of supply to the ancient world. Mr. Cooley, indeed, writes very positively (*Maritime and Inland Discovery*, i. 131): "There can be no difficulty in determining the country from which tin first arrived in Egypt. That metal has been in all ages a principal export of India: it is enumerated as such by Arrian, who found it abundant in the ports of Arabia, at a time when the supplies of Rome flowed chiefly through that channel. The tin-mines of Banca are probably the richest in the world; but tin was unquestionably brought from the West at a later period." But it has been shown conclusively by Dr. George Smith (*The Cassiterides*, Lond. 1863) that, so far from such a statement being justified by the authority of Arrian, the facts are all the other way. After examining the commerce of the ports of Abyssinia, Arabia, and India, it is abundantly evident that, "instead of its coming from the East to Egypt, it has been invariably exported from Egypt to the East" (p. 23). With regard to the tin obtained from Spain, although the metal was found there, it does not appear to have been produced in sufficient quantities to supply the Phoenician markets. Posidonius (in Strab. iii. p. 147) relates that in the country of the Artabri, in the extreme N.W. of the peninsula, the ground was bright with silver, tin, and white gold (mixed with silver), which were brought down by the rivers; but the quantity thus obtained could not have been adequate to the demand. At the present day the whole surface bored for mining in Spain is little more than a square mile (Smith, *Cassiterides*, p. 46). We are therefore driven to conclude that it was from the Cassiterides, or tin districts of Britain, that the Phoenicians obtained the great bulk of this commodity (Sir G. C. Lewis, *Hist. Survey of the Astr. of the Anc.* p. 451), and that this was done by the direct voyage from Gades. It is true that at a later period (Strabo, iii. 147) tin was conveyed overland to Marseilles by a thirty days' journey (Diod. Sic. v. 2); but Strabo (iii. 175) tells us that the Phoenicians alone carried on this traffic in former times from Gades, concealing

the passage from every one; and that on one occasion, when the Romans followed one of their vessels in order to discover the source of supply, the master of the ship ran upon a shoal, leading those who followed him to destruction. In course of time, however, the Romans discovered the passage. In Ezekiel, "the trade in tin is attributed to Tarshish, as 'the merchant' for the commodity, without any mention of the place whence it was procured" (*Cassiterides*, p. 74); and it is after the time of Julius Caesar that we first hear of the overland traffic by Marseilles.

Pliny (vi. 36) identifies the *cassiteros* of the Greeks with the *plumbum album* or *candidum* of the Romans, which is our tin. *Stannum*, he says, is obtained from an ore containing lead and silver, and is the first to become melted in the furnace. It is the same which the Germans call *Werk*, and is apparently the meaning of the Hebr. *bédil* in Is. i. 25. The etymology of *cassiteros* is uncertain. From the fact that in Sanscrit *kastira* signifies "tin," an argument has been derived in favour of India being the source of the ancient supply of this metal, but too much stress must not be laid upon it. [LEAD.] [W. A. W.]

TIPH'SAH (תִּפְסָה: *Θεψά*: *Thaphsa*, *Thapsa*) is mentioned in 1 K. iv. 24 as the limit of Solomon's empire towards the Euphrates, and in 2 K. xv. 16 it is said to have been attacked by Menahem, king of Israel, who "smote Tiphseh and all that were therein, and all the coasts thereof." It is generally admitted that the town intended, at any rate in the former passage, is that which the Greeks and Romans knew under the name of Thapsacus (*Θάψακος*), situated in Northern Syria, at the point where it was usual to cross the Euphrates (Strab. xvi. 1, §21). The name is therefore, reasonably enough, connected with תִּפְסָה, "to pass over" (Winer, *Realwörterbuch*, ii. 613), and is believed to correspond in meaning to the Greek *πóπος*, the German *furt*, and our "ford."

Thapsacus was a town of considerable importance in the ancient world. Xenophon, who saw it in the time of Cyrus the younger, calls it "great and prosperous" (*μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων*, *Anab.* i. 4, §11). It must have been a place of considerable trade, the land-traffic between East and West passing through it, first on account of its fordway (which was the lowest upon the Euphrates), and then on account of its bridge (Strab. xvi. 1, §23), while it was likewise the point where goods were both embarked for transport down the stream (Q. Curt. x. 1), and also disembarked from boats which had come up it, to be conveyed on to their final destination by land (Strab. xvi. 3, §4). It is a fair conjecture that Solomon's occupation of the place was connected with his efforts to establish a line of trade with Central Asia directly across the continent, and that Tadmor was intended as a resting-place on the journey to Thapsacus.

Thapsacus was the place at which armies marching east or west usually crossed the "Great River." It was there that the Ten Thousand first learnt the real intentions of Cyrus, and, consenting to aid him in his enterprise, passed the stream (Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, §11). There too Darius Codomannus crossed on

his flight from Issus (Arr. *Exp. Al.* ii. 13); and Alexander, following at his leisure, made his passage at the same point (ib. iii. 7). A bridge of boats was usually maintained at the place by the Persian kings, which was of course broken up when danger threatened. Even then, however, the stream could in general be forded, unless in the flood-season.*

It has been generally supposed that the site of Thapsacus was the modern *Deir* (D'Anville, Rennell, Vaux, &c.). But the Euphrates expedition proved that there is no ford at *Deir*, and indeed showed that the only ford in this part of the course of the Euphrates is at *Suriyeh*, 45 miles below Balis, and 165 above *Deir* (Ainsworth, *Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand*, p. 70). This then must have been the position of Thapsacus. Here the river is exactly of the width mentioned by Xenophon (4 stades or 800 yards), and here for four months in the winter of 1841-1842 the river had but 20 inches of water (ib. p. 72).

"The Euphrates is at this spot full of beauty and majesty. Its stream is wide and its waters generally clear and blue. Its banks are low and level to the left, but undulate gently to the right. Previous to arriving at this point the course of the river is southerly, but here it turns to the east, expanding more like an inland lake than a river, and quitting (as Pliny has described it) the Palmyrean solitudes for the fertile Mygdonia" (ib.) A paved causeway is visible on either side of the Euphrates at *Suriyeh*, and a long line of mounds may be traced, disposed, something like those of Nineveh, in the form of an irregular parallelogram. These mounds probably mark the site of the ancient city. [G. R.]

TIRAS (תִּירָס: *Θεΐρας*: *Thiras*). The youngest son of Japheth (Gen. x. 2). As the name occurs only in the ethnological table, we have no clue, as far as the Bible is concerned, to guide us as to the identification of it with any particular people. Ancient authorities generally fixed on the Thracians, as presenting the closest verbal approximation to the name (Joseph. *Ant.* i. 6, §1; Jerome, *in Gen.* x. 2; Targums Pseudoj. and Jerns. *on Gen.* i. c.; Targ. on 1 Chr. i. 5): the occasional rendering *Persia* probably originated in a corruption of the original text. The correspondence between Thrace and Tiras is not so complete as to be convincing; the gentile form *Θραξ* brings them nearer together, but the total absence of the *i* in the Greek name is observable. Granted, however, the verbal identity, no objection would arise on ethnological grounds to placing the Thracians among the Japhetic races. Their precise ethnic position is indeed involved in great uncertainty; but all authorities agree in their general Indo-European character. The evidence of this is circumstantial rather than direct. The language has disappeared, with the exception of the ancient names and the single word *bria*, which forms the termination of Mesembria, Selymbria, &c., and is said to signify "town" (Strab. vii. p. 319). The Thracian stock was represented in later times by the Getae, and these again, still later, by the Daci, each of whom inherited the old Thracian tongue (Strab. vii. p. 303). But this circumstance throws little light

they calculated on his ignorance, or thought he would not examine too strictly into the groundwork of a compliment (See Xen. *Anab.* i. 4, §11.)

* This is clear from the very name of the place, and is confirmed by modern researches. When the natives told Cyrus that the stream had acknowledged him as its king, having never been forded until his army waded through it,

on the subject; for the Dacian language has also disappeared, though fragments of its vocabulary may possibly exist either in Wallachian dialects or perhaps in the Albanian language (Diefenbach, *Or. Eur.* p. 68). If Grimm's identification of the Getae with the Goths were established, the Teutonic affinities of the Thracians would be placed beyond question (*Gesch. Deuts. Spr.* i. 178); but this view does not meet with general acceptance. The Thracians are associated in ancient history with the Pelasgians (Strab. ix. p. 401), and the Trojans, with whom they had many names in common (Strab. xiii. p. 590); in Asia Minor they were represented by the Bithynians (Herod. i. 28, vii. 75). These circumstances lead to the conclusion that they belonged to the Indo-European family, but do not warrant us in assigning them to any particular branch of it. Other explanations have been offered of the name Tiras, of which we may notice the Agathyrsi, the first part of the name (*Aga*) being treated as a prefix (Knobel, *Völkert.* p. 129); Taurus and the various tribes occupying that range (Kalisch, *Comm.* p. 246); the river Tyras, *Dniester*, with its cognominous inhabitants, the Tyritae (Hävernick, *Einleit.* ii. 231; Schulthess, *Parad.* p. 194); and, lastly, the maritime Tyrrheni (Tuch, *in Gen. l. c.*) [W. L. B.]

TIRATHITES, THE (תִּרְעָתִים: Γαθιέλμ; Alex. Αργαθειμ: *Canentes*). One of the three families of Scribes residing at Jabez (1 Chr. ii. 55), the others being the Shimeathites and Suchathites. The passage is hopelessly obscure, and it is perhaps impossible to discover whence these three families derived their names. The Jewish commentators, playing with the names in true Shemitic fashion, interpret them thus:—"They called them Tirathim, because their voices when they sung resounded loud (תִּרְעָ); and Shimeathites because they made themselves heard (שָׁמַע) in reading the Law."

The SHIMEATHITES having been inadvertently omitted in their proper place, it may be as well to give here the equivalents of the name (שְׁמַעְתִּים. Σαμαθιέλμ: *Resonantes*). [G.]

TIRE (פֶּאֶר). An ornamental headdress worn on festive occasions (Ez. xxiv. 17, 23). The term *peër* is elsewhere rendered "goodly" (Ex. xxxix. 28); "bonnet" (Is. iii. 20; Ez. xliv. 18); and "ornament" (Is. lxi. 10). For the character of the article, see HEADRESS. [W. L. B.]

TIR'HAKAH (תִּרְהַקָּה: Θαρακά: *Tharaca*). King of Ethiopia, Cush (βασιλεύς Αιθιοπών, LXX.), the opponent of Sennacherib (2 K. xix. 9; Is. xxxvii. 9). While the king of Assyria was "warring against Libnah," in the south of Palestine, he heard of Tirhakah's advance to fight him, and sent a second time to demand the surrender of Jerusalem. This was B.C. cir. 713, unless we suppose that the expedition took place in the 24th instead of the 14th year of Hezekiah, which would bring it to B.C. cir. 703. If it were an expedition later than that of which the date is mentioned, it must have been before B.C. cir. 698, Hezekiah's last year. But if the reign of Manasseh is reduced to 35 years, these dates would be respectively B.C. cir. 693, 683, and 678, and these numbers might have to be slightly modified, the fixed date of the capture of Samaria, B.C. 721, being abandoned.

According to Manetho's epitomists, Tarkos or Tarakos was the third and last king of the xxvth

dynasty, which was of Ethiopians, and reigned 18 (Afr.) or 20 (Eus.) years. [So.] From one of the Apis-Tablets we learn that a bull Apis was born in his 26th year, and died at the end of the 20th of Psammetichus I. of the xxvth dynasty. Its life exceeded 20 years, and no Apis is stated to have lived longer than 26. Taking that sum as the most probable, we should date Tirhakah's accession B.C. cir. 695, and assign him a reign of 26 years. In this case we should be obliged to take the late reckoning of the Biblical events, were it not for the possibility that Tirhakah ruled over Ethiopia before becoming king of Egypt. In connexion with this theory it must be observed, that an earlier Ethiopian of the same dynasty is called in the Bible "So, king of Egypt," while this ruler is called "Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia," and that a Pharaoh is spoken of in Scripture at the period of the latter, and also that Herodotus represents the Egyptian opponent of Sennacherib as Sethos, a native king, who may however have been a vassal under the Ethiopian.

The name of Tirhakah is written in hieroglyphics TEHARKA. Sculptures at Thebes commemorate his rule, and at Gebel-Berkei, or Napata, he constructed one temple and part of another. Of the events of his reign little else is known, and the account of Megasthenes (*ap.* Strabo xv. p. 686), that he rivalled Sesostris as a warrior and reached the Pillars of Hercules, is not supported by other evidence. It is probable that at the close of his reign he found the Assyrians too powerful, and retired to his Ethiopian dominions. [R. S. P.]

TIR'HANAH (תִּרְחַנָּה: Θαραμ; Alex. Θαρανά: *Tharana*). Son of Caleb ben-Hezron by his concubine Maachah (1 Chr. ii. 48).

TIR'IA (תִּירִיא: Θιριά; Alex. Θηριά: *Thiria*). Son of Jehaleleel of the tribe of Judah (1 Chr. iv. 16).

TIRSHA'THA (always written with the article, הַתִּרְשָׁתָּה: hence the LXX. give the word Ἀθηρσασθά (Ezr. ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65), and Ἀθαρσασθά (Neh. x. 1): Vulg. *Athersatha*). The title of the governor of Judaea under the Persians, derived by Gesenius from a Persian root signifying "stern," "severe." He compares the title *Gestrenger Herr* formerly given to the magistrates of the free and imperial cities of Germany. Compare also our expression, "most dread sovereign." It is added as a title after the name of Nehemiah (Neh. viii. 9, x. 1 [Heb. 2]); and occurs also in three other places, Ezr. ii. (ver. 63), and the repetition of that account in Neh. vii. (vers. 65-70), where probably it is intended to denote Zerubbabel, who had held the office before Nehemiah. In the margin of the A. V. (Ezr. ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65, x. 1) it is rendered "governor;" an explanation justified by Neh. xii. 26, where "Nehemiah the governor," הַפֶּחָה (*Pecha*, possibly from the same root as the word we write Pacha, or Pasha), occurs instead of the more usual expression, "Nehemiah the Tirshatha." This word, פֶּחָה, is one of very common occurrence. It is twice applied by Nehemiah to himself (v. 14, 18), and by the prophet Haggai (i. 1, ii. 2, 21) to Zerubbabel. According to Gesenius, it denotes the prefect or governor of a province of less extent than a satrapy. The word is used of officers and governors under the Assyrian (2 K. xviii. 24, Is. xxxvi. 9); Babylonian (Jer. li. 57, Ez. xxiii. 6, 23; see also Ezr. v. 3, 14, vi. 7, Dan. iii. 2, 3, 27, vi. 7 [Heb.

8]), Median (Jer. li. 28), and Persian (Esth. viii. 9, ix. 3) monarchies. And under this last we find it applied to the rulers of the provinces bordered by the Euphrates (Ezr. viii. 36, Neh. ii. 7, 9, iii. 7), and to the governors of Judaea, Zerubbabel and Nehemiah (compare Mal. i. 8). It is found also at an earlier period in the times of Solomon (1 K. x. 15, 2 Chr. ix. 14) and Benhadad king of Syria (1 K. xx. 24): from which last place, compared with others (2 K. xviii. 24, Is. xxxvi. 9), we find that military commands were often held by these governors; the word indeed is often rendered by the A. V., either in the text or the margin, "captain."

By thus briefly examining the sense of Pecha, which (though of course a much more general and less distinctive word) is given as an equivalent to Tirshatha, we have no difficulty in forming an opinion as to the general notion implied in it. We have, however, no sufficient information to enable us to explain in detail in what consisted the special peculiarities in honour or functions which distinguished the Tirshatha from others of the same class, governors, captains, princes, rulers of provinces. [E. P. E.]

TIR'ZAH (תִּרְצָה), i. e. Thirza: Θερσά:

Thersa). The youngest of the five daughters of Zelophehad, whose case originated the law that in the event of a man dying without male issue his property should pass to his daughters (Num. xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, xxxvi. *11; Josh. xvii. 3). [ZELOPHEHAD.] [G.]

TIR'ZAH (תִּרְצָה): Θαρσᾶ, Θερσᾶ, Θαρσειλα; Alex. Θερμα, Θερσα, Θερσιλα: *Thersa*). An ancient Canaanite city, whose king is enumerated amongst the twenty-one overthrown in the conquest of the country (Josh. xii. 24). From that time nothing is heard of it till after the disruption of Israel and Judah. It then reappears as a royal city—the residence of Jeroboam (1 K. xiv. ^b17), and of his successors, Baasha (xv. 21, 33), Elah (xvi. 8, 9), and Zimri (ib. 15). It contained the royal sepulchres of one (xvi. 6), and probably all the first four kings of the northern kingdom. Zimri was besieged there by Omri, and perished in the flames of his palace (ib. 18). The new king continued to reside there at first, but after six years he removed to a new city which he built and named Shomrôn (Samaria), and which continued to be the capital of the northern kingdom till its fall. Once, and once only, does Tirzah reappear, as the seat of the conspiracy of Menahem ben-Gaddi against the wretched Shallum (2 K. xv. 14, 16); but as soon as his revolt had proved successful, Menahem removed the seat of his government to Samaria, and Tirzah was again left in obscurity.

Its reputation for beauty throughout the country must have been wide-spread. It is in this sense that it is mentioned in the ^cSong of Solomon, where the juxtaposition of Jerusalem is sufficient proof of

the estimation in which it was held—"Beautiful as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem" (Cant. vi. 4). The LXX. (εὐδοκία) and Vulg. (*suavis*) do not, however, take *tirtsah* as a proper name in this passage.

Eusebius (*Onomast.* Θαρσιλά^d) mentions it in connexion with Menahem, and identifies it with a "village of Samaritans in Batanaea." There is, however, nothing in the Bible to lead to the inference that the Tirzah of the Israelite monarchs was on the east of Jordan. It does not appear to be mentioned by the Jewish topographers, or any of the Christian travellers of the middle ages, except Brocardus, who places "Thersa on a high mountain, three leagues (*leucæ*) from Samaria to the east" (*Description*, cap. vii.). This is exactly the direction, and very nearly the distance, of *Tellûzah*, a place in the mountains north of *Nablus*, which was visited by Dr. Robinson and Mr. Van de Velde in 1852 (*B. R.* iii. 302; *Syr. and Pal.* iii. 334). The town is on an eminence, which towards the east is exceedingly lofty, though, being at the edge of the central highlands, it is more approachable from the west. The place is large and thriving, but without any obvious marks of antiquity. The name may very probably be a corruption of Tirzah; but beyond that similarity, and the general agreement of the site with the requirements of the narrative, there is nothing at present to establish the identification with certainty. [G.]

TISH'BITE, THE (תִּשְׁבִּי: δ θεσβίτης;

Alex. ^fθεσβίτης: *Thesbites*). The well-known designation of Elijah (1 K. xvii. 1, xxi. 17, 28; 2 K. i. 3, 8, ix. 36).

(1.) The name naturally points to a place called Tishbeh (Fürst), Tishbi, or rather perhaps Tesheb, as the residence of the prophet. And indeed the word תִּשְׁבִּי, which follows it in 1 K. xvii. 1, and which in the received Hebrew Text is so pointed as to mean "from the residents," may, without violence or grammatical impropriety, be pointed to read "from Tishbi." This latter reading appears to have been followed by the LXX. (δ θεσβίτης δ ἐκ Θεσβῶν); Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, §2, πύλῳς Θεσβῶνης), and the Targum (בְּתִשְׁבִּי, "from out of Toshab"); and it has the support of Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 468 *note*). It is also supported by the fact, which seems to have escaped notice, that the word does not in this passage contain the ך which is present in each one of the places where תִּשְׁבִּי is used as a mere appellative noun. Had the ך been present in 1 K. xvii. 1, the interpretation "from Tishbi" could never have been proposed.

Assuming, however, that a town is alluded to, as Elijah's native place, it is not necessary to infer that it was itself in Gilead, as Epiphanius, Adrichomius, Castell, and others have imagined; for the

dependent of political considerations to go out of his own country—if Tirzah can be said to be out of the country of a native of Judah—for a metaphor.

^d It will be observed that the name stood in the LXX. of 2 K. xv. 14 in Eusebius' time virtually in the same strange un-hebrew form that it now does.

^e Schwarz (150) seems merely to repeat this passage.

^f The Alex. MS. omits the word in 1 K. xvii. 1, and both MSS. omit it in xxi. 28, which they cast, with the whole passage, in a different form from the Hebrew text.

^g This lexicographer pretends to have been in possession of some special information as to the situation of the place.

^a In this passage the order of the names is altered in the Hebrew text from that preserved in the other passages—and still more so in the LXX.

^b The LXX. version of the narrative of which this verse forms part, amongst other remarkable variations from the Hebrew text, substitutes Sarira, that is, Zereda, for Tirzah. In this they are supported by no other version.

^c Its occurrence here on a level with Jerusalem has been held to indicate that the Song of Songs was the work of a writer belonging to the northern kingdom. But surely a poet, and so ardent a poet as the author of the Song of Songs, may have been sufficiently in-

word תִּשְׁבִּי, which in the A. V. is rendered by the general term "inhabitant," has really the special force of "resident" or even "stranger." This, and the fact that a place with a similar name is not elsewhere mentioned, has induced the commentators¹ and lexicographers, with few exceptions, to adopt the name "Tishbite" as referring to the place THISBE in Naphtali, which is found in the LXX. text of Tobit i. 2. The difficulty in the way of this is the great uncertainty in which the text of that passage is involved, as has already been shown under the head of THISBE; an uncertainty quite sufficient to destroy any dependence on it as a topographical record, although it bears the traces of having originally been extremely minute. Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, note to 1 K. xvii. 1) suggests in support of the reading "the Tishbite from Tishbi of Gilead" (which however he does not adopt in his text), that the place may have been purposely so described, in order to distinguish it from the town of the same name in Galilee.

(2.) But תִּשְׁבִּי has not always been read as a proper name, referring to a place. Like מִתְּשֻׁבִי, though exactly in reverse, it has been pointed so as to make it mean "the stranger." This is done by Michaelis in the Text of his interesting *Bibel für Ungelernte*—"der Fremdling Elia, einer von den Fremden, die in Gilead wohnhaft waren;" and it throws a new and impressive air round the prophet, who was so emphatically the champion of the God of Israel. But this suggestion does not appear to have been adopted by any other interpreter, ancient or modern.

The numerical value of the letters תִּשְׁבִּי is 712, on which account, and also doubtless with a view to its correspondence with his own name, Elias Levita entitled his work, in which 712 words are explained, *Sepher Tishbi* (Bartolucci, i. 140 b). [G.]

TITANS (Τιτᾶνες, of uncertain derivation). These children of Uranus (Heaven) and Gaia (Earth) were, according to the earliest Greek legends, the vanquished predecessors of the Olympian gods, condemned by Zeus to dwell in Tartarus, yet not without retaining many relics of their ancient dignity (Aesch. *Prom. Vinct.* passim). By later (Latin) poets they were confounded with the kindred *Gigantes* (Hor. *Od.* iii. 4, 42, &c.), as the traditions of the primitive Greek faith died away; and both terms were transferred by the Seventy to the Rephaim of ancient Palestine. [GIANT.] The usual Greek rendering of *Rephaim* is indeed Γίγαντες (Gen. xiv. 5; Josh. xii. 4, &c.), or, with a yet clearer reference to Greek mythology, γηγενεῖς (Prov. ii. 18, ix. 18), and θεομάχοι (Symmach. Prov. ix. 18, xxi. 16; Job xxvi. 5). But in 2 Sam. v. 18, 22, "the valley of Rephaim" is represented by ἡ κοιλάς τῶν τιτάνων instead of ἡ κοιλάς τῶν γιγάντων, 1 Chr. xi. 15, xiv. 9, 13; and the same rendering occurs in a Hexapl. text in 2 Sam. xxiii. 13. Thus Ambrose defends his use of a classical allusion by a reference to the Old Latin version of 2 Sam. v., which preserved the LXX. rendering (*De fide*, iii. 1, 4, Nam et gigantes et vallem Ti-

He says (*Lex. Hebr.* ed. Michaelis), "Urbs in tribu Gad, Jebaa inter et Saron." Jebaa should be Jecbaa (*i. e.* Jogbehah) and this strange bit of confident topography is probably taken from the map of Adrichomius, made on the principle of inserting every name mentioned in the Bible, known or unknown.

¹ There is no doubt that this is the meaning of תִּשְׁבִּי. See Gen. xxiii. 4 ("sojourner"), Ex. xii. 45 ("stranger"), Lev. xxv. 6 ("stranger"), Ps. xxxix. 12 ("sojourner").

tanum propheticis sermonis series non refugit. Ea Esaias Sirenas . . . dixit). It can therefore occasion no surprise that in the Greek version of the triumphal hymn of Judith, "the sons of the Titans" (υἱοὶ Τιτάνων: Vulg. filii Titim: Old Latin, filii Dathan; f. Tela; f. bellatorum) stands parallel with "high giants," ὑψηλοὶ Γίγαιτες, where the original text probably had ἰσχυροὶ and ἰσχυροί. The word has yet another interesting point of connexion with the Bible; for it may have been from some vague sense of the struggle of the infernal and celestial powers, dimly shadowed forth in the classical myth of the Titans, that several Christian fathers inclined to the belief that Τειτάν was the mystic name of "the beast" indicated in Rev. xiii. 18 (Iren. v. 30, 3 . . . "divinum putatur apud multos esse hoc nomen . . . et ostentationem quandam continet ultionis . . . et alias autem et antiquum, et fide dignum, et regale, magis autem et tyrannicum nomen . . . ut ex multis colligamus ne forte Titan vocetur qui veniet"). [B. F. W.]

TITHE.^a Without inquiring into the reason for which the number ten^b has been so frequently preferred as a number of selection in the cases of tribute-offerings, both sacred and secular, voluntary and compulsory, we may remark that numerous instances of its use are found both in profane and also in Biblical history, prior to or independently of the appointment of the Levitical tithes under the Law. In Biblical history the two prominent instances are—1. Abram presenting the tenth of all his property, according to the Syriac and Arabic versions of Heb. vii. and S. Jarchi in his Com., but as the passages themselves appear to show, of the spoils of his victory, to Melchizedek (Gen. xiv. 20; Heb. vii. 2, 6; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 10, §2; Selden, *On Tithes*, c. 1). 2. Jacob, after his vision at Luz, devoting a tenth of all his property to God in case he should return home in safety (Gen. xxviii. 22). These instances bear witness to the antiquity of tithes, in some shape or other, previous to the Mosaic tithe-system. But numerous instances are to be found of the practice of heathen nations, Greeks, Romans, Carthaginians, Arabians, of applying tenths derived from property in general, from spoil, from confiscated goods, or from commercial profits, to sacred, and quasi-sacred, and also to fiscal purposes, viz. as consecrated to a deity, presented as a reward to a successful general, set apart as a tribute to a sovereign, or as a permanent source of revenue. Among other passages, the following may be cited: 1 Macc. xi. 35; Herod. i. 89, iv. 152, v. 77, vii. 132, ix. 81; Diod. Sic. v. 42, xi. 33, xi. 14; Paus. v. 10, §2, x. 10, §1; Dionys. Hal. 19, 23; Justin xviii. 7, xx. 3; Arist. *Oecon.* ii. 2; Liv. v. 21; Polyb. ix. 39; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 3, 6, and 7 (where tithes of wine, oil, and "minutae fruges" are mentioned), *Pro Leg. Manil.* 6; Plut. *Ages.* c. 19, p. 389; Pliny, *N. H.* xii. 14; Macrob. *Sat.* iii. 6, Xen. *Hell.* i. 7, 10, iv. 3, 21; Rose, *Inscr. Gr.* p. 215; Gibbon, vol. iii. p. 301, ed. Smith; and a remarkable instance of fruits tithed and offered to a deity, and a feast made, of which the

It often occurs in connexion with תִּשְׁבִּי, "an alien," as in Lev. xxv. 23, 35, 40, 47 b, 1 Chr. xxix. 15. Besides the above passages, *tōshāb* is found in Lev. xxii. 10, xxv. 45, 47 a.

¹ Reland, *Pal.* 1035; Gesenius, *Thes.* 1352 b, &c. &c.

^a מַעֲשֵׂר; δεκάτη; *decimae*: and plur. מַעֲשֵׁרוֹת; δέκαται; *decimae*; from עָשָׂר, "ten."

^b Philo derives δέκα from δέχεσθαι (*De X. Orac.* ii. 184)

people of the district partook, in Xen. *Exp. Cyr.* v. 3, 9, answering thus to the Hebrew poor man's tithe-feast to be mentioned below.

The first enactment of the Law in respect of tithe is the declaration that the tenth of all produce, as well as of flocks and cattle, belongs to Jehovah, and must be offered to Him. 2. That the tithe was to be paid in kind, or, if redeemed, with an addition of one-fifth to its value (Lev. xxvii. 30-33). This tenth, called *Terumoth*, is ordered to be assigned to the Levites, as the reward of their service, and it is ordered further, that they are themselves to dedicate to the Lord a tenth of these receipts, which is to be devoted to the maintenance of the high-priest (Num. xviii. 21-28).

This legislation is modified or extended in the Book of Deuteronomy, *i. e.* from thirty-eight to forty years later. Commands are given to the people, 1. to bring their tithes, together with their votive and other offerings and first-fruits, to the chosen centre of worship, the metropolis, there to be eaten in festive celebration in company with their children, their servants, and the Levites (Deut. xii. 5-18). 2. After warnings against idolatrous or virtually idolatrous practices, and the definition of clean as distinguished from unclean animals, among which latter class the swine is of obvious importance in reference to the subject of tithes, the legislator proceeds to direct that all the produce of the soil shall be tithed every year (ver. 17 seems to show that corn, wine, and oil, alone are intended), and that these tithes with the firstlings of the flock and herd are to be eaten in the metropolis. 3. But in case of distance, permission is given to convert the produce into money, which is to be taken to the appointed place, and there laid out in the purchase of food for a festal celebration, in which the Levite is, by special command, to be included (Deut. xiv. 22-27). 4. Then follows the direction, that at the end of three years, *i. e.* in the course of the third and sixth years of the Sabbatical period, all the tithe of that year is to be gathered and laid up "within the gates," *i. e.* probably in some central place in each district, not at the metropolis; and that a festival is to be held, in which the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, together with the Levite, are to partake (*ib.* vers. 28, 29). 5. Lastly, it is ordered that after taking the tithe in each third year, "which is the year of tithing,"^c an exculpatory declaration is to be made by every Israelite, that he has done his best to fulfil the divine command (Deut. xxvi. 12-14).^d

From all this we gather, 1. That one-tenth of the whole produce of the soil was to be assigned for the maintenance of the Levites. 2. That out of this the Levites were to dedicate a tenth to God, for the use of the high-priest. 3. That a tithe, in all probability a *second* tithe, was to be applied to festival purposes. 4. That in every third year, either this festival tithe or a *third* tenth was to be eaten in company with the poor and the Levites. The question arises, were there *three* tithes taken in this third year; or is the third tithe only the second under a different description? That there were two yearly tithes seems clear, both from the general tenor of the directions and from the LXX. rendering of Deut. xxvi. 12. But it must be allowed that the *third* tithe is not without support. 1. Jo-

sephus distinctly says that one-tenth was to be given to the priests and Levites, one-tenth was to be applied to feasts in the metropolis, and that a tenth besides these (*τρίτην πρὸς αὐταῖς*) was every third year to be given to the poor (*Ant.* iv. 8, §8, and 22). 2. Tobit says, he gave one-tenth to the priests, one-tenth he sold and spent at Jerusalem, *i. e.* commuted according to Deut. xiv. 24, 25, and another tenth he gave away (Tob. i. 7, 8). 3. St. Jerome says one-tenth was given to the Levites, out of which they gave one-tenth to the priests (*δευτεροδεκάτη*); a second tithe was applied to festival purposes, and a third was given to the poor (*πρωχοδεκάτη*) (*Com. on Ezek.* xlv. vol. i. p. 565). Spencer thinks there were three tithes. Jennings, with Mede, thinks there were only two complete tithes, but that in the third year an addition of some sort was made (Spencer, *De Leg. Hebr.* p. 727; Jennings *Jew. Ant.* p. 183).

On the other hand, Maimonides says the third and sixth years' *second* tithe was shared between the poor and the Levites, *i. e.* that there was no third title (*De Jur. Paup.* vi. 4). Selden and Michaelis remark that the burden of three tithes, besides the first-fruits, would be excessive. Selden thinks that the third year's tithe denotes only a different application of the second or festival tithe, and Michaelis, that it meant a surplus after the consumption of the festival tithe (Selden, *On Tithes*, c. 2, p. 13; Michaelis, *Laws of Moses*, §192, vol. iii. p. 143, ed. Smith). Against a third tithe may be added Reland, *Ant. Hebr.* p. 359; Jahn, *Ant.* §389; Godwyn, *Moses and Aaron*, p. 156, and Carpzov, p. 621, 622; Keil, *Bibl. Arch.* §71, i. 337; Saalschütz, *Hebr. Arch.* i. 70; Winer, *Realhwb.* s. v. *Zehnte*. Knobel thinks the tithe was never taken in full, and that the third year's tithe only meant the portion contributed in that year (*Com. on Deut.* xiv. 29, in *Kurzgef. Exeg. Hdbuch.*). Ewald thinks that for two years the tithe was left in great measure to free-will, and that the third year's tithe only was compulsory (*Alterthüm.* p. 346).

Of these opinions, that which maintains three separate and complete tithings seems improbable, as imposing an excessive burden on the land, and not easily reconcilable with the other directions; yet there seems no reason for rejecting the notion of two yearly tithes, when we recollect the especial promise of fertility to the soil, conditional on observance of the commands of the Law (Deut. xxviii.). There would thus be, 1. a yearly tithe for the Levites; 2. a second tithe for the festivals, which last would every third year be shared by the Levites with the poor. It is this poor man's tithe which Michaelis thinks is spoken of as likely to be converted to the king's use under the regal dynasty (1 Sam. viii. 15, 17; Mich. *Laws of Moses*, vol. i. p. 299). Ewald thinks that under the kings the ecclesiastical tithe system reverted to what he supposes to have been its original free-will character. It is plain that during that period the tithe-system partook of the general neglect into which the observance of the Law declined, and that Hezekiah, among his other reforms, took effectual means to revive its use (2 Chr. xxxi. 5, 12, 19). Similar measures were taken after the Captivity by Nehemiah (Neh. xii. 44), and in both these cases special officers were appointed to take charge of the stores

^c שנת התענית.

^d The LXX. has here ἐὰν συντελέσης ἀποδεκατώσαι

πάν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον τῶν γεννημάτων τῆς γῆς σου ἐν τῇ ἔτει τῷ τρίτῳ τὸ δευτερον ἐπιδέκατον δώσει τῷ Λευίτῃ, κ. τ. λ.

and storehouses for the purpose. The practice of tithing especially for relief of the poor, appears to have subsisted even in Israel, for the prophet Amos speaks of it, though in an ironical tone, as existing in his day (Am. iv. 4). But as any degeneracy in the national faith would be likely to have an effect on the tithe-system, we find complaint of neglect in this respect made by the prophet Malachi (iii. 8, 10). Yet, notwithstanding partial evasion or omission, the system itself was continued to a late period in Jewish history, and was even carried to excess by those who, like the Pharisees, affected peculiar exactness in observance of the Law (Heb. vii. 5-8; Matth. xxiii. 23; Luke xviii. 12; Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 9, §2; *Vit.* c. 15).

Among details relating to the tithe payments mentioned by Rabbinical writers may be noticed: (1) That in reference to the permission given in case of distance (Deut. xiv. 24), Jews dwelling in Babylonia, Ammon, Moab, and Egypt, were considered as subject to the law of tithe in kind (Reland, iii. 9, 2, p. 355). (2) In tithing sheep the custom was to enclose them in a pen, and as the sheep went out at the opening, every tenth animal was marked with a rod dipped in vermilion. This was the "passing under the rod." The Law ordered that no inquiry should be made whether the animal were good or bad, and that if the owner changed it, both the original and the changeling were to be regarded as devoted (Lev. xxvii. 32, 33; Jer. xxxiii. 13; *Becoroth*, ix. 7; Godwyn, *M. and A.* p. 136, vi. 7). (3) Cattle were tithed in and after August, corn in and after September, fruits of trees in and after January (Godwyn, p. 137, §9); Buxtorf, *Syn. Jud.* c. xii. p. 282, 283. (4) "Corners" were exempt from tithe (*Peah*, i. 6). (5) The general rule was that all edible articles not purchased, were titheable, but that products not specified in Deut. xiv. 23, were regarded as doubtful. Tithe of them was not forbidden, but was not required (*Maaseroth*, i. 1; *Demai*, i. 1; Carpzov, *App. Bibl.* p. 619, 620). [H. W. P.]

TITUS MANLIUS. [MANLIUS.]

TITUS (*τίτος*: *Titus*). Our materials for the biography of this companion of St. Paul must be drawn entirely from the notices of him in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the Galatians, and to Titus himself, combined with the Second Epistle to Timothy. He is not mentioned in the Acts at all. The reading *τίτου Ἰούστου* in Acts xviii. 7 is too precarious for any inference to be drawn from it. Wieseler indeed lays some slight stress upon it (*Chronol. des Apost. Zeit.* Gött. 1848, p. 204), but this is in connexion with a theory which needs every help. As to a recent hypothesis, that Titus and Timothy were the same person (R. King, *Who was St. Titus?* Dublin, 1853), it is certainly ingenious, but quite untenable.

Taking the passages in the Epistles in the chronological order of the events referred to, we turn first to Gal. ii. 1, 3. We conceive the journey mentioned here to be identical with that (recorded in Acts xv.) in which Paul and Barnabas went from Antioch to Jerusalem to the conference which was to decide the question of the necessity of circumcision to the Gentiles. Here we see Titus in close association with Paul and Barnabas at Antioch. He goes with them to Jerusalem. He is in fact one of

* His birth-place may have been here; but this is quite uncertain. The name, which is Roman, proves nothing.

the *τινες ἄλλοι* of Acts xv. 2, who were deputed to accompany them from Antioch. His circumcision was either not insisted on at Jerusalem, or, if demanded, was firmly resisted (*οὐκ ἠναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι*). He is very emphatically spoken of as a Gentile (*Ἕλληνας*), by which is most probably meant that both his parents were Gentiles. Here is a double contrast from Timothy, who was circumcised by St. Paul's own directions, and one of whose parents was Jewish (Acts xvi. 1, 3; 2 Tim. i. 5, iii. 15). Titus would seem, on the occasion of the council, to have been specially a representative of the church of the uncircumcision.

It is to our purpose to remark that, in the passage cited above, Titus is so mentioned as apparently to imply that he had become personally known to the Galatian Christians. This, again, we combine with two other circumstances, viz. that the Epistle to the Galatians and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians were probably written within a few months of each other [GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO], and both during the same journey. From the latter of these two Epistles we obtain fuller notices of Titus in connexion with St. Paul.

After leaving Galatia (Acts xviii. 23), and spending a long time at Ephesus (Acts xix. 1-xx. 1), the Apostle proceeded to Macedonia by way of Troas. Here he expected to meet Titus (2 Cor. ii. 13), who had been sent on a mission to Corinth. In this hope he was disappointed [TROAS], but in Macedonia Titus joined him (2 Cor. vii. 6, 7, 13-15). Here we begin to see not only the above-mentioned fact of the mission of this disciple to Corinth, and the strong personal affection which subsisted between him and St. Paul (*ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ*, vii. 7), but also some part of the purport of the mission itself. It had reference to the immoralities at Corinth rebuked in the First Epistle, and to the effect of that First Epistle on the offending church. We learn further that the mission was so far successful and satisfactory: *ἀναγγέλλων τὴν ὑμῶν ἐπιπόθησιν* (vii. 7), *ἐλυπήθητε εἰς μετάνοιαν* (vii. 9), *τὴν πάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακοήν* (vii. 15); and we are enabled also to draw from the chapter a strong conclusion regarding the warm zeal and sympathy of Titus, his grief for what was evil, his rejoicing over what was good: *τῇ παρακλήσει ἢ παρεκλήθη ἐφ' ὑμῖν* (vii. 7); *ἀναπέπανται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ πάντων ὑμῶν* (vii. 13); *τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ περισσοτέρως εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐστίν* (vii. 15). But if we proceed further, we discern another part of the mission with which he was entrusted. This had reference to the collection, at that time in progress, for the poor Christians of Judaea (*καθὼς προ-ενήρξατο*, viii. 6), a phrase which shows that he had been active and zealous in the matter, while the Corinthians themselves seem to have been rather remiss. This connexion of his mission with the gathering of these charitable funds is also proved by another passage, which contains moreover an implied assertion of his integrity in the business (*μή τι ἐπλεονέκτησεν ὑμᾶς τίτος*; xii. 18), and a statement that St. Paul himself had sent him on the errand (*παρεκάλεσα τίτον*, *ib.*). Thus we are prepared for what the Apostle now proceeds to do after his encouraging conversations with Titus regarding the Corinthian Church. He sends him back from Macedonia to Corinth, in company with two other trustworthy Christians [TROPHIMUS, TYCHICUS], bearing the Second Epistle, and with an earnest request (*παρακαλέσαι*, viii. 6, *τῆς παράκλησιν*, viii. 17) that he would see to the

completion of the collection, which he had zealously promoted on his late visit (*ἵνα καθὼς προενήρξατο, οὕτως καὶ ἐπιτελέσῃ*, viii. 6), Titus himself being in nowise backward in undertaking the commission. On a review of all these passages, elucidating as they do the characteristics of the man, the duties he discharged, and his close and faithful co-operation with St. Paul, we see how much meaning there is in the Apostle's short and forcible description of him (*εἶτε ὑπὲρ Τίτου, κοινωνὸς ἐμῶς καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς συνεργός*, viii. 23).

All that has preceded is drawn from direct statements in the Epistles; but by indirect though fair inference we can arrive at something further, which gives coherence to the rest, with additional elucidations of the close connexion of Titus with St. Paul and the Corinthian Church. It has generally been considered doubtful who the ἀδελφοί were (1 Cor. xvi. 11, 12) that took the First Epistle to Corinth. Timothy, who had been recently sent thither from Ephesus (Acts xix. 22), could not have been one of them (*ἐὰν ἔλθῃ Τιμ.* 1 Cor. xvi. 10), and Apollos declined the commission (1 Cor. xvi. 12). There can be little doubt that the messengers who took that first letter were Titus and his companion, whoever that might be, who is mentioned with him in the second letter (*παρεκάλεσα Τίτον, καὶ συναπέστειλα τὸν ἀδελφόν*, 2 Cor. xii. 18). This view was held by Macknight, and very clearly set forth by him (*Transl. of the Apostolical Epistles, with Comm.* Edinb. 1829, vol. i. pp. 451, 674, vol. ii. pp. 2, 7, 124). It has been more recently given by Professor Stanley (*Corinthians*, 2nd ed. pp. 348, 492),^b but it has been worked out by no one so elaborately as by Professor Lightfoot (*Camb. Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, ii. 201, 202). As to the connexion between the two contemporaneous missions of Titus and Timotheus, this observation may be made here, that the difference of the two errands may have had some connexion with a difference in the characters of the two agents. If Titus was the firmer and more energetic of the two men, it was natural to give him the task of enforcing the Apostle's rebukes, and urging on the flagging business of the collection.

A considerable interval now elapses before we come upon the next notices of this disciple. St. Paul's first imprisonment is concluded, and his last trial is impending. In the interval between the two, he and Titus were together in Crete (*ἀπέλιπόν σε ἐν Κρήτῃ*, Tit. i. 5). We see Titus remaining in the island when St. Paul left it, and receiving there a letter written to him by the Apostle. From this letter we gather the following biographical details:—In the first place we learn that he was originally converted through St. Paul's instrumentality: this must be the meaning of the phrase *γνήσιον τέκνον*, which occurs so emphatically in the opening of the Epistle (i. 4). Next we learn the various particulars of the responsible duties which he had to discharge in Crete. He is to complete what St. Paul had been obliged to leave unfinished (*ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ἐπιδιορθώσῃ*, i. 5), and he is to organise the Church throughout the island by appointing presbyters in every city [GORTYNA; LASAEA]. Instructions are given as to the suitable character of such presbyters (vers. 6-9); and we learn further that we have here the repeti-

tion of instructions previously furnished by word of mouth (*ὡς ἐγὼ σοι διαταξάμην*, ver. 5). Next he is to control and bridle (*ἐπιστομίζειν*, ver. 11) the restless and mischievous Judaizers, and he is to be peremptory in so doing (*ἐλεγχε αὐτοὺς ἀποτόμως*, ver. 13). Injunctions in the same spirit are reiterated (ii. 1, 15, iii. 8). He is to urge the duties of a decorous and Christian life upon the women (ii. 3-5), some of whom (*πρεσβύτιδας*, ii. 3) possibly had something of an official character (*καλοδιδασκάλους, ἵνα σωφρονίζωσι τὰς νέας*, vers. 3, 4). He is to be watchful over his own conduct (ver. 7); he is to impress upon the slaves the peculiar duties of their position (ii. 9, 10); he is to check all social and political turbulence (iii. 1), and also all wild theological speculations (iii. 9); and to exercise discipline on the heretical (iii. 10). When we consider all these particulars of his duties, we see not only the confidence reposed in him by the Apostle, but the need there was of determination and strength of purpose, and therefore the probability that this was his character; and all this is enhanced if we bear in mind his isolated and unsupported position in Crete, and the lawless and immoral character of the Cretans themselves, as testified by their own writers (i. 12, 13). [CRETE.]

The notices which remain are more strictly personal. Titus is to look for the arrival in Crete of Artemas and Tychicus (iii. 12), and then he is to hasten (*σπουδάσον*) to join St. Paul at Nicopolis, where the Apostle is proposing to pass the winter (*ἰβ.*). Zenas and Apollos are in Crete, or expected there; for Titus is to send them on their journey, and supply them with whatever they need for it (iii. 13). It is observable that Titus and Apollos are brought into juxtaposition here, as they were before in the discussion of the mission from Ephesus to Corinth.

The movements of St. Paul, with which these later instructions to Titus are connected, are considered elsewhere. [PAUL; TIMOTHY.] We need only observe here that there would be great difficulty in inserting the visits to Crete and Nicopolis in any of the journeys recorded in the Acts, to say nothing of the other objections to giving the Epistle any date anterior to the voyage to Rome. [TITUS, EPISTLE TO.] On the other hand, there is no difficulty in arranging these circumstances, if we suppose St. Paul to have travelled and written after being liberated from Rome, while thus we gain the further advantage of an explanation of what Paley has well called the affinity of this Epistle and the first to Timothy. Whether Titus did join the Apostle at Nicopolis we cannot tell. But we naturally connect the mention of this place with what St. Paul wrote at no great interval of time afterwards, in the last of the Pastoral Epistles (*Τίτος εἰς Δαλματίαν*, 2 Tim. iv. 10); for Dalmatia lay to the north of Nicopolis, at no great distance from it. [NICOPOLIS.] From the form of the whole sentence, it seems probable that this disciple had been with St. Paul in Rome during his final imprisonment: but this cannot be asserted confidently. The touching words of the Apostle in this passage might seem to imply some reproach, and we might draw from them the conclusion that Titus became a second Demas: but on the whole this seems a harsh and unnecessary judgment.

^b There is some danger of confusing Titus and the brother (2 Cor. xii. 18) i. e. the brethren of 1 Cor. xvi. 11, 12, who (according to this view) took the first letter, with

Titus and the brethren (2 Cor. viii. 16-24) who took the second letter.

Whatever else remains is legendary, though it may contain elements of truth. Titus is connected by tradition with Dalmatia, and he is said to have been an object of much reverence in that region. This, however, may simply be a result of the passage quoted immediately above: and it is observable that of all the churches in modern Dalmatia (Neale's *Ecclesiological Notes on Dalm.* p. 175) not one is dedicated to him. The traditional connexion of Titus with Crete is much more specific and constant, though here again we cannot be certain of the facts. He is said to have been permanent bishop in the island, and to have died there at an advanced age. The modern capital, *Candia*, appears to claim the honour of being his burial-place (Cave's *Apostolici*, 1716, p. 42). In the fragment, *De Vita et Actis Titi*, by the lawyer Zenas (Fabric. *Cod. Apoc. N. T.* ii. 831, 832), Titus is called Bishop of Gortyna: and on the old site of Gortyna is a ruined church, of ancient and solid masonry, which bears the name of St. Titus, and where service is occasionally celebrated by priests from the neighbouring hamlet of *Metropolis* (E. Falkener, *Remains in Crete, from a MS. History of Candia by Onorio Belli*, p. 23). The cathedral of *Megalocastron*, in the north of the island, is also dedicated to this saint. Lastly, the name of Titus was the watchword of the Cretans when they were invaded by the Venetians: and the Venetians themselves, after their conquest of the island, adopted him to some of the honours of a patron saint; for, as the response after the prayer for the Doge of Venice was "Sancte Marce, tu nos adjuva," so the response after that for the Duke of Candia was "Sancte Tite, tu nos adjuva" (Pashley's *Travels in Crete*, i. 6, 175).^c

We must not leave unnoticed the striking, though extravagant, panegyric of Titus by his successor in the see of Crete, Andreas Cretensis (published, with Amphilocheus and Methodius, by Combefis, Paris, 1644). This panegyric has many excellent points: e. g. it incorporates well the more important passages from the 2nd Ep. to the Corinthians. The following are stated as facts. Titus is related to the Proconsul of the island: among his ancestors are Minos and Rhadamanthus (οἱ ἐκ Διός). Early in life he obtains a copy of the Jewish Scriptures, and learns Hebrew in a short time. He goes to Judaea, and is present on the occasion mentioned in Acts i. 15. His conversion takes place before that of St. Paul himself, but afterwards he attaches himself closely to the Apostle. Whatever the value of these statements may be, the following description of Titus (p. 156) is worthy of quotation:—
ὁ πρῶτος τῆς Κρήτων ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιος τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ στῦλος τὸ τῆς πίστεως ἔρεισμα τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν κηρυγμάτων ἢ ἀσίγητος σάλπιγξ τὸ ὑψηλὸν τῆς Παύλου γλώττης ἀπήχημα.
[J. S. H.]

TITUS, EPISTLE TO. There are no specialties in this Epistle which require any very elaborate treatment distinct from the other Pastoral Letters of St. Paul. [TIMOTHY, EPISTLES TO.] If those two were not genuine, it would be difficult confidently to maintain the genuineness of this. On the other hand, if the Epistles to Timothy are received as St. Paul's, there is not the slightest reason for doubting the authorship of that to Titus. Amidst the various combinations which are found

among those who have been sceptical on the subject of the Pastoral Epistles, there is no instance of the rejection of that before us on the part of those who have accepted the other two. So far indeed as these doubts are worth considering at all, the argument is more in favour of this than of either of those. Tatian accepted the Epistle to Titus, and rejected the other two. Origen mentions some who excluded 2 Tim., but kept 1 Tim. with Titus. Schleiermacher and Neander invert this process of doubt in regard to the letters addressed to Timothy, but believe that St. Paul wrote the present letter to Titus. Credner too believes it to be genuine, though he pronounces 1 Tim. to be a forgery, and 2 Tim. a compound of two epistles.

To turn now from opinions to direct external evidence, this Epistle stands on quite as firm a ground as the others of the Pastoral group, if not a firmer ground. Nothing can well be more explicit than the quotations in Irenaeus, *C. Haeres.* i. 16, 3 (see Tit. iii. 10), Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 350 (see i. 12), Tertull. *De Praescr. Haer.* c. 6 (see iii. 10, 11), and the reference, also *Adv. Marc.* v. 21; to say nothing of earlier allusions in Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 47 (see iii. 4), which can hardly be doubted, Theoph. *Ad Autol.* ii. p. 95 (see iii. 5), iii. p. 126 (see iii. 1), which are probable, and Clem. Rom. i. *Cor.* 2 (see iii. 1), which is possible.

As to internal features, we may notice, in the first place, that the Epistle to Titus has all the characteristics of the other Pastoral Epistles. See, for instance, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος (iii. 8) ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία (i. 9, ii. 1, comparing i. 13, ii. 8), σωφρονεῖν, σώφρων, σωφρόνως (i. 8, ii. 5, 6, 12), σωτήριος, σωτήρ, σώζω (i. 3, 4, ii. 10, 11, 13, iii. 4, 5, 7), Ἰουδαϊκοὶ μῦθοι (i. 14, comparing iii. 9), ἐπιφάνεια (ii. 13), εὐσέβεια (i. 1), ἔλεος (iii. 5; in i. 4 the word is doubtful). All this tends to show that this Letter was written about the same time and under similar circumstances with the other two. But, on the other hand, this Epistle has marks in its phraseology and style which assimilate it to the general body of the Epistles of St. Paul. Such may fairly be reckoned the following:—κηρύγματι δ' ἐπιστεύθη ἐγὼ (i. 3); the quotation from a heathen poet (i. 12); the use of ἀδόκιμος (i. 16); the "going off at a word" (σωτήριος . . . ἐπεφάνη γὰρ . . . σωτήριος . . . ii. 10, 11); and the modes in which the doctrines of the Atonement (ii. 13) and of Free Justification (iii. 5-7) come to the surface. As to any difficulty arising from supposed indications of advanced hierarchical arrangements, it is to be observed that in this Epistle πρεσβύτερος and ἐπίσκοπος are used as synonymous (ἵνα καταστήσης πρεσβυτέρους . . . δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον . . . i. 5, 7), just as they are in the address at Miletus about the year 58 A.D. (Acts xx. 17, 28). At the same time this Epistle has features of its own, especially a certain tone of abruptness and severity, which probably arises partly out of the circumstances of the Cretan population [CRETE], partly out of the character of Titus himself. If all these things are put together, the phenomena are seen to be very unlike what would be presented by a forgery, to say nothing of the general overwhelming difficulty of imagining who could have been the writer of the Pastoral Epistles, if it were not St. Paul himself.

Concerning the contents of this Epistle, something has already been said in the article on TITUS. No very exact subdivision is either necessary or possible. After the introductory salutation,

^c The day on which Titus is commemorated is Jan. 11th in the Latin Calendar, and Aug. 27th in the Greek.

which has marked peculiarities (i. 1-4), Titus is enjoined to appoint suitable presbyters in the Cretan Church, and specially such as shall be sound in doctrine and able to refute error (5-9). The Apostle then passes to a description of the coarse character of the Cretans, as testified by their own writers, and the mischief caused by Judaizing error among the Christians of the island (10-16). In opposition to this, Titus is to urge sound and practical Christianity on all classes (ii. 1-10), on the elder men (ii. 2), on the older women, and especially in regard to their influence over the younger women (3-5), on the younger men (6-8), on slaves (9, 10), taking heed meanwhile that he himself is a pattern of good works (ver. 7). The grounds of all this are given in the free grace which trains the Christian to self-denying and active piety (11, 12), in the glorious hope of Christ's second advent (ver. 13), and in the atonement by which He has purchased us to be His people (ver. 14). All which lessons Titus is to urge with fearless decision (ver. 15). Next, obedience to rulers is enjoined, with gentleness and forbearance towards all men (iii. 1, 2), these duties being again rested on our sense of past sin (ver. 3), and on the gift of new spiritual life and free justification (4-7). With these practical duties are contrasted those idle speculations which are to be carefully avoided (8, 9); and with regard to those men who are positively heretical, a peremptory charge is given (10, 11). Some personal allusions then follow: Artemas or Tychicus may be expected at Crete, and on the arrival of either of them Titus is to hasten to join the Apostle at Nicopolis, where he intends to winter; Zenas the lawyer also, and Apollos, are to be provided with all that is necessary for a journey in prospect (12, 13). Finally, before the concluding messages of salutation, an admonition is given to the Cretan Christians, that they give heed to the duties of practical useful piety (14, 15).

As to the time and place and other circumstances of the writing of this Epistle, the following scheme of filling up St. Paul's movements after his first imprisonment will satisfy all the conditions of the case:—We may suppose him (possibly after accomplishing his long-projected visit to Spain) to have gone to Ephesus, and taken voyages from thence, first to Macedonia and then to Crete, during the former to have written the First Epistle to Timothy, and after returning from the latter to have written the Epistle to Titus, being at the time of despatching it on the point of starting for Nicopolis, to which place he went, taking Miletus and Corinth on the way. At Nicopolis we may conceive him to have been finally apprehended and taken to Rome, whence he wrote the Second Epistle to Timothy. Other possible combinations may be seen in Birks (*Horae Apostolicae*, at the end of his edition of the *Horae Paulinae*, pp. 299-301), and in Wordsworth (*Greek Testament*, Pt. iii. pp. 418, 421). It is an undoubted mistake to endeavour to insert this Epistle in any period of that part of St. Paul's life which is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles. There is in this writing that unmistakable difference of style (as compared with the earlier Epistles) which associates the Pastoral Letters with one another, and with the latest period of St. Paul's life; and it seems strange that this should have been so slightly observed by good scholars and exact chronologists, e. g. Archdn. Evans (*Script. Biog.* iii. 327-333), and Wieseler (*Chronol. des Apost. Zeitalt.* 329-355), who, ap-

proaching the subject in very different ways, agree in thinking that this letter was written at Ephesus (between 1 and 2 Cor.), when the Apostle was in the early part of his third missionary journey (Acts xix.).

The following list of Commentaries on the Pastoral Epistles may be useful for 1 and 2 Tim., as well as for Titus. Besides the general Patristic commentaries on all St. Paul's Epistles (Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, Jerome, Bede, Aicuin), the Mediaeval (Oecumenius, Euthymius, Aquinas), those of the Reformation period (Luther Melancthon, Calvin), the earlier Roman Catholic (Justiniani, Cornelius à Lapide, Estius), the Protestant commentaries of the 17th century (Cocceius, Grotius, &c.), and the recent annotations on the whole Greek Testament (Rosenmüller, De Wette, Alford, Wordsworth, &c.), the following on the Pastoral Epistles may be specified:—Daillé, *Exposition* (1 Tim. Genev. 1661, 2 Tim. Genev. 1659, Tit. Par. 1655); Heydenreich, *Die Pastoralbriefe Pauli erläutert* (Hadam. 1826, 1828); Flatt, *Vorlesungen über die Br. P. an Tim. u. Tit.* (Tüb. 1831); Mack (Roman Catholic), *Comm. über die Pastoralbriefe* (Tüb. 1836); Matthies, *Erklärung der Pastoralbr.* (Greifsw. 1840); Huther (part of Meyer's Commentary, Gött. 1850); Wiesinger (in continuation of Olshausen, Koenigsb. 1850), translated (with the exception of 2 Tim.) in Clark's *Foreign Theolog. Lib.* (Edinb. 1851), and especially Ellicott (*Pastoral Epistles*, 2nd Ed. London, 1861), who mentions in his Preface a Danish commentary by Bp. Möller, and one in modern Greek, *Συνέκδημος Ἱερατικός*, by Coray (Par 1831). Besides these, there are commentaries on 1 Tim. and 2 Tim. by Mosheim (Hamb. 1755), and Leo (Lips. 1837, 1850), on 1 Tim. by Fleischmann (Tüb. 1791), and Wegscheider (Gött. 1810), on 2 Tim. by J. Barlow and T. Hall (Lond. 1632 and 1658), and by Bröchner (Hafn. 1829), on Tit. by T. Taylor (London, 1668), Van Haven (Hal. 1742) and Kuinoel (*Comment. Theol.* ed. Velthusen, Ruperti et Kuinoel). To these must be added what is found in the *Critici Sacri, Supp.* ii., v., vii., and a still fuller list is given in Darling's *Cyclopaedia Bibliographica*, Pt. ii. Subjects, pp. 1535, 1555, 1574. [J. S. H.]

TI'ZITE, THE (תִּיצִי: Vat. and FA. δ Ἰεασεί; Alex. Θωσαει: *Thosaites*). The designation of Joha, the brother of Jediel and son of Shimri, one of the heroes of David's army named in the supplementary list of 1 Chr. xi. 45. It occurs nowhere else, and nothing is known of the place or family which it denotes. [G.]

TO'AH (תּוֹא: Θου; Alex. Θουέ: *Thouu*). A Kohathite Levite, ancestor of Samuel and Heman (1 Chr. vi. 34 [19]). The name as it now stands may be a fragment of "Nahath" (comp. ver. 26, 34).

TOB-ADONI'JAH (תּוֹב אֲדוֹנִיָּה: Ταβαδο νίας: *Thobadonias*). One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat through the cities of Judah to teach the Law to the people (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

TOB, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ תּוֹב: γῆ Τῶβ: *terra Tob*). The place in which Jephthah took refuge when expelled from home by his half-brother (Judg. xi. 3); and where he remained at the head of a band of freebooters, till he was brought back by the sheikhs^a of Gilead (ver. 5).

^a The word is תְּקַיִ, which exactly answers to *sheikhs*

The narrative implies that the land of Tob was not far distant from Gilead: at the same time, from the nature of the case, it must have lain out towards the eastern deserts. It is undoubtedly mentioned again in 2 Sam. x. 6, 8, as one of the petty Aramite kingdoms or states which supported the Ammonites in their great conflict with David. In the Authorized Version the name is presented *literatim* as *Ishtob*, i. e. Man of Tob, meaning, according to a common Hebrew idiom, the "men of Tob." After an immense interval it appears again in the Maccabaean history (1 Macc. v. 13). Tob or Tobie was then the abode of a considerable colony of Jews, numbering at least a thousand males. In 2 Macc. xii. 17 its position is defined very exactly as at or near Charax, 750 stadia from the strong town Caspis, though, as the position of neither of these places is known, we are not thereby assisted in the recovery of Tob. [TOBIE; TUBIENI.]

Ptolemy (*Geogr.* v. 19) mentions a place called *Θαῦβα* as lying to the S.W. of Zobah, and therefore possibly to the E. or N.E. of the country of Ammon proper. In Stephanus of Byzantium and in Eckhel (*Doctr. Numm.* iii. 352), the names Tubai and Tabeni occur.

No identification of this ancient district with any modern one has yet been attempted. The name *Tell Dobbe* (Burckhardt, *Syria*, April 25), or, as it is given by the latest explorer of those regions, *Tell Dibbe* (Wetzstein, *Map*), attached to a ruined site at the south end of the *Leja*, a few miles N.W. of *Kenawat*, and also that of *ed Dab*, some twelve hours east of the mountain *el Kuleib*, are both suggestive of Tob. But nothing can be said, at present, as to their connexion with it. [G.]

TOBIAH (טוביה: *Tobias*, *Tobia*: *Tobia*).

1. "The children of Tobiah" were a family who returned with Zerubbabel, but were unable to prove their connexion with Israel (Ezr. ii. 60; Neh. vii. 62).

2. (*Tobias*.) "Tobiah the slave, the Ammonite," played a conspicuous part in the rancorous opposition made by Sanballat the Moabite and his adherents to the rebuilding of Jerusalem. The two races of Moab and Ammon found in these men fit representatives of that hereditary hatred to the Israelites which began before the entrance into Canaan, and was not extinct when the Hebrews had ceased to exist as a nation. The horrible story of the origin of the Moabites and Ammonites, as it was told by the Hebrews, is an index of the feeling of repulsion which must have existed between these hostile families of men. In the dignified rebuke of Nehemiah it received its highest expression: "ye have no portion, nor right, nor memorial in Jerusalem" (Neh. ii. 20). But Tobiah, though a slave (Neh. ii. 10, 19), unless this is a title of opprobrium, and an Ammonite, found means to ally himself with a priestly family, and his son Johanan married the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berecniah (Neh. vi. 18). He himself was the son-in-law of Shechaniah the son of Arah (Neh. vi. 17), and these family relations created for him a strong faction among the Jews, and may have had something to do with the stern measures which Ezra found it necessary to take to repress the inter-marriages with foreigners. Even a grandson of the high-priest Eliashib had married a daughter of Sanballat (Neh. xiii. 28). In xiii. 4 Eliashib is said to have been allied to Tobiah, which would imply a relationship of some kind between Tobiah and San-

ballat, though its nature is not mentioned. The evil had spread so far that the leaders of the people were compelled to rouse their religious antipathies by reading from the law of Moses the strong prohibition that the Ammonite and the Moabite should not come into the congregation of God for ever (Neh. xiii. 1). Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 173) conjectures that Tobiah had been a page ("slave") at the Persian court, and, being in favour there, had been promoted to be satrap of the Ammonites. But it almost seems that against Tobiah there was a stronger feeling of animosity than against Sanballat, and that this animosity found expression in the epithet "the slave," which is attached to his name. It was Tobiah who gave venom to the pitying scorn of Sanballat (Neh. iv. 3), and provoked the bitter cry of Nehemiah (Neh. iv. 4, 5); it was Tobiah who kept up communications with the factious Jews, and who sent letters to put their leader in fear (Neh. vi. 17, 19); but his crowning act of insult was to take up his residence in the Temple in the chamber which Eliashib had prepared for him in defiance of the Mosaic statute. Nehemiah's patience could no longer contain itself, "therefore," he says, "I cast forth all the household stuff of Tobiah out of the chamber," and with this summary act Tobiah disappears from history (Neh. xiii. 7, 8). [W. A. W.]

TOBI'AS. The Greek form of the name TOBIAH or TOBIJAH. 1. (*Τωβίας*: *Thobias*, *Tobias*.) The son of Tobit, and central character in the book of that name. [TOBIT, BOOK OF.]

2. The father of Hyrcanus, apparently a man of great wealth and reputation at Jerusalem in the time of Seleucus Philopator (cir. B.C. 187). In the high-priestly schism which happened afterwards [MENELAUS], "the sons of Tobias" took a conspicuous part (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5, §1). One of these, Joseph, who raised himself by intrigue to high favour with the Egyptian court, had a son named Hyrcanus (Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 4, §2). It has been supposed that this is the Hyrcanus referred to in 2 Macc. iii. 11; and it is not impossible that, for some unknown reason (as in the case of the Maccabees), the whole family were called after their grandfather, to the exclusion of the father's name. On the other hand, the natural recurrence of names in successive generations makes it more probable that the Hyrcanus mentioned in Josephus was a nephew of the Hyrcanus in 2 Macc. (Comp. Ewald, *Gesch. d. V. I.* iv. 309; Grimm, *ad Macc.* l. c.) [B. F. W.]

TOBIE, THE PLACES OF (*ἐν τοῖς Τωβίου*: *in locis Tubin*: Syr. *Tubin*). A district which in the time of the Maccabees was the seat of an extensive colony of Jews (1 Macc. v. 13). It is in all probability identical with the Land of Tob mentioned in the history of Jephthah. [See also TUBIENI.] [G.]

TOBIE'EL (טוביאל, "the goodness of God": *Τωβιήλ*: *Thobiel*, *Tobiel*), the father of Tobit and grandfather of Tobias (1), Tob. i. 1. The name may be compared with Tabael (*Ταβεήλ*). [TABAE'EL.] [B. F. W.]

TOBI'JAH (טוביהו: *Tobias*: *Thobias*). 1. One of the Levites sent by Jehoshaphat to teach the Law in the cities of Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

2. (*οἱ χρήσιμοι αὐτῆς*: *Tobias*.) One of the Captivity in the time of Zechariah, in whose presence the prophet was commanded to take crowns of silver and gold and put them on the head of

Joshua the high-priest (Zech. vi. 10). In ver. 14 his name appears in the shortened form **טוביה**. Rosenmüller conjectures that he was one of a deputation who came up to Jerusalem, from the Jews who still remained in Babylon, with contributions of gold and silver for the Temple. But Maurer considers that the offerings were presented by Tobijah and his companions, because the crowns were commanded to be placed in the Temple as a memorial of their visit and generosity. [W. A. W.]

TOBIT (**τωβελθ, τωβελτ, τωβίτ**: Vulg. *Tobias*; Vet. Lat. *Tobi, Thobi, Tobis*), the son of Tobiel (**טוביהל**; *Thobiel, Tobiel*) and father of Tobias (Tob. i. 1, &c.). [**TOBIT, BOOK OF.**] The name appears to answer to **טובי**, which occurs frequently in later times (Fritzsche, *ad Tob.* i. 1), and not (as Welte, *Einkl.* 65) to **טוביה**; yet in that case **τωβίς**, according to the analogy of **Λευίς** (**לוי**), would have been the more natural form. The etymology of the word is obscure. Ilgen translates it simply "my goodness;" Fritzsche, with greater probability, regards it as an abbreviation of **טוביה**, comparing **Μελχι** (Luke iii. 24, 28), **קִי, &c.** (*ad Tob.* i. c.). The form in the Vulgate is of no weight against the Old Latin, except so far as it shows the reading of the Chaldaic text which Jerome used, in which the identity of the names of the father and son is directly affirmed (i. 9, Vulg.). [B. F. W.]

TOBIT, BOOK OF. The book is called simply Tobit (**τωβίτ, τωβελτ**) in the old MSS. At a later time the opening words of the book, **Βίβλος λόγων τωβίτ**, were taken as a title. In Latin MSS. it is styled *Tobis, Liber Thobis, Liber Tobiae* (Sabatier, 706), *Tobit et Tobias, Liber utriusque Tobiae* (Fritzsche, *Einkl.* §1).

1. *Text.*—The book exists at present in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Hebrew texts, which differ more or less from one another in detail, but yet on the whole are so far alike that it is reasonable to suppose that all were derived from one written original, which was modified in the course of translation or transcription. The *Greek* text is found in two distinct recensions. The one is followed by the mass of the MSS. of the LXX., and gives the oldest text which remains. The other is only fragmentary, and manifestly a revision of the former. Of this, one piece (i. 1-ii. 2) is contained in the Cod. Sinaiticus (=Cod. Frid. Augustanus), and another in three later MSS. (44, 106, 107, Holmes and Parsons; vi. 9-xiii.; Fritzsche, *Exeg. Handb.* 71-110). The *Latin* texts are also of two kinds. The common (Vulgate) text is due to Jerome, who formed it by a very hasty revision of the old Latin version with the help of a Chaldee copy, which was translated into Hebrew for him by an assistant who was master of both languages. The treatment of the text in this recension is very arbitrary, as might be expected from the description which Jerome gives of the mode in which it was made (comp. *Praef. in Tob.* §4); and it is of very little critical value, for it is impossible to distinguish accurately the different elements which are incorporated in it. The ante-Hieronymian (*Vetus Latina*) texts are far more valuable, though these present considerable variations among themselves, as generally happens, and represent the revised and not the original Greek text. Sabatier has given one text from these MSS. of the eighth century, and also added various readings from another MS., formerly in the possession

of Christina of Sweden, which contains a distinct version of a considerable part of the book, i.-vi. 12 (*Bibl. Lat.* ii. p. 706). A third text is found in the quotations of the *Speculum*, published by Mai *Spicileg. Rom.* ix. 21-23. The *Hebrew* versions are of no great weight. One, which was published by P. Fagius (1542) after a Constantinopolitan edition of 1517, is closely moulded on the common Greek text without being a servile translation (Fritzsche, §4). Another, published by S. Munster (1542, &c.), is based upon the revised text, but is extremely free, and is rather an adaptation than a version. Both these versions, with the Syriac, are reprinted in Walton's Polyglott, and are late Jewish works of uncertain date (Fritzsche, *l. c.* Ilgen, ch. xvii. ff.). The *Syriac* version is of a composite character. As far as ch. vii. 9 it is a close rendering of the common Greek text of the LXX., but from this point to the end it follows the revised text, a fact which is noticed in the margin of one of the MSS.

2. *Contents.*—The outline of the book is as follows. Tobit, a Jew of the tribe of Naphtali, who strictly observed the law and remained faithful to the Temple-service at Jerusalem (i. 4-8), was carried captive to Assyria by Shalmaneser. While in captivity he exerted himself to relieve his countrymen, which his favourable position at court (**ἀγοραστής**, i. 13, "purveyor") enabled him to do, and at this time he was rich enough to lend ten talents of silver to a countryman, Gabael of Rages in Media. But when Sennacherib succeeded his father Shalmaneser, the fortune of Tobit was changed. He was accused of burying the Jews whom the king had put to death, and was only able to save himself, his wife Anna, and his son Tobias, by flight. On the accession of Esarhaddon he was allowed to return to Nineveh, at the intercession of his nephew, Achiacharus, who occupied a high place in the king's household (i. 22); but his zeal for his countrymen brought him into a strange misfortune. As he lay one night in the court of his house, being unclean from having buried a Jew whom his son had found strangled in the market-place, sparrows "muted warm dung into his eyes," and he became blind. Being thus disabled, he was for a time supported by Achiacharus, and after his departure (read **ἐπορεύθη**, ii. 10) by the labour of his wife. On one occasion he falsely accused her of stealing a kid which had been added to her wages, and in return she reproached him with the miserable issue of all his righteous deeds. Grieved by her taunts he prayed to God for help; and it happened that on the same day Sara, his kinswoman (vi. 10, 11), the only daughter of Raguel, also sought help from God against the reproaches of her father's household. For seven young men wedded to her had perished on their marriage night by the power of the evil spirit Asmodeus [**ASMODEUS**]; and she thought that she should "bring her father's old age with sorrow unto the grave" (iii. 10). So Raphael was sent to deliver both from their sorrow. In the mean time Tobit called to mind the money which he had lent to Gabael, and despatched Tobias, with many wise counsels, to reclaim it (iv.). On this Raphael (under the form of a kinsman, Azarias) offered himself as a guide to Tobias on his journey to Media, and they "went forth both, and the young man's dog with them," and Anna was comforted for the absence of her son (v.). When they reached the Tigris, Tobias was commanded by Raphael to take "the heart, and liver, and gall" of "a fish which leaped out of the river and would have

devoured him," and instructed how to use the first two against Asmodeus, for Sara, Raphael said, was appointed to be his wife (vi.). So when they reached Ecbatana they were entertained by Raguel, and in accordance with the words of the angel, Sara was given to Tobias in marriage that night, and Asmodeus was "driven to the utmost parts of Egypt," where "the angel bound him" (vii., viii.). After this Raphael recovered the loan from Gabael (ix.), and Tobias then returned with Sara and half her father's goods to Nineve (x.). Tobit, informed by Anna of their son's approach, hastened to meet him. Tobias by the command of the angel applied the fish's gall to his father's eyes and restored his sight (xi.). After this Raphael addressing to both words of good counsel revealed himself, and "they saw him no more" (xii.). On this Tobit expressed his gratitude in a fine psalm (xiii.); and he lived to see the long prosperity of his son (xiv. 1, 2). After his death Tobias, according to his instruction, returned to Ecbatana, and "before he died he heard of the destruction of Nineve," of which "Jonas the prophet spake" (xiv. 15, 4).

3. *Historical character.*—The narrative which has been just sketched, seems to have been received without inquiry or dispute as historically true till the rise of free criticism at the Reformation. Luther, while warmly praising the general teaching of the book (comp. §6), yet expressed doubts as to its literal truth, and these doubts gradually gained a wide currency among Protestant writers. Bertholdt (*Einl.* §579) has given a summary of alleged errors in detail (*e.g.* i. 1, 2, of *Naphtali*, compared with 2 K. xv. 29; vi. 9, Rages, said to have been founded by Sel. Nicator), but the question turns rather upon the general complexion of the history than upon minute objections, which are often captious and rarely satisfactory (comp. Welte, *Einl.* pp. 84-94). This, however, is fatal to the supposition that the book could have been completed shortly after the fall of Nineveh (B.C. 606; Tob. xiv. 15), and written in the main some time before (Tob. xii. 20). The whole tone of the narrative bespeaks a later age; and above all, the doctrine of good and evil spirits is elaborated in a form which belongs to a period considerably posterior to the Babylonian Captivity (Asmodeus, iii. 8, vi. 14, viii. 3; Raphael, xii. 15). The incidents again, are completely isolated, and there is no reference to them in any part of Scripture (the supposed parallels, Tob. iv. 15 (16) || Matt. vii. 12; Tob. xiii. 16-18 || Rev. xxi. 18, are mere general ideas), nor in Josephus or Philo. And though the extraordinary character of the details, as such, is no objection against the reality of the occurrences, yet it may be fairly urged that the character of the alleged miraculous events, when taken together, is alien from the general character of such events in the historical books of Scripture, while there is nothing exceptional in the circumstances of the persons, as in the case of Daniel [DANIEL, vol. i. p. 394], which might serve to explain this difference. On all these grounds it may certainly be concluded that the narrative is not simply history, and it is superfluous to inquire how far it is based upon facts. It is quite possible that some real occurrences, preserved by tradition, furnished the basis of the narrative, but it does not follow by any means that the elimination of the extraordinary details will leave behind pure history (so Ilgen). As the book stands it is a distinctly didactic narrative. Its point lies in the moral lesson which it conveys, and not in the incidents.

The incidents furnish lively pictures of the truth which the author wished to inculcate, but the lessons themselves are independent of them. Nor can any weight be laid on the minute exactness with which apparently unimportant details are described (*e.g.* the genealogy and dwelling-place of Tobit, i. 1, 2; the marriage festival, viii. 26, xi. 18, 19, quoted by Ilgen and Welte), as proving the reality of the events, for such particularity is characteristic of Eastern romance, and appears again in the Book of Judith. The writer in composing his story necessarily observed the ordinary form of a historical narrative.

4. *Original Language and Revisions.*—In the absence of all direct evidence, considerable doubt has been felt as to the original language of the book. The superior clearness, simplicity, and accuracy of the LXX. text prove conclusively that this is nearer the original than any other text which is known, if it be not, as some have supposed (Jahn and Fritzsche doubtfully), the original itself. Indeed, the arguments which have been brought forward to show that it is a translation are far from conclusive. The supposed contradictions between different parts of the book, especially the change from the first (i.-iii. 6) to the third person (iii. 7-xiv.), from which Ilgen endeavoured to prove that the narrative was made up of distinct Hebrew documents, carelessly put together, and afterwards rendered by one Greek translator, are easily explicable on other grounds; and the alleged mistranslations (iii. 6; iv. 19, &c.) depend rather on errors in interpreting the Greek text, than on errors in the text itself. The style, again, though harsh in parts, and far from the classical standard, is not more so than some books which were undoubtedly written in Greek (*e.g.* the Apocalypse); and there is little, if any thing, in it which points certainly to the immediate influence of an Aramaic text. (i. 4, *εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεάς τοῦ αἰῶνος*, comp. Eph. iii. 21; i. 22, *ἐκ δευτέρας*; iii. 15, *ἵνα τί μοι ζῆν*; v. 15, *τίνα σοι ἔσομαι μισθὸν διδόναι*; xiv. 3, *προσέθετο φοβεῖσθαι*, &c.) To this it may be added that Origen was not acquainted with any Hebrew original (*Ep. ad Afric.* 13); and the Chaldee copy which Jerome used, as far as its character can be ascertained, was evidently a later version of the story. On the other hand, there is no internal evidence against the supposition that the Greek text is a translation. Some difficulties appear to be removed by this supposition (*e.g.* ix. 6); and if the consideration of the date and place of the composition of the book favour this view, it may rightly be admitted. The Greek offers some peculiarities in vocabulary:—i. 6, *πρωτοκουρία*, *i.e.* ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κουρῶν, Deut. xviii. 4; i. 7, *ἀποπρατίζομαι*; i. 21, *ἐκλογοιστίε*; ii. 3, *στραγγαλόω*, &c.: and in construction, xiii. 7, *ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι τὴν μεγαλωσύνην*; xii. 4, *δικαιοῦσθαι τινι*; vi. 19, *προσάγειν τινί* (intrans.); vi. 6, *ἐγγίξειν ἐν*, &c. But these furnish no argument on either side.

The various texts which remain have already been enumerated. Of these, three varieties may be distinguished: (1) the LXX.; (2) the revised Greek text, followed by the Old Latin in the main, and by the Syriac in part; and (3) the Vulgate Latin. The Hebrew versions have no critical value. (1) The LXX. is followed by A. V., and has been already characterized as the standard to which the others are to be referred. (2) The revised text, first brought distinctly into notice by Fritzsche (*Einl.* §5), is based on the LXX. Greek, which is

at one time extended, and then compressed, with a view to greater fulness and clearness. A few of the variations in the first chapter will indicate its character:—Ver. 2, *Θίσβης*, add. *ὀπίσω δυσμῶν ἡλίου ἐξ ἀριστερῶν Φογῶρ*; ver. 8, *οἷς καθήκει*, given at length *τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς καὶ ταῖς χήραις*, *κ.τ.λ.*; ver. 18, *ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, add. *ἐν ἡμέραις τῆς κρίσεως ἧς ἐποίησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περὶ τῶν βλασφημιῶν ὧν ἐβλασφήμησεν*; ver. 22, *οἰνοχόος*, *ἀρχιοινοχόος*. (3) The Vulgate text was derived in part from a Chaldee copy which was translated by word of mouth into Hebrew for Jerome, who in turn dictated a Latin rendering to a secretary. (*Praef. in Tob.*: . . . *Exigitis ut librum Chaldaec sermone conscriptum ad Latinum stylum traham . . . Feci satis desiderio vestro, non tamen meo studio . . . Et quia vicina est Chaldaeorum lingua sermoni Hebraico, utriusque linguae peritissimum loquacem reperiens unius diei laborem arripui, et quidquid ille mihi Hebraicis verbis expressit, hoc ego, accito notario, sermonibus Latinis exposui.*) It is evident that in this process Jerome made some use of the Old Latin version, which he follows almost verbally in a few places: iii. 3-6; iv. 6, 7, 11, 23, &c.; but the greater part of the version seems to be an independent work. On the whole, it is more concise than the Old Latin; but it contains interpolations and changes, many of which mark the asceticism of a late age: ii. 12-14 (parallel with Job); iii. 17-23 (expansion of iii. 14); vi. 17 ff. (expansion of vi. 18); ix. 11, 12; xii. 13 (*et quia acceptus eras Deo, necesse fuit ut tentatio probaret te*).

5. *Date and place of Composition.*—The data for determining the age of the book and the place where it was compiled are scanty, and consequently very different opinions have been entertained on these points. Eichhorn (*Einl.* pp. 408 ff.) places the author after the time of Darius Hystaspis without fixing any further limit of age or country. Bertholdt, insisting (wrongly) on the supposed date of the foundation of Rages [RAGES], brings the book considerably later than Seleucus Nicator (cir. B.C. 250-200), and supposes that it was written by a Galilaean or Babylonian Jew, from the prominence given to those districts in the narrative (*Einl.* pp. 2499, 2500). De Wette leaves the date undetermined, but argues that the author was a native of Palestine (*Einl.* §311). Ewald (*Geschichte*, iv. 233-238) fixes the composition in the far East, towards the close of the Persian period (cir. 350 B.C.). This last opinion is almost certainly correct. The superior and inferior limits of the date of the book seem to be defined with fair distinctness. On the one hand the detailed doctrine of evil spirits points clearly to some time after the Babylonian Captivity; and this date is definitely marked by the reference to a new Temple at Jerusalem, "not like the first" (Tob. xiv. 5; comp. Ezr. iii. 12). On the other hand, there is nothing to show that the Jews were threatened with any special danger when the narrative was written (as in Judith), and the manner in which Media is mentioned (xiv. 4) implies that the Persian monarchy was still strong. Thus its date will fall somewhere within the period between the close of the work of Nehemiah and the invasion of Alexander (cir. B.C. 430-334). The contents of the book furnish also some clue to the place where it was written. Not only is there an accurate knowledge of the scenes described (Ewald, 233), but the incidents have a local colouring. The continual reference to almsgiving and the burial of the dead,

and the stress which is laid upon the right performance of worship at Jerusalem by those who are afar off (i. 4), can scarcely be due to an effort of imagination, but must rather have been occasioned by the immediate experience of the writer. This would suggest that he was living out of Palestine, in some Persian city, perhaps Babylon, where his countrymen were exposed to the capricious cruelty of heathen governors, and in danger of neglecting the Temple-service. Glimpses are also given of the presence of the Jews at court, not only in the history (Tob. i. 22), but also in direct counsel (xii. 7, *μυστήριον βασιλέως καλὸν κρύψαι*), which better suit such a position than any other (comp. xiii. 3). If these conjectures as to the date and place of writing be correct, it follows that we must assume the existence of a Hebrew or Chaldee original. And even if the date of the book be brought much lower, to the beginning of the second century B.C., which seems to be the latest possible limit, it is equally certain that it must have been written in some Aramaic dialect, as the Greek literature of Palestine belongs to a much later time; and the references to Jerusalem seem to show that the book could not have been composed in Egypt (i. 4, xiv. 5), an inference, indeed, which may be deduced from its general contents. As long as the book was held to be strict history it was supposed that it was written by the immediate actors, in accordance with the direction of the angel (xii. 20). The passages where Tobit speaks in the first person (i.-iii. 6, xiii.) were assigned to his authorship. The intervening chapters to Tobit or Tobias. The description of the close of the life of Tobit to Tobias (xiv. 1-11); and the concluding verses (xiv. 12-15) to one of his friends who survived him. If, however, the historical character of the narrative is set aside, there is no trace of the person of the author.

6. *History.*—The history of the book is in the main that of the LXX. version. While the contents of the LXX., as a whole, were received as canonical, the Book of Tobit was necessarily included without further inquiry among the books of Holy Scripture. [CANON.] The peculiar merits of the book contributed also in no small degree to gain for it a wide and hearty reception. There appears to be a clear reference to it in the Latin version of the Epistle of Polycarp (c. 10, *elemosyna de morte liberat*, Tob. iv. 10, xii. 9). In a scheme of the Ophites, if there be no corruption in the text, Tobias appears among the prophets (Iren. i. 30, 11). Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 23, §139, *τοῦτο βραχέως ἢ γραφῆ δεδήλωκεν εἰρηκνῖα*, Tob. iv. 16) and Origen practically use the book as canonical; but Origen distinctly notices that neither Tobit nor Judith were received by the Jews, and rests the authority of Tobit on the usage of the Churches (*Ep. ad Afric.* 13, *Ἑβραῖοι τῷ Τωβία οὐ χρῶνται . . . ἀλλ', ἐπεὶ χρῶνται τῷ Τωβία αἱ ἐκκλησίαι . . . De Orat.* 1, §14, *τῆ τοῦ Τωβίητ βίβλω ἀντιλέγουσιν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς ὡς μὴ ἐνδιαθήκῃ . . .*). Even Athanasius when writing without any critical regard to the Canon quotes Tobit as Scripture (*Apol. c. Arian.* §11, *ὡς γέγραπται*, Tob. xii. 7); but when he gives a formal list of the Sacred Books, he definitely excludes it from the Canon, and places it with other apocryphal books among the writings which were "to be read by those who were but just entering on Christian teaching, and desirous to be instructed in the rules of piety" (*Ep. Fest.* p. 1177, ed. Migne). In the Latin Church Tobit found a much more de-

cided acceptance. Cyprian, Hilary, and Lucifer, quote it as authoritative (Cypr. *De Orat. Dom.* 32; Hil. Pict. *In Psalm.* cxxix. 7; yet comp. *Prol. in Ps.* xv.; Lucif. *Pro Athan.* i. p. 871). Augustine includes it with the other apocrypha of the LXX. among "the books which the Christian Church received" (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 8),^a and in this he was followed by the mass of the later Latin fathers [comp. CANON, vol. i. p. 256, &c.]. Ambrose in especial wrote an essay on Tobias, treating of the evils of usury, in which he speaks of the book as "prophetic" in the strongest terms (*De Tobia*, 1, 1; comp. *Hexaem.* vi. 4). Jerome however, followed by Rufinus, maintained the purity of the Hebrew Canon of the O. T., and, as has been seen, treated it very summarily (for later authorities see CANON). In modern times the moral excellence of the book has been rated highly, except in the heat of controversy. Luther pronounced it, if only a fiction, yet "a truly beautiful, wholesome, and profitable fiction, the work of a gifted poet. . . . A book useful for Christian reading" (ap. Fritzsche, *Eintl.* §11). The same view is held also in the English Church. A passage from Tobit is quoted in the Second Book of Homilies as the teaching "of the Holy Ghost in Scripture" (Of Almsdeeds, ii. p. 391, ed. Corrie); and the Prayer-book offers several indications of the same feeling of respect for the book. Three verses are retained among the sentences used at the Offertory (Tob. iv. 7-9); and the Preface to the Marriage Service contains a plain adaptation of Jerome's version of Tob. vi. 17 (*Hi namque qui conjugium ita suscipiunt ut Deum a se et a sua mente excludant, et suae libidini ita vacent, sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus, habet potestatem daemonium super eos*). In the First Book of Edward VI. a reference to the blessing of Tobias and Sara by Raphael was retained in the same service from the old office in place of the present reference to Abraham and Sarah; and one of the opening clauses of the Litany, introduced from the Sarum Breviary, is a reproduction of the Vulgate version of Tob. iii. 3 (*Ne vindictam sumas de peccatis meis, neque reminiscaris delicta mea vel parentum meorum*).

7. *Religious character.*—Few probably can read the book in the LXX. text without assenting heartily to the favourable judgment of Luther on its merits. Nowhere else is there preserved so complete and beautiful a picture of the domestic life of the Jews after the Return. There may be symptoms of a tendency to formal righteousness of works, but as yet the works are painted as springing from a living faith. The devotion due to Jerusalem is united with definite acts of charity (i. 6-8) and with the prospect of wider blessings (xiii. 11). The giving of alms is not a mere scattering of wealth, but a real service of love (i. 16, 17, ii. 1-7, iv. 7-11, 16), though at times the emphasis which is laid upon the duty is exaggerated (as it seems) from the special circumstances in which the writer was placed (xii. 9, xiv. 10). Of the special precepts one (iv. 15, *ὁ μισεῖς μηδενὶ ποιήσης*) contains the negative side of the golden rule of conduct (Matt. vii. 12), which in this partial form is found among

^a This is expressed still more distinctly in the *Speculum* (p. 1127, C., ed. Par. 1836): "Non sunt omittendi et hi [libri] quos quidem ante Salvatoris adventum constat esse conscriptos, sed eos non receptos a Judaeis recipit tamen ejusdem Salvatoris ecclesia." The preface from which these words are taken is followed by quotations from Wisdom Ecclesiasticus and Tobit.

the maxims of Confucius. But it is chiefly in the exquisite tenderness of the portraiture of domestic life that the book excels. The parting of Tobias and his mother, the consolation of Tobit (v. 17-22), the affection of Raguel (vii. 4-3), the anxious waiting of the parents (x. 1-7), the son's return (ix. 4, xi.), and even the unjust suspiciousness of the sorrow of Tobit and Anna (ii. 11-14) are painted with a simplicity worthy of the best times of the patriarchs.^b Almost every family relation is touched upon with natural grace and affection: husband and wife, parent and child, kinsmen, near or distant, master and servant, are presented in the most varied action, and always with life-like power (ii. 13, 14, v. 17-22, vii. 16, viii. 4-8, x. 1-7, xi. 1-13, i. 22, ii. 10, vii. 3-8, v. 14, 15, xii. 1-5, &c.). Prayer hallows the whole conduct of life (iv. 19, vi. 17, viii. 5-8, &c.); and even in distress there is confidence that in the end all will be well (iv. 6, 14, 19), though there is no clear anticipation of a future personal existence (iii. 6). The most remarkable doctrinal feature in the book is the prominence given to the action of spirits, who, while they are conceived to be subject to the passions of men and material influences (Asmodeus), are yet not affected by bodily wants, and manifested only by their own will (Raphael, xii. 19). Powers of evil (*δαιμόνιον, πνεῦμα πονηρόν*, iii. 8, 17, vi. 7, 14, 17) are represented as gaining the means of injuring men by sin [ASMODEUS], while they are driven away and bound by the exercise of faith and prayer (viii. 2, 3). On the other hand Raphael comes among men as "the healer" (comp. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, c. 20), and by the mission of God (iii. 17, xii. 18), restores those whose good actions he has secretly watched (xii. 12, 13), and "the remembrance of whose prayers he has brought before the Holy One" (xii. 12). This ministry of intercession is elsewhere expressly recognized. Seven holy angels, of whom Raphael is one, are specially described as those "which present the prayers of the Saints, and which go in and out before the glory of God" (xii. 15). It is characteristic of the same sense of the need of some being to interpose between God and man that singular prominence is given to the idea of "the glory of God," before which these archangels appear as priests in the holiest place (viii. 15, xii. 15); and in one passage "the angel of God" (v. 16, 21) occupies a position closely resembling that of the Word in the Targums and Philo (*De mut. nom.* §13, &c.). Elsewhere blessing is rendered to "all the holy angels" (xi. 14, *εὐλογημένοι* as contrasted with *εὐλογητός*: comp. Luke i. 42), who are themselves united with "the elect" in the duty of praising God for ever (viii. 15). This mention of "the elect" points to a second doctrinal feature of the book, which it shares with Baruch alone of the apocryphal writings, the firm belief in a glorious restoration of the Jewish people (xiv. 5, xiii. 9-18). But the restoration contemplated is national, and not the work of a universal Saviour. The Temple is described as "consecrated and built for all ages" (i. 4), the feasts are "an everlasting decree" (i. 6), and when it is restored "the streets of Jerusalem shall say . . . Blessed be God which hath

^b In this connexion may be noticed the incident, which is without a parallel in Scripture, and seems more natural to the West than to the East, the companionship of the dog with Tobias (v. 16, xi. 4: comp. Ambr. *Hexaem.* vi. 4, 17: "Mutae specie bestiae sanctus Raphael, angelus Tobiae juvenis . . . ad relationem gratiae erudit affectum").

extolled it for ever" (xiii. 18). In all there is not the slightest trace of the belief in a personal Messiah.

8. Comparisons have often been made between the Book of Tobit and Job, but from the outline which has been given it is obvious that the resemblance is only superficial, though Tob. ii. 14 was probably suggested by Job ii. 9, 10, while the differences are such as to mark distinct periods. In Tobit the sorrows of those who are afflicted are laid at once in prayer before God, in perfect reliance on His final judgment, and then immediately relieved by Divine interposition. In Job the real conflict is in the soul of the sufferer, and his relief comes at length with humiliation and repentance (xlii. 6). The one book teaches by great thoughts; the other by clear maxims translated into touching incidents. The contrast of Tobit and Judith is still more instructive. These books present two pictures of Jewish life and feeling, broadly distinguished in all their details, and yet mutually illustrative. The one represents the exile prosperous and even powerful in a strange land, exposed to sudden dangers, cherishing his national ties, and looking with unshaken love to the Holy City, but still mainly occupied by the common duties of social life; the other portrays a time of reproach and peril, when national independence was threatened, and a righteous cause seemed to justify unscrupulous valour. The one gives the popular ideal of holiness of living, the other of courage in daring. The one reflects the current feeling at the close of the Persian rule, the other during the struggles for freedom.

9. The first complete edition of the book was by K. D. Ilgen (*Die Gesch. Tobit's . . . mit . . . einer Einleitung versehen*, Jen. 1800), which, in spite of serious defects due to the period at which it was published, contains the most full discussion of the contents. The edition of Fritzsche (*Exeget. Handb.* ii., Leipzig, 1853) is concise and scholarlike, but leaves some points without illustration. In England the book, like the rest of the Apocrypha, seems to have fallen into most undeserved neglect. [B. F. W.]

TO'CHEN (תֹּחֵן: *Θοκκά*; Alex. *Θοχχαν*: *Thochen*). A place mentioned (1 Chr. iv. 32 only) amongst the towns of Simeon. In the parallel list of Josh. (xix. 7) there is nothing corresponding to Tochen. The LXX., however, adds the name Thalcha between Remmon and Ether in the latter passage; and it is not impossible that this may be the remnant of a Tochen anciently existing in the Hebrew text, though it has been considered as an indication of Telem. [G.]

TOGARMAH (תֹּגַרְמָה: *Θοργαμά*: *Thogorma*). A son of Gomer, and brother of Ashkenaz and Riphath (Gen. x. 3). It has been already shown that Togarmah, as a geographical term, is connected with Armenia,^a and that the subsequent notices of the name (Ez. xxvii. 14, xxxviii. 6) accord with this view. [ARMENIA.] It remains for us to examine into the ethnology of the Armenians with a view to the position assigned to them in the Mosaic table. The most decisive statement respecting them in ancient literature is furnished by Herodotus, who says that they were Phrygian colonists, that they were armed in the Phrygian fashion, and were associated with the Phrygians under the same commander (Herod. vii. 73). The

remark of Eudoxus (Steph. Byz. s. v. *'Αρμενία*) that the Armenians resemble the Phrygians in many respects in language (*τῆ φωνῆ πολλὰ φρυγίζουσι*) tends in the same direction. It is hardly necessary to understand the statement of Herodotus as implying more than a common origin of the two peoples; for, looking at the general westward progress of the Japhetic races, and on the central position which Armenia held in regard to their movements, we should rather infer that Phrygia was colonized from Armenia, than *vice versa*. The Phrygians were indeed reputed to have had their first settlements in Europe, and thence to have crossed into Asia (Herod. vii. 73), but this must be regarded as simply a retrograde movement of a section of the great Phrygian race in the direction of their original home. The period of this movement is fixed subsequently to the Trojan war (Strab. xiv. p. 680), whereas the Phrygians appear as an important race in Asia Minor at a far earlier period (Strab. vii. p. 321; Herod. vii. 8, 11). There can be little doubt but that they were once the dominant race in the peninsula, and that they spread westward from the confines of Armenia to the shores of the Aegæan. The Phrygian language is undoubtedly to be classed with the Indo-European family. The resemblance between words in the Phrygian and Greek tongues was noticed by the Greeks themselves (Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 410), and the inscriptions still existing in the former are decidedly Indo-European (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 666). The Armenian language presents many peculiarities which distinguish it from other branches of the Indo-European family; but these may be accounted for partly by the physical character of the country, and partly by the large amount of foreign admixture that it has experienced. In spite of this, however, no hesitation is felt by philologists in placing Armenian among the Indo-European languages (Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* Introd. p. 32; Diefenbach, *Orig. Europ.* p. 43). With regard to the ancient inscriptions at Wan, some doubt exists; some of them, but apparently not the most ancient, are thought to bear a Turanian character (Layard's *Nin. and Bab.* p. 402; Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 652); but, even were this fully established, it fails to prove the Turanian character of the population, inasmuch as they may have been set up by foreign conquerors. The Armenians themselves have associated the name of Togarmah with their early history in that they represent the founder of their race, Haik, as a son of Thorgom (Moses Choren. i. 4, §9-11). [W. L. B.]

TO'HU (תֹּחִי: *Θοκέ*; Alex. *Θοού*: *Thohu*). An ancestor of Samuel the prophet, perhaps the same as TOAH (1 Sam. i. 1; comp. 1 Chr. vi. 34).

TO'I (תֹּי: *Θοού*; Alex. *Θαεί*: *Thoi*). King of Hamath on the Orontes, who, after the defeat of his powerful enemy the Syrian king Hadadezer by the army of David, sent his son Joram, or Hadoram, to congratulate the victor and do him homage with presents of gold and silver and brass (2 Sam. viii. 9, 10). "For Hadadezer had wars with Toi," and Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 199) conjectures that he may have even reduced him to a state of vassalage. There was probably some policy in the conduct of Toi, and his object may have been, as Josephus says

^a The name itself may possibly have reference to Armenia, for, according to Grimm (*Gesch. Deutsch. Spr.* ii. 325), Togarmah comes from the Sanscrit *toka*, "tribe"

and *Arma* = Armenia, which he further connects with Hermino the son of Mannus.

it was (*Ant.* vi. 5, §4), to buy off the conqueror with the "vessels of ancient workmanship" (*σκεύη τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκευῆς*) which he presented.

TOLA (תּוֹלָא: *Θωλά: Thala*). 1. The first-born of Issachar, and ancestor of the Tolaites (*Gen.* xlvi. 13; *Num.* xxvi. 23; *1 Chr.* vii. 1, 2), who in the time of David numbered 22,600 men of valour.

2. Judge of Israel after Abimelech (*Judg.* x. 1, 2). He is described as "the son of Puah, the son of Dodo, a man of Issachar." In the LXX. and Vulg. he is made the son of Abimelech's uncle, Dodo (דודו) being considered an appellative. But Gideon, Abimelech's father, was a Manassite. Tola judged Israel for twenty-three years at Shamir in Mount Ephraim, where he died and was buried.

TOLAD (תּוֹלָד: *Θουλαέμ; Alex. Θωλαδ: Tholad*). One of the towns of Simeon (*1 Chr.* iv. 29), which was in the possession of the tribe up to David's reign, probably to the time of the census taken by Joab. In the lists of Joshua the name is given in the fuller form of EL-TOLAD. [G.]

TOLAITES, THE (תּוֹלָיִתַי: *δ Θωλαί: Tholaitae*). The descendants of Tola the son of Issachar (*Num.* xxvi. 23).

TOLBANES (Τολβάνης: *Tolbanes*). **TELEM**, one of the porters in the days of Ezra (*1 Esd.* ix. 25).

TOMB. Although the sepulchral arrangements of the Jews have necessarily many points of contact with those of the surrounding nations, they are still on the whole—like everything else that people did—so essentially different, that it is most unsafe to attempt to elucidate them by appealing to the practice of other races.

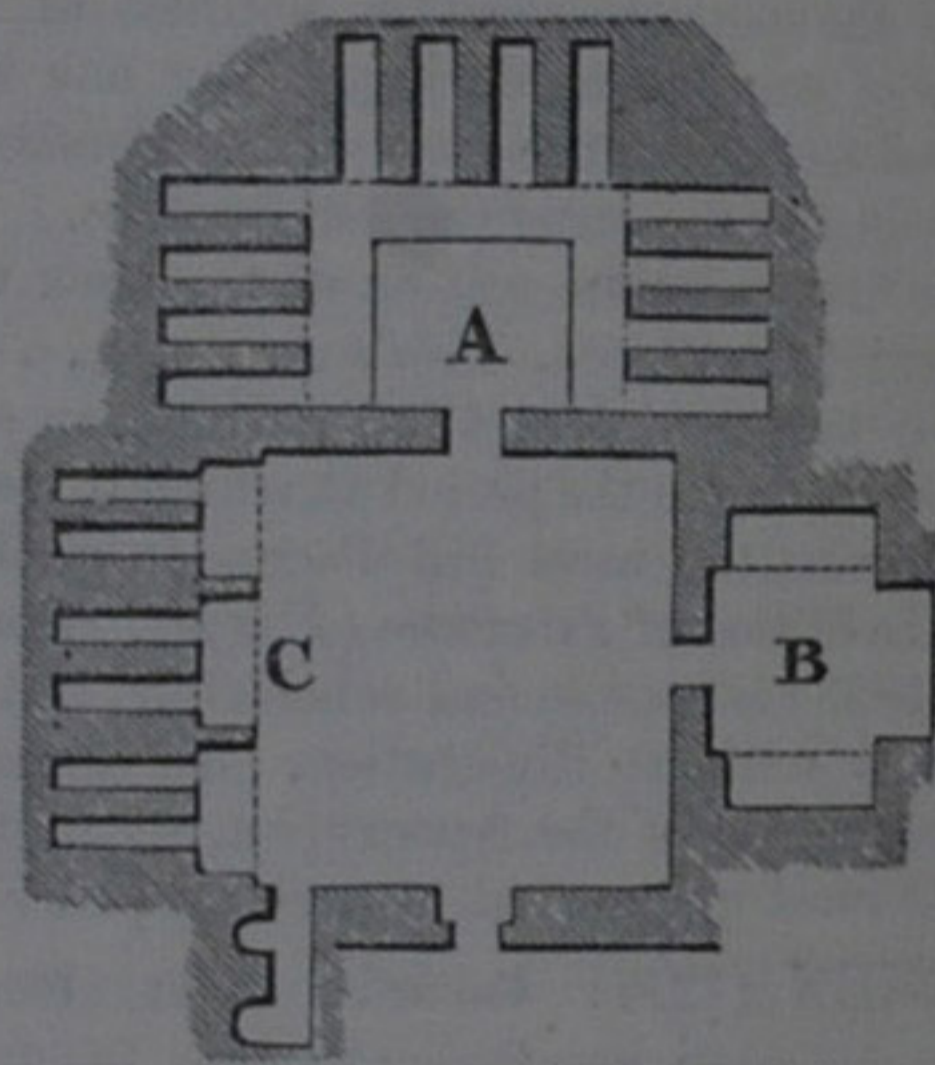
It has been hitherto too much the fashion to look to Egypt for the prototype of every form of Jewish art; but if there is one thing in the Old Testament more clear than another, it is the absolute antagonism between the two peoples, and the abhorrence of everything Egyptian that prevailed from first to last among the Jewish people. From the burial of Sarah in the cave of Machpelah (*Gen.* xxiii. 19) to the funeral rites prepared for Dorcas (*Acts* ix. 37), there is no mention of any sarcophagus, or even coffin, in any Jewish burial. No pyramid was raised—no separate hypogeum of any individual king, and what is most to be regretted by modern investigators, no inscription or painting which either recorded the name of the deceased, or symbolized the religious feeling of the Jews towards the dead. It is true of course that Jacob dying in Egypt was embalmed (*Gen.* l. 2), but it was only in order that he might be brought to be entombed in the cave at Hebron, and Joseph as a naturalized Egyptian and a ruler in the land was embalmed; and it is also mentioned as something exceptional that he was put into a coffin, and was so brought by the Israelites out of the land and laid with his forefathers. But these, like the burning of the body of Saul [see **BURIAL**], were clearly exceptional cases.

Still less were the rites of the Jews like those of the Pelasgi or Etruscans. With that people the graves of the dead were, or were intended to be, in every respect similar to the homes of the living. The lucumo lay in his robes, the warrior in his armour, on the bed on which he had reposed in life, surrounded by the furniture the vessels, and the

ornaments which had adorned his dwelling when alive, as if he were to live again in a new world with the same wants and feelings as before. Besides this, no tall stèle, and no sepulchral mound, has yet been found in the hills or plains of Judaea nor have we any hint either in the Bible or Josephus of any such having existed which could be traced to a strictly Jewish origin.

In very distinct contrast to all this, the sepulchral rites of the Jews were marked with the same simplicity that characterized all their religious observances. The body was washed and anointed (*Mark* xiv. 8, xvi. 1; *John* xix. 39, &c.), wrapped in a clean linen cloth, and borne without any funeral pomp to the grave, where it was laid without any ceremonial or form of prayer. In addition to this, with kings and great persons, there seems to have been a "great burning" (*2 Chr.* xvi. 14, xxi. 19; *Jer.* xxxiv. 5): all these being measures more suggested by sanitary exigencies than by any hankering after ceremonial pomp.

This simplicity of rite led to what may be called the distinguishing characteristic of Jewish sepulchres—the *deep loculus*—which, so far as is now known, is universal in all purely Jewish rock-cut tombs, but hardly known elsewhere. Its form will be understood by referring to the annexed diagram, representing the forms of Jewish sepulture.



No. 1.—Diagram of Jewish Sepulchre.

In the apartment marked A, there are twelve such loculi, about 2 feet in width by 3 feet high. On the ground-floor these generally open on the level of the floor; when in the upper storey, as at C, on a ledge or platform, on which the body might be laid to be anointed, and on which the stones might rest which closed the outer end of each loculus.

The shallow loculus is shown in chamber B, but was apparently only used when sarcophagi were employed, and therefore, so far as we know, only during the Graeco-Roman period, when foreign customs came to be adopted. The shallow loculus would have been singularly inappropriate and inconvenient, where an unembalmed body was laid out to decay—as there would evidently be no means of shutting it off from the rest of the catacomb. The deep loculus on the other hand was as strictly conformable with Jewish customs, and could easily be closed by a stone fitted to the end and luted into the groove which usually exists there.

This fact is especially interesting as it affords a key to much that is otherwise hard to be understood in certain passages in the New Testament. Thus in *John* xi. 39, Jesus says, "Take away the stone," and (*ver.* 40) "they took away the stone" without difficulty, apparently which could hardly have

been the *stone*; had it been such a rock as would be required to close the entrance of a cave. And chap. xx. 1, the same expression is used, "the stone is taken away;" and though the Greek word in the other three Evangelists certainly implies that it was rolled away, this would equally apply to the stone at the mouth of the *loculus*, into which the *Maries* must have then stooped down to look in. In fact the whole narrative is infinitely more clear and intelligible if we assume that it was a stone closing the end of a rock-cut grave, than if we suppose it to have been a stone closing the entrance or door of a hypogeum. In the latter case the stone to close a door—say 6 feet by 3 feet, could hardly have weighed less than 3 or 4 tons, and could not have been moved without machinery.

There is one catacomb—that known as the "Tombs of the Kings"—which is closed by a stone rolling across its entrance; but it is the only one, and the immense amount of contrivance and fitting which it has required is sufficient proof that such an arrangement was not applied to any other of the numerous rock tombs around Jerusalem, nor could the traces of it have been obliterated had it anywhere existed. From the nature of the openings where they are natural caverns, and the ornamental form of their doorways where they are architecturally adorned, it is evident, except in this one instance, that they could not have been closed by stones rolled across their entrances; and consequently it seems only to be to the closing of the *loculi* that these expressions can refer. But until a more careful and more scientific exploration of these tombs is made than has hitherto been given to the public, it is difficult to feel quite certain on this point.

Although, therefore, the Jews were singularly free from the pomps and vanities of funereal magnificence, they were at all stages of their independent existence an eminently burying people.

From the time of their entrance into the Holy Land till their expulsion by the Romans, they seem to have attached the greatest importance to the possession of an undisturbed resting-place for the bodies of their dead, and in all ages seem to have shown the greatest respect, if not veneration, for the sepulchres of their ancestors. Few, however, could enjoy the luxury of a rock-cut tomb. Taking all that are known, and all that are likely to be discovered, there are not probably 500, certainly not 1000, rock-cut *loculi* in or about Jerusalem, and as that city must in the days of its prosperity have possessed a population of from 30,000 to 40,000 souls, it is evident that the bulk of the people must then, as now, have been content with graves dug in the earth; but situated as near the Holy Places as their means would allow their obtaining a place. The bodies of the kings were buried close to the Temple walls (Ezek. xliii. 7-9), and however little they may have done in their life, the place of their burial is carefully recorded in the Chronicles of the Kings, and the cause why that place was chosen is generally pointed out, as if that record was not only the most important event, but the final judgment on the life of the king.

Tombs of the Patriarchs.—Turning from these considerations to the more strictly historical part of the subject, we find that one of the most striking events in the life of Abraham is the purchase of the field of Ephron the Hittite at Hebron, in which was the cave of Machpelah, in order that he might therein bury Sarah his wife, and that it might be a sepulchre for himself and his children.

His refusing to accept the privilege of burying there as a gift when offered to him, shows the importance Abraham attached to the transaction, and his insisting on purchasing and paying for it (Gen. xxiii. 20), in order that it might be "made sure unto him for the possession of a burying-place." There he and his immediate descendants were laid 3700 years ago, and there they are believed to rest now; but no one in modern times has seen their remains, or been allowed to enter into the cave where they rest.

A few years ago, Signor Pierotti says, he was allowed, in company with the Pasha of Jerusalem, to descend the steps to the iron-grating that closes the entrance, and to look into the cave. What he seems to have seen was—that it was a natural cavern, untouched by the chisel and unaltered by art in any way. Those who accompanied the Prince of Wales in his visit to the Mosque were not permitted to see even this entrance. All they saw was the round hole in the floor of the Mosque which admits light and air to the cave below. The same round opening exists at *Neby Samwil* in the roof of the reputed sepulchre of the Prophet Samuel, and at Jerusalem there is a similar opening into the tomb under the Dome of the rock. In the former it is used by the pious votaries to drop petitions and prayers into the tombs of patriarchs and prophets. The latter having lost the tradition of its having been a burying-place, the opening only now serves to admit light into the cave below.

Unfortunately none of those who have visited Hebron have had sufficient architectural knowledge to be able to say when the church or mosque which now stands above the cave was erected; but there seems no great reason for doubting that it is a Byzantine church erected there between the age of Constantine and that of Justinian. From such indications as can be gathered, it seems of the later period. On its floor are sarcophagi purporting to be those of the patriarchs; but, as is usual in Eastern tombs, they are only cenotaphs representing those that stand below, and which are esteemed too sacred for the vulgar to approach.

Though it is much more easy of access, it is almost as difficult to ascertain the age of the wall that encloses the sacred precincts of these tombs. From the account of Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 7), it does not seem to have existed in his day, or he surely would have mentioned it; and such a citadel could hardly fail to have been of warlike importance in those troublous times. Besides this, we do not know of any such enclosure encircling any tombs or sacred place in Jewish times, nor can we conceive any motive for so secluding these graves.

There are not any architectural mouldings about this wall which would enable an archaeologist to approximate its date; and if the bevelling is assumed to be a Jewish arrangement (which is very far from being exclusively the case), on the other hand it may be contended that no buttressed wall of Jewish masonry exists anywhere. There is in fact nothing known with sufficient exactness to decide the question, but the probabilities certainly tend towards a Christian or Saracenic origin for the whole structure both internally and externally.

Aaron died on the summit of Mount Hor (*Num.* xx. 28, xxxiii. 39), and we are led to infer he was buried there, though it is not so stated; and we have no details of his tomb which would lead us to suppose that anything existed there earlier than the Mahomedan *Kubr* that now crowns the hill over-

looking Petra, and it is at the same time extremely doubtful whether *that* is the Mount Hor where the High-Priest died.

Moses died in the plains of Moab (Deut. xxxiv. 6), and was buried there, "but no man knoweth his sepulchre to this day," which is a singular utterance, as being the only instance in the Old Testament of a sepulchre being concealed, or of one being admitted to be unknown.

Joshua was buried in his own inheritance in Timnath-Serah (Josh. xxiv. 30), and Samuel in his own house at Ramah (1 Sam. xxv. 1), an expression which we may probably interpret as meaning in the garden attached to his house, as it is scarcely probable it would be the dwelling itself. We know, however, so little of the feelings of the Jews of that age on the subject that it is by no means improbable but that it may have been in a chamber or *loculus* attached to the dwelling, and which, if closed by a stone carefully cemented into its place, would have prevented any annoyance from the circumstance. Joab (1 K. ii. 34) was also buried "in his own house in the wilderness." In fact it appears that from the time when Abraham established the burying-place of his family at Hebron till the time when David fixed that of his family in the city which bore his name, the Jewish rulers had no fixed or favourite place of sepulture. Each was buried on his own property, or where he died, without much caring either for the sanctity or convenience of the place chosen.

Tomb of the Kings.—Of the twenty-two kings of Judah who reigned at Jerusalem from 1048 to 590 B.C., eleven, or exactly one-half, were buried in one hypogeum in the "city of David." The names of the kings so lying together were David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Ahaziah, Amaziah, Jotham, Hezekiah, and Josiah, together with the good priest Jehoiada. Of all these it is merely said that they were buried in "the sepulchres of their fathers" or "of the kings" in the city of David, except of two—Asa and Hezekiah. Of the first it is said (2 Chr. xvi. 14), "they buried him in his own sepulchres which he had made for himself in the city of David, and laid him in the bed [*loculus?*], which was filled with sweet odours and divers spices prepared by the apothecaries' art, and they made a very great burning for him." It is not quite clear, however, from this, whether this applies to a new chamber attached to the older sepulchre, or to one entirely distinct, though in the same neighbourhood. Of Hezekiah it is said (2 Chr. xxxii. 33), they buried him in "the chiefest [or highest] of the sepulchres of the sons of David," as if there were several apartments in the hypogeum, though it may merely be that they excavated for him a chamber above the others, as we find frequently done in Jewish sepulchres.

Two more of these kings (Jehoram and Joash) were buried also in the city of David, "but not in the sepulchres of the kings." The first because of the sore diseases of which he died (2 Chr. xxi. 20); the second apparently in consequence of his disastrous end (2 Chr. xxiv. 25); and one king, Uzziah (2 Chr. xxvi. 23), was buried with his fathers in the "field of the burial of the kings," because he was a leper. All this evinces the extreme care the Jews took in the selection of the burying-places of their kings, and the importance they attached to the record. It should also be borne in mind that the highest honour which could be bestowed on the good priest Jehoiada (2 Chr. xxiv. 16)

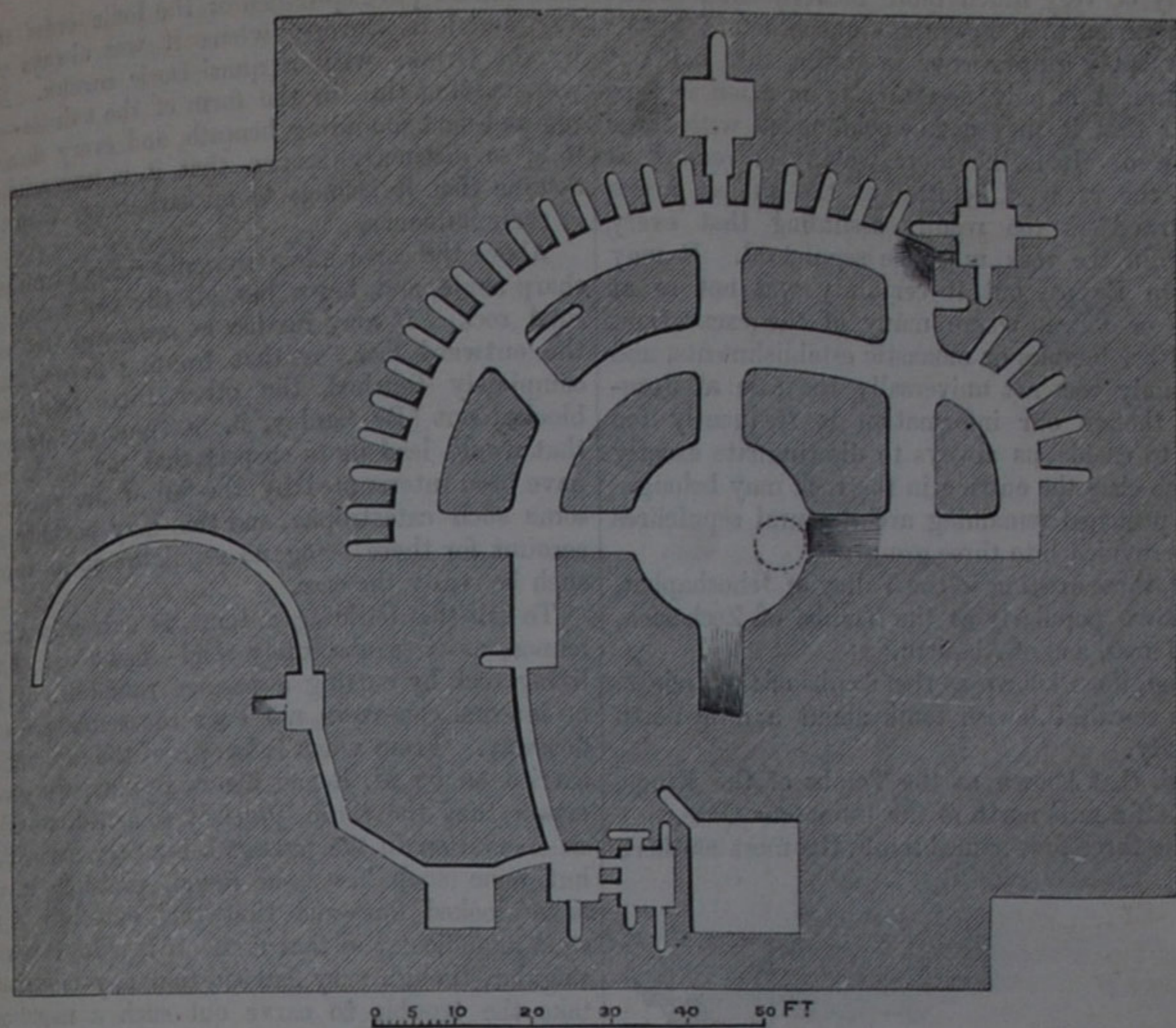
was that "they buried him in the city of David among the kings, because he had done good in Israel, both toward God and toward His House."

The passage in Nehemiah iii. 16, and in Ezekiel xliii. 7, 9, together with the reiterated assertion of the Books of Kings and Chronicles that these sepulchres were situated in the city of David, leave no doubt but that they were on Zion [see JERUSALEM], or the Eastern Hill, and in the immediate proximity of the Temple. They were in fact certainly within that enclosure now known as the "Haram Area;" but if it is asked on what exact spot, we must pause for further information before a reply can be given.

This area has been so altered by Roman, Christian, and Moslem, during the last eighteen centuries, that, till we can explore freely below the surface, much that is interesting must be hidden from us. It is quite clear, however, that the spot was well known during the whole of the Jewish period, inasmuch as the sepulchres were again and again opened as each king died; and from the tradition that Hyrcanus and Herod opened these sepulchres (*Ant.* xiii. 8, §4; xvi. 7, §1). The accounts of these last openings are, it must be confessed, somewhat apocryphal, resting only on the authority of Josephus; but they prove at least that he considered there could be no difficulty in finding the place. It is very improbable, however, from what we know of the extreme simplicity of the Jewish sepulchral rites, that any large sum should have been buried in David's tomb, and have escaped not only the Persian invaders, but their own necessitous rulers in the time of their extremest need. It is much more probable that Hyrcanus borrowed the treasure of the Temple, and invented this excuse; whereas the story of Herod's descent is so like that told more than 1000 years afterwards, by Benjamin of Tudela, that both may be classed in the same category. It was a secret transaction, if it took place, regarding which rumour might fashion what wondrous tales it pleased, and no one could contradict them; but his having built a marble *stelé* (*Ant.* xvi. 7, §1) in front of the tomb may have been a fact within the cognisance of Josephus, and would at all events serve to indicate that the sepulchre was rock-cut, and its site well known.

So far as we can judge from this and other indications, it seems probable there was originally a natural cavern in the rock in this locality, which may afterwards have been improved by art, and in the sides of which *loculi* were sunk, in which the bodies of the eleven kings and of the good High-Priest were laid, without sarcophagi or coffin, but "wound in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury" (John xix. 40).

Besides the kings above enumerated, Manasseh was, according to the Book of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxxiii. 20) buried in his own house, which the Book of Kings (2 K. xxi. 18) explains as the "garden of his own house, the garden of Uzza," where his son Amon was buried, also. It is said, in his own sepulchre (ver. 26), but we have nothing that would enable us to indicate where this was; and Ahaz, the wicked king, was, according to the Book of Chronicles (2 Chr. xxviii. 27) "buried in the city, even in Jerusalem, and they brought him not into the sepulchres of the kings of Israel." The fact of these three last kings having been idolaters, though one reformed, and their having all three been buried apparently in the city, proves what importance the Jews attached to the locality of the sepulchre, but



No. 2.—Plan of the "Tombs of the Prophets." from De Saulcy.

also tends to show that burial within the city, or the enclosure of a dwelling, was not so repulsive to their feelings as is generally supposed. It is just possible that the rock-cut sepulchre under the western wall of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre may be the remains of such a cemetery as that in which the wicked kings were buried.

This, with many other cognate questions, must be relegated for further information; for up to the present time we have not been able to identify one single sepulchral excavation about Jerusalem which can be said with certainty to belong to a period anterior to that of the Maccabees, or, more correctly, to have been used for burial before the time of the Romans.

The only important hypogeum which is wholly Jewish in its arrangements, and may consequently belong to an earlier or to any epoch, is that known as the Tombs of the Prophets in the western flank of the Mount of Olives. It has every appearance of having originally been a natural cavern improved by art, and with an external gallery some 140 feet in extent, into which twenty-seven deep or Jewish loculi open. Other chambers and loculi have been commenced in other parts, and in the passages there are spaces where many other graves could have been located, all which would tend to show that it had been disused before completed, and consequently was very modern; but be this as it may, it has no architectural mouldings—no sarcophagi or shallow loculi, nothing to indicate a foreign origin, and may therefore be considered, if not an early, at least as the most essentially Jewish of the sepulchral excavations in this locality—every other important sepulchral excavation being adorned with architectural features and details betraying most unmistakeably their Greek or Roman origin, and fixing their date consequently as subsequent to that

of the Maccabees; or in other words, like every other detail of pre-Christian architecture in Jerusalem, they belong to the 140 years that elapsed from the advent of Pompey till the destruction of the city by Titus.

Graeco-Roman Tombs.—Besides the tombs above enumerated, there are around Jerusalem, in the Valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat, and on the plateau to the north, a number of remarkable rock-cut sepulchres, with more or less architectural decoration, sufficient to enable us to ascertain that they are all of nearly the same age, and to assert with very tolerable confidence that the epoch to which they belong must be between the introduction of Roman influence and the destruction of the city by Titus. The proof of this would be easy if it were not that, like everything Jewish, there is a remarkable absence of inscriptions which can be assumed to be integral. The excavations in the Valley of Hinnom with Greek inscriptions are comparatively modern, the inscriptions being all of Christian import and of such a nature as to render it extremely doubtful whether the chambers were sepulchral at all, and not rather the dwellings of ascetics, and originally intended to be used for this purpose. These, however, are neither the most important nor the most architectural—indeed none of those in that valley are so remarkable as those in the other localities just enumerated. The most important of those in the Valley of Hinnom is that known as the "Retreat-place of the Apostles." It is an unfinished excavation of extremely late date, and many of the others look much more like the dwellings for the living than the resting-places of the dead.

In the village of Siloam there is a monolithic cell of singularly Egyptian aspect, which De Saulcy (*Voyage autour de la Mer Morte*, ii. 306) assumes to be a chapel of Solomon's Egyptian wife. It is

probably of very much more modern date, and is more Assyrian than Egyptian in character; but as he is probably quite correct in stating that it is not sepulchral, it is only necessary to mention it here in order that it may not be confounded with those that are so. It is the more worthy of remark as one of the great difficulties of the subject arises from travelers too readily assuming that every cutting in the rock must be sepulchral. It may be so in Egypt, but it certainly was not so at Cyrene or Petra, where many of the excavations were either temples or monastic establishments, and it certainly was not universally the case at Jerusalem, though our information is frequently too scanty to enable us always to discriminate exactly to which class the cutting in the rock may belong.

The principal remaining architectural sepulchres may be divided into three groups.

First, those existing in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and known popularly as the Tombs of Zechariah, of St. James, and of Absalom.

Second, those known as the Tombs of the Judges, and the so-called Jewish tomb about a mile north of the city.

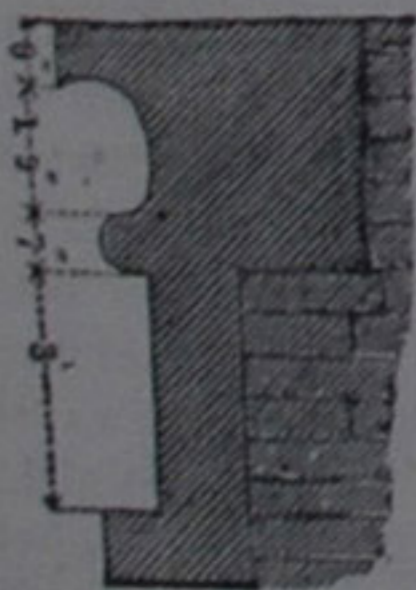
Third, that known as the Tombs of the Kings, about half a mile north of the Damascus Gate.

Of the three first-named tombs the most southern



No. 3.—So-called "Tomb of Zechariah."

is known as that of Zechariah, a popular name which there is not even a shadow of tradition



No. 4.—Section of Stylobate at Khorsabad.

to justify. It consists of a square solid basement, measuring 18 feet 6 inches each way, and 20 feet high to the top of the cornice. On each face are four engaged Ionic columns between antae, and these are surmounted, not by an Egyptian cornice, as is usually asserted, but by one of purely Assyrian type, such as is found at Khorsabad (Woodcut No. 4). As the Ionic or voluted order came also from Assyria, this example is in

fact a more pure specimen of the Ionic order than any found in Europe, where it was always used by the Greeks with a quasi-Doric cornice. Notwithstanding this, in the form of the volutes—the egg-and-dart moulding beneath, and every detail—it is so distinctly Roman that it is impossible to assume that it belongs to an earlier age than that of their influence.

Above the cornice is a pyramid rising at rather a sharp angle, and hewn like all the rest out of the solid rock. It may further be remarked that only the outward face, or that fronting Jerusalem, is completely finished, the other three being only blocked out (De Sauley, ii. 303), a circumstance that would lead us to suspect that the works may have been interrupted by the fall of Jerusalem, or some such catastrophe, and this may possibly also account for there being no sepulchre on its rear, if such be really the case.

To call this building a tomb is evidently a misnomer, as it is absolutely solid—hewn out of the living rock by cutting a passage round it. It has no internal chambers, nor even the semblance of a doorway. From what is known of the explorations carried on by M. Renan about Byblus, we should expect that the tomb, properly so called, would be an excavation in the passage behind the monolith—but none such has been found, probably it was never looked for—and that this monolith is the stelé or indicator of that fact. If it is so, it is very singular, though very Jewish, that any one should take the trouble to carve out such a monument without putting an inscription or symbol on it to mark its destination or to tell in whose honour it was erected.

The other, or so-called Tomb of Absalom, figured in vol. i. p. 14, is somewhat larger, the base being about 21 feet square in plan, and probably 23 or 24



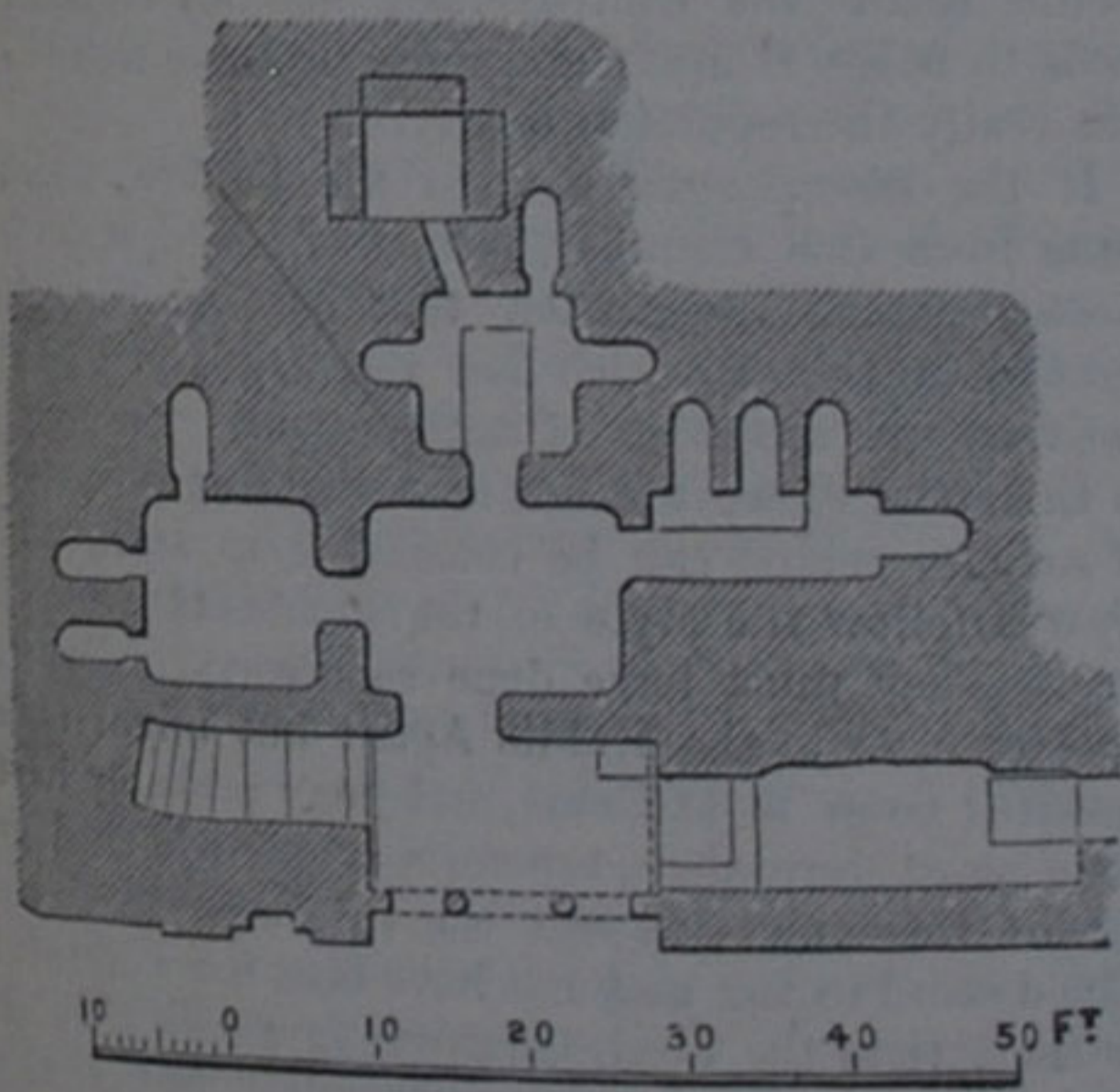
No. 5.—Angle of Tomb of Absalom. From De Sauley.

to the top of the cornice. Like the other, it is of the Roman Ionic order, surmounted by a cornice of Ionic

type; but between the pillars and the cornice a frieze, unmistakeably of the Roman Doric order, is introduced, so Roman as to be in itself quite sufficient to fix its epoch. It is by no means clear whether it had originally a pyramidal top like its neighbour. The existence of a square blocking above the cornice would lead us to suspect it had not; at all events, either at the time of its excavation or subsequently, this was removed, and the present very peculiar termination erected, raising its height to over 60 feet. At the time this was done a chamber was excavated in the base, we must assume for sepulchral purposes, though how a body could be introduced through the narrow hole above the cornice is by no means clear, nor, if inserted, how disposed of in the two very narrow loculi that exist.

The great interest of this excavation is that immediately in rear of the monolith we do find just such a sepulchral cavern as we should expect. It is called the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, with about the same amount of discrimination as governed the nomenclature of the others, but is now closed by the rubbish and stones thrown by the pious at the Tomb of the Undutiful Son, and consequently its internal arrangements are unknown; but externally it is crowned by a pediment of considerable beauty, and in the same identical style as that of the Tombs of the Judges, mentioned further on—showing that these two at least are of the same age, and this one at least must have been subsequent to the excavation of the monolith; so that we may feel perfectly certain that the two groups are of one age, even if it should not be thought quite clear what that age may be.

The third tomb of this group, called that of St. James, is situated between the other two, and is of



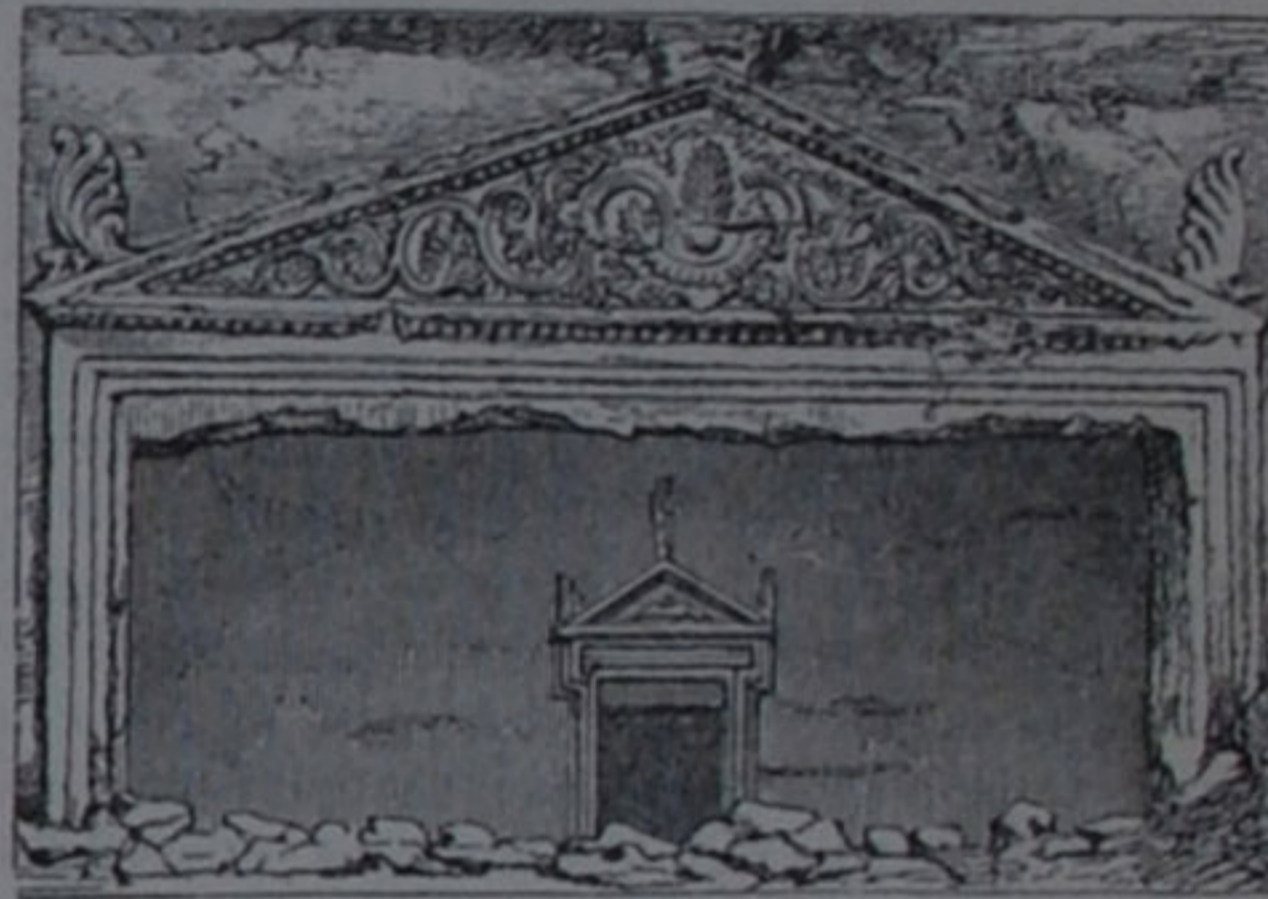
No. 6.—Plan of Tomb of St. James.

a very different character. It consists (see Plan) of a verandah with two Doric pillars in antis, which may be characterised as belonging to a very late Greek order rather than a Roman example. Behind this screen are several apartments, which in another locality we might be justified in calling a rock-cut monastery appropriated to sepulchral purposes, but in Jerusalem we know so little that it is necessary to pause before applying any such designation. In the rear of all is an apartment, apparently unfinished, with three shallow loculi meant

^a Pierotti, in his published Plan of Jerusalem, adds a sarcophagus chamber with shallow loculi, but as both Scala and De Saulcy omit this, it is probable the Italian

for the reception of sarcophagi, and so indicating a post-Jewish date for the whole or at least for that part of the excavation.

The hypogeum known as the Tombs of the Judges is one of the most remarkable of the catacombs around Jerusalem, containing about sixty deep loculi, arranged in three storeys; the upper storeys with ledges in front to give convenient access, and to support the stones that closed them, the lower flush with the ground: the whole, consequently, so essentially Jewish that it might be of any age if it were not for its distance from the town, and its architectural character. The latter, as before stated, is identical with that of the Tomb of Jehoshaphat, and has nothing Jewish about it. It might of course be difficult to prove this, as we know so little of what Jewish architecture really is; but we do know that the pediment is more essentially a Greek invention than any other part of their architecture, and was introduced at least not previously to the age of the Cypselidae, and this peculiar form not till long afterwards, and this particular example not till after an age when the debased Roman of the Tomb of Absalom had become possible.



No. 7.—Façade of the Tombs of the Judges.

The same remarks apply to the tomb without a name, and merely called "a Jewish Tomb," in this neighbourhood, with bevelled facets over its façade, but with late Roman Doric details at its angles, sufficient to indicate its epoch; but there is nothing else about these tombs requiring especial mention.

Tombs of Herod.—The last of the great groups enumerated above is that known as the Tombs of the Kings—*Kebûr es Sultan*—or the Royal Caverns, so called because of their magnificence, and also because that name is applied to them by Josephus, who in describing the third wall mentions them (*B. J.* v. 4, §2). He states that "the wall reached as far as the Tower Psephinus, and then extended till it came opposite the Monuments (*μνημείων*) of Helena. It then extended further to a great length till it passed by the Sepulchral Caverns of the Kings," &c. We have thus first the Tower Psephinus, the site of which is very tolerably ascertained on the ridge above the Pool *Birket Mamilla*; then the Monument of Helena, and then at some distance eastward these Royal Caverns.

They are twice again mentioned under the title of *Ἡρώδου μνημείων*. First, when Titus, approaching from the north, ordered the ground to

is mistaken. Woodcut No. 1 is taken from his plan, but used as a diagram rather than as representing the exact facts of the case.

be cleared from Scopus—which is tolerably well known—up to those Monuments of Herod (*B. J.* v. 3, §2); and lastly in the description of the circumvallation (*B. J.* v. 12, §2), where they are mentioned after passing the Monument of Ananus and Pompey's Camp, evidently on the ridge where Psephinus afterwards stood, and on the north of the city.

These three passages refer so evidently to one and the same place, that no one would probably ever have doubted—especially when taken in conjunction with the architecture—but that these caverns were the tombs of Herod and his family, were it not for a curious contradiction of himself in the works of Josephus, which has led to considerable confusion. Herod died at Jericho, and the most probable account (*Ant.* xvii. 8, §3) would lead us to suppose (it is not so stated) that his body was brought to Jerusalem, where the funeral procession was formed on a scale and with a magnificence which would have been impossible at such a place as Jericho without long previous preparation; and it then goes on to say, “and so they went *eight stadia* to [the] Herodium, for there, by his own command, he was to be buried”—eight stadia, or one mile, being the exact distance between the royal palace and these tombs.

The other account (*B. J.* i. 33, §9) repeats the details of the procession, and nearly in the same words, but substitutes 200 for 8, which has led to the belief that he was buried at *Jebel Fureidis*, where he had erected a palace 60 stadia south of Jerusalem, and 170 from Jericho. Even then the procession must have passed through Jerusalem, and this hardly would have been the case without its being mentioned; but the great difficulty is that there is no hint anywhere else of Herod's intention to be buried there, and the most extreme improbability that he should wish to be interred so far from the city where all his predecessors were laid. Though it would be unpardonable to alter the text in order to meet any particular view, still when an author makes two statements in direct contradiction the one to the other, it is allowable to choose the most conformable with probability; and this, added to his assertion that Herod's Tombs were in this neighbourhood, seems to settle the question.

The architecture (Woodcut No. 8) exhibits the same ill-understood Roman Doric arrangements as



No. 8.—Façade of Herod's Tombs, from a Photograph.

are found in all these tombs, mixed with bunches of grapes, which first appear on Maccabean coins, and

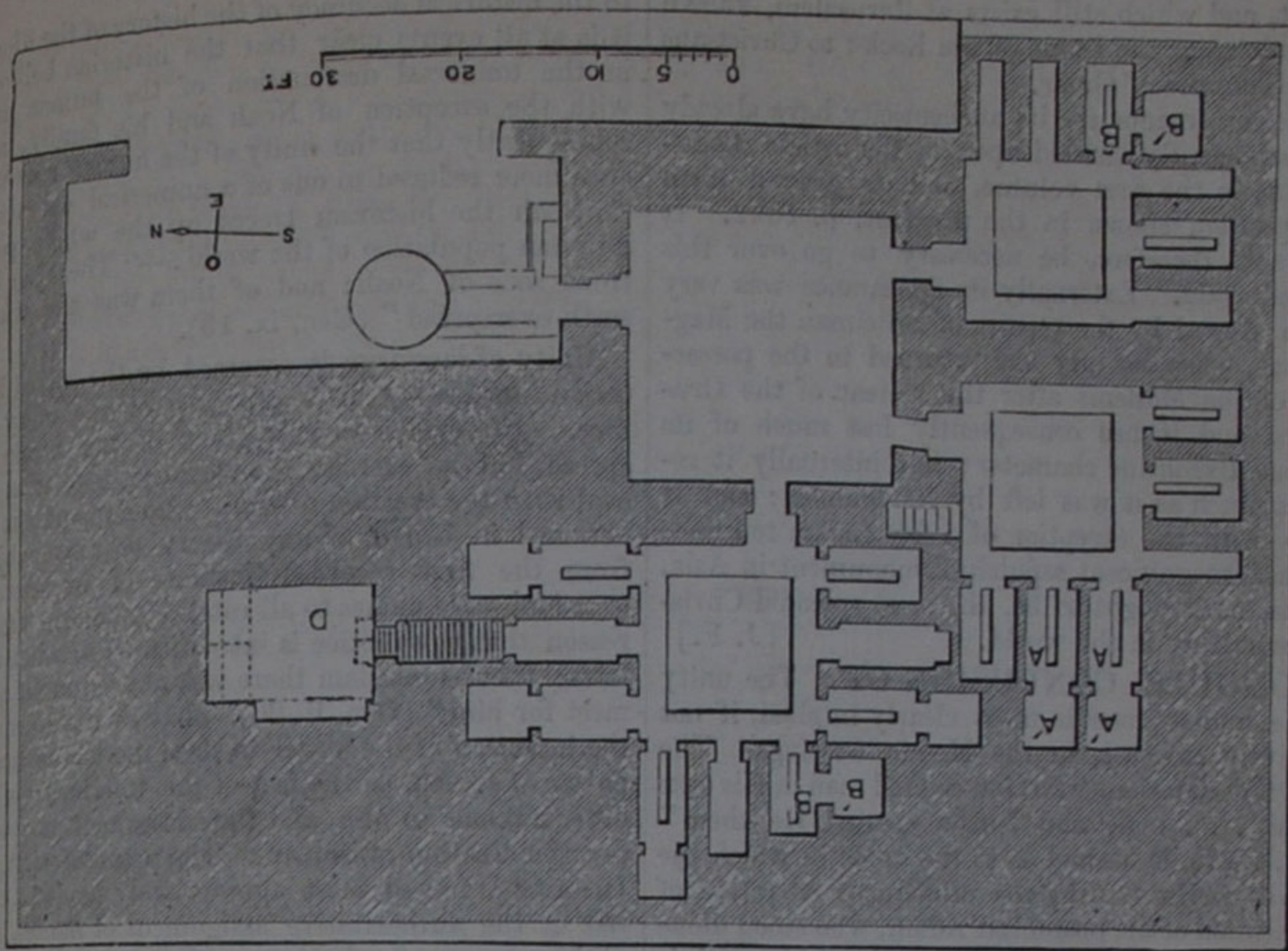
foliage which is local and peculiar, and, so far as anything is known elsewhere, might be of any age. Its connexion, however, with that of the Tombs of Jehoshaphat and the Judges fixes it to the same epoch.

The entrance doorway of this tomb is below the level of the ground, and concealed, as far as anything can be said to be so which is so architecturally adorned; and it is remarkable as the only instance of this quasi-concealment at Jerusalem. It is closed by a very curious and elaborate contrivance of a rolling stone, often described, but very clumsily answering its purpose. This also is characteristic of its age, as we know from Pausanias that the structural marble monument of Queen Helena of Adiabene was remarkable for a similar piece of misplaced ingenuity. Within, the tomb consists of a vestibule or entrance-hall about 20 feet square, from which three other square apartments open, each surrounded by deep loculi. These again possess a peculiarity not known in any other tomb about Jerusalem, of having a square apartment either beyond the head of the loculus or on one side: as, for instance (Woodcut No. 9), A A have their inner chambers A' A' within, but B and B, at B' B', on one side. What the purpose of these was it is difficult to guess, but at all events it was not Jewish.

But perhaps the most remarkable peculiarity of the hypogeum is the sarcophagus chamber D, in which two sarcophagi were found, one of which was brought home by De Saulcy, and is now in the Louvre. It is of course quite natural that a Roman king who was buried with such Roman pomp should have adopted the Roman mode of sepulture; and if this and that of St. James are the only sarcophagi chambers at Jerusalem, this alone should settle the controversy; and all certainly tends to make it more and more probable that this was really the sepulchre of Herod.

If the sarcophagus now in the Louvre, which came from this chamber, is that of Herod, it is the most practical illustration that has yet come to light of a theory which has recently been forcing itself on the attention of antiquarians. According to this new view, it is not necessary that furniture, or articles which can be considered as such, *must always* follow the style of the architecture of the day. They must have done so always in Egypt, in Greece, or in the Middle Ages; but might have deviated from it at Rome, and may probably have done so at Jerusalem, among a people who had no art of their own, as was the case with the Jews. The discord in fact may not have been more offensive to them than the Louis Quatorze furniture is to us, with which we adorn our Classical and Gothic buildings with such cosmopolite impartiality. If this is so, the sarcophagus may have been made for Herod. If this hypothesis is not tenable, it may belong to any age from the time of the Maccabees to that of Justinian, most probably the latter, for it certainly is not Roman, and has no connexion with the architecture of these tombs.

Be this as it may, there seems no reason for doubting but that all the architectural tombs of Jerusalem belong to the age of the Romans, like everything that has yet been found either at Petra, Baalbec, Palmyra, or Damascus, or even among the stone cities of the Hauran. Throughout Syria, in fact, there is no important architectural example which is anterior to their day; and all the specimens which can be called Classical are strongly



No. 9.—Plan of Tombs of Herod. From De Sauley.

marked with the impress of the peculiar forms of Roman art.

Tomb of Helena of Adiabene.—There was one other very famous tomb at Jerusalem, which cannot be passed over in silence, though not one vestige of it exists—for the simple reason, that though Queen Helena of Adiabene was converted to the Jewish faith, she had not so fully adopted Jewish feelings as to think it necessary she should be buried under ground. On the contrary, we are told that “she with her brother were buried in the pyramids which she had ordered to be constructed at a distance of three stadia from Jerusalem” (*Ant.* xx. 4, §3). This is confirmed by Pausanias (*viii.* 16), who, besides mentioning the marble door of very apocryphal mechanism which closed its entrance, speaks of it as a *Τάφος* in the same sense in which he understands the mausoleum at Halicarnassus to have been a structured tomb, which he could not have done if this were a cave, as some have supposed.

The specification of the locality by Josephus is so minute that we have no difficulty in ascertaining whereabouts the monument stood. It was situated outside the third wall, near a gate between the Tower Psephinus and the Royal Caverns (*B. J.* v. 22, and v. 4, §2). These last are perfectly known, and the tower with very tolerable approximate certainty, for it was placed on the highest point of the ridge between the hollow in which the Birket Mamilla is situated and the upper valley of the Kedron; they were consequently either exactly where marked on the plan in vol. i. p. 1018, or it may be a little more to the eastward.

They remained sufficiently entire in the 4th century to form a conspicuous object in the landscape, to be mentioned by Eusebius, and to be remarked by those who accompanied Sta. Paula (*Euseb.* ii. 12; Hieron. *Epitaph. Paulae*) on her journey to Jerusalem.

There is no difficulty in forming a tolerably dis-

tinct idea of what the appearance of this remarkable monument must have been, if we compare the words descriptive of it in the various authors who have mentioned it with the contemporary monuments in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. If we place together in a row three such monuments as the Tomb of Zechariah, or rather two such, with the monument of Absalom between them, we have such an edifice as will answer to the Pyramid of Josephus, the Taphos of Pausanias, the Stelés of Eusebius, or the Mausoleum of Jerome. But it need hardly be added, that not one of these expressions applies to an underground excavation. According to this view of the matter, the entrance would be under the Central Cippus, which would thus form the ante-room to the two lateral pyramids, in one of which Helena herself reposed, and in the other the remains of her brother.

Since the destruction of the city by Titus, none of the native inhabitants of Jerusalem have been in a position to indulge in much sepulchral magnificence, or perhaps had any taste for this class of display; and we in consequence find no rock-cut hypogea, and no structural monuments that arrest attention in modern times. The people, however, still cling to their ancient cemeteries in the Valley of Jehoshaphat with a tenacity singularly characteristic of the East. The only difference being, that the erection of the Wall of Agrippa, which now forms the eastern boundary of the Haram Area, has pushed the cemetery further towards the Kedron, or at least cut off the upper and nobler part of it. And the contraction of the city on the north has enabled the tombs to approach nearer the limits of the modern town than was the case in the days when Herod the Great and Helena of Adiabene were buried “on the sides of the north.”

The only remarkable exception to this assertion is that splendid Mausoleum which Constantine erected over what he believed to be the Tomb of

Christ, and which still exists at Jerusalem, known to Moslems as the Dome of the Rock; to Christians as the Mosque of Omar.

The arguments for its authenticity have already been sufficiently insisted upon in the article JERUSALEM, in the first volume, and its general form and position shown in the woodcut, p. 1022. It will not, therefore, be necessary to go over this ground again. Externally its appearance was very much altered by the repairs of Suleiman the Magnificent, when the city had returned to the possession of the Moslems after the retreat of the Crusaders, and it has consequently lost much of its original Byzantine character; but internally it remains much as it was left by its founder; and is now—with the exception of a few Indian tombs—the most magnificent sepulchral monument in Asia, and is, as it ought to be, the most splendid Christian sepulchre in the world. [J. F.]

TONGUES, CONFUSION OF. The unity of the human race is most clearly implied, if not positively asserted, in the Mosaic writings. The general declaration, "So God created man in His own image, . . . male and female created He them" (Gen. i. 27), is limited as to the mode in which the act was carried out, by the subsequent narrative of the creation of the protoplast Adam, who stood alone on the earth amidst the beasts of the field, until it pleased Jehovah to create "an help meet for him" out of the very substance of his body (Gen. ii. 22). From this original pair sprang the whole antediluvian population of the world, and hence the author of the Book of Genesis conceived the unity of the human race to be of the most rigid nature—not simply a generic unity, nor again simply a specific unity (for unity of species may not be inconsistent with a plurality of original centres), but a specific based upon a numerical unity, the species being nothing else than the enlargement of the individual. Such appears to be the natural meaning of the first chapters of Genesis, when taken by themselves—much more so when read under the reflected light of the New Testament; for not only do we meet with references to the historical fact of such an origin of the human race—*e. g.* in St. Paul's declaration that God "hath made of one blood every nation of men to dwell on all the face of the earth"^a (Acts xvii. 26)—but the same is evidently implied in the numerous passages which represent Jesus Christ as the counterpart of Adam in regard to the universality of His connection with the human race. Attempts have indeed been made to show that the idea of a plurality of original pairs is not inconsistent with the Mosaic writings; but there is a wide distinction between a view not inconsistent with, and a view drawn from, the words of the author: the latter is founded upon the facts he relates, as well as his mode of relating them; the former takes advantage of the weaknesses arising out of a concise or unmethodical style of composition. Even if such a view could be sustained in reference to the narrative of the original creation of man, it must inevitably fail in reference to the history of the repopulation of the world in the post-diluvian age; for whatever objections may be made

^a The force of the Apostle's statement is inadequately given in the A.V., which gives "for to dwell" as the result, instead of the direct object of the principal verb.

^b The project has been restricted by certain critics to the Hamites, or, at all events, to a mere section of the human race. This and various other questions arising

to the historical accuracy of the history of the Flood it is at all events clear that the historian believed in the universal destruction of the human race with the exception of Noah and his family, and consequently that the unity of the human race was once more reduced to one of a numerical character. To Noah the historian traces up the whole post-diluvian population of the world:—"These are the three sons of Noah: and of them was the whole earth overspread" (Gen. ix. 19).

Unity of language is assumed by the sacred historian apparently as a corollary of the unity of race. No explanation is given of the origin of speech, but its exercise is evidently regarded as coeval with the creation of man. No support can be obtained in behalf of any theory on this subject from the first recorded instance of its exercise ("Adam gave names to all cattle"), for the simple reason that this notice is introductory to what follows: "but for Adam there was not found an help meet for him" (Gen. ii. 20). It was not so much the intention of the writer to state the fact of man's power of speech, as the fact of the inferiority of all other animals to him, and the consequent necessity for the creation of woman. The proof of that inferiority is indeed most appropriately made to consist in the authoritative assignment of names, implying an act of reflection on their several natures and capacities, and a recognition of the offices which they were designed to fill in the economy of the world. The exercise of speech is thus most happily connected with the exercise of reflection, and the relationship between the inner act of the mind (*λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*) and the outward expression (*λόγος προφορικός*) is fully recognized. Speech being thus inherent in man as a reflecting being, was regarded as handed down from father to son by the same process of imitation, by which it is still perpetuated. Whatever divergences may have arisen in the antediluvian period, no notice is taken of them, inasmuch as their effects were obliterated by the universal catastrophe of the Flood. The original unity of speech was restored in Noah, and would naturally be retained by his descendants as long as they were held together by social and local bonds. Accordingly we are informed that for some time "the whole earth was of one lip and the same words" (Gen. xi. 1), *i. e.* both the vocal sounds and the vocables were identical—an exhaustive, but not, as in the A. V., a tautologous description of complete unity. Disturbing causes were, however, early at work to dissolve this twofold union of community and speech. The human family^b endeavoured to check the tendency to separation by the establishment of a great central edifice, and a city which should serve as the metropolis of the whole world. They attempted to carry out this project in the wide plain of Babylonia, a locality admirably suited to such an object from the physical and geographical peculiarities of the country. The project was defeated by the interposition of Jehovah, who determined to "confound their language, so that they might not understand one another's speech." Contemporaneously with, and perhaps as the result of, this confusion

out of the narrative are discussed by Vitranga in his *Observ. Sacr.* i. 1, §2-8; 6, §1-4. Although the restriction above noticed is not irreconcilable with the text, it interferes with the ulterior object for which the narrative was probably inserted, *viz.* to reconcile the manifested diversity of language with the idea of an original unity.

of tongues, the people were scattered abroad from thence upon the face of ail the earth, and the memory of the great event was preserved in the name Babel (= confusion). The ruins of the tower are identified by M. Oppert, the highest authority on Babylonian antiquities, with the basement of the great mound of *Birs-Nimrūd*, the ancient Borsippa.^c

Two points demand our attention in reference to this narrative, viz. the degree to which the confusion of tongues may be supposed to have extended, and the connection between the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of nations. (1.) It is unnecessary to assume that the judgment inflicted on the builders of Babel amounted to a loss, or even a suspension, of articulate speech. The desired object would be equally attained by a miraculous forestalment of those dialectical differences of language which are constantly in process of production, but which, under ordinary circumstances, require time and variations of place and habits to reach such a point of maturity that people are unable to understand one another's speech. The elements of the one original language may have remained, but so disguised by variations of pronunciation, and by the introduction of new combinations, as to be practically obliterated. Each section of the human family may have spoken a tongue unintelligible to the remainder, and yet containing a substratum which was common to all. Our own experience suffices to show how completely even dialectical differences render strangers unintelligible to one another; and if we further take into consideration the differences of habits and associations, of which dialectical differences are the exponents, we shall have no difficulty in accounting for the result described by the sacred historian. (2.) The confusion of tongues and the dispersion of nations are spoken of in the Bible as contemporaneous events. "So the Lord scattered them abroad" is stated as the execution of the Divine counsel, "Let us confound their language." The divergence of the various families into distinct tribes and nations ran parallel with the divergence of speech into dialects and languages, and thus the 10th chapter of Genesis is posterior in historical sequence to the events recorded in the 11th chapter. Both passages must be taken into consideration in any disquisition on the early fortunes of the human race. We propose therefore to inquire, in the first place, how far modern researches into the phenomena of language favour the idea that there was once a time when "the whole earth was of one speech and language;" and, in the second place, whether the ethnological views exhibited in the Mosaic table accord with the evidence furnished by history and language, both in regard to the special facts recorded in it, and in the general Scriptural view of a historical or, more properly, a gentilic unity of the human race. These questions, though independent, yet exercise a reflexive influence on each other's results. Unity of speech does not necessarily involve unity of race, nor yet *vice versa*; but each enhances the probability of the other, and therefore the arguments derived from language, physiology, and history, may ultimately furnish a cumulative amount of probability which will fall but little below demonstration.

(A.) The advocate of the historical unity of language has to encounter two classes of opposing arguments; one arising out of the differences, the

other out of the resemblances of existing languages. On the one hand, it is urged that the differences are of so decisive and specific a character as to place the possibility of a common origin, wholly out of the question; on the other hand that the resemblances do not necessitate the theory of a historical unity, but may be satisfactorily accounted for on psychological principles. It will be our object to discuss the amount, the value, and the probable origin of the varieties exhibited by languages, with a view to meet the first class of objections. But before proceeding to this, we will make a few remarks on the second class, inasmuch as these, if established, would nullify any conclusion that might be drawn from the other.

A psychological unity is not necessarily opposed to a gentilic unity. It is perfectly open to any theorist to combine the two by assuming that the language of the one protoplast was founded on strictly psychological principles. But, on the other hand, a psychological unity does not necessitate a gentilic unity. It permits of the theory of a plurality of protoplasts, who under the influence of the same psychological laws arrived at similar independent results. Whether the phenomena of language are consistent with such a theory, we think extremely doubtful; certainly they cannot furnish the basis of it. The whole question of the origin of language lies beyond the pale of historical proof, and any theory connected with it admits neither of being proved nor disproved. We know, as a matter of fact, that language is communicated from one generation to another solely by force of imitation, and that there is no play whatever for the inventive faculty in reference to it. But in what manner the substance of language was originally produced, we do not know. No argument can be derived against the common origin from analogies drawn from the animal world, and when Professor Agassiz compares similarities of language with those of the cries of animals (v. Bohlen's *Introd. to Gen.* ii. 278), he leaves out of consideration the important fact that language is not identical with sound, and that the words of a rational being, however originally produced, are perpetuated in a manner wholly distinct from that whereby animals learn to utter their cries. Nor does the internal evidence of language itself reveal the mystery of its origin; for though a very large number of words may be referred either directly or mediately to the principle of onomatopoeia, there are others, as, for instance, the first and second personal pronouns, which do not admit of such an explanation. In short, this and other similar theories cannot be reconciled with the intimate connexion evidently existing between reason and speech, and which is so well expressed in the Greek language by the application of the term *λόγος* to each, reason being nothing else than inward speech, and speech nothing else than outward reason, neither of them possessing an independent existence without the other. As we conceive that the psychological, as opposed to the gentilic, unity involves questions connected with the origin of language, we can only say that in this respect it falls outside the range of our inquiry.

Reverting to the other class of objections, we proceed to review the extent of the differences observable in the languages of the world, in order to ascertain whether they are such as to preclude the possibility of a common origin. Such a review must necessarily be imperfect, both from the mag-

^c See the Appendix to this article.

itude of the subject, and also from the position of the linguistic science itself, which as yet has hardly advanced beyond the stage of infancy. On the latter point we would observe that the most important links between the various language families may yet be discovered in languages that are either unexplored, or, at all events, unplaced. Meanwhile, no one can doubt that the tendency of all linguistic research is in the direction of unity. Already it has brought within the bonds of a well established relationship languages so remote from each other in external guise, in age, and in geographical position as Sanscrit and English, Celtic and Greek. It has done the same for other groups of languages equally widely extended, but presenting less opportunities of investigation. It has recognised affinities between languages which the ancient Greek ethnologist would have classed under the head of "barbarian" in reference to each other, and even in many instances where the modern philologist has anticipated no relationship. The lines of discovery therefore point in one direction, and favour the expectation that the various families may be combined by the discovery of connecting links into a single family, comprehending in its capacious bosom all the languages of the world. But should such a result never be attained, the probability of a common origin would still remain unshaken; for the failure would probably be due to the absence, in many classes and families, of that chain of historical evidence, which in the case of the Indo-European and Shemitic families enables us to trace their progress for above 3000 years. In many languages no literature at all, in many others no ancient literature exists, to supply the philologist with materials for comparative study: in these cases it can only be by laborious research into existing dialects, that the original forms of words can be detected amidst the incrustations and transmutations with which time has obscured them.

In dealing with the phenomena of language, we should duly consider the plastic nature of the material out of which it is formed, and the numerous influences to which it is subject. Variety in unity is a general law of nature, to which even the most stubborn physical substances yield a ready obedience. In the case of language it would be difficult to lay any bounds to the variety which we might *à priori* expect it to assume. For in the first place it is brought into close contact with the spirit of man, and reflects with amazing fidelity its endless variations, adapting itself to the expression of each feeling, the designation of each object, the working of each cast of thought or stage of reasoning power. Secondly, its sounds are subject to external influences, such as peculiarities of the organ of speech, the result either of natural conformation, of geographical position, or of habits of life and associations of an accidental character. In the third place, it is generally affected by the state of intellectual and social culture of a people, as manifested more especially in the presence or absence of a standard literary dialect, and in the processes of verbal and syntactical structure, which again react on the very core of the word, and produce a variety of sound-

^a 1. That prepositions are reducible to pronominal roots may be illustrated by the following instances. The Greek *ἀπό*, with its cognates the German *ab* and our *of*, is derived from the demonstrative base *a*, whence also the Sanscrit *āpa* (Bopp, §1000); *πρό* and *παρά* are akin to the Sansc. *prā* and *pārā*, secondary formations of the above mentioned *āpa* (Bopp, §1009). The only prepo-

muta^{ns}. Lastly, it is subjected to the wear and tear of time and use, obliterating, as in an old coin, the original impress of the word, reducing it in bulk, producing new combinations, and occasionally leading to singular interchanges of sound and idea. The varieties, resulting from the modifying influences above enumerated, may be reduced to two classes, according as they affect the formal or the radical elements of language. On each of these subjects we propose to make a few remarks.

I. Widely as languages now differ from each other in external form, the raw material (if we may use the expression) out of which they have sprung appears to have been in all cases the same. A substratum of significant monosyllabic roots underlies the whole structure, supplying the materials necessary not only for ordinary predication, but also for what is usually termed the "growth" of language out of its primary into its more complicated forms. It is necessary to point this out clearly in order that we may not be led to suppose that the elements of one language are in themselves endued with any greater vitality than those of another. Such a distinction, if it existed, would go far to prove a specific difference between languages, which could hardly be reconciled with the idea of their common origin. The appearance of vitality arises out of the manipulation of the roots by the human mind, and is not inherent in the roots themselves.

The proofs of this original equality are furnished by the languages themselves. Adopting for the present the threefold morphological classification into isolating, agglutinative, and inflecting languages, we shall find that no original element exists in the one which does not also exist in the other. With regard to the isolating class, the terms "monosyllabic" and "radical," by which it is otherwise described, are decisive as to its character. Languages of this class are wholly unsusceptible of grammatical mutations: there is no formal distinction between verb and noun, substantive and adjective, preposition and conjunction: there are no inflections, no case- or person-terminations of any kind: the bare root forms the sole and whole substance of the language. In regard to the other two classes, it is necessary to establish the two distinct points, (1) that the formal elements represent roots, and (2) that the roots both of the formal and the radical elements of the word are monosyllabic. Now, it may be satisfactorily proved by analysis that all the component parts of both inflecting and agglutinative languages are reducible to two kinds of roots, predicable and pronominal; the former supplying the material element of verbs, substantives, and adjectives, the latter that of conjunctions, prepositions, and particles; while each kind, but more particularly the pronominal, supply the formal element, or, in other words, the terminations of verbs, substantives, and adjectives. The full proofs of these assertions would involve nothing less than a treatise on comparative grammar: we can do no more than adduce in the accompanying note a few illustrations of the various points to which we have adverted.^d Whether the two classes

sition which appears to spring from a predicable base is *trans*, with its cognates *durch* and *through*, which are referred to the verbal root *tar* (Bopp, 1018).

2. That conjunctions are similarly reducible may be illustrated by the familiar instances of *ὅτι*, *quod*, and "that," indifferently used as pronouns or conjunctions. The Latin *si* is connected with the pronoun *si-bi* and *si*.

of roots, predicable and pronominal, are further reducible to one class, is a point that has been discussed, but has not as yet been established (Bopp's *Compar. Gram.* §105; Max Müller's *Lectures*, p. 269). We have further to show that the roots of agglutinative and inflecting languages are monosyllabic. This is an acknowledged characteristic of the Indo-European family; monosyllabism is indeed the only feature which its roots have in common; in other respects they exhibit every kind of variation from a uniliteral root, such as *i* (*ire*), up to combinations of five letters, such as *scand* (*scandere*), the total number of admissible forms of root amounting to no less than eight (Schleicher, §206). In the Shemitic family monosyllabism is not a *prima facie* characteristic of the root: on the contrary, the verbal stems exhibit bisyllabism with such remarkable uniformity, that it would lead to the impression that the roots also must have been bisyllabic. The bisyllabism, however, of the Shemitic stem is in reality triconsonantalism, the vowels not forming any part of the essence of the root, but being wholly subordinate to the consonants. It is at once apparent that a triconsonantal and even a quadriconsonantal root may be in certain combinations unisyllabic. But further, it is more than probable that the triconsonantal has been evolved out of a biconsonantal root, which must necessarily be unisyllabic if the consonants stand, as they invariably do in Shemitic roots, at the beginning and end of the word. With regard to the agglutinative class, it may be assumed that the same law which we have seen to prevail in the isolating and inflecting classes, prevails also in this, holding as it does an intermediate place between those opposite poles in the world of language.

From the consideration of the crude materials of language, we pass on to the varieties exhibited in its structure, with a view to ascertain whether in these there exists any bar to the idea of an original unity. (1.) Reverting to the classification already noticed, we have to observe, in the first place, that the principle on which it is based is the nature of the connection existing between the predicable and the relational or inflectional elements of a word. In the isolating class these two are kept wholly dis-

together with the Sansc. *yádi*, with the relative base *ya* (Bopp, §994).

3. That the suffixes forming the inflections of verbs and nouns are nothing else than the relics of either predicable or pronominal roots, will appear from the following instances, drawn (1) from the Indo-European languages, and (2) from the Ural-Altalan languages. (1) The *-μi* in *δίδωμι* is connected with the root whence spring the oblique cases of the personal pronoun *ἐγώ*; the *-σ* in *δίδως* is the remains of *σύ*; and the *τ* in *ἐστί* (for which an *σ* is substituted in *δίδωσι*) represents the Sanscrit *ta*, which reappears in *αὐτός* and in the oblique cases of the article (Bopp, §§434, 443, 456). So again, the *-σ* in the nominative *λόγος* represents the Sanscrit pronominal root *sa*, and the *-d* of the neuter *quid* the Sanscrit *ta* (Schleicher's *Compend.* §246); the genitive terminations *-os*, *-oio* (originally *-oioio*), and hence *-ov* = the Sanscrit *sya*, another form of *sa* (Schleicher, §252); the dative (or more properly the locative) *-φ* or *-oi* is referable to the demonstrative root *i* (Schleicher, §254); and the accusative *-ν* (originally *-μ*) to a pronominal case, probably *am*, which no longer appears in its simple form (Schleicher, §249). (2) In the Ural-Altalan languages, we find that the terminations of the verbs gerunds, and participles are referable to significant roots; as in Turkish the active affix *t* or *d* to a root signifying "to do" (Kwald, *Sprache. Abh.* ii. 27), and in Hungarian the fac-

inct: relational ideas are expressed by juxtaposition or by syntactical arrangement, and not by any combination of the roots. In the agglutinative class the relational elements are attached to the principal or predicable theme by a mechanical kind of junction, the individuality of each being preserved even in the combined state. In the inflecting class the junction is of a more perfect character, and may be compared to a chemical combination, the predicable and relational elements being so fused together as to present the appearance of a single and indivisible word. It is clear that there exists no insuperable barrier to original unity in these differences, from the simple fact that every inflecting language must once have been agglutinative, and every agglutinative language once isolating. If the predicable and relational elements of an isolating language be linked together, either to the eye or the ear, it is rendered agglutinative; if the material and formal parts are pronounced as one word, eliminating, if necessary, the sounds that resist incorporation, the language becomes inflecting. (2.) In the second place, it should be noted that these three classes are not separated from each other by any sharp line of demarcation. Not only does each possess in a measure the quality predominant in each other, but moreover each graduates into its neighbour through its bordering members. The isolating languages are not wholly isolating: they avail themselves of certain words as relational particles, though these still retain elsewhere their independent character: they also use composite, though not strictly compound words. The agglutinative are not wholly agglutinative: the Finnish and Turkish classes of the Ural-Altalan family are in certain instances inflectional, the relational adjunct being fully incorporated with the predicable stem, and having undergone a large amount of attrition for that purpose. Nor again are the inflectional languages wholly inflectional: Hebrew, for instance, abounds with agglutinative forms, and also avails itself largely of separate particles for the expression of relational ideas: our own language, though classed as inflectional, retains nothing more than the vestiges of inflection, and is in many respects as isolating and juxtapositional as

titive affix *t* to *te*, "to do," the passive affix *l* to *le*, "to become;" the affix of possibility *hae* to *hat*, "to work" &c. (Pulszky, in *Philol. Trans.* 1859, p. 115).

* Monosyllabic substantives are not unusual in Hebrew, as instanced in *אֵל*, *יְהוָה*, &c. It is unnecessary to regard these as truncated forms from bisyllabic roots.

† That the Shemitic languages ever actually existed in a state of monosyllabism is questioned by Renan, partly because the surviving monosyllabic languages have never emerged from their primitive condition, and partly because he conceives synthesis and complexity to be anterior in the history of language to analysis and simplicity (*Hist. Gén.* i. 98-100). The first of these objections is based upon the assumption that languages are developed only in the direction of syntheticism; but this, as we shall hereafter show, is not the only possible form of development, and it is just because the monosyllabic languages have adopted another method of perfecting themselves, that they have remained in their original stage. The second objection seems to involve a violation of the natural order of things, and to be inconsistent with the evidence afforded by language itself; for, though there is undoubtedly a tendency in language to pass from the synthetical to the analytical state, it is no less clear from the elements of synthetic forms that they must have originally existed in an analytical state.

any language of that class. While, therefore, the classification holds good with regard to the predominant characters of the classes, it does not imply differences of a specific nature. (3.) But further, the morphological varieties of language are not confined to the exhibition of the single principle hitherto described. A comparison between the westerly branches of the Ural-Altian on the one hand, and the Indo-European on the other, belonging respectively to the agglutinative and inflectional classes, will show that the quantitative amount of synthesis is fully as prominent a point of contrast as the qualitative. The combination of primary and subordinate terms may be more perfect in the Indo-European, but it is more extensively employed in the Ural-Altian family. The former, for instance, appends to its verbal stems the notions of time, number, person, and occasionally of interrogation; the latter further adds suffixes indicative of negation, hypothesis, causativeness, reflexiveness, and other similar ideas, whereby the word is built up tier on tier to a marvellous extent. The former appends to its substantival stems suffixes of case and number; the latter adds governing particles, rendering them post-positional instead of pre-positional, and combining them synthetically with the predicable stem. If, again, we compare the Shemitic with the Indo-European languages, we shall find a morphological distinction of an equally diverse character. In the former the grammatical category is expressed by internal vowel-changes, in the latter by external suffixes. So marked a distinction has not unnaturally been constituted the basis of a classification, wherein the languages that adopt this system of internal flexion stand by themselves as a separate class, in contradistinction to those which either use terminational additions for the same purpose, or which dispense wholly with inflectional forms (Bopp's *Comp. Gr.* i. 102). The singular use of preformatives in the Coptic language is, again, a morphological peculiarity of a very decided character. And even within the same family, say the Indo-European, each language exhibits an idiosyncrasy in its morphological character, whereby it stands out apart from the other members with a decided impress of individuality. The inference to be drawn from the number and character of the differences we have noticed, is favourable, rather than otherwise, to the theory of an original unity. Starting from the same common ground of monosyllabic roots, each language-family has carried out its own special line of development, following an original impulse, the causes and nature of which must remain probably for ever a matter of conjecture. We can perceive, indeed, in a general way, the adaptation of certain forms of speech to certain states of society. The agglutinative languages, for instance, seem to be specially adapted to the nomadic state by the prominence and distinctness with which they enunciate the leading idea in each word, an arrangement whereby communication would be facilitated between tribes or families that associate only at intervals. We might almost imagine that these languages derived their impress of uniformity and solidity from the monotonous steppes of Central Asia, which have in all ages formed their proper habitat. So, again, the inflectional class reflects cultivated thought and social organisation, and its languages have hence been termed "state" or "political." Monosyllabism, on the other hand, is pronounced to be suited to the most primitive stage of thought and society, wherein the family or the individual is the standard by

which things are regulated (Max Müller, in *Philos. of Hist.* i. 285). We should hesitate, however, to press this theory as furnishing an adequate explanation of the differences observable in language-families. The Indo-European languages attained their high organisation amid the same scenes and in the same nomad state as those wherein the agglutinative languages were nurtured, and we should be rather disposed to regard both the language and the higher social status of the former as the concurrent results of a higher mental organisation.

If from words we pass on to the varieties of syntactical arrangement, the same degree of analogy will be found to exist between class and class, or between family and family in the same class; in other words, no peculiarity exists in one which does not admit of explanation by a comparison with others. The absence of all grammatical forms in an isolating language necessitates a rigid collocation of the words in a sentence according to logical principles. The same law prevails to a very great extent in our own language, wherein the subject, verb, and object, or the subject, copula, and predicate, generally hold their relative positions in the order exhibited, the exceptions to such an arrangement being easily brought into harmony with that general law. In the agglutinative languages the law of arrangement is that the principal word should come last in the sentence, every qualifying clause or word preceding it, and being as it were sustained by it. The syntactical is thus the reverse of the verbal structure, the principal notion taking the precedence in the latter (Ewald, *Sprachw. Abh.* ii. 29). There is in this nothing peculiar to this class of languages, beyond the greater uniformity with which the arrangement is adhered to: it is the general rule in the classical, and the occasional rule in certain of the Teutonic languages. In the Shemitic family the reverse arrangement prevails: the qualifying adjectives follow the noun to which they belong, and the verb generally stands first: short sentences are necessitated by such a collocation, and hence more room is allowed for the influence of emphasis in deciding the order of the sentence. In illustration of grammatical peculiarities, we may notice that in the agglutinative class adjectives qualifying substantives, or substantives placed in apposition with substantives, remain undeclined: in this case the process may be compared with the formation of compound words in the Indo-European languages, where the final member alone is inflected. So again the omission of a plural termination in nouns following a numeral may be paralleled with a similar usage in our own language, where the terms "pound" or "head" are used collectively after a numeral. We may again cite the peculiar manner of expressing the genitive in Hebrew. This is effected by one of the two following methods—placing the governing noun in the *status constructus*, or using the relative pronoun with a preposition before the governed case. The first of these processes appears a strange inversion of the laws of language; but an examination into the origin of the adjuncts, whether prefixes or affixes, used in other languages for the indication of the genitive, will show that they have a more intimate connection with the governing than with the governed word, and that they are generally resolvable into either relative or personal pronouns.

which serve the simple purpose of connecting the two words together (Garnett's *Essays*, pp. 214-227). The same end may be gained by connecting the words in pronunciation, which would lead to a rapid utterance of the first, and consequently to the changes which are witnessed in the *status constructus*. The second or periphrastic process is in accordance with the general method of expressing the genitive; for the expression "the Song which is to Solomon" strictly answers to "Solomon's Song," the *s* representing (according to Bopp's explanation) a combination of the demonstrative *sa* and the relative *ya*. It is thus that the varieties of construction may be shown to be consistent with unity of law, and that they therefore furnish no argument against a common origin.

Lastly, it may be shown that the varieties of language do not arise from any constitutional inequality of vital energy. Nothing is more remarkable than the compensating power apparently inherent in all language, whereby it finds the means of reaching the level of the human spirit through a faithful adherence to its own guiding principle. The isolating languages, being shut out from the manifold advantages of verbal composition, attain their object by multiplied combinations of radical sounds, assisted by an elaborate system of accentuation and intonation. In this manner the Chinese language has framed a vocabulary fully equal to the demands made upon it; and though this mode of development may not commend itself to our notions as the most effective that can be devised, yet it plainly evinces a high susceptibility on the part of the linguistic faculty, and a keen perception of the correspondence between sound and sense. Nor does the absence of inflection interfere with the expression even of the most delicate shades of meaning in a sentence; a compensating resource is found partly in a multiplicity of subsidiary terms expressive of plurality, motion, action, &c., and partly in strict attention to syntactical arrangement. The agglutinative languages, again, are deficient in compound words, and in this respect lack the elasticity and expansiveness of the Indo-European family; but they are eminently synthetic, and no one can fail to admire the regularity and solidity with which its words are built up, suffix on suffix, and, when built up, are suffused with an uniformity of tint by the law of vowel-harmony.² The Shemitic languages have worked out a different principle of growth, evolved, not improbably, in the midst of a conflict between the systems of prefix and suffix, whereby the stem, being as it were enclosed at both extremities, was precluded from all external increment, and was forced back into such changes as could be effected by a modification of its vowel sounds. But whatever may be the origin of the system of internal inflection, it must be conceded that the results are very effective, as regards both economy of material, and simplicity and dignity of style.

The result of the foregoing observations is to

² The action of this law is as follows:—The vowels are divided into three classes, which we may term sharp, medial, and flat: the first and the last cannot be combined in any fully formed word, but all the vowels must be either of the two first, or of the two last classes. The suffixes must always accord with the root in regard to the quality of its vowel-sounds, and hence the necessity of having double forms for all the suffixes to meet the sharp or the flat character of the root. The practice is probably referable to the same principle which assigned so remarkable a prominence to the root. As the root sustains the

show that the formal varieties of language present no obstacle to the theory of a common origin. Amid these varieties there may be discerned manifest tokens of unity in the original material out of which language was formed, in the stages of formation through which it has passed, in the general principle of grammatical expression, and, lastly, in the spirit and power displayed in the development of these various formations. Such a result, though it does not prove the unity of language in respect to its radical elements, nevertheless tends to establish the *à priori* probability of this unity; for if all connected with the forms of language may be referred to certain general laws, if nothing in that department owes its origin to chance or arbitrary appointment, it surely favours the presumption that the same principle would extend to the formation of the roots, which are the very core and kernel of language. Here too we might expect to find the operation of fixed laws of some kind or other, producing results of an uniform character; here too actual variety may not be inconsistent with original unity.

II. Before entering on the subject of the radical identity of languages, we must express our conviction that the time has not yet arrived for a decisive opinion as to the possibility of establishing it by proof. Let us briefly review the difficulties that beset the question. Every word as it appears in an organic language, whether written or spoken, is resolvable into two distinct elements, which we have termed predicable and formal, the first being what is commonly called the root, the second the grammatical termination. In point of fact both of these elements consist of independent roots; and in order to prove the radical identity of two languages, it must be shown that they agree in both respects, that is, in regard both to the predicable and the formal roots. As a matter of experience it is found that the formal elements, consisting for the most part of pronominal bases, exhibit a greater tenacity of life than the others; and hence agreement of inflectional forms is justly regarded as furnishing a strong presumption of general radical identity. Even foreign elements are forced into the formal mould of the language into which they are adopted, and thus bear testimony to the original character of that language. But though such a formal agreement supplies the philologist with a most valuable instrument of investigation, it cannot be accepted as a substitute for complete radical agreement: this would still remain to be proved by an independent examination of the predicable elements. The difficulties connected with these latter are many and varied. Assuming that two languages or language-families are under comparison, the phonological laws of each must be investigated in order to arrive, in the first place, at the primary forms of words in the language in which they occur, and, in the second place, at the corresponding forms in the language which constitutes the ¹ other member of com-

series of suffixes, its vowel-sound becomes not unnaturally the key-note of the whole strain, facilitating the processes of utterance to the speaker, and of perception to the hearer, and communicating to the word the uniformity which is so characteristic of the whole structure of these languages.

¹ Grimm was the first to discover a regular system of displacement of sounds (*lautverschiebung*) pervading the Gothic and Low German languages as compared with Greek and Latin. According to this system, the Gothic substitutes aspirates for tenues (*h* for Gr *k* or Lat. *g*, *th*

parison, as done by Grimm for the Teutonic as compared with the Sanscrit and the classical languages. The genealogy of sound, as we may term it, must be followed up by a genealogy of signification, a mere outward accordance of sound and sense in two terms being of no value whatever, unless a radical affinity be proved by an independent examination of the cognate words in each case. It still remains to be inquired how far the ultimate accordance of sense and sound may be the result of onomatopoeia,^k of mere borrowing, or of a possible mixture of languages on equal terms. The final stage in etymological inquiry is to decide the limit to which comparison may be carried in the primitive strata of language—in other words, how far roots, as ascertained from groups of words, may be compared with roots, and reduced to yet simpler elementary forms. Any flaw in the processes above described will of course invalidate the whole result. Even where the philologist is provided with ample materials for inquiry in stores of literature ranging over long periods of time, much difficulty is experienced in making good each link in the chain of agreement; and yet in such cases the dialectic varieties have been kept within some degree of restraint by the existence of a literary language, which, by impressing its authoritative stamp on certain terms, has secured both their general use and their external integrity. Where no literature exists, as is the case with the general mass of languages in the world, the difficulties are infinitely increased by the combined effects of a prolific growth of dialectic forms, and an absence of all means of tracing out their progress. Whether under these circumstances we may reasonably expect to establish a radical unity of language, is a question which each person must decide for himself. Much may yet be done by a larger induction and a scientific analysis of languages that are yet comparatively unknown. The tendency hitherto has been to enlarge the limits of a "family" according as the elements of affinity have been recognised in outlying members. These limits may perchance be still more enlarged by the discovery of connecting links between the language-families, whereby the criteria of relationship will be modified, and new elements of internal unity be discovered amid the manifold appearances of external diversity.

Meanwhile we must content ourselves with stating the present position of the linguistic science in reference to this important topic. In the first place the Indo-European languages have been reduced to

for *t*, and *f* for *p*); tenues for medials (*t* for *d*, *p* for *b*, and *k* for *g*); and medials for aspirates (*g* for Gr. *ch* or Lat. *h*, *d* for Gr. *th*, and *b* for Lat. *f* or Gr. *ph*) (*Gesch. Deuts. Spr.* i. 393). We may illustrate the changes by comparing *heart* with *cor* or *καρδία*; *thou* with *tu*; *five* with *πέμπε* (*πέντε*), or *father* with *pater*; *two* with *duo*; *knee* with *γόνυ*; *goose* with *χην*; *dare* with *θαράω*; *bear* with *fero* or *φέρω*. What has thus been done for the Teutonic languages, has been carried out by Schleicher in his *Compendium* for each class of the Indo-European family.

It is a delicate question to decide whether in any given language the onomatopœtic words that may occur are original or derived. Numerous coincidences of sound and sense occur in different languages to which little or no value is attached by etymologists on the ground that they are onomatopœtic. But evidently these may have been handed down from generation to generation, and from language to language, and may have as true a genealogy as any other terms not bearing that character.

an acknowledged and well-defined relationship: they form one of the two families included under the head of "inflectional" in the morphological classification. The other family in this class is the (so-called) Shemitic, the limits of which are not equally well defined, inasmuch as it may be extended over what are termed the sub-Shemitic languages, including the Egyptian or Coptic. The criteria of the proper Shemitic family (*i. e.* the Aramean, Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopic languages) are distinctive enough; but the connexion between the Shemitic and the Egyptian is not definitely established. Some philologists are inclined to claim for the latter an independent position, intermediate between the Indo-European and Shemitic families (Bunsen's *Phil. of Hist.* i. 185, ff.). The agglutinative languages of Europe and Asia are combined by Prof. M. Müller in one family named "Turanian." It is conceded that the family bond in this case is a loose one, and that the agreement in roots is very partial (*Lectures*, pp. 290-292). Many philologists of high standing, and more particularly Pott (*Ungleich. Mensch. Rassen*, p. 232), deny the family relationship altogether, and break up the agglutinative languages into a great number of families. Certain it is that within the Turanian circle there are languages, such, for instance, as the Ural-Altaiian, which show so close an affinity to each other as to be entitled to form a separate division, either as a family or a subdivision of a family: and this being the case, we should hesitate to put them on a parity of footing with the remainder of the Turanian languages. The Caucasian group again differs so widely from the other members of the family as to make the relationship very dubious. The monosyllabic languages of southeastern Asia are not included in the Turanian family by Prof. M. Müller (*Lect.* pp. 290, 326), apparently on the ground that they are not agglutinative; but as the Chinese appears to be connected radically with the Burmese (Humboldt's *Verschied.* p. 368), with the Tibetan (*Ph. of Hist.* i. 393-395), and with the Ural-Altaiian languages (Schott in *Abh. Ab. Berl.* 1861, p. 172), it seems to have a good title to be placed in the Turanian family. With regard to the American and the bulk of the African languages, we are unable to say whether they can be brought under any of the heads already mentioned, or whether they stand by themselves as distinct families. The former are referred by writers of high eminence to an Asiatic or Turanian origin (Bunsen, *Phil. of Hist.* ii. 111; Latham's *Man*

For instance, the Hebrew *lû'a* (לוא) expresses in its very sound the notion of *swallowing* or *gulping*, the word consisting, as Renan has remarked (*H. G.* i. 460), of a lingual and a guttural, representing respectively the tongue and the throat, which are chiefly engaged in the operation of swallowing. In the Indo-European languages we meet with a large class of words containing the same elements and conveying, more or less, the same meaning, such as *λείχω*, *λιχμάω*, *ligurio*, *lingua*, *gula*, "lick," and others. These words may have had a common source, but, because they are onomatopœtic in their character, they are excluded as evidence of radical affinity. This exclusion may be carried too far, though it is difficult to point out where it should stop. But even onomatopœtic words bear a specific character, and the names given in imitation of the notes of birds differ materially in different languages, apparently from the perception of some subtle analogy with previously existing sounds or ideas. The subject is one of great interest, and may yet play an important part in the history of language.

and his *Migrat.* p. 186); the latter to the Shemitic family (Latham, p. 148).

The problem that awaits solution is whether the several families above specified can be reduced to a single family by demonstrating their radical identity. It would be unreasonable to expect that this identity should be coextensive with the vocabularies of the various languages; it would naturally be confined to such ideas and objects as are common to mankind generally. Even within this circle the difficulty of proving the identity may be infinitely enhanced by the absence of materials. There are indeed but two families in which these materials are found in anything like sufficiency, viz. the Indo-European and the Shemitic, and even these furnish us with no historical evidence as to the earlier stages of their growth. We find each, at the most remote literary period, already exhibiting its distinctive character of stem- and word-formation, leaving us to infer, as we best may, from these phenomena the processes by which they had reached that point. Hence there arises abundance of room for difference of opinion, and the extent of the radical identity will depend very much on the view adopted as to these earlier processes. If we could accept in its entirety the system of etymology propounded by the analytical school of Hebrew scholars, it would not be difficult to establish a very large amount of radical identity; but we cannot regard as established the prepositional force of the initial letters, as stated by Delitzsch in his *Jeshurun* (pp. 166, 173, note), still less the correspondence between these and the initial letters of Greek and Latin words^m (pp. 170-172). The striking uniformity of bisyllabism in the verbal stems is explicable only on the assumption that a single principle underlies the whole; and the existence of groupsⁿ of words differing slightly in form, and having the same radical sense, leads to the presumption that this principle was one not of composition, but of euphonism and practical convenience. This pre-

sumption is still further favoured by an analysis of the letters forming the stems, showing that the third letter is in many instances a reduplication, and in others a liquid, a nasal, or a sibilant, introduced either as the initial, the medial, or the final letter. The Hebrew alphabet admits of a classification^o based on the radical character of the letter according to its position in the stem. The effect of composition would have been to produce, in the first place, a greater inequality in the length of the words, and, in the second place, a greater equality in the use of the various organic sounds.

After deducting largely from the amount of etymological correspondence based on the analytical tenets, there still remains a considerable amount of radical identity which appears to be above suspicion. It is impossible to produce in this place a complete list of the terms in which that identity is manifested. In the subjoined note ^p we cite some instances of agreement, which cannot possibly be explained on the principle of direct onomatopoeia, and which would therefore seem to be the common inheritance of the Indo-European and Shemitic families. Whether this agreement is, as Renan suggests, the result of a keen susceptibility of the onomatopoeic faculty in the original framers of the words (*Hist. Gén.* i. 465), is a point that can neither be proved nor disproved. But even if it were so, it does not follow that the words were not framed before the separation of the families. Our list of comparative words might be much enlarged, if we were to include comparisons based on the reduction of Shemitic roots to a bisyllabic form. A list of such words may be found in Delitzsch's *Jeshurun*, pp. 177-180. In regard to pronouns and numerals, the identity is but partial. We may detect the *t* sound, which forms the distinctive sound of the second personal pronoun in the Indo-European languages, in the Hebrew *attáh*, and in the personal terminations of the perfect tense; but the *m*, which is the prevailing sound of

^m Several of the terms compared by him are onomatopœtic, as *párah* (*frac-ture*), *pátash* (*πατάσσειν*), and *kálah*, and in each of these cases the initial letter forms part of the onomatopœia. In others the initial letter in the Greek is radical, as in *βασιλεύειν* (*Pott's Et. Forsch.* ii. 272), *δρύπτειν* (i. 229), and *σταλάζειν* (i. 197). In others again it is euphonic, as in *βδάλλειν*. Lastly, we are unable to see how *tárah* and *tárep* admit of close comparison with *δρύπτειν* and *τρέφειν*. It shows the uncertainty of such analogies that Gesenius compares *tárah* with *δρύπτειν*, and *kálah* (קָלַח) with *γλύφειν*, which Delitzsch compares with *khálah* (חָלַח). An attempt to establish a large amount of radical identity by means of a resolution of the Hebrew word into its component and significant elements may be seen in the *Philolog. Trans.* for 1858, where, for instance, the *ba* in the Hebrew *bakash*, is compared with the Teutonic prefix *be*; the *dar* in *dar-kash* with the Welsh *dar* in *dar-paru*; and the *chaph* in *chaphash* with the Welsh *cyf* in *cyfaros*.

ⁿ These groups are sufficiently common in Hebrew. We will take as an instance the following one:—*טָנַשׁ*, *לָטַשׁ*, *נָטַשׁ*, and *פָּטַשׁ*, all conveying the idea of "dash" or "strike." Or, again, the following group, with the radical sense of slipperiness:—*לָבַב*, *לָבַב*, *חָלַב*, *חָלַב*, *חָלַב*, *חָלַב*, *חָלַב*, &c. A classificatory lexicon of such groups would assist the etymological inquiry.

^o Such a classification is attempted by Boetticher, in

Bunsen, *Philos. of Hist.* ii. 357. After stating what letters may be inserted either at the beginning, middle, or end of the root, he enumerates those which are always radical in the several positions; ב, for instance, in the beginning and middle, but not at the end; ה and מ in the beginning only; ד and שׁ in the middle and at the end, but not in the beginning. We are not prepared to accept this classification as wholly correct, but we adduce it in illustration of the point above noticed.

- ^p קָרָן, *cornu, horn.*
 מִסָּךְ, *μίσγω, misceo, mix.*
 כָּרָךְ, *circa, circle.*
 אֶרֶץ, *Germ. erde, earth.*
 חָלַק, *glaber, glisco, Germ. glatt, glide.*
 עִם, *cum, σύν, κοινός.*
 מָלֵא, *πλέος, plenus, Germ. voll, full.*
 פָּר, *purus, pure.*
 בָּרָא, *vorare, βορά.*
 פָּרָה, *φέρω, βαρύς, fero, bear.*
 אָפָה, *ἔψω, epula.*
 מָר, *amarus.*
 פָּרַת, *curtus.*
 זָרַע, *serere.*
 מוֹת, *Sansc. máth, múth, mûth (Fillet Lex. S. V.),*

whence by the introduction of *r* the Latin *mors*

the first personal pronoun in the former, is supplanted by an *n* in the latter. The numerals *shesh* and *sheba*, for "six" and "seven," accord with the Indo-European forms: those representing the numbers from "one" to "five" are possibly, though not evidently, identical.⁹ With regard to the other language-families, it will not be expected, after the observations already made, that we should attempt the proof of their radical identity. The Ural-Altai languages have been extensively studied, but are hardly ripe for comparison. Occasional resemblances have been detected in grammatical forms^r and in the vocabularies;^s but the value of these remains to be proved, and we must await the results of a more extended research into this and other regions of the world of language.

(B.) We pass on to the second point proposed for consideration, viz., the ethnological views expressed in the Bible, and more particularly in the 10th chapter of Genesis, which records the dispersion of nations consequent on the Confusion of Tongues.

I. The Mosaic table does not profess to describe the process of the dispersion; but assuming that dispersion as a *fait accompli*, it records the ethnic relations existing between the various nations affected by it. These relations are expressed under the guise of a genealogy; the ethnological character of the document is, however, clear both from the names, some of which are gentile in form, as Ludim, Jebusite, &c., others geographical or local, as Mizraim, Sidon, &c.; and again from the formulary, which concludes each section of the subject "after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations" (vers. 5, 20, 31). Incidentally, the table is geographical as well as ethnological; but this arises out of the practice of designating nations by the countries they occupy. It has indeed been frequently surmised that the arrangement of the table is purely geographical, and this idea is to a certain extent favoured by the possibility of explaining the names Shem, Ham, and Japheth on this principle; the first signifying the "high" lands, the second the "hot" or "low" lands, and the third the "broad," undefined regions of the north. The three families may have been so located, and such a circumstance could not have been unknown to the writer of the table. But neither internal nor external evidence satisfactorily prove such to have been the leading idea or principle embodied in it; for the Japhetites are mainly assigned to the "isles" or maritime districts of the west and north-west, while the Shemites press down into the plain of Mesopotamia, and the Hamites, on the other hand, occupy the high lands of Canaan and Lebanon. We hold, therefore, the geographical as subordinate to the ethnographical element, and avail ourselves of the former only as an instrument for the discovery of the latter.

The general arrangement of the table is as follows:—The whole human race is referred back to Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The Shemites are described last, apparently that the

⁹ See Rödiger's note in *Gesen. Gramm.* p. 165. The identity even of *shesh* and "six" has been questioned, on the ground that the original form of the Hebrew word was *shet* and of the Aryan *ksvals* (*Philol. Trans.* 1860, p. 131)

^r Several such resemblances are pointed out by Ewald in his *Sprachw. Abhand.*, ii. p. 18, 34 note.

^s The following verbal resemblances in Hungarian and

continuity of the narrative may not be further disturbed; and the Hamites stand next to the Shemites in order to show that these were more closely related to each other than to the Japhetites. The comparative degrees of affinity are expressed, partly by coupling the names together, as in the cases of Elishah and Tarshish, Kittim and Dodanim (ver. 4), and partly by representing a genealogical descent, as, when the nations just mentioned are said to be "sons of Javan." An inequality may be observed in the length of the genealogical lines, which in the case of Japheth extends only to one, in Ham to two, in Shem to three, and even four degrees. This inequality clearly arises out of the varying interest taken in the several lines by the author of the table, and by those for whose use it was designed. We may lastly observe, that the occurrence of the same name in two of the lists, as in the case of Lud (vers. 13, 22), and Sheba (vers. 7, 28), possibly indicates a fusion of the races.

The identification of the Biblical with the historical or classical names of nations, is by no means an easy task, particularly where the names are not subsequently noticed in the Bible. In these cases comparisons with ancient or modern designations are the only resource, and where the designation is one of a purely geographical character, as in the case of Riphath compared with *Ripaei montes*, or Mash compared with *Masius mons*, great doubt must exist as to the ethnic force of the title, inasmuch as several nations may have successively occupied the same district. Equal doubt arises where names admit of being treated as appellatives, and so of being transferred from one district to another. Recent research into Assyrian and Egyptian records has in many instances thrown light on the Biblical titles. In the former we find Meshech and Tubal noticed under the forms *Mushai* and *Tuplai*, while Javan appears as the appellation of Cyprus, where the Assyrians first met with Greek civilization. In the latter the name Phut appears under the form of *Pount*, Hittite as *Khita*, Cush as *Keesh*, Canaan as *Kanana*, &c.

I. The Japhetite list contains fourteen names, of which seven represent independent, and the remainder affiliated nations, as follows:—(i.) Gomer, connected ethnically with the *Cimmerii*, *Cimbri* (?), and *Cymry*; and geographically with *Crimea*. Associated with Gomer are the three following:—(a) Ashkenaz, generally compared with lake *Ascanius* in Bithynia, but by Knobel with the tribe *Asaci*, *As*, or *Ossetes* in the Caucasian district. On the whole we prefer Hasse's suggestion of a connexion between this name and that of the *Axenus*, later the *Eurinus* Pontus. (b) Riphath, the *Ripaei Montes*, which Knobel connects etymologically and geographically with *Carpates Mons*. (c) Togamah, undoubtedly *Armenia*, or a portion of it. (ii.) Magog, the *Scythians*. (iii.) Madai, *Media*. (iv.) Javan, the *Ionians*, as a general appellation for the Hellenic race, with whom are associated the four following:—(a) Elishah, the *Aeolians*, less probably identified with the district *Elis*. (b) Tarshish, at a later period

Sanscrit have been noticed:—*egy* and *eka*, "one;" *hat* and *shash*, "six;" *het* and *saptan*, "seven;" *tiz* and *dasan*, "ten;" *ezer* and *sahasra*, "thousand;" *beka* and *bheka*, "frog;" *arany* and *hiranja*, "gold" (*Philol. Trans.* for 1858, p. 25). Proofs of a more intimate relationship between the Finnish and Indo-European languages are adduced in a paper on the subject in the *Philol. Trans.* for 1860, p. 231 ff.

of Biblical history certainly identical with *Tartessus* in Spain, to which, however, there are objections as regards the table, partly from the too extended area thus given to the Mosaic world, and partly because *Tartessus* was a Phoenician, and consequently not a Japhetic settlement. Knobel compares the *Tyrsemi*, *Tyrreni*, and *Tusci* of Italy; but this is precarious. (c) Kittim, the town *Citium* in Cyprus. (d) Dodanim, the *Dardani* of Illyria and Mysia: *Dodona* is sometimes compared. (v.) Tubal, the *Tibareni* in Pontus. (vi.) Meshech, the *Moschi* in the north-western part of Armenia. (vii.) Tiras, perhaps *Thracia*.

2. The Hamitic list contains thirty names, of which four represent independent, and the remainder affiliated nations, as follows:—(i.) Cush, in two branches, the western or African representing *Aethiopia*, the *Keesh* of the old Egyptian, and the eastern or Asiatic being connected with the names of the tribe *Cossaei*, the district *Cissia*, and the province *Susiana* or *Khuzistan*. With Cush are associated:—(a) Seba, the *Sabaei* of *Yemen* in south Arabia. (b) Havilah, the district *Khāwlan* in the same part of the peninsula. (c) Sabtah, the town *Sabatha* in *Hadramaut*. (d) Raamah, the town *Rhegma* on the south-eastern coast of Arabia, with whom are associated:—(a²) Sheba, a tribe probably connected ethnically or commercially with the one of the same name already mentioned, but located on the west coast of the Persian Gulf. (b²) Dedan, also on the west coast of the Persian Gulf, where the name perhaps still survives in the island *Dadan*. (e) Sabtechah, perhaps the town *Samydace* on the coast of the Indian Ocean eastward of the Persian Gulf. (f) Nimrod, a personal and not a geographical name, the representative of the eastern Cushites. (ii.) Mizraim, the two *Misrs*, i. e. Upper and Lower Egypt, with whom the following seven are connected:—(a) Ludim, according to Knobel a tribe allied to the Shemitic Lud, but settled in Egypt; others compare the river *Laud* (Plin. v. 2), and the *Lewátah*, a Berber tribe on the Syrtes. (b) Anamim, according to Knobel the inhabitants of the *Delta*, which would be described in Egyptian by the term *sanemhit* or *tsanemhit*, “northern district,” converted by the Hebrews into Anamim. (c) Naphtuhim, variously explained as the people of *Nephtys*, i. e. the northern coast district (Bochart), and as the worshippers of Phthah, meaning the inhabitants of Memphis. (d) Pathrusim, Upper Egypt the name being explained as meaning in the Egyptian “the south” (Knobel). (e) Casluhim, *Casius mons*, *Cassiotis*, and *Cassium*, eastward of the Delta (Knobel): the *Colchians*, according to Bochart, but this is unlikely. (f) Caphtorim, most probably the district about *Coptos* in Upper Egypt [CAPHTOR]; the island of Crete according to many modern critics, Cappadocia according to the older interpreters. (g) Phut, the *Punt* of the Egyptian inscriptions, meaning the Libyans. (iii.) Canaan, the geographical position of which calls for no remark in this place. The name has been variously explained as meaning the “low” land of the coast district, or the “subjection” threatened to Canaan personally (Gen. ix. 25). To Canaan belong the following eleven:—(a) Sidon, the well-known town of that name in Phoenicia. (b) Heth, or the Hittites of Biblical history. (c) The Jebusite, of *Jebus* or

Jerusalem. (d) The Amorite frequently mentioned in Biblical history. (e) The Girgasite, the same as the Girgashites. (f) The Hivite, variously explained to mean the occupants of the “interior” (Ewald), or the dwellers in “villages” (Ges.). (g) The Arkite, of *Arca*, north of Tripolis, at the foot of Lebanon. (h) The Sinite, of *Sin* or *Sinna*, places in the Lebanon district. (i) The Arvadite, of *Aradus* on the coast of Phoenicia. (j) The Zemarite, of *Simyra* on the Eleutherus. (k) The Hamathite, of *Hamath*, the classical *Epiphania*, on the Orontes.

3. The Shemitic list contains twenty-five names, of which five refer to independent, and the remainder to affiliated tribes, as follows:—(i.) Elam, the tribe *Elymaei* and the district *Elymais* in Susiana. (ii.) Asshur, *Assyria* between the Tigris and the range of Zagrus. (iii.) Arphaxad, *Arrapachitis* in northern Assyria, with whom are associated:—(a) Salah, a personal and not a geographical title, indicating a migration of the people represented by him; Salah's son (a²) Eber, representing geographically the district across (i. e. eastward of) the Euphrates; and Eber's two sons (a³) Peleg, a personal name indicating a “division” of this branch of the Shemitic family, and (b³) Joktan, representing generally the inhabitants of *Arabia*, with the following thirteen sons of Joktan, viz.:—(a⁴) Almodad, probably representing the tribe of *Jurhuan* near Mecca, whose leader was named *Mudad*. (b⁴) Sheleph, the *Salapeni* in *Yemen*. (c⁴) Hazarmaveth, *Hadramaut*, in southern Arabia. (d⁴) Jerah. (e⁴) Hadoram, the *Adramitae* on the southern coast, in a district of *Hadramaut*. (f⁴) Uzal, supposed to represent the town *Szanaa* in south Arabia, as having been founded by *Asal*. (g⁴) Diklah. (h⁴) Obal, or, as in 1 Chr. i. 22, Ebal, which latter is identified by Knobel with the *Gebanitae* in the south-west. (i⁴) Abimael, doubtfully connected with the district *Mahra*, eastward of *Hadramaut*, and with the towns *Mara* and *Mali*. (j⁴) Sheba, the *Sabaei* of south-western Arabia, about Mariaba. (k⁴) Ophir, probably *Adane* on the southern coast, but see article. (l⁴) Havilah, the district *Khāwlan* in the north-west of *Yemen*. (m⁴) Jobab, possibly the *Jobaritae* of Ptolemy (vi. 7, §24), for which *Jobabite* may originally have stood. (iv.) Lud, generally compared with *Lydia*, but explained by Knobel as referring to the various aboriginal tribes in and about Palestine, such as the Amalekites, Rephaites, Emim, &c. We cannot consider either of these views as well established. *Lydia* itself lay beyond the horizon of the Mosaic table: as to the Shemitic origin of its population, conflicting opinions are entertained, to which we shall have occasion to advert hereafter. Knobel's view has in its favour the probability that the tribes referred to would be represented in the table; it is, however, wholly devoid of historical confirmation, with the exception of an Arabian tradition that *Amlík* was one of the sons of *Laud* or *Lawad*, the son of Shem.* (v.) Aram, the general name for *Syria* and northern *Mesopotamia*, with whom the following are associated:—(a) Uz, probably the *Aesitae* of Ptolemy. (b) Hul, doubtful, but best connected with the name *Huleh*, attaching to a district north of Lake Merom. (c) Gether, not identified. (d) Mash *Masius Mons*, in the north of *Mesopotamia*.

* This tradition probably originated in the desire to form a connecting link between the Mosaic table and the various elements of the Arabian population. The only

conclusion to be drawn from it is that, in the opinion of its originator, there was an element which was neither Ishmaelite nor Joktanid (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 339, note).

There is yet one name noticed in the table viz.: Philistim, which occurs in the Hamitic division, but without any direct assertion of Hamitic descent. The terms used in the A. V. "out of whom (Casluhim) came Philistim" (ver. 14), would naturally imply descent; but the Hebrew text only warrants the conclusion that the Philistines sojourned in the land of the Casluhim. Notwithstanding this, we believe the intention of the author of the table to have been to affirm the Hamitic origin of the Philistines, leaving undecided the particular branch, whether Casluhim or Caphtorim, with which it was more immediately connected.

The total number of names noticed in the table, including Philistim, would thus amount to 70, which was raised by patristic writers to 72. These totals afforded scope for numerical comparisons, and also for an estimate of the number of nations and languages to be found on the earth's surface. It is needless to say that the Bible itself furnishes no ground for such calculations, inasmuch as it does not in any case specify the numbers.

Before proceeding further, it would be well to discuss a question materially affecting the historical value of the Mosaic table, viz.: the period to which it refers. On this point very various opinions are entertained. Knobel, conceiving it to represent the commercial geography of the Phoenicians, assigns it to about 1200 B.C. (*Völkert.* pp. 4-9), and Renan supports this view (*Hist. Gén.* i. 40), while others allow it no higher an antiquity than the period of the Babylonish Captivity (v. Bohlen's *Gen.* ii. 207; Winer, *Rwb.* ii. 665). Internal evidence leads us to refer it back to the age of Abraham on the following grounds:—(1) The Canaanites were as yet in undisputed possession of Palestine. (2) The Philistines had not concluded their migration. (3) Tyre is wholly unnoticed, an omission which cannot be satisfactorily accounted for on the ground that it is included under the name either of Heth (Knobel, p. 323), or of Sidon (v. Bohlen, ii. 241). (4) Various places such as Simyra, Sinna, and Arca, are noticed, which had fallen into insignificance in later times. (5) Kittim, which in the age of Solomon was under Phoenician dominion, is assigned to Japheth, and the same may be said of Tarshish, which in that age undoubtedly referred to the Phoenician emporium of *Tartessus*, whatever may have been its earlier significance. The chief objection to so early a date as we have ventured to propose, is the notice of the Medes under the name Madai. The Aryan nation, which bears this name in history, appears not to have reached its final settlement until about 900 B.C. (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 404). But on the other hand, the name Media may well have belonged to the district before the arrival of the Aryan Medes, whether it were occupied by a tribe of kindred origin to them or by Turanians; and this probability is to a certain extent confirmed by the notice of a Median dynasty in Babylon, as reported by Berosus, so early as the 25th century B.C. (Rawlinson, i. 434). Little difficulty would be found in assigning so early a date to the Medes, if the Aryan origin of the allied kings mentioned in Gen. xiv. 1 were thoroughly established, in accordance with Renan's view (*H. G.* i. 61): on this point, however, we have our doubts.

The Mosaic table is supplemented by ethnological

* A connexion between the names Terah and Traehontis Haran and *Hauran*, is suggested by Renan

notices relating to the various divisions of the Terachite family. These belonged to the Shemitic division, being descended from Arphaxad through Peleg, with whom the line terminates in the table. Reu, Serug, and Nahor form the intermediate links between Peleg and Terah (Gen. xi. 18-25), with whom began the movement that terminated in the occupation of Canaan and the adjacent districts by certain branches of the family. The original seat of Terah^a was Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. xi. 28): thence he migrated to Haran (Gen. xi. 31), where a section of his descendants, the representatives of Nahor, remained (Gen. xxiv. 10, xxvii. 43, xxix. 4 ff.), while the two branches, represented by Abraham and Lot, the son of Haran, crossed the Euphrates and settled in Canaan and the adjacent districts (Gen. xii. 5). From Lot sprang the Moabites and Ammonites (Gen. xix. 30-38): from Abraham the Ishmaelites through his son Ishmael (Gen. xxv. 12), the Israelites through Isaac and Jacob, the Edomites through Isaac and Esau (Gen. xxxvi.), and certain Arab tribes, of whom the Midianites are the most conspicuous, through the sons of his concubine Keturah (Gen. xxv. 1-4).

The most important geographical question in connexion with the Terachites concerns their original settlement. The presence of the Chaldees in Babylonia at a subsequent period of scriptural history has led to a supposition that they were a Hamitic people, originally belonging to Babylonia, and thence transplanted in the 7th and 8th centuries to northern Assyria (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 319). We do not think this view supported by Biblical notices. It is more consistent with the general direction of the Terachite movement to look for Ur in northern Mesopotamia, to the east of Haran. That the Chaldees, or, according to the Hebrew nomenclature, the Kasdim, were found in that neighbourhood, is indicated by the name Chesed as one of the sons of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 22), and possibly by the name Arphaxad itself, which, according to Ewald (*Gesch.* i. 378), means "fortress of the Chaldees." In classical times we find the Kasdim still occupying the mountains adjacent to *Arrapachitis*, the Biblical Arpachsad, under the names *Chaldaei* (Xen. *Anab.* iv. 3, §§1-4) and *Gordyaei* or *Carduchi* (Strab. xvi. p. 747), and here the name still has a vital existence under the form of *Kurd*. The name Kasdim is explained by Oppert as meaning "two rivers," and thus as equivalent to the Hebrew *Naharaim* and the classical *Mesopotamia* (*Zeit. Morg. Ges.* xi. 137). We receive this explanation with reserve; but, as far as it goes, it favours the northern locality. The evidence for the antiquity of the southern settlement appears to be but small, if the term *Kaldai* does not occur in the Assyrian inscriptions until the 9th century B.C. (Rawlinson, i. 449). We therefore conceive the original seat of the Chaldees to have been in the north, whence they moved southwards along the course of the Tigris until they reached Babylon, where we find them dominant in the 7th century B.C. Whether they first entered this country as mercenaries, and then conquered their employers, as suggested by Renan (*H. G.* i. 68), must remain uncertain; but we think the suggestion supported by the circumstance that the name was afterwards transferred to the whole Babylonian population. The sacerdotal character of the Chaldees is certainly

(*Hist. Gén.* i. 29). This, however, is inconsistent with the position generally assigned to Haran.

difficult to reconcile with this or any other hypothesis on the subject.

Returning to the Terachites, we find it impossible to define the geographical limits of their settlements with precision. They intermingled with the previously existing inhabitants of the countries intervening between the Red Sea and the Euphrates, and hence we find an Aram, an Uz, and a Chesed among the descendants of Nahor (Gen. xxii. 21, 22), a Dedan and a Sheba among those of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. xxv. 3), and an Amalek among the descendants of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 12). Few of the numerous tribes which sprang from this stock attained historical celebrity. The Israelites must of course be excepted from this description; so also the Nabateans, if they are to be regarded as represented by the Nebaioth of the Bible, as to which there is some doubt (Quatremère, *Mélanges*, p. 59). Of the rest, the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, and Edomites are chiefly known for their hostilities with the Israelites, to whom they were close neighbours. The memory of the westerly migration of the Israelites was perpetuated in the name Hebrew, as referring to their residence beyond the river Euphrates (Josh. xxiv. 3).

Besides the nations whose origin is accounted for in the Bible, we find other early populations mentioned in the course of the history without any notice of their ethnology. In this category we may place the Horims, who occupied Edom before the descendants of Esau (Deut. ii. 12, 22); the Amalekites of the Sinaitic peninsula; the Zuzims and Zamzummims of Peræa (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 20); the Rephaims of Bashan and of the valley near Jerusalem named after them (Gen. xiv. 5; 2 Sam. v. 18); the Emims eastward of the Dead Sea (Gen. xiv. 5); the Avims of the southern Philistine plain (Deut. ii. 23); and the Anakims of southern Palestine (Josh. xi. 21). The question arises whether these tribes were Hamites, or whether they represented an earlier population which preceded the entrance of the Hamites. The latter view is supported by Knobel, who regards the majority of these tribes as Shemites, who preceded the Canaanites, and communicated to them the Shemitic tongue (*Völkert.* pp. 204, 315). No evidence can be adduced in support of this theory, which was probably suggested by the double difficulty of accounting for the name of Lud, and of explaining the apparent anomaly of the Hamites and Terachites speaking the same language. Still less evidence is there in favour of the Turanian origin, which would, we presume, be assigned to these tribes in common with the Canaanites proper, in accordance with a current theory that the first wave of population which overspread western Asia belonged to that branch of the human race (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 645, note). To this theory we shall presently advert: meanwhile we can only observe, in reference to these fragmentary populations, that, as they intermingled with the Canaanites, they probably belonged to the same stock (comp. Num. xiii. 22; Judg. i. 10). They may perchance have belonged to an earlier migration than the Canaanitish, and may have been subdued by the later comers; but this would not necessitate a different origin. The names of these tribes and of their abodes, as instanced in Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. ii. 23; Num. xiii. 22, bear a Shemitic character (Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 311), and the only objection to their Canaanitish origin arising out of these names would be in connexion with Zamzummim, which, according

to Renan (*H. G.* p. 35, note), is formed on the same principle as the Greek *βάρβαρος*, and in this case implies at all events a dialectical difference.

Having thus surveyed the ethnological statements contained in the Bible, it remains for us to inquire how far they are based on, or accord with, physiological or linguistic principles. Knobel maintains that the threefold division of the Mosaic table is founded on the physiological principle of colour, Shem, Ham, and Japheth representing respectively the red, black, and white complexions prevalent in the different regions of the then known world (*Völkert.* pp. 11-13). He claims etymological support for this view in respect to Ham (= "dark") and Japheth (= "fair"), but not in respect to Shem, and he adduces testimony to the fact that such differences of colour were noted in ancient times. The etymological argument weakens rather than sustains his view; for it is difficult to conceive that the principle of classification would be embodied in two of the names and not also in the third: the force of such evidence is wholly dependent upon its uniformity. With regard to the actual prevalence of the hues, it is quite consistent with the physical character of the districts that the Hamites of the south should be dark, and the Japhetites of the north fair, and further that the Shemites should hold an intermediate place in colour as in geographical position. But we have no evidence that this distinction was strongly marked. The "redness" expressed in the name Edom probably referred to the soil (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 87): the *Erythraeum Mare* was so called from a peculiarity in its own tint, arising from the presence of some vegetable substance, and not because the red Shemites bordered on it, the black Cushites being equally numerous on its shores: the name *Adam*, as applied to the Shemitic man, is ambiguous, from its reference to soil as well as colour. On the other hand, the Phoenicians (assuming them to have reached the Mediterranean seaboard before the table was compiled) were so called from their red hue, and yet are placed in the table among the Hamites. The argument drawn from the red hue of the Egyptian deity Typhon is of little value until it can be decisively proved that the deity in question represented the Shemites. This is asserted by Renan (*H. G.* i. 38), who endorses Knobel's view as far as the Shemites are concerned, though he does not accept his general theory.

The linguistic difficulties connected with the Mosaic table are very considerable, and we cannot pretend to unravel the tangled skein of conflicting opinions on the subject. The primary difficulty arises out of the Biblical narrative itself, and is consequently of old standing—the difficulty, namely, of accounting for the evident identity of language spoken by the Shemitic Terachites and the Hamitic Canaanites. Modern linguistic research has rather enhanced than removed this difficulty. The alternatives hitherto offered as satisfactory solutions, namely, that the Terachites adopted the language of the Canaanites, or the Canaanites that of the Terachites, are both inconsistent with the enlarged area which the language is found to cover on each side. Setting aside the question of the high improbability that a wandering nomadic tribe, such as the Terachites, would be able to impose its language on a settled and powerful nation like the Canaanites, it would still remain to be explained how the Cushites and other Hamitic tribes, who did not come into contact with the Terachites

acquired the same general type of language. And on the other hand, assuming that what are called Shemitic languages were really Hamitic, we have to explain the extension of the Hamitic area over Mesopotamia and Assyria, which, according to the table and the general opinion of ethnologists, belonged wholly to a non-Hamitic population. A further question, moreover, arises out of this explanation, viz.: what was the language of the Tera-chites before they assumed this Hamitic tongue? This question is answered by J. G. Müller, in Herzog's *R. E.* xiv. 238, to the effect that the Shemites originally spoke an Indo-European language—a view which we do not expect to see generally adopted.

Restricting ourselves, for the present, to the linguistic question, we must draw attention to the fact that there is a well-defined Hamitic as well as a Shemitic class of languages, and that any theory which obliterates this distinction must fall to the ground. The Hamitic type is most highly developed, as we might expect, in the country which was, *par excellence*, the land of Ham, viz. Egypt; and whatever elements of original unity with the Shemitic type may be detected by philologists, practically the two were as distinct from each other in historical times, as any two languages could possibly be. We are not therefore prepared at once to throw overboard the linguistic element of the Mosaic table. At the same time we recognize the extreme difficulty of explaining the anomaly of Hamitic tribes speaking a Shemitic tongue. It will not suffice to say, in answer to this, that these tribes were Shemites; for again the correctness of the Mosaic table is vindicated by the differences of social and artistic culture which distinguish the Shemites proper from the Phoenicians and Cushites using a Shemitic tongue. The former are characterised by habits of simplicity, isolation, and adherence to patriarchal ways of living and thinking; the Phoenicians, on the other hand, were eminently a commercial people; and the Cushites are identified with the massive architectural erections of Babylonia and South Arabia, and with equally extended ideas of empire and social progress.

The real question at issue concerns the language, not of the whole Hamitic family, but of the Canaanites and Cushites. With regard to the former, various explanations have been offered—such as Knobel's, that they acquired a Shemitic language from a prior population, represented by the Refaites, Zuzim, Zamzummim, &c. (*Völkert.* p. 315); or Bunsen's, that they were a Shemitic race who had long sojourned in Egypt (*Phil. of Hist.* i. 191)—neither of which are satisfactory. With regard to the latter, the only explanation to be offered is that a Joktanid immigration supervened on the original Hamitic population, the result being a combination of Cushitic civilization with a Shemitic language (*Renan*, i. 322). Nor is it unimportant to mention that peculiarities have been discovered in the Cushite Shemitic of Southern Arabia which suggest a close affinity with the Phoenician forms (*Renan*, i. 318). We are not, however, without expectation that time and research will clear up much of the mystery that now enwraps the subject. There are two directions to which we may hopefully turn for light, namely Egypt and Babylonia, with regard to each of which we make a few remarks.

That the Egyptian language exhibits many striking points of resemblance to the Shemitic type is acknowledged on all sides. It is also allowed

that the resemblances are of a valuable character, being observable in the pronouns, numerals, in agglutinative forms, in the treatment of vowels, and other such points (*Renan*, i. 84-85). There is not, however, an equal degree of agreement among scholars as to the deductions to be drawn from these resemblances. While many recognize in them the proofs of a substantial identity, and hence regard Hamitism as an early stage of Shemitism, others deny, either on general or on special grounds, the probability of such a connexion. When we find such high authorities as Bunsen on the former side (*Phil. of Hist.* i. 186-189, ii. 3), and *Renan* (i. 86) on the other, not to mention a long array of scholars who have adopted each view, it would be presumption dogmatically to assert the correctness or incorrectness of either. We can only point to the possibility of the identity being established, and to the further possibility that connecting links may be discovered between the two extremes, which may serve to bridge over the gulf, and to render the use of a Shemitic language by a Hamitic race less of an anomaly than it at present appears to be.

Turning eastward to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the adjacent countries, we find ample materials for research in the inscriptions recently discovered, the examination of which has not yet yielded undisputed results. The Mosaic table places a Shemitic population in Assyria and Elam, and a Cushitic one in Babylon. The probability of this being ethnically (as opposed to geographically) true depends partly on the age assigned to the table. There can be no question that at a late period Assyria and Elam were held by non-Shemitic, probably Aryan conquerors. But if we carry the table back to the age of Abraham, the case may have been different; for though Elam is regarded as etymologically identical with Iran (*Renan*, i. 41), this is not conclusive as to the Iranian character of the language in early times. Sufficient evidence is afforded by language that the basis of the population in Assyria was Shemitic (*Renan*, i. 70; *Knobel*, pp. 154-156): and it is by no means improbable that the inscriptions belonging more especially to the neighbourhood of Susa may ultimately establish the fact of a Shemitic population in Elam. The presence of a Cushitic population in Babylon is an opinion very generally held on linguistic grounds; and a close identity is said to exist between the old Babylonian and the *Mahri* language, a Shemitic tongue of an ancient type still living in a district of *Hadramaut*, in Southern Arabia (*Renan*, *H. G.* i. 60). In addition to the Cushitic and Shemitic elements in the population of Babylonia and the adjacent districts, the presence of a Turanian element has been inferred from the linguistic character of the early inscriptions. We must here express our conviction that the ethnology of the countries in question is considerably clouded by the undefined use of the terms Turanian, Scythic, and the like. It is frequently difficult to decide whether these terms are used in a linguistic sense, as equivalent to *agglutinative*, or in an ethnic sense. The presence of a certain amount of Turanianism in the former does not involve its presence in the latter sense. The old Babylonian and Susian inscriptions may be more agglutinative than the later ones, but this is only a proof of their belonging to an earlier stage of the language, and does not of itself indicate a foreign population; and if these early Babylonian inscriptions graduate into the Shemitic, as is asserted even by the advo-

dates of the Turanian theory (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 442, 445), the presence of an ethnic Turanism cannot possibly be inferred. Added to this, it is inexplicable how the presence of a large Scythic population in the Achaemenian period, to which many of the Susianian inscriptions belong, could escape the notice of historians. The only Scythic tribes noticed by Herodotus in his review of the Persian empire are the Parthians and the Sacae, the former of whom are known to have lived in the north, while the latter probably lived in the extreme east, where a memorial of them is still supposed to exist in the name *Seistan*, representing the ancient Sacastene. Even with regard to these, Scythic may not mean Turanian; for they may have belonged to the Scythians of history (the Skolots), for whom an Indo-European origin is claimed (Rawlinson's *Herod.* iii. 197). The impression conveyed by the supposed detection of so many heterogeneous elements in the old Babylonian tongue (Rawlinson, i. 442, 444, 646, notes) is not favourable to the general results of the researches.

With regard to Arabia, it may safely be asserted that the Mosaic table is confirmed by modern research. The Cushitic element has left memorials of its presence in the south in the vast ruins of *Mareh* and *Sana* (Renan, i. 318), as well as in the influence it has exercised on the *Himyaritic* and *Mahri* languages, as compared with the Hebrew. The Joktanid element forms the basis of the Arabian population, the Shemitic character of whose language needs no proof. With regard to the Ishmaelite element in the north, we are not aware of any linguistic proof of its existence, but it is confirmed by the traditions of the Arabians themselves.

It remains to be inquired how far the Japhetic stock represents the linguistic characteristics of the Indo-European and Turanian families. Adopting the twofold division of the former, suggested by the name itself, into the eastern and western; and subdividing the eastern into the Indian and Iranian, and the western into the Celtic, Hellenic, Illyrian, Italian, Teutonic, Slavonian, and Lithuanian classes, we are able to assign Madai (*Media*) and Togarmah (*Armenia*) to the Iranian class; Javan (*Ionian*) and Elishah (*Aeolian*) to the Hellenic; Gomer conjecturally to the Celtic; and Dodanim, also conjecturally, to the Illyrian. According to the old interpreters, Ashkenaz represents the Teutonic class, while, according to Knobel, the Italian would be represented by Tarshish, whom he identifies with the Etruscans; the Slavonian by Magog; and the Lithuanian possibly by Tiras (pp. 90, 68, 130). The same writer also identifies Riphath with the Gauls, as distinct from the Cymry or Gomer (p. 45); while Kittim is referred by him not improbably to the Carians, who at one period were predominant on the islands adjacent to Asia Minor (p. 98). The evidence for these identifications varies in strength, but in no instance approaches to demonstration. Beyond the general probability that the main branches of the human family would be represented in the Mosaic table, we regard much that has been advanced on this subject as highly precarious. At the same time it must be conceded that the subject is an open one, and that as there is no possibility of proving, so also none of disproving, the correctness of these conjectures. Whether the

Turanian family is fairly represented in the Mosaic table may be doubted. Those who advocate the Mongolian origin of the Scythians would naturally regard Magog as the representative of this family; and even those who dissent from the Mongolian theory may still not unreasonably conceive that the title Magog applied broadly to all the nomad tribes of Northern Asia, whether Indo-European or Turanian. Tubal and Meschech remain to be considered: Knobel identifies these respectively with the Iberians and the Ligurians (pp. 111, 119); and if the Finnish character of the Basque language were established, he would regard the Iberians as certainly, and the Ligurians as probably Turanians, the relics of the first wave of population which is supposed to have once overspread the whole of the European continent, and of which the Finns in the north, and the Basques in the south, are the sole surviving representatives. The Turanian character of the two Biblical races above mentioned has been otherwise maintained on the ground of the identity of the names Meschech and Muscovite (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 652).

II. Having thus reviewed the ethnic relations of the nations who fell within the circle of the Mosaic table, we propose to cast a glance beyond its limits, and inquire how far the present results of ethnological science support the general idea of the unity of the human race, which underlies the Mosaic system. The chief and in many instances the only instrument at our command for ascertaining the relationship of nations is language. In its general results this instrument is thoroughly trustworthy, and in each individual case to which it is applied it furnishes a strong *primâ facie* evidence; but its evidence, if unsupported by collateral proofs, is not unimpeachable, in consequence of the numerous instances of adopted languages which have occurred within historical times. This drawback to the value of the evidence of language will not materially affect our present inquiry, inasmuch as we shall confine ourselves as much as possible to the general results.

The nomenclature of modern ethnology is not identical with that of the Bible, partly from the enlargement of the area, and partly from the general adoption of language as the basis of classification. The term Shemitic is indeed retained, not, however, to indicate a descent from Shem, but the use of languages allied to that which was current among the Israelites in historical times. Hamitic also finds a place in modern ethnology, but as subordinate to, or co-ordinate with, Shemitic. Japhetic is superseded mainly by Indo-European or Aryan. The various nations, or families of nations, which find no place under the Biblical titles are classed by certain ethnologists under the broad title of Turanian, while by others they are broken up into divisions more or less numerous.

The first branch of our subject will be to trace the extension of the Shemitic family beyond the limits assigned to it in the Bible. The most marked characteristic of this family, as compared with the Indo-European or Turanian, is its inelasticity. Hemmed in both by natural barriers and by the superior energy and expansiveness of the Aryan and Turanian races, it retains to the present day the *status quo* of early times.* The only

* The total amount of the Shemitic population at present is computed to be only 30 millions, while the Indo-European is computed at 400 millions (Renan, i. 43, note).

y Eastward of the Tigris a Shemitic population has been supposed to exist in Afghanistan, where the *Pushthun* language has been regarded as leaving a Shemitic cha

direction in which it has exhibited any tendency to expand has been about the shores of the Mediterranean, and even here its activity was of a sporadic character, limited to a single branch of the family, viz. the Phoenicians, and to a single phase of expansion, viz. commercial colonies. In Asia Minor we find tokens of Shemitic presence in Cilicia, which was connected with Phoenicia both by tradition (Herod. vii. 91), and by language, as attested by existing coins (Ges. *Mon. Phoen.* iii. 2): in Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycia, parts of which were occupied by the Solymi (Plin. v. 24; Herod. i. 173), whose name bears a Shemitic character, and who are reported to have spoken a Shemitic tongue (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 9), a statement confirmed by the occurrence of other Shemitic names, such as Phoenix and Cabalia, though the subsequent predominance of an Aryan population in these same districts is attested by the existing Lycian inscriptions: again in Caria, though the evidence arising out of the supposed identity of the names of the gods Osogo and Chrysaoreus with the *Ὀσῶος* and *Χρυσῶρ* of Sanchuniathon is called in question (Renan, *H. G.* i. 49): and, lastly, in Lydia, where the descendants of Lud are located by many authorities, and where the prevalence of a Shemitic language is asserted by scholars of the highest standing, among whom we may specify Bunsen and Lassen, in spite of tokens of the contemporaneous presence of the Aryan element, as instanced in the name Sardis, and in spite also of the historical notices of an ethnical connexion with Mysia (Herod. i. 171). Whether the Shemites ever occupied any portion of the plateau of Asia Minor may be doubted. In the opinion of the ancients the later occupants of Cappadocia were Syrians, distinguished from the mass of their race by a lighter hue, and hence termed *Leucosyri* (Strab. xii. p. 542); but this statement is traversed by the evidences of Aryanism afforded by the names of the kings and deities, as well as by the Persian character of the religion (Strab. xv. p. 733). If therefore the Shemites ever occupied this district, they must soon have been brought under the dominion of Aryan conquerors (Diefenbach, *Orig. Europ.* p. 44). The Phoenicians were ubiquitous on the islands and shores of the Mediterranean: in Cyprus, where they have left tokens of their presence at Citium and other places; in Crete; in Malta, where they were the original settlers (Diod. Sic. v. 12); on the mainland of Greece, where their presence is betokened by the name Cadmus; in Samos, Same, and Samothrace, which bear Shemitic names; in Ios and Tenedos, once known by the name of Phoenice; in Sicily, where Panormus, Motya, and Soloeis were Shemitic settlements; in Sardinia (Diod. Sic. v. 35); on the eastern and southern coasts of Spain; and on the north coast of Africa, which was lined with Phoenician colonies from the Syrtis Major to the Pillars of Hercules. They must also have penetrated deeply into the interior, to judge from Strabo's statement of the destruction of three hundred towns by the Pharu-

acter. A theory has consequently been started that the people speaking it represent the ten tribes of Israel (Forster's *Prim. Lang.* lii. 241). We believe the supposed Shemitic resemblances to be unfounded, and that the *Pushtu* language holds an intermediate place between the Iranian and Indian classes, with the latter of which it possesses in common the lingual or cerebral sounds (Diefenbach, *Or. Eur.* p. 37).

* We use the qualifying expression "at present," partly because it is not improbable that new classes may be here-

sians and Nigritians (Strab. xvii. p. 826). Still in none of the countries we have mentioned did they supplant the original population: they were conquerors and settlers, but no more than this.

The bulk of the North African languages, both in ancient and modern times, though not Shemitic in the proper sense of the term, so far resemble that type as to have obtained the title of sub-Shemitic. In the north the old Numidian language appears, from the prevalence of the syllable *Mas* in the name *Massylii*, &c., to be allied to the modern *Berber*; and the same conclusion has been drawn with regard to the Libyan tongue. The *Berber*, in turn, together with the *Touarick* and the great body of the North African dialects, is closely allied to the Coptic of Egypt, and therefore falls under the title of Hamitic, or, according to the more usual nomenclature, sub-Shemitic (Renan, *H. G.* i. 201, 202). Southwards of Egypt the Shemitic type is reproduced in the majority of the Abyssinian languages, particularly in the *Gheez*, and in a less marked degree in the *Amharic*, the *Saho*, and the *Galla*; and Shemitic influence may be traced along the whole east coast of Africa as far as *Mozambique* (Renan, i. 336-340). As to the languages of the interior and of the south there appears to be a conflict of opinions, the writer from whom we have just quoted denying any trace of resemblance to the Shemitic type, while Dr. Latham asserts very confidently that connecting links exist between the sub-Shemitic languages of the north, the Negro languages in the centre, and the Caffre languages of the south; and that even the Hottentot language is not so isolated as has been generally supposed (*Man and his Migr.* pp. 134-148). Bunsen supports this view as far as the languages north of the equator are concerned, but regards the southern as rather approximating to the Turanian type (*Phil. of Hist.* i. 178, ii. 20). It is impossible as yet to form a decided opinion on this large subject.

A question of considerable interest remains yet to be noticed, namely, whether we can trace the Shemitic family back to its original cradle. In the case of the Indo-European family this can be done with a high degree of probability; and if an original unity existed between these stocks, the domicile of the one would necessarily be that of the other. A certain community of ideas and traditions favours this assumption, and possibly the frequent allusions to the east in the early chapters of Genesis may contain a reminiscence of the direction in which the primeval abode lay (Renan, *H. G.* i. 476). The position of this abode we shall describe presently.

The Indo-European family of languages, as at present^a constituted, consists of the following nine classes:—Indian,^a Iranian, Celtic, Italian, Albanian, Greek, Teutonic, Lithuanian, and Slavonian. Geographically, these classes may be grouped together in two divisions—Eastern and Western—the former comprising the two first, the latter the seven remaining classes. Schleicher divides what we have termed the Western into two—the South-west Eu-

after added, as, for instance, an Anatolian, to describe the languages of Asia Minor, and partly because there may have been other classes once in existence, which have entirely disappeared from the face of the earth.

^a Professor M. Müller adopts the termination *-ic*, in order to shew that classes are intended. This appears unnecessary, when it is specified that the arrangement is one of classes, and not of single languages. Moreover, in common usage, the termination does not necessarily carry the idea of a class.

European, and the North European—in the former of which he places the Greek, Albanian, Italian, and Celtic, in the latter the Slavonian, Lithuanian, and Teutonic (*Compend.* i. 5). Prof. M. Müller combines the Slavonian and Lithuanian classes in the Windic, thus reducing the number to eight. These classes exhibit various degrees of affinity to each other, which are described by Schleicher in the following manner:—The earliest deviation from the common language of the family was effected by the Slavono-Teutonic branch. After another interval a second bifurcation occurred, which separated what we may term the Graeco-Italo-Celtic branch from the Aryan. The former held together for a while, and then threw off the Greek (including probably the Albanian), leaving the Celtic and Italian still connected: the final division of the two latter took place after another considerable interval. The first-mentioned branch—the Slavono-Teutonic—remained intact for a period somewhat longer than that which witnessed the second bifurcation of the original stock, and then divided into the Teutonic and Slavono-Lithuanian, which latter finally broke up into its two component elements. The Aryan branch similarly held together for a lengthened period, and then bifurcated into the Indian and Iranian. The conclusion Schleicher draws from these linguistic affinities is that the more easterly of the European nations, the Slavonians and Teutons, were the first to leave the common home of the Indo-European race; that they were followed by the Celts, Italians, and Greeks; and that the Indian and Iranian branches were the last to commence their migrations. We feel unable to accept this conclusion, which appears to us to be based on the assumption that the antiquity of a language is to be measured by its approximation to Sanscrit. Looking at the geographical position of the representatives of the different language-classes, we should infer that the most westerly were the earliest immigrants into Europe, and therefore probably the earliest emigrants from the primeval seat of the race; and we believe this to be confirmed by linguistic proofs of the high antiquity of the Celtic as compared with the other branches of the Indo-European family (Bunsen, *Phil. of Hist.* i. 168).

The original seat of the Indo-European race was on the plateau of Central Asia, probably to the westward of the *Bolor* and *Mustagh* ranges. The Indian branch can be traced back to the slopes of Himalaya by the geographical allusions in the Vedic hymns (M. Müller's *Lect.* p. 201); in confirmation of which we may adduce the circumstance that the only tree for which the Indians have an appellation in common with the western nations, is one which in India is found only on the southern slope of that range (Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* i. 110). The westward progress of the Iranian tribes is a matter of history, and though we cannot trace this progress back to its fountain-head, the locality above mentioned best accords with the traditional belief of the Asiatic Aryans and with the physical and geographical requirements of the case (Renan, *H. G.* i. 481).

The routes by which the various western branches reached their respective localities, can only be conjectured. We may suppose them to have successively crossed the plateau of Iran until they reached Armenia, whence they might follow either a northerly course across Caucasus, and by the shore of the Black Sea, or a direct westerly one along the plateau of Asia Minor, which seems destined by nature to be the bridge between the two continents of Europe

and Asia. A third route has been surmised for a portion of the Celtic stock, viz., along the north coast of Africa, and across the Straits of Gibraltar into Spain (Bunsen, *Ph. of H.* i. 148), but we see little confirmation of this opinion beyond the fact of the early presence of the *Celtae* in that peninsula, which is certainly difficult to account for.

The eras of the several migrations are again very much a matter of conjecture. The original movements belong for the most part to the ante-historical age, and we can do no more than note the period at which we first encounter the several nations. That the Indian Aryans had reached the mouth of the Indus at all events before 1000 B.C., appears from the Sanscrit names of the articles which Solomon imported from that country [INDIA]. The presence of Aryans on the Shemitic frontier is as old as the composition of the Mosaic table; and, according to some authorities, is proved by the names of the confederate kings in the age of Abraham (Gen. xiv. 1; Renan, *H. G.* i. 61). The Aryan Medes are mentioned in the Assyrian annals about 900 B.C. The Greeks were settled on the peninsula named after them, as well as on the islands of the Aegæan long before the dawn of history, and the Italians had reached their quarters at a yet earlier period. The *Celtae* had reached the west of Europe at all events before, probably very long before, the age of Hecataeus (500 B.C.); the latest branch of this stock arrived there about that period according to Bunsen's conjecture (*Ph. of H.* i. 152). The Teutonic migration followed at a long interval after the Celtic: Pytheas found them already seated on the shores of the Baltic in the age of Alexander the Great (Plin. xxxvii. 11), and the term *glesum* itself, by which amber was described in that district, belongs to them (Diefenbach, *Or. Eur.* p. 359). The earliest historical notice of them depends on the view taken of the nationality of the Teutones, who accompanied the Cimbri on their southern expedition in 113-102 B.C. If these were Celtic, as is not uncommonly thought, then we must look to Caesar and Tacitus for the earliest definite notices of the Teutonic tribes. The Slavonian immigration was nearly contemporaneous with the Teutonic (Bunsen, *Ph. of H.* i. 72): this stock can be traced back to the *Veneti* or *Venedae* of Northern Germany, first mentioned by Tacitus (*Germ.* 46), from whom the name *Wend* is probably descended. The designation of *Slavi* or *Sclavi* is of comparatively late date, and applied specially to the western branch of the Slavonian stock. The Lithuanians are probably represented by the *Galindae* and *Sudeni* of Ptolemy (iii. 5, §21), the names of which tribes have been preserved in all ages in the Lithuanian district (Diefenbach, p. 202). They are frequently identified with the *Aestui*, and it is not impossible that they may have adopted the title, which was a geographical one (=the east men): the *Aestui* of Tacitus, however, were Germans. In the above statements we have omitted the problematical identifications of the northern stocks with the earlier nations of history: we may here mention that the Slavonians are not unfrequently regarded as the representatives of the Scythians (*Skolots*) and the Sarmatians (Knobel, *Völkert.* p. 69). The writer whom we have just cited, also endeavours to connect the Lithuanians with the *Agathyrsi* (p. 130). So again Grimm traced the Teutonic stock to the *Getae*, whom he identified with the *Goths* (*Gesch. Deut. Spr.* i. 178).

It may be asked whether the Aryan race were the

first comers in the lands which they occupied in historical times, or whether they superseded an earlier population. With regard to the Indian branch this question can be answered decisively: the vestiges of an aboriginal population, which once covered the plains of Hindostan, still exist in the southern extremity of the peninsula, as well as in isolated localities elsewhere, as instanced in the case of the Brahms of the north. Not only this, but the Indian class of languages possesses a peculiarity of sound (the lingual or cerebral consonants), which is supposed to have been derived from this population and to betoken a fusion of the conquerors and the conquered (Schleicher, *Compend.* i. 141). The languages of this early population are classed as Turanian (M. Müller, *Lect.* p. 399). We are unable to find decided traces of Turanians on the plateau of Iran. The Sacae, of whom we have already spoken, were Scythians, and so were the Parthians, both by reputed descent (Justin, xli. 1) and by habits of life (Strab. xi. p. 515); but we cannot positively assert that they were Turanians, inasmuch as the term Scythian was also applied, as in the case of the Skolots, to Indo-Europeans. In the Caucasian district the Iberians and others may have been Turanian in early as in later times; but it is difficult to unravel the entanglement of races and languages in that district. In Europe there exists in the present day an undoubted Turanian population eastward of the Baltic, viz., the Finns, who have been located there certainly since the time of Tacitus (*Germ.* 46), and who probably at an earlier period had spread more to the southwards, but had been gradually thrust back by the advance of the Teutonic and Slavonian nations (Diefenbach, *O. E.* p. 209). There exists again in the south a population whose language (the *Basque*, or, as it is entitled in its own land, the *Euskara*) presents numerous points of affinity to the Finnish in grammar, though its vocabulary is wholly distinct. We cannot consider the Turanian character of this language as fully established, and we are therefore unable to divine the ethnic affinities of the early Iberians, who are generally regarded as the progenitors of the Basques. We have already adverted to the theory that the Finns in the north and the Basques in the south are the surviving monuments of a Turanian population which overspread the whole of Europe before the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. This is a mere theory which can neither be proved nor disproved. ^b

It would be difficult, if not impossible, to assign to the various subdivisions of the Indo-European stock their respective areas, or, where admixture has taken place, their relative proportions. Language and race are, as already observed, by no means coextensive. The Celtic race, for instance, which occupied Gaul, Northern Italy, large portions of Spain and Germany, and even penetrated across the Hellespont into Asia Minor, where it gave name to the province of Galatia, is now represented linguistically by the insignificant populations, among whom the Welsh and the Gaelic or Erse languages retain a lingering existence. The Italian race, on the other hand, which must have been well nigh annihilated by or absorbed in the overwhelming masses of the northern hordes, has imposed its language outside the bounds of Italy over the peninsula of Spain, France, and Wallachia. But, while the races have so intermingled as in many instances to lose all

^b We must be understood as speaking of linguistic and ethnological proofs furnished by populations existing

trace of their original individuality, the broad fact of their descent from one or other of the branches of the Indo-European family remains unaffected. It is, indeed, impossible to affiliate all the nations whose names appear on the roll of history, to the existing divisions of that family, in consequence of the absence or the obscurity of ethnological criteria. Where, for instance, shall we place the languages of Asia Minor and the adjacent districts? The Phrygian approximates perhaps to the Greek, and yet it differs from it materially both in form and vocabulary (Rawlinson's *Herod.* i. 666): still more is this the case with the Lycian, which appears to possess a vocabulary wholly distinct from its kindred languages (*Id.* i. 669, 677-679). The Armenian is ranged under the Iranian division: yet this, as well as the language of the Caucasian Ossetes, whose indigenous name of *Ir* or *Iron* seems to vindicate for them the same relationship, are so distinctive in their features as to render the connexion dubious. The languages prevalent in the mountainous district, answering to the ancient Pontus, are equally peculiar (Diefenbach, *O. E.* p. 51). Passing to the westward we encounter the Thracians, reputed by Herodotus (v. 3) the most powerful nation in the world, the Indians excepted: yet but one word of their language (*bria* = "town") has survived, and all historical traces of the people have been obliterated. It is true that they are represented in later times by the Getae, and these in turn by the Daci, but neither of these can be tracked either by history or language, unless we accept Grimm's more than doubtful identification which would connect them with the Teutonic branch. The remains of the Scythian language are sufficient to establish the Indo-European affinities of that nation (Rawlinson's *Herod.* iii. 196-203), but insufficient to assign to it a definite place in the family. The Scythians, as well as most of the nomad tribes associated with them, are lost to the eye of the ethnologist, having been either absorbed into other nationalities or swept away by the ravages of war. The Sarmatae can be traced down to the Iazyges of *Hungary* and *Podlachia*, in which latter district they survived until the 10th century of our era (*Dict. of Geog.* ii. 8), and then they also vanish. The Albanian language presents a problem of a different kind: materials for research are not wanting in this case, but no definite conclusions have as yet been drawn from them: the people who use this tongue, the *Skipetares* as they call themselves, are generally regarded as the representatives of the old Illyrians, who in turn appear to have been closely connected with the Thracians (Strab. vii. p. 315; Justin, xi. 1), the name Dardani being found both in Illyria and on the shores of the Hellespont: it is not, therefore, improbable that the Albanian may contain whatever vestiges of the old Thracian tongue still survive (Diefenbach, *O. E.* p. 68). In the Italic peninsula the Etruscan tongue remains as great an enigma as ever: its Indo-European character is supposed to be established, together with the probability of its being a mixed language (Bunsen's *Ph. of H.* i. 85-88). The result of researches into the Umbrian language, as represented in the Eugubine tablets, the earliest of which date from about 400 B.C.; into the Sabellian, as represented in the tablets of *Velletri* and *Antino*; and into the Oscan, of which the remains are nu-

within historical times, without reference to the geological questions relating to the antiquity of man.

merous, have decided their position as members of the Italic class (*id.* i. 90-94). The same cannot be asserted of the Messapian or Iapygian language, which stands apart from all neighbouring dialects. Its Indo-European character is affirmed, but no ethnological conclusion can as yet be drawn from the scanty information afforded us (*id.* i. 94). Lastly, within the Celtic area there are ethnological problems which we cannot pretend to solve. The Ligurians, for instance, present one of these problems: were they Celts, but belonging to an earlier migration than the Celts of history? Their name has been referred to a Welsh original, but on this no great reliance can be placed, as it would be in this case a local (= *coastmen*) and not an ethnical title, and might have been imposed on them by the Celts. They evidently hold a posterior place to the Iberians, inasmuch as they are said to have driven a section of this people across the Alps into Italy. That they were distinct from the Celts is asserted by Strabo (ii. p. 128), but the distinction may have been no greater than exists between the British and the Gaelic branches of that race. The admixture of the Celts and Iberians in the Spanish peninsula is again a somewhat intricate question, which Dr. Latham attempts to explain on the ground that the term Celt (*Κέλται*) really meant Iberian (*Ethn. of Eur.* p. 35). That such questions as these should arise on a subject which carries us back to times of hoar antiquity, forms no ground for doubting the general conclusion that we can account ethnologically for the population of the European continent.

The Shemitic and Indo-European families cover after all but an insignificant portion of the earth's surface: the large areas of Northern and Eastern Asia, the numerous groups of islands that line its coast and stud the Pacific in the direction of South America, and again the immense continent of America itself, stretching well nigh from pole to pole, remain to be accounted for. Historical aid is almost wholly denied to the ethnologist in his researches in these quarters; physiology and language are his only guides. It can hardly, therefore, be matter of surprise, if we are unable to obtain certainty, or even a reasonable degree of probability, on this part of our subject. Much has been done; but far more remains to be done before the data for forming a conclusive opinion can be obtained. In Asia, the languages fall into two large classes—the *monosyllabic*, and the *agglutinative*. The former are represented ethnologically by the Chinese, the latter by the various nations classed together by Prof. M. Müller under the common head of *Turanian*. It is unnecessary for us to discuss the correctness of his view in regarding all these nations as members of one and the same family. Whether we accept or reject his theory, the fact of a gradation of linguistic types and of connecting links between the various branches remains unaffected, and for our present purpose the question is of comparatively little moment. The *monosyllabic* type apparently betokens the earliest movement from the common home of the human race, and we should therefore assign a chronological priority to the settlement of the Chinese in the east and south-east of the continent. The *agglutinative* languages fall geographically into two divisions, a northern and southern. The northern consists of a well-defined group, or family, designated by German ethnologists the *Ural-Altian*. It consists of the following five

branches:—(1) The *Tungusian*, covering a large area, east of the river Yenisei, between lake Baikal and the *Tunguska*. (2) The *Mongolian*, which prevails over the Great Desert of Gobi, and among the *Kalmucks*, wherever their nomad habits lead them on the steppes either of Asia or Europe, in the latter of which they are found about the lower course of the *Volga*. (3) The *Turkish*, covering an immense area from the Mediterranean in the south-west to the river *Lena* in the north-east; in Europe spoken by the *Osmanli*, who form the governing class in Turkey; by the *Nogai*, between the *Caspian* and the *Sea of Azov*; and by various *Caucasian* tribes. (4) The *Samoiedic*, on the coast of the *Arctic Ocean*, between the *White Sea* in the west and the river *Anabara* in the east. (5) The *Finnish*, which is spoken by the *Finns* and *Lapps*; by the inhabitants of *Esthonia* and *Livonia* to the south of the *Gulf of Finland*; by various tribes about the *Volga* (the *Tcheremissians* and *Mordvians*), and the *Kama* (the *Votiakes* and *Permians*); and, lastly, by the *Magyars* of *Hungary*. The southern branch is subdivided into the following four classes:—(1) The *Tamulian*, of the south of *Hindustan*. (2) The *Bhotiya*, of *Tibet*, the sub-Himalayan district (*Nepaul* and *Bhotan*), and the *Lohitic* languages east of the *Brahmapootra*. (3) The *Tai*, in *Siam*, *Laos*, *Anam*, and *Pegu*. (4) The *Malay*, of the *Malay peninsula*, and the adjacent islands; the latter being the original settlement of the *Malay race*, whence they spread in comparatively modern times to the mainland.

The early movements of the races representing these several divisions, can only be divined by linguistic tokens. Prof. M. Müller assigns to the northern tribes the following chronological order:—*Tungusian*, *Mongolian*, *Turkish*, and *Finnish*; and to the southern division the following:—*Tai*, *Malay*, *Bhotiya*, and *Tamulian* (*Ph. of H.* i. 481). Geographically it appears more likely that the *Malay* preceded the *Tai*, inasmuch as they occupied a more southerly district. The later movements of the European branches of the northern division can be traced historically. The *Turkish* race commenced their westerly migration from the neighbourhood of the *Altai* range in the 1st century of our era; in the 6th they had reached the *Caspian* and the *Volga*; in the 11th and 12th the *Turcomans* took possession of their present quarters south of *Caucasus*: in the 13th the *Osmanli* made their first appearance in *Western Asia*; about the middle of the 14th they crossed from *Asia Minor* into *Europe*; and in the middle of the 15th they had established themselves at *Constantinople*. The *Finnish* race is supposed to have been originally settled about the *Ural* range, and thence to have migrated westward to the shores of the *Baltic*, which they had reached at a period anterior to the *Christian era*; in the 7th century a branch pressed southwards to the *Danube*, and founded the kingdom of *Bulgaria*, where, however, they have long ceased to have any national existence. The *Ugrian* tribes, who are the early representatives of the *Hungarian Magyars*, approached *Europe* from *Asia* in the 5th and settled in *Hungary* in the 9th century of our era. The central point from which the various branches of the *Turanian* family radiated would appear to be about lake *Baikal*. With regard to the ethnology of *Oceania* and *America* we can say but little. The languages of the former are generally supposed to be connected with the *Malay* class (*Bunsen, Ph. of H.* ii. 114), but the

relations, both linguistic and ethnological, existing between the Malay and the black, or Negrito population, which is found on many of the groups of islands, are not well defined. The approximation in language is far greater than in physiology (Latham's *Essays*, pp. 213, 218; Garnett's *Essays*, p. 310), and in certain cases amounts to identity (Kennedy's *Essays*, p. 85); but the whole subject is at present involved in obscurity. The polysynthetic languages of North America are regarded as emanating from the Mongolian stock (Bunsen, *Ph. of H.* ii. 111), and a close affinity is said to exist between the North American and the Kamskadale and Korean languages on the opposite coast of Asia (Latham, *Man and his Migr.* p. 185). The conclusion drawn from this would be that the population of America entered by way of Behring's Straits. Other theories have, however, been broached on this subject. It has been conjectured that the chain of islands which stretches across the Pacific may have conducted a Malay population to South America; and, again, an African origin has been claimed for the Caribs of Central America (Kennedy's *Essays*, pp. 100-123).

In conclusion, we may safely assert that the tendency of all ethnological and linguistic research is to discover the elements of unity amidst the most striking external varieties. Already the myriads of the human race are massed together into a few large groups. Whether it will ever be possible to go beyond this, and to show the historical unity of these groups, is more than we can undertake to say. But we entertain the firm persuasion that in their broad results these sciences will yield an increasing testimony to the truth of the Bible.

[The authorities referred to in the foregoing article are:—M. Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 1862; Bunsen, *Philosophy of History*, 2 vols., 1854; Renan, *Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques*, 3rd ed. 1863; Knobel, *Völkertafel der Genesis*, 1850; W. von Humboldt, *Ueber die Verschiedenheit des menschlichen Sprachbaues*, 1836; Delitzsch, *Jeshurun*, 1858; *Transactions of the Philological Society*; Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, 4 vols., 1858; Pott, *Etymologische Forschungen*, 1833; Garnett, *Essays*, 1859; Schleicher, *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik*, 1861; Dieffenbach, *Origines Europeae*, 1861; Ewald, *Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen*, 1862.] [W.L.B.]

APPENDIX.—TOWER OF BABEL.

The Tower of Babel forms the subject of a previous article [BABEL, TOWER OF]; but in consequence of the discovery of a cuneiform inscription, in which the Tower is mentioned in connexion with the Confusion of Tongues, the eminent cuneiform scholar Dr. Oppert has kindly sent the following addition to the present article.

The history of the confusion of languages was preserved at Babylon, as we learn by the testimonies of classical and Babylonian authorities (Abydenus, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ed. Didot, vol. iv.). Only the Chaldeans themselves did not admit the Hebrew etymology of the name of their metropolis; they derived it from *Bab-el*, the door of *El* (Kronos or Saturnus), whom Diodorus Siculus states to have been the planet most adored by the Babylonians.

The Talmudists say that the true site of the Tower of Babel was at Borsif, the Greek Borsippa, the *Birs Nimrud*, seven miles and a half from *Hillah*, S.W., and nearly eleven miles from the northern

ruins of Babylon. Several passages state that the air of Borsippa makes forgetful (*אור מושכח*, *avir mashkakh*); and one rabbi says that *Borsif* is *Bulsif*, the Confusion of Tongues (*Bereshit Rabba*, f. 42, 1). The Babylonian name of this locality is *Barsip* or *Barzipa*, which we explain by *Tower of Tongues*. The French expedition to Mesopotamia found at the *Birs Nimrud* a clay cake, dated from *Barsip* the 30th day of the 6th month, dated from year of Nabonid, and the discovery confirmed the hypothesis of several travellers, who had supposed the *Birs Nimrud* to contain the remains of Borsippa.

Borsippa (the Tongue Tower) was formerly a suburb of Babylon, when the old Babel was merely restricted to the northern ruins, before the great extension of the city, which, according to ancient writers, was the greatest that the sun ever warmed with its beams. Nebuchadnezzar included it in the great circumvallation of 480 stades, but left it out of the second wall of 360 stades; and when the exterior wall was destroyed by Darius, Borsippa became independent of Babylon. The historical writers respecting Alexander state that Borsippa had a great sanctuary dedicated to Apollo and Artemis (Strab. xvi. p. 739; Stephanus Byz. s. v. *Βόρσιππα*), and the former is the building elevated in modern times on the very basement of the old Tower of Babel.

This building, erected by Nebuchadnezzar, is the same that Herodotus describes as the Tower of Jupiter Belus. In our *Expedition to Mesopotamia* we have given a description of this ruin, and proved our assertion of the identity. This tower of Herodotus has nothing to do with the pyramid described by Strabo, and which is certainly to be seen in the remains called now *Babil* (the *Mujellibeh* of Rich). The temple of Borsippa is written with an ideogram,^d composed of the signs for *house* and *spirit* (*anima*), the real pronunciation of which was probably *Sarakh*, tower.

The temple consisted of a large substructure, a stade (600 Babylonian feet) in breadth, and 75 feet in height, over which were built seven other stages of 25 feet each. Nebuchadnezzar gives notice of this building in the Borsippa inscription. He named it the temple of the *Seven Lights of the Earth*, i. e. the planets. The top was the temple of *Nebo*, and in the substructure (*igar*) was a temple consecrated to the god *Sin*, god of the month. This building, mentioned in the East India House inscription (col. iv. l. 61), is spoken of by Herodotus (i. 181 &c.).

Here follows the Borsippa inscription:—"Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, shepherd of peoples, who attests the immutable affection of Merodach, the mighty ruler-exalting *Nebo*; the saviour, the wise man who lends his ears to the orders of the highest god; the lieutenant without reproach, the repairer of the Pyramid and the Tower, eldest son of Nabopallassar, king of Babylon.

"We say: Merodach, the great master, has created me: he has imposed on me to reconstruct his building. *Nebo*, the guardian over the legions of the heaven and the earth, has charged my hands with the sceptre of justice.

"The Pyramid is the temple of the heaven and the earth, the seat of Merodach, the chief of the gods, the place of the oracles, the spot of his rest, I have adorned in the form of a cupola, with shining gold.

^c *Expédition en Mésopotamie*, i. 208. Compare also the trigonometrical survey of the river in the plates

^d BIT. ZI DA in syllabic characters.

"The Tower, the eternal house, which I founded and built, I have completed its magnificence with silver, gold, other metals, stone, enamelled bricks, fir and pine.

"The first, which is the house of the earth's base, the most ancient monument of Babylon, I built and finished it; I have highly exalted its head with bricks covered with copper."

"We say for the other, that is, this edifice, the house of the Seven Lights of the Earth, the most ancient monument of Borsippa: A former king built it (they reckon 42 ages), but he did not complete its head. *Since a remote time people had abandoned it, without order expressing their words.* Since that time, the earthquake and the thunder had dispersed its sun-dried clay; the bricks of the casing had been split, and the earth of the interior had been scattered in heaps. Merodach, the great lord, excited my mind to repair this building. I did not change the site, nor did I take away the foundation-stone. In a fortunate month, an auspicious day, I undertook to build porticoes around the crude brick masses, and the casing of burnt bricks. I adapted the circuits. I put the inscription of my name in the *Kitir* of the porticoes.

"I set my hand to finish it, and to exalt its head. As it had been in former times, so I founded, I made it; as it had been in ancient days, so I exalted its summit.

"Nebo, son of himself, ruler who exaltest Merodach, be propitious to my works to maintain my authority. Grant me a life until the remotest time, a sevenfold progeny, the stability of my throne, the victory of my sword, the pacification of foes, the triumph over the lands! In the columns of thy eternal table, that fixes the destinies of the heaven and of the earth, bless the course of my days, inscribe the fecundity of my race.

"Imitate, O Merodach, king of heaven and earth, the father who begot thee; bless my buildings, strengthen my authority. May Nebuchadnezzar, the king-repairer, remain before thy face!"

This allusion to the Tower of the Tongues is the only one that has as yet been discovered in the cuneiform inscriptions.^f The story is a Shemitic and not only a Hebrew one, and we have no reason whatever to doubt of the existence of the same story at Babylon.

The ruins of the building elevated on the spot where the story placed the tower of the dispersion of tongues, have therefore a more modern origin, but interest nevertheless by their stupendous appearance

[OPPERT.]

TONGUES, GIFT OF.—I. The history of a word which has been used to express some special, wonderful fact in the spiritual life of man is itself full of interest. It may be a necessary preparation for the study of the fact which that word represents.

Γλῶττα, or γλῶσσα, the word employed throughout the N. T. for the gift now under consideration, is used—(1.) for the bodily organ of speech; (2.) for a foreign word, imported and half-naturalised in Greek (Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 2, §14), a meaning which the words "gloss" and "glossary" preserve for us; (3.) in Hellenistic Greek, after the pattern of the corresponding Hebrew word (יְשׁוּבָה), for "speech" or "language" (Gen. x. 5; Dan. i. 4, &c. &c.).

^f This manner of building is expressly mentioned by Philostratus (*Apoll. Tyar.* i. 25) as Babylonian.

¹ See *Expédition en Mesopotamie*, tom. i. 200.

Each of these meanings might be the starting-point for the application of the word to the gift of tongues, and each accordingly has found those who have maintained that it is so. (A). Eichhorn and Bardili (cited by Bleek, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, p. 8, et seq.), and to some extent Bunsen (*Hippolytus*, i. 9), starting from the first, see in the so-called gift an inarticulate utterance, the cry as of a brute creature, in which the tongue moves while the lips refuse their office in making the sounds definite and distinct. (B). Bleek himself (*ut supr.* p. 33) adopts the second meaning, and gives an interesting collection of passages to prove that it was, in the time of the N. T., the received sense. He infers from this that to speak in tongues was to use unusual, poetic language—that the speakers were in a high-wrought excitement which showed itself in mystic, figurative terms. In this view he had been preceded by Ernesti (*Opusc. Theolog.*; see *Morning Watch*, iv. 101) and Herder (*Die Gabe der Sprache*, pp. 47, 70), the latter of whom extends the meaning to special mystical interpretations of the O. T. (C). The received traditional view starts from the third meaning, and sees in the gift of tongues a distinctly linguistic power.

We have to see which of these views has most to commend it. (A), it is believed, does not meet the condition of answering any of the facts of the N. T., and errs in ignoring the more prominent meaning of the word in later Greek. (B), though true in some of its conclusions, and able, as far as they are concerned, to support itself by the authority of Augustine (comp. *De Gen. ad lit.* xii. 8, "linguam esse cum quis loquatur obscuras et mysticas significationes"), appears faulty, as failing (1) to recognise the fact that the sense of the word in the N. T. was more likely to be determined by that which it bore in the LXX. than by its meaning in Greek historians or rhetoricians, and (2) to meet the phenomena of Acts ii. (C) therefore commends itself, as in this respect starting at least from the right point, and likely to lead us to the truth (comp. Olshausen, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, p. 538).

II. The chief passages from which we have to draw our conclusion as to the nature and purpose of the gift in question, are—(1.) Mark xvi. 17; (2.) Acts ii. 1-13, x. 46, xix. 6; (3.) 1 Cor. xii. xiv. It deserves notice that the chronological sequence of these passages, as determined by the date of their composition, is probably just the opposite of that of the periods to which they severally refer. The first group is later than the second, the second than the third. It will be expedient, however, whatever modifications this fact may suggest afterwards, to deal with the passages in their commonly received order.

III. The promise of a new power coming from the Divine Spirit, giving not only comfort and insight into truth, but fresh powers of utterance of some kind, appears once and again in our Lord's teaching. The disciples are to take no thought what they shall speak, for the Spirit of their Father shall speak in them (Matt. x. 19, 20; Mark xiii. 11). The lips of Galilean peasants are to speak freely and boldly before kings. The only condition is that they are "not to premeditate"—to yield themselves altogether to the power that works on them. Thus they shall have given to them "a mouth and wisdom" which no adversary shall be able "to

* Several scholars, we know, do not agree with us. We gave our reasons five years ago, and our antagonists have not yet refuted them.

gainsay or resist." In Mark xvi. 17 we have a more definite term employed: "They shall speak with new tongues (*καινὰς γλώσσαις*)." Starting, as above, from (C), it can hardly be questioned that the obvious meaning of the promise is that the disciples should speak in new languages which they had not learnt as other men learn them. It must be remembered, however, that the critical questions connected with Mark xvi. 9-20 (comp. Meyer, Tischendorf, Alford, *in loc.*) make it doubtful whether we have here the language of the Evangelist—doubtful therefore whether we have the *ipsisima verba* of the Lord himself, or the nearest approximation of some early transcriber to the contents of the section, no longer extant, with which the Gospel had originally ended. In this case it becomes possible that the later phenomena, or later thoughts respecting them, may have determined the language in which the promise is recorded. On either hypothesis, the promise determines nothing as to the nature of the gift, or the purpose for which it was to be employed. It was to be a "sign." It was not to belong to a chosen few only—to Apostles and Evangelists. It was to "follow them that believed"—to be among the fruits of the living intense faith which raised men above the common level of their lives, and brought them within the kingdom of God.

IV. The wonder of the day of Pentecost is, in its broad features, familiar enough to us. The days since the Ascension had been spent as in a ceaseless ecstasy of worship (Luke xxiv. 53). The 120 disciples were gathered together, waiting with eager expectation for the coming of power from on high—of the Spirit that was to give them new gifts of utterance. The day of Pentecost was come, which they, like all other Israelites, looked on as the witness of the revelation of the Divine Will given on Sinai. Suddenly there swept over them "the sound as of a rushing mighty wind," such as Ezekiel had heard in the visions of God by Chebar (i. 24, xliii. 2), at all times the recognised symbol of a spiritual creative power (comp. Ez. xxxvii. 1-14; Gen. i. 2; 1 K. xix. 11; 2 Chr. v. 14; Ps. civ. 3, 4). With this there was another sign associated even more closely with their thoughts of the day of Pentecost. There appeared unto them "tongues like as of fire." Of old the brightness had been seen gleaming through the "thick cloud" (Ex. xix. 18), or "enfolding" the Divine glory (Ez. i. 4). Now the tongues were distributed (*διαμερίζομεναι*), lighting upon each of them.^a The outward symbol was accompanied by an inward change. They were "filled with the Holy Spirit," as the Baptist and their Lord had been (Luke i.

^a The sign in this case had its starting-point in the traditional belief of Israelites. There had been, it was said, tongues of fire on the original Pentecost (Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*, p. 8, referring to Buxtorf, *De Synag.*, and Philo, *De Decal.*). The later Rabbis were not without their legends of a like "baptism of fire." Nicodemus ben Gorion and Jochanan ben Zaccai, men of great holiness and wisdom, went into an upper chamber to expound the Law, and the house began to be full of fire (Lightfoot, *Harm.* lii. 14; Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb.* in Acts ii.).

^b It deserves notice that here also there are analogies in Jewish belief. Every word that went forth from the mouth of God on Sinai was said to have been divided into the seventy languages of the sons of men (Wetstein, on Acts ii.); and the *bath-kol*, the echo of the voice of God, was heard by every man in his own tongue (Schneckenburger, *Beiträge*). So, as regards the power of speaking, there was a tradition that the great Rabbis of the Sanhe-

drim could speak all the seventy languages of the world. 15, iv. 1), though they themselves had as yet no experience of a like kind. "They began to speak with other tongues as the Spirit gave them utterance." The narrative that follows leaves hardly any room for doubt that the writer meant to convey the impression that the disciples were heard to speak in languages of which they had no colloquial knowledge previously. The direct statement, "They heard them speaking, each man in his own dialect," the long list of nations, the words put into the lips of the hearers—these can scarcely be reconciled with the theories of Bleek, Herder, and Bunsen, without a wilful distortion of the evidence.^b What view are we to take of a phenomenon so marvellous and exceptional? What views have men actually taken? (1.) The prevalent belief of the Church has been, that in the Pentecostal gift the disciples received a supernatural knowledge of all such languages as they needed for their work as Evangelists. The knowledge was permanent, and could be used at their own will, as though it had been acquired in the common order of things. With this they went forth to preach to the nations. Differences of opinion are found as to special points. Augustine thought that each disciple spoke in all languages (*De Verb. Apost.* clxxv. 3); Chrysostom that each had a special language assigned to him, and that this was the indication of the country which he was called to evangelize (*Hom. in Act.* ii.). Some thought that the number of languages spoken was 70 or 75, after the number of the sons of Noah (Gen. x.) or the sons of Jacob (Gen. xlvii.), or 120, after that of the disciples (comp. Baronius, *Annal.* i. 197). Most were agreed in seeing in the Pentecostal gift the antithesis to the confusion of tongues at Babel, the witness of a restored unity. "Poena linguarum dispersit homines, donum linguarum dispersos in unum populum collegit" (Grotius, *in loc.*).

Widely diffused as this belief has been, it must be remembered that it goes beyond the data with which the N. T. supplies us. Each instance of the gift recorded in the Acts connects it, not with the work of teaching, but with that of praise and adoration; not with the normal order of men's lives, but with exceptional epochs in them. It came and went as the Spirit gave men the power of utterance—in this respect analogous to the other gift of prophecy with which it was so often associated (Acts ii. 16, 17, xix. 6)—and was not possessed by them as a thing to be used this way or that, according as they chose.^c The speech of St. Peter which follows, like most other speeches addressed to a Jerusalem audience, was spoken apparently in Aramaic.^d When St. Paul, who "spoke

^c The first discussion whether the gift of tongues was bestowed "per modum habitus" with which I am acquainted is found in Salmasius, *De Ling. Hebr.* (quoted by Thilo, *De Ling. Ignit.* in Menthen's *Thesaurus*, li. 497), whose conclusion is in the negative. Even Calmet admits that it was not permanent (*Comm. in loc.*). Compare also Wetstein, *in loc.*; and Olshausen, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1829, p. 546.

^d Dr. Stanley suggests Greek, as addressed to the Hellenistic Jews who were present in such large numbers (Excurs. on Gift of Tongues, *Corinthians*, p. 260, 2nd ed.). That St. Peter and the Apostles could speak a provincial Greek is probable enough; but in this instance the speech is addressed chiefly to the permanent dwellers at Jerusalem (Acts ii. 22, 36), and was likely, like that of St. Paul (Acts xxi. 40), to be spoken in their tongue. To most of the Hellenistic hearers this would be intelligible enough.

with tongues more than all," was at Lystra, there is no mention made of his using the language of Lycaonia. It is almost implied that he did not understand it (Acts xiv. 11). Not one word in the discussion of spiritual gifts in 1 Cor. xii.-xiv. implies that the gift was of this nature, or given for this purpose. If it had been, the Apostle would surely have told those who possessed it to go and preach to the outlying nations of the heathen world, instead of disturbing the Church by what, on this hypothesis, would have been a needless and offensive ostentation (comp. Stanley, *Corinthians*, p. 261, 2nd ed.). Without laying much stress on the tradition that St. Peter was followed in his work by Mark as an interpreter (*ἐρμηνευτής*) (Papias, in Euseb. *H.E.* iii. 30), that even St. Paul was accompanied by Titus in the same character—"quia non potuit divinarum sensuum majestatem digno Graeci eloquii sermone explicare" (Hieron. quoted by Estius in 2 Cor. ii.)—they must at least be received as testimonies that the age which was nearest to the phenomena did not take the same view of them as those have done who lived at a greater distance. The testimony of Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* vi. 6), sometimes urged in support of the common view, in reality decides nothing, and, as far as it goes, tends against it (*infra*). Nor, it may be added, within the limits assigned by the providence of God to the working of the Apostolic Church, was such a gift necessary. Aramaic, Greek, Latin, the three languages of the inscription on the cross, were media of intercourse throughout the empire. Greek alone sufficed, as the N. T. shows us, for the Churches of the West, for Macedonia and Achaia, for Pontus, Asia, Phrygia. The conquests of Alexander and of Rome had made men *diglottic* to an extent which has no parallel in history. (2.) Some interpreters, influenced in part by these facts, have seen their way to another solution of the difficulty by changing the character of the miracle. It lay not in any new power bestowed on the speakers, but in the impression produced on the hearers. Words which the Galilean disciples uttered in their own tongue were heard by those who listened as in their native speech. This view we find adopted by Gregory of Nyssa (*De Spir. Sanct.*), discussed, but not accepted, by Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xlv.), and reproduced by Erasmus (*in loc.*). A modification of the same theory is presented by Schneckenburger (*Beiträge*), and in part adopted by Olshausen (*l. c.*) and Neander (*Pflanz. u. Leit.* i. 15). The phenomena of somnambulism, of the so-called mesmeric state, are referred to as analogous. The speaker was *en rapport* with his hearers; the latter shared the thoughts of the former, and so heard them, or seemed to hear them, in their own tongues.

There are, it is believed, weighty reasons against both the earlier and later forms of this hypothesis. (1.) It is at variance with the distinct statement of Acts ii. 4, "They began to speak with other tongues." (2.) It at once multiplies the miracle, and degrades its character. Not the 120 disciples, but the whole multitude of many thousands, are in this case the subjects of it. The gift no longer connects itself with the work of the Divine Spirit, following on intense faith and earnest prayer, but is a mere physical prodigy wrought upon men who are altogether wanting in the conditions of capacity for such a supernatural power (Mark xvi. 17). (3.) It involves an element of falsehood. The miracle, on this view, was wrought to make men

believe what was not actually the fact. (4.) It is altogether inapplicable to the phenomena of 1 Cor. xiv.

(3.) Critics of a negative school have, as might be expected, adopted the easier course of rejecting the narrative either altogether or in part. The statements do not come from an eye-witness, and may be an exaggerated report of what actually took place—a legend with or without a historical foundation. Those who recognise such a groundwork see in "the rushing mighty wind," the hurricane of a thunderstorm, the fresh breeze of morning; in the "tongues like as of fire," the flashings of the electric fluid; in the "speaking with tongues," the loud screams of men, not all Galileans, but coming from many lands, overpowered by strong excitement, speaking in mystical, figurative, abrupt exclamations. They see in this "the cry of the newborn Christendom." (Bunsen, *Hippolytus.* ii. 12; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* vi. 110; Bleek, *l. c.*; Herder, *l. c.*) From the position occupied by these writers, such a view was perhaps natural enough. It does not fall within the scope of this article to discuss in detail a theory which postulates the incredibility of any fact beyond the phenomenal laws of nature, and the falsehood of St. Luke as a narrator.

V. What, then, are the facts actually brought before us? What inferences may be legitimately drawn from them?

(1.) The utterance of words by the disciples, in other languages than their own Galilean Aramaic, is, as has been said, distinctly asserted.

(2.) The words spoken appear to have been determined, not by the will of the speakers, but by the Spirit which "gave them utterance." The outward tongue of flame was the symbol of the "burning fire" within, which, as in the case of the older prophets, could not be repressed (Jer. xx. 9).

(3.) The word used, *ἀποφθέγγεσθαι*, not merely *λαλεῖν*, has in the LXX. a special, though not an exclusive, association with the oracular speech of true or false prophets, and appears to imply some peculiar, perhaps musical, solemn intonation (comp. 1 Chr. xxv. 1; Ez. xiii. 9; Trommii *Concordant.* s. v.; Grotius and Wetstein, *in loc.*; Andrewes, *Whitsunday Sermons*, i.).

(4.) The "tongues" were used as an instrument, not of teaching but of praise. At first, indeed, there were none present to be taught. The disciples were by themselves, all sharing equally in the Spirit's gifts. When they were heard by others, it was as proclaiming the praise, the mighty and great works, of God (*μεγαλεῖα*). What they uttered was not a warning, or reproof, or exhortation, but a doxology (Stanley, *l. c.*; Baumgarten, *Apostelgesch.* §3). When the work of teaching began, it was in the language of the Jews, and the utterance of tongues ceased.

(5.) Those who spoke them seemed to others to be under the influence of some strong excitement, "full of new wine." They were not as other men, or as they themselves had been before. Some recognised, indeed, that they were in a higher state, but it was one which, in some of its outward features, had a counterfeit likeness in the lower. When St. Paul uses—in Eph. v. 18, 19 (*πληροῦσθε πνεύματος*)—the all but selfsame word which St. Luke uses here to describe the state of the disciples (*ἐπλήσθησαν πνεύματος ἁγίου*), it is to contrast it with "being drunk with wine," to associate it with "psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs."

(6.) Questions as to the mode of operation of 1

power above the common laws of bodily or mental life lead us to a region where our words should be "wary and few." There is the risk of seeming to reduce to the known order of nature that which is by confession above and beyond it. In this and in other cases, however, it may be possible, without irreverence or doubt—following the guidance which Scripture itself gives us—to trace in what way the new power did its work, and brought about such wonderful results. It must be remembered, then, that in all likelihood such words as they then uttered had been heard by the disciples before. At every feast which they had ever attended from their youth up, they must have been brought into contact with a crowd as varied as that which was present on the day of Pentecost, the pilgrims of each nation uttering their praises and doxologies. The difference was, that, before, the Galilean peasants had stood in that crowd, neither heeding, nor understanding, nor remembering what they heard, still less able to reproduce it; now they had the power of speaking it clearly and freely. The Divine work would in this case take the form of a supernatural exaltation of the memory, not of imparting a miraculous knowledge of words never heard before. We have the authority of John xiv. 26 for seeing in such an exaltation one of the special works of the Divine Comforter.

(7.) The gift of tongues, the ecstatic burst of praise, is definitely asserted to be a fulfilment of the prediction of Joel ii. 28. The twice-repeated burden of that prediction is, "I will pour out my Spirit," and the effect on those who receive it is that "they shall prophesy." We may see therefore in this special gift that which is analogous to one element at least of the *προφητεία* of the O. T.; but the element of teaching is, as we have seen, excluded. In 1 Cor. xiv. the gift of tongues and *προφητεία* (in this, the N. T. sense of the word) are placed in direct contrast. We are led, therefore, to look for that which answers to the Gift of Tongues in the other element of prophecy which is included in the O. T. use of the word; and this is found in the ecstatic praise, the burst of song, which appears under that name in the two histories of Saul (1 Sam. x. 5-13, xix. 20-24), and in the services of the Temple (1 Chr. xxv. 3).

(8.) The other instances in the Acts offer essentially the same phenomena. By implication in xiv. 15-19, by express statement in x. 47, xi. 15, 17, xix. 6, it belongs to special critical epochs, at which faith is at its highest, and the imposition of the Apostles' hands brought men into the same state, imparted to them the same gift, as they had themselves experienced. In this case, too, the exercise of the gift is at once connected with and distinguished from "prophecy" in its N. T. sense.

VI. The First Epistle to the Corinthians supplies fuller data. The spiritual gifts are classified and compared, arranged, apparently, according to their worth, placed under regulation. This fact is in itself significant. Though recognised as coming from the one Divine Spirit, they are not therefore exempted from the control of man's reason and conscience. The Spirit acts through the calm judgment of the Apostle or the Church, not less but more authoritatively than in the most rapturous and wonderful utterances. The facts which may be gathered are briefly these:

(1.) The phenomena of the gift of tongues were not confined to one Church or section of a Church. If we find them at Jerusalem, Ephesus, Corinth, by

implication at Thessalonica also (1 Thess. v. 19), we may well believe that they were frequently recurring wherever the spirits of men were passing through the same stages of experience.

(2.) The comparison of gifts, in both the lists given by St. Paul (1 Cor. xii. 8-10, 28-30), places that of tongues, and the interpretation of tongues, lowest in the scale. They are not among the greater gifts which men are to "covet earnestly" (1 Cor. xii. 31, xiv. 5). As signs of a life quickened into expression where before it had been dead and dumb, the Apostle could wish that "they all spake with tongues" (1 Cor. xiv. 5), could rejoice that he himself "spake with tongues more than they all" (1 Cor. xiv. 18). It was good to have known the working of a power raising them above the common level of their consciousness. They belonged, however, to the childhood of the Christian life, not to its maturity (1 Cor. xiv. 20). They brought with them the risk of disturbance (ibid. 23). The only safe rule for the Church was not to "forbid them" (ibid. 39), not to "quench" them (1 Thess. v. 19), lest in so doing the spiritual life of which this was the first utterance should be crushed and extinguished too, but not in any way to covet or excite them. This language, as has been stated, leaves it hardly possible to look on the gift as that of a linguistic knowledge bestowed for the purpose of evangelising.

(3.) The main characteristic of the "tongue" (now used, as it were, technically, without the epithet "new" or "other")* is that it is unintelligible. The man "speaks mysteries," prays, blesses, gives thanks, in the tongue (*ἐν πνεύματι* as equivalent to *ἐν γλώσση*, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16), but no one understands him (*ἀκούει*). He can hardly be said, indeed, to understand himself. The *πνεῦμα* in him is acting without the co-operation of the *νοῦς* (1 Cor. xiv. 14). He speaks not to men, but to himself and to God (comp. Chrysost. *Hom.* 35, in 1 Cor.). In spite of this, however, the gift might and did contribute to the building up of a man's own life (1 Cor. xiv. 4). This might be the only way in which some natures could be roused out of the apathy of a sensual life, or the dulness of a formal ritual. The ecstasy of adoration which seemed to men madness, might be a refreshment unspeakable to one who was weary with the subtle questionings of the intellect, to whom all familiar and intelligible words were fraught with recollections of controversial bitterness or the wanderings of doubt (comp. a passage of wonderful power as to this use of the gift by Edw. Irving, *Morning Watch*, v. p. 78).

(4.) The peculiar nature of the gift leads the Apostle into what appears, at first, a contradiction. "Tongues are for a sign," not to believers, but to those who do not believe; yet the effect on unbelievers is not that of attracting but repelling. A meeting in which the gift of tongues was exercised without restraint, would seem to a heathen visitor, or even to the plain common-sense Christian (the *ιδιώτης*, the man without a *χάρισμα*), to be an assembly of madmen. The history of the day of Pentecost may help us to explain the paradox. The tongues are a sign. They witness that the daily experience of men is not the limit of their spiritual powers. They disturb, startle, awaken, are given *εἰς τὸ ἐκπλήττεσθαι* (Chrysost. *Hom.* 36, in

* The reader will hardly need to be reminded that "unknown" is an interpolation of the A. V.

1 Cor.), but they are not, and cannot be, the grounds of conviction and belief (so *Const. Apost.* viii.). They involve of necessity a disturbance of the equilibrium between the understanding and the feelings. Therefore it is that, for those who believe already, prophecy is the greater gift. Five clear words spoken from the mind of one man to the mind and conscience of another, are better than ten thousand of these more startling and wonderful phenomena.

(5.) There remains the question whether these also were "tongues" in the sense of being languages, of which the speakers had little or no previous knowledge, or whether we are to admit here, though not in Acts ii., the theories which see in them only unusual forms of speech (Bleek), or inarticulate cries (Bunsen), or all but inaudible whisperings (Wieseler, in Olshausen, *in loc.*). The question is not one for a dogmatic assertion, but it is believed that there is a preponderance of evidence leading us to look on the phenomena of Pentecost as representative. It must have been from them that the word *tongue* derived its new and special meaning. The companion of St. Paul, and St. Paul himself, were likely to use the same word in the same sense. In the absence of a distinct notice to the contrary, it is probable that the gift would manifest itself in the same form at Corinth as at Jerusalem. The "divers kinds of tongues" (1 Cor. xii. 28), the "tongues of men" (1 Cor. xiii. 1), point to differences of some kind, and it is at least easier to conceive of these as differences of language than as belonging to utterances all equally wild and inarticulate. The position maintained by Lightfoot (*Harm. of Gosp. on Acts ii.*), that the gift of tongues consisted in the power of speaking and understanding the true Hebrew of the O. T., may seem somewhat extravagant, but there seems ground for believing that Hebrew and Aramaic words had over the minds of Greek converts at Corinth a power which they failed to exercise when translated, and that there the utterances of the tongues were probably in whole, or in part, in that language. Thus, the "Maranatha" of 1 Cor. xvi. 22, compared with xii. 3, leads to the inference that that word had been spoken under a real or counterfeit inspiration. It was the Spirit that led men to cry *Abba*, as their recognition of the fatherhood of God (Rom. viii. 15; Gal. iv. 6). If we are to attach any definite meaning to the "tongues of angels" in 1 Cor. xiii. 1, it must be by connecting it with the words surpassing human utterance, which St. Paul heard as in Paradise (2 Cor. xii. 4), and these again with the great Hallelujah hymns of which we read in the Apocalypse (Rev. xix. 1-6; Stanley, *l. c.*; Ewald, *Gesch. Isr.* vi. p. 117). The retention of other words like Hosanna and Sabaoth in the worship of the Church, of the Greek formula of the Kyrie Eleison in that of the nations of the West, is an exemplification of the same feeling operating in other ways after the special power had ceased.

(6.) Here also, as in Acts ii., we have to think of some peculiar intonation as frequently characterising the exercise of the "tongues." The analogies which suggest themselves to St. Paul's mind are those of the pipe, the harp, the trumpet (1 Cor. xiv. 7, 8). In the case of one "singing in the spirit" (1 Cor. xiv. 15), but not with the understanding also, the strain of ecstatic melody must

have been all that the listeners could perceive. To "sing and make melody," is specially characteristic of those who are filled with the Spirit (Eph. v. 19). Other forms of utterance less distinctly musical, yet not less mighty to stir the minds of men, we may trace in the "cry" (Rom. vii. 15; Gal. iv. 6) and the "ineffable groanings" (Rom. viii. 26) which are distinctly ascribed to the work of the Divine Spirit. To those who know the wonderful power of man's voice, as the organ of his spirit, the strange, unearthly charm which belongs to some of its less normal states, the influence even of individual words thus uttered, especially of words belonging to a language which is not that of our common life (comp. Hilar. Diac. *Comm. in 1 Cor.* xiv.), it will not seem strange that, even in the absence of a distinct intellectual consciousness, the gift should take its place among the means by which a man "built up" his own life, and might contribute, if one were present to expound his utterances, to "edify" others also.^f

(7.) Connected with the "tongues," there was, as the words just used remind us, the corresponding power of interpretation. It might belong to any listener (1 Cor. xiv. 27). It might belong to the speaker himself when he returned to the ordinary level of conscious thought (1 Cor. xiv. 13). Its function, according to the view that has been here taken, must have been twofold. The interpreter had first to catch the foreign words, Aramaic or others, which had mingled more or less largely with what was uttered, and then to find a meaning and an order in what seemed at first to be without either, to follow the loftiest flights and most intricate windings of the enraptured spirit, to trace the subtle associations which linked together words and thoughts that seemed at first to have no point of contact. Under the action of one with this insight the wild utterances of the "tongues" might become a treasure-house of deep truths. Sometimes, it would appear, not even this was possible. The power might be simply that of sound. As the pipe or harp, played boldly, the hand struck at random over the strings, but with no *διαστολή*, no musical interval, wanted the condition of distinguishable melody, so the "tongues," in their extremest form, passed beyond the limits of interpretation. There might be a strange awfulness, or a strange sweetness as of "the tongues of angels," but what it meant was known only to God (1 Cor. xiv. 7-11).

VII. (1.) Traces of the gift are found, as has been said, in the Epistles to the Romans, the Galatians, the Ephesians. From the Pastoral Epistles, from those of St. Peter and St. John, they are altogether absent, and this is in itself significant. The life of the Apostle and of the Church has passed into a calmer, more normal state. Wide truths, abiding graces, these are what he himself lives in and exhorts others to rest on, rather than exceptional *χαρίσματα*, however marvellous. The "tongues" are already "ceasing" (1 Cor. xiii. 8), as a thing belonging to the past. Love, which even when "tongues" were mightiest, he had seen to be above all gifts, has become more and more, all in all, to him.

(2.) It is probable, however, that the disappearance of the "tongues" was gradual. As it would have been impossible to draw the precise line of de-

^f Neander (*Pflanz. u. Leit.* 1. 15) refers to the effect produced by the preaching of St. Bernard upon hearers who did not understand one word of the Latin in which he preached (*Opp.* ii. 119, ed. Mabillon) as an instance of

this. Like phenomena are related of St. Antony of Padua and St. Vincent Ferrer (*Acta Sanctorum*, June 24 and April 5), of which this is probably the explanation. (Comp. also Wolff, *Curae Philology in N. T. Acts ii.*)

marcation when the *προφητεία* of the Apostolic age passed into the *διδασκαλία* that remained permanently in the Church, so there must have been a time when "tongues" were still heard, though less frequently, and with less striking results. The testimony of Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* v. 6) that there were brethren in his time "who had prophetic gifts, and spoke through the Spirit in all kinds of tongues," though it does not prove, what it has sometimes been alleged to prove, the permanence of the gift in the individual, or its use in the work of evangelising (Wordsworth on *Acts* ii.), must be admitted as evidence of the existence of phenomena like those which we have met with in the Church of Corinth. For the most part, however, the part which they had filled in the worship of the Church was supplied by the "hymns and spiritual songs" of the succeeding age. In the earliest of these, distinct in character from either the Hebrew psalms or the later hymns of the Church, marked by a strange mixture of mystic names, and half-coherent thoughts (such *e. g.* as the hymn with which Clement of Alexandria ends his *Παιδαγωγός*, and the earliest Sibylline verses) some have seen the influence of the ecstatic utterances in which the strong feelings of adoration had originally shown themselves (Nitzsch, *Christl. Lehre*, ii. p. 268).

After this, within the Church we lose nearly all traces of them. The mention of them by Eusebius (*Comm. in Ps.* xlvi.) is vague and uncertain. The tone in which Chrysostom speaks of them (*Comm. in 1 Cor.* xiv.) is that of one who feels the whole subject to be obscure, because there are no phenomena within his own experience at all answering to it. The whole tendency of the Church was to maintain reverence and order, and to repress all approaches to the ecstatic state. Those who yielded to it took refuge, as in the case of Tertullian (*infra*), in sects outside the Church. Symptoms of what was then looked on as an evil, showed themselves in the 4th century at Constantinople—wild, inarticulate cries, words passionate but of little meaning, almost convulsive gestures—and were met by Chrysostom with the sternest possible reproof (*Hom. in Is.* vi. 2, ed. Migne, vi. p. 100).

VIII. (1.) A wider question of deep interest presents itself. Can we find in the religious history of mankind any facts analogous to the manifestation of the "tongues"? Recognising, as we do, the great gap which separates the work of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost from all others, both in its origin and its fruits, there is, it is believed, no reason for rejecting the thought that there might be like phenomena standing to it in the relation of foreshadowings, approximations, counterfeits. Other *χαρίσματα* of the Spirit, wisdom, prophecy, helps, governments, had or have analogies, in special states of men's spiritual life, at other times and under other conditions, and so may these. The three characteristic phenomena are, as has been seen, (1) an ecstatic state of partial or entire unconsciousness, the human will being, as it were, swayed by a power above itself; (2) the utterance of words in tones startling and impressive, but often conveying no distinct meaning; (3) the use of languages

* PEEP. The word, omitted in its place, deserves a separate notice. It is used in the A. V. of *Is.* viii. 19, x. 14, as the equivalent of *פִּיפִּי*, "to chirp" or "cry." The Latin *pipio*, from which it comes, is, like the Hebrew, onomatopoeic, and is used to express the wailing cry of young chickens or infant children. In this sense it is

which the speaker at other times was unable to converse in.

(2.) The history of the O. T. presents us with some instances in which the gift of prophecy has accompaniments of this nature. The word includes something more than the utterance of a distinct message of God. Saul and his messengers come under the power of the Spirit, and he lies on the ground, all night, stripped of his kingly armour, and joining in the wild chant of the company of prophets, or pouring out his own utterances to the sound of their music (*1 Sam.* xix. 24; comp. Stanley, *l. c.*).

(3.) We cannot exclude the false prophets and diviners of Israel from the range of our inquiry. As they, in their work, dress, pretensions, were counterfeits of those who truly bore the name, so we may venture to trace in other things that which resembled, more or less closely, what had accompanied the exercise of the Divine gift. And here we have distinct records of strange, mysterious intonations. The ventriloquist wizards (*οἱ ἐγγαστριμυθοὶ, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσιν*) "peep" and mutter" (*Is.* viii. 19). The "voice of one who has a familiar spirit," comes low out of the ground (*Is.* xxix. 4). The false prophets simulate with their tongues (*ἐκβάλλοντας προφητείας γλώσσης*, LXX.) the low voice with which the true prophets announced that the Lord had spoken (*Jer.* xxiii. 31; comp. Gesen. *Thes.* s. v. *DNJ*).

(4.) The quotation by St. Paul (*1 Cor.* xiv. 21) from *Is.* xxviii. 11 ("With men of other tongues (*ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις*) and other lips will I speak unto this people"), has a significance of which we ought not to lose sight. The common interpretation sees in that passage only a declaration that those who had refused to listen to the Prophets should be taught a sharp lesson by the lips of alien conquerors. Ewald (*Prophet.* in loc.), dissatisfied with this, sees in the new teaching the voice of thunder striking terror into men's minds. St. Paul, with the phenomena of the "tongues" present to his mind, saw in them the fulfilment of the Prophet's words. Those who turned aside from the true prophetic message should be left to the darker, "stammering," more mysterious utterances, which were in the older, what the "tongues" were in the later Ecclesia. A remarkable parallel to the text thus interpreted is found in *Hos.* ix. 7. There also the people are threatened with the withdrawal of the true prophetic insight, and in its stead there is to be the wild delirium, the ecstatic madness of the counterfeit (comp. especially the LXX., *δ προφήτης δ παρεστηκώς, ἄνθρωπος δ πνευματοφόρος*).

(5.) The history of heathen oracles presents, it need hardly be said, examples of the orgiastic state, the condition of the *μάντις* as distinct from the *προφήτης*, in which the wisest of Greek thinkers recognised the lower type of inspiration (Plato, *Timaeus*, 72 B; Bleek, *l. c.*). The Pythoness and the Sibyl are as if possessed by a power which they cannot resist. They labour under the *afflatus* of the god. The wild, unearthly sounds ("nec mortale sonans"), often hardly coherent, burst from their lips. It remains for interpreters to collect the

used in the first of these passages for the low cry of the false soothsayers, in the second for that of birds whom the hand of the spoiler snatches from their nests. In *Is.* xxxviii. 14, where the same word is used in the Hebrew, the A. V. gives, "Like a crane or a swallow, so did I chatter."

scattered utterances, and to give them shape and meaning (Virg. *Aen.* vi. 45, 98, *et seq.*).

(6.) More distinct parallels are found in the accounts of the wilder, more excited sects which have, from time to time, appeared in the history of Christendom. Tertullian (*de Anim.* c. 9), as a Montanist, claims the "revelationum charismata" as given to a sister of that sect. They came to her "inter dominica solemnia;" she was, "per ecstasin, in spiritu," conversing with angels, and with the Lord himself, seeing and hearing mysteries ("sacramenta"), reading the hearts of men, prescribing remedies for those who needed them. The movement of the Mendicant orders in the 13th century, the prophesyings of the 16th in England, the early history of the disciples of George Fox, that of the Jansenists in France, the Revivals under Wesley and Whitefield, those of a later date in Sweden, America, and Ireland have, in like manner, been fruitful in ecstatic phenomena more or less closely resembling those which we are now considering.

(7.) The history of the French prophets at the commencement of the 18th century presents some facts of special interest. The terrible sufferings caused by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes were pressing with intolerable severity on the Huguenots of the Cevennes. The persecuted flocks met together with every feeling of faith and hope strung to its highest pitch. The accustomed order of worship was broken, and labouring men, children, and female servants, spoke with rapturous eloquence as the messengers of God. Beginning in 1686, then crushed for a time, bursting forth with fresh violence in 1700, it soon became a matter of almost European celebrity. Refugees arrived in London in 1706, claiming the character of prophets (Lacy, *Cry from the Desert*; N. Peyrat, *Pastors in the Wilderness*). An Englishman, John Lacy, became first a convert and then a leader. The convulsive ecstatic utterances of the sect drew down the ridicule of Shaftesbury (*On Enthusiasm*). Calamy thought it necessary to enter the lists against their pretensions (*Caveat against the New Prophets*). They gained a distinguished proselyte in Sir R. Bulkley, a pupil of Bishop Fell's, with no inconsiderable learning, who occupied in their proceedings a position which reminds us of that of Henry Drummond among the followers of Irving (Bulkley's *Defence of the Prophets*). Here also there was a strong contagious excitement. Nicholson, the Baxter of the sect, published a confession that he had found himself unable to resist it (*Falsehood of the New Prophets*), though he afterwards came to look upon his companions as "enthusiastick impostors." What is specially noticeable is, that the gift of tongues was claimed by them. Sir R. Bulkley declares that he had heard Lacy repeat long sentences in Latin, and another speak Hebrew, though, when not in the Spirit, they were quite incapable of it (*Narrative*, p. 92). The characteristic thought of all the revelations was, that they were the true children of God. Almost every oracle began with "My child!" as its characteristic word (Peyrat, i. 235-313). It is remarkable that a strange Revivalist movement was spreading, nearly at the same time, through Silesia, the chief feature of which was that boys and girls of tender age were almost the only subjects of it, and that they too spoke and

prayed with a wonderful power (Lacy, *Relation*, &c., p. 31; Bulkley, *Narrative*, p. 46).

(8.) The so-called Unknown Tongues, which manifested themselves first in the west of Scotland, and afterwards in the Caledonian Church in Regent Square, present a more striking phenomenon, and the data for judging of its nature are more copious. Here, more than in most other cases, there were the conditions of long, eager expectation, fixed brooding over one central thought, the mind strained to a preternatural tension. Suddenly, now from one, now from another, chiefly from women, devout but illiterate, mysterious sounds were heard. Voices, which at other times were harsh and unpleasing, became, when "singing in the Spirit," perfectly harmonious^b (Cardale, *Narrative*, in *Morning Watch*, ii. 871, 872). Those who spoke, men of known devotion and acuteness, bore witness to their inability to control themselves (Baxter, *Narrative*, pp. 5, 9, 12), to their being led, they knew not how, to speak in a "triumphant chant" (*ibid.* pp. 46, 81). The man over whom they exercised so strange a power, has left on record his testimony, that to him they seemed to embody a more than earthly music, leading to the belief that the "tongues" of the Apostolic age had been as the archetypal melody of which all the Church's chants and hymns were but faint, poor echoes (Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, ii. 208). To those who were without, on the other hand, they seemed but an unintelligible gibberish, the yells and groans of madmen (Newspapers of 1831, *passim*). Sometimes it was asserted that fragments of known languages, Spanish, Italian, Greek, Hebrew, were mingled together in the utterances of those who spoke in the power (Baxter, *Narrative*, pp. 133, 134). Sometimes it was but a jargon of mere sounds (*ibid.*). The speaker was commonly unable to interpret what he uttered. Sometimes the office was undertaken by another. A clear and interesting summary of the history of the whole movement is given in Mrs. Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, vol. ii. Those who wish to trace it through all its stages must be referred to the seven volumes of the *Morning Watch*, and especially to Irving's series of papers on the Gifts of the Spirit, in vols. iii., iv., and v. Whatever other explanation may be given of the facts, there exists no ground for imputing a deliberate imposture to any of the persons who were most conspicuous in the movement.

(9.) In certain exceptional states of mind and body the powers of memory are known to receive a wonderful and abnormal strength. In the delirium of fever, in the ecstasy of a trance, men speak in their old age languages which they have never heard or spoken since their earliest youth. The accent of their common speech is altered. Women, ignorant and untaught, repeat long sentences in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, which they had once heard, without, in any degree, understanding or intending to remember them. In all such cases the marvellous power is the accompaniment of disease, and passes away when the patient returns to his usual state, to the healthy equilibrium and interdependence of the life of sensation and of thought (Abercrombie, *Intellectual Powers*, pp. 140-143; Winslow, *Obscure Diseases of the Brain*, pp. 337, 360, 374; Watson, *Principles and Practice of Physic*, i. 128). The

^b Comp. the independent testimony of Archdeacon Stopford. He had listened to the "unknown tongue," and had found it "a sound such as I never heard before, unearthly

and unaccountable." He recognised precisely the same sounds in the Irish Revivals of 1859 (*Work and Counterwork*, p. 11).

Mediaeval belief that this power of speaking in tongues belonged to those who were possessed by evil spirits rests, obviously, upon like psychological phenomena (Peter Martyr, *Loci Communes*, i. c. 10; Bayle, *Dictionn.* s. v. "Grandier").

IX. These phenomena have been brought together in order that we may see how far they resemble, how far they differ from, those which we have seen reason to believe constituted the outward signs of the Gift of Tongues. It need not startle or "offend" us if we find the likeness between the true and the counterfeit greater, at first sight, than we expected. So it was at the Churches of Corinth and of Asia. There also the two existed in the closest approximation; and it was to no outward sign, to no speaking with languages, or prediction of the future, that St. Paul and St. John pointed as the crucial test by which men were to distinguish between them, but to the confession on the one side, the denial on the other, that Jesus was the Lord (1 Cor. xii. 3; 1 John iv. 2, 3). What may be legitimately inferred from such facts is the existence, in the mysterious constitution of man's nature, of powers which are, for the most part, latent, but which, under given conditions, may be roused into activity. Memory, imagination, speech, may all be intensified, transfigured, as it were, with a new glory, acting independently of any conscious or deliberate volition. The exciting causes may be disease, or the fixed concentration of the senses or of thought on one object, or the power of sympathy with those who have already passed into the abnormal state. The life thus produced is at the furthest pole from the common life of sensation, habit, forethought. It sees what others do not see, hears what they do not hear. If there be a spiritual power acting upon man, we might expect this phase of the life of the human soul to manifest its operations most clearly. Precisely because we believe in the reality of the Divine work on the day of Pentecost, we may conceive of it as using this state as its instrument, not as introducing phenomena, in all respects without parallel, but as carrying to its highest point, what, if good, had been a foreshadowing of it, presenting the reality of what, if evil, had been the mimicry and counterfeit of good. And whatever resemblances there may be, the points of difference are yet greater. The phenomena which have been described are, with hardly an exception, morbid; the precursors or the consequences of clearly recognisable disease. The Gift of Tongues was bestowed on men in full vigour and activity, preceded by no frenzy, followed by no exhaustion. The Apostles went on with their daily work of teaching and organising the Church. The form which the new power assumed was determined partly, it may be, by deep-lying conditions of man's mental and spiritual being, within which, as self-imposed limits, the Spirit poured from on high was pleased to work, partly by the character of the people for whom this special manifestation was given as a sign. New powers of knowledge, memory, utterance, for which education and habit could not at all account, served to waken men to the sense of a power which they could not measure, a Kingdom of God into which they were called to enter. Lastly, let us remember the old rule holds good, "By their fruits ye shall know them." Other phenomena, presenting approximate resemblances,

¹ It can hardly be doubted that the interpolated word "unknown," in the A. V. of 1 Cor. xiv., was the starting-

have ended in a sick man's dreams, in a fevered frenzy, in the narrowness of a sect. They grew out of a passionate brooding over a single thought, often over a single word;¹ and the end has shown that it was not well to seek to turn back God's order and to revive the long-buried past. The gift of the day of Pentecost was the starting-point of the long history of the Church of Christ, the witness, in its very form, of a universal family gathered out of all nations.

But it was the starting-point only. The newness of the truth then presented to the world, the power of the first experience of a higher life, the longing expectation in men's minds of the Divine kingdom, may have made this special manifestation, at the time, at once inevitable and fitting. It belonged, however, to a critical epoch, not to the continuous life of the Church. It implied a disturbance of the equilibrium of man's normal state. The high-wrought ecstasy could not continue, might be glorious and blessed for him who had it, a *sign*, as has been said, for those who had it not; but it was not the instrument for building up the Church. That was the work of another gift, the prophecy which came from God, yet was addressed from the mind and heart of one man to the minds and hearts of his brethren. When the overflowing fulness of life had passed away, when "tongues" had "ceased," and prophecy itself, in its irresistible power, had "failed," they left behind them the lesson they were meant to teach. They had borne their witness, and had done their work. They had taught men to believe in one Divine Spirit, the giver of all good gifts, "dividing to every man severally as He will;" to recognise His inspiration, not only in the marvel of the "tongues," or in the burning words of prophets, but in all good thoughts, in the right judgment in all things, in the excellent gift of Charity. [E. H. P.]

TOPARCHY (Τοπαρχία). A term applied in one passage of the Septuagint (1 Macc. xi. 28) to indicate three districts to which elsewhere (x. 30, xi. 34) the name *νομός* is given. In all these passages the English Version employs the term "governments." The three "toparchies" in question were Apherima (Ἀφαίρεμα), Lydda, and Ramath. They had been detached from Samaria, Peraea, and Galilee respectively, some time before the war between Demetrius Soter and Alexander Bala. Each of the two belligerents endeavoured to win over Jonathan, the Jewish High-Priest, to their side, by allowing him, among other privileges, the sovereign power over these districts without any payment of land-tax. The situation of Lydda is doubtful; for the toparchy Lydda, of which Pliny speaks (v. 14), is situated not in Peraea, but on the western side of the Jordan. Apherima is considered by Grotius to denote the region about Bethel, captured by Abijah from Jeroboam (2 Chr. xiii. 19). Ramath is probably the famous stronghold, the desire of obtaining which led to the unfortunate expedition of the allied sovereigns, Ahab and Jehoshaphat (1 K. xxii.).

The "toparchies" seem to have been of the nature of *agaliks*, and the passages in which the word *τοπαρχης* occurs, all harmonize with the view of that functionary as the *aga*, whose duty would be to collect the taxes and administer justice in all cases affecting the revenue, and who, for the point of the peculiarly unintelligible character of most of the Irvingite utterances.

purpose of enforcing payment, would have the command of a small military force. He would thus be the lowest in the hierarchy of a despotic administration to whom troops would be entrusted; and hence the taunt in 2 K. xviii. 24, and Is. xxxvi. 9: *πῶς ἀποστρέψεις τὸ πρόσωπον τοπάρχου ἐνδὸς, τῶν δούλων τοῦ κυρίου μου τῶν ἐλαχίστων*; "How wilt thou resist a single toparch, one of the very least of my lord's slaves?" But the essential character of the toparch is that of a fiscal officer, and his military character is altogether subordinate to his civil. Hence the word is employed in Gen. xli. 34, for the "officers over the land," who were instructed to buy up the fifth part of the produce of the soil during the seven years of abundance. In Dan. iii. 3, Theodotion uses the word in a much more extensive sense, making it equivalent to "satraps," and the Eng. Version renders the original by "princes;" but the original word here is not the same as in Dan. iii. 2, 27, and vi. 7, in every one of which cases a subordinate functionary is contemplated. [J. W. B.]

TOPAZ (הַטָּז, *pitdâh*: *τοπάζιον*: *topazius*).

The topaz of the ancient Greeks and Romans is generally allowed to be our chrysolite, while their chrysolite is our topaz. [CHRYSOLITE, App. A.] Bellermann, however (*Die Urim und Thummim*, p. 39), contends that the topaz and the chrysolite of the ancients are identical with the stones denoted by these terms at the present day. The account which Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 8) gives of the *topazos* evidently leads to the conclusion that that stone is our chrysolite; "the topazos," he says, "is still held in high estimation for its *green tints*." According to the authority of Juba, cited by Pliny, the topaz is derived from an island in the Red Sea called "Topazos;" it is said that this island, where these precious stones were procured, was surrounded by fogs, and was, in consequence, often sought for by navigators, and that hence it received its name, the term "topazin" signifying, in the Troglodyte tongue, "to seek" (?). The *pitdâh*, which, as has already been stated, probably denotes the modern chrysolite, was the second stone in the first row of the high-priest's breast-plate (Ex. xxviii. 17, xxxix. 10); it was one of the jewels that adorned the apparel of the king of Tyre (Ezek. xxviii. 13); it was the bright stone that garnished the ninth foundation of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 20); in Job xxviii. 19, where wisdom is contrasted with precious articles, it is said that "the *pitdâh* of Ethiopia shall not equal it." Chrysolite, which is also known by the name of olivine and peridot, is a silicate of magnesia and iron; it is so soft as to lose its polish unless worn with care (*Mineralogy and Crystallography*, by Mitchell and Tennant, p. 512). The identity of the *τοπάζιον* with the *הַטָּז* of the Heb. Bible is sufficiently established by the combined authorities of the LXX., the Vulg., and Josephus, while that of the *τοπάζιον* with our chrysolite is, it appears to us, proved beyond a doubt by those writers who have paid most attention to this question. See Braun, *De Vest. Sac. Heb.* p. 641, ed. 1680. [W. H.]

TOPHEL (הַפֶּל: *τοφὸλ*: *Thophel*). A place mentioned Deut. i. 1, which has been probably identified with *Tūfīleh* on a wady of the same name running north of Bozra towards the N.W. into the Ghôr and S.E. corner of the Dead Sea (Robinson, *i.* 570). This latter is a most fertile region, having many springs and rivulets flowing into the Ghôr;

and large plantations of fruit-trees, whence figs are exported. The bird *katta*, a kind of partridge, is found there in great numbers, and the steinbock pastures in herds of forty or fifty together (Burckhardt, *Holy Land*, 405-6). [H. H.]

TOPHETH, and once TO'PHET, (תֹּפֶת) Generally with the article (2 K. xxiii. 10; Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 6, 13, 14). Three times without it (Jer. vii. 32, xix. 11, 12). Once not only without it, but with an affix, *תֹּפֶת־הַיְיָ*, *Tophteh* (Is. xxx. 33).

In Greek, *Ταφέθ*, *Τωφέθ*, and *Θοφθά* (Steph. *Lex. Voc. Peregrin.*; Biel, *Thes.*). In the Vulgate, *Thopheth*. In Jerome, *Tophet*. It is not mentioned by Josephus.

It lay somewhere east or south-east of Jerusalem, for Jeremiah went out by the Sun-gate, or east gate, to go to it (Jer. xix. 2). It was in "the Valley of the Son of Hinnom" (vii. 31), which is "by the entry of the east gate" (xix. 2). Thus it was not identical with Hinnom, as some have written, except in the sense in which Paradise is identical with Eden, the one being part of the other. It was in Hinnom, and was perhaps one of its chief groves or gardens. It seems also to have been part of the king's gardens, and watered by Siloam, perhaps a little to the south of the present *Birket el-Hamra*. The name Tophet occurs only in the Old Testament (2 K. xxiii. 10; Is. xxx. 33; Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 6, 11, 12, 13, 14). The New does not refer to it, nor the Apocrypha. Jerome is the first who notices it; but we can see that by his time the name had disappeared, for he discusses it very much as a modern commentator would do, only mentioning a green and fruitful spot in Hinnom, watered by Siloam, where he assumes it was: "Delubrum Baal, nemus ac lucus, Siloe fontibus irrigatus" (In Jer. vii.). If this be the case, we must conclude that the valley or gorge south of Jerusalem, which usually goes by the name of Hinnom, is not the *Ge-Ben-Hinnom* of the Bible. Indeed, until comparatively modern times, that southern ravine was never so named. Hinnom by old writers, western and eastern, is always placed east of the city, and corresponds to what we call the "Mouth of the Tyropoeon," along the southern bed and banks of the Kedron (Jerome, *De Locis Hebr. and Comm. in Matt.* x. 28; Ibn Batutah, *Travels*; Jalal Addin's *History of the Temple*; Felix Fabri), and was reckoned to be somewhere between the Potter's Field and the Fuller's Pool.

Tophet has been variously translated. Jerome says *latitudo*; others *garden*; others *drum*; others *place of burning or burying*; others *abomination* (Jerome, Noldius, Gesenius, Bochart, Simonis, *Onom.*). The most natural seems that suggested by the occurrence of the word in two consecutive verses, in the one of which it is a *tabret*, and in the other *Tophet* (Is. xxx. 32, 33). The Hebrew words are nearly identical; and Tophet was probably the king's "music-grove" or garden, denoting originally nothing evil or hateful. Certainly there is no proof that it took its name from the drums beaten to drown the cries of the burning victims that passed through the fire to Moloch. As Chinneroth is the *harp-sea*, so Tophet is the *tabret-grove* or valley. This might be at first part of the royal garden, a spot of special beauty, with a royal villa in the midst, like the Pasha's palace at Shûbra, near Cairo. Afterwards it was defiled by idols, and polluted by the sacrifices of Baal and the free

of Moloch. Then it became the place of abomination, the very gate or pit of hell. The pious kings defiled it, and threw down its altars and high places, pouring into it all the filth of the city, till it became the "abhorrence" of Jerusalem; for to it primarily, though not exhaustively, the prophet refers:—

They shall go forth and gaze
On the carcasses of the transgressors against me;
For their worm shall not die,
And their fire shall not be quenched,
And they shall be an abhorrence to all flesh.

(Is. lxvi. 24.)

In Kings and Jeremiah the name is "the Tophet," but in Isaiah (xxx. 33) it is *Tophthēh*; yet the places are probably the same so far, only in Isaiah's time the grove might be changing its name somewhat, and with that change taking on the symbolic meaning which it manifestly possesses in the prophet's prediction:—

Set in order in days past has been Tophthēh;
Surely for the king it has been made ready.
He hath deepened, he hath widened it;^a
The pile thereof, fire and wood, he hath multiplied.
The breath of Jehovah, like a stream of brimstone,
Doth set it on fire.

It is to be noticed that the LXX. translate the above passage in a peculiar way: *πρὸ ἡμερῶν ἀπαιτηθήσῃ*, "thou shalt be required from of old," or perhaps "before thy time;" but Jerome translates the LXX. as if their word had been *ἐξαπατάω* (or *ἀθετέω*, as Procopius reads it), and not *ἀπαιτέω*, "tu ante dies *decipieris*," adding this comment: "Dicitur ad illum quod ab initio seipse deceperit, regnum suum arbitrans sempiternum, cum preparata sint Gehenna et eterna supplicia." In that case the Alexandrian translators perhaps took *הַתְּפֵתָהּ* for the second person singular masculine of the future *Piel* of *פָּתַח*, to persuade or deceive. It may be noticed that Michaelis renders it thus: "Tophet ejus, q. d. rogus ejus." In Jer. xix. 6, 13, the Sept. translate Tophet by *διάπτωσις*, *διαπίπτων*, which is not easily explained, except on the supposition of a marginal gloss having crept into the text instead of the proper name (see Jerome; and also Spohn on the Greek version of Jer. *Pref.* p. 18, and *Notes* on chaps. xix. xiii.).

In Jer. (vii. 32, xix. 6) there is an intimation that both Tophet and Gehennom were to lose their names, and to be called "the valley of slaughter" (*הַחַרְבָּה הַגְּדוֹלָה*, *Ge-ha-Hār-égâh*^b). Without venturing on the conjecture that the modern *Deraj* can be a relic of *Hār-égâh*, we may yet say that this lower part of the Kedron is "the valley of slaughter," whether it ever actually bore this name or not. It was not here, as some have thought, that the Assyrian was slain by the sword of the destroying angel. That slaughter seems to have taken place to the west of the city, probably on the spot afterwards called from the event, "the valley of the dead bodies" (Jer. xxxi. 40). The slaughter from which Tophet was to get its new name was not till afterwards. In all succeeding ages, blood has flowed there in streams; corpses, buried and unburied, have filled up the hollows; and it may be that underneath the modern gardens and ter-

^a Of the literal Tophet it is said, "They shall bury in Tophet, till there be no place" (Jer. vii. 32). Of the symbolic Tophet it is said above "He hath deepened and

aces there lie not only the débris of the city, but the bones and dust of millions—Romans, Persians, Jews, Greeks, Crusaders, Moslems. What future days and events may bring is not for us to say. Perhaps the prophet's words are not yet exhausted.

Strange contrast between Tophet's first and last! Once the choice grove of Jerusalem's choicest valley; then the place of defilement and death and fire; then the "valley of slaughter"! Once the royal music-grove, where Solomon's singers, with voice and instrument, regaled the king, the court, and the city; then the temple of Baal, the high place of Moloch, resounding with the cries of burning infants; then (in symbol) the place where is the wailing and gnashing of teeth. Once prepared for Israel's king, as one of his choicest villas; then degraded and defiled, till it becomes the place prepared for "the King" at the sound of whose fall the nations are to shake (Ez. xxxi. 16); and as Paradise and Eden passed into Babylon, so Tophet and Ben Hinnom pass into Gehenna and the lake of fire. These scenes seem to have taken hold of Milton's mind; for three times over, within fifty lines, he refers to "the opprobrious hill," the "hill of scandal," the "offensive mountain," and speaks of Solomon making his grove in

"The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna called, the type of hell."

Many of the old travellers (see Felix Fabri, vol. i. p. 391) refer to *Tophet*, or *Toph* as they call it, but they give no information as to the locality. Every vestige of Tophet—name and grove—is gone, and we can only guess at the spot; yet the references of Scripture and the present features of the locality enable us to make the guess with the same tolerable nearness as we do in the case of Gethsemane or Scopus. [H. B.]

TOR'MAH (*תֹּרְמָה*: *ἐν κρυφῇ*; Alex. *μετα δωρων*: *clam*) occurs only in the margin of Judg. ix. 31, as the alternative rendering of the Hebrew word which in the text is given as "privily." By a few commentators it has been conjectured that the word was originally the same with *ARUMAH* in ver. 41—one or the other having been corrupted by the copyists. This appears to have been first started by Kimchi. It is adopted by Junius and Tremellius; but there is little to be said either for or against it, and it will probably always remain a mere conjecture. [G.]

TORTOISE (*צָב*, *tsáb*: *ὁ κροκόδειλος ὁ χερσαῖος*: *crocodilus*). The *tsáb* occurs only in Lev. xi. 29, as the name of some unclean animal. Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 463) with much reason refers the Heb.

term to the kindred Arabic *dhab* (*ضَب*), "a large kind of lizard," which, from the description of it as given by Damir, appears to be the *Psammosaurus Scincus*, or *Monitor terrestris* of Cuvier (*R. A.* ii. 26). This lizard is the *waran el-hard* of the Arabs *i. e.* the land-waran, in contradistinction to the *waran el-bahr*, *i. e.* the water-lizard (*Monitor Niloticus*). It is common enough in the deserts of Palestine and N. Africa. It is no doubt the *κροκόδειλος χερσαῖος* of Herodotus (iv. 192). See also Dioscorides (ii. 71), who mentions it, or perhaps

widened it."

^b Can the *Eroge* of Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 10, §4) have any connexion with the *Hār-égâh* of Jeremiah?

the *Scincus officinalis*, under the name of σκίγγος. Gesenius derives the Heb. word from צָבַב, "to move slowly." [W. H.]



Psammobatus Scincus.

TO'Ü (עֲוִי: Θωά; Alex. Θωού: *Thou*). TOI, king of Hamath (1 Chr. xviii. 9, 10).

TOWER. For towers as parts of city-walls, or as strongholds of refuge for villages, see FENCED CITIES, JERUSALEM, i. 1021-1027, and HANA-NEEL. Watch-towers or fortified posts in frontier or exposed situations are mentioned in Scripture, as the tower of Edar, &c. (Gen. xxxv. 21; Mic. iv. 8; Is. xxi. 5, 8, 11; Hab. ii. 1; Jer. vi. 27; Cant. vii. 4); the tower of Lebanon, perhaps one of David's "garrisons," *netsib* (2 Sam. viii. 6; Raumer, *Pal.* p. 29). Such towers or outposts for the defence of wells, and the protection of flocks and of commerce, were built by Uzziah in the pasture-grounds (*Midbar*) [DESERT], and by his son Jotham in the forests (*Choshim*) of Judah (2 Chr. xxvi. 10, xxvii. 4). Remains of such fortifications may still be seen, which, though not perhaps themselves of remote antiquity, yet very probably have succeeded to more ancient structures built in the same places for like purposes (Robinson, ii. 81, 85, 180; Roberts, *Sketches*, pl. 93). Besides these military structures, we read in Scripture of towers built in vineyards as an almost necessary appendage to them (Is. v. 2; Matt. xxi. 33; Mark xii. 1). Such towers are still in use in Palestine in vineyards, especially near Hebron, and are used as lodges for the keepers of the vineyards. During the vintage they are filled with the persons employed in the work of gathering the grapes (Robinson, i. 213, ii. 81; Martineau, *East. Life*, p. 434; De Sauley, *Trav.* i. 546). [H. W. P.]

TOWN-CLERK (γραμματεὺς: *scriba*). The title ascribed in our Version to the magistrate at Ephesus who appeased the mob in the theatre at the time of the tumult excited by Demetrius and

his fellow-craftsmen (Acts xix. 35). The other primary English versions translate in the same way, except those from the Vulgate (Wiclif, the Rhemish), which render "scribe." A digest of Boeckh's views, in his *Staatshaushaltung*, respecting the functions of this officer at Athens (there were three grades of the order there), will be found in *Dict. of Ant.* p. 459 sq. The γραμματεὺς or "town-clerk" at Ephesus was no doubt a more important person in that city than any of the public officers designated by that term in Greece (see Greswell's *Dissertations*, iv. 152). The title is preserved on various ancient coins (Wetstein, *Nov. Test.* ii. 586; Akermann's *Numismatic Illustrations*, p. 53), which illustrate fully the rank and dignity of the office. It would appear that what may have been the original service of this class of men, viz. to record the laws and decrees of the state, and to read them in public, embraced at length, especially under the ascendancy of the Romans in Asia Minor, a much wider sphere of duty, so as to make them, in some instances, in effect the heads or chiefs of the municipal government (Winer, *Realw.* i. 649). They were authorized to preside over the popular assemblies and submit votes to them, and are mentioned on marbles as acting in that capacity. In cases where they were associated with a superior magistrate, they succeeded to his place and discharged his functions when the latter was absent or had died. "On the subjugation of Asia by the Romans," says Baumstark (Pauly's *Encyclopaedie*, iii. 949), "γραμματεῖς were appointed there in the character of governors of single cities and districts, who even placed their names on the coins of their cities, caused the year to be named from them, and sometimes were allowed to assume the dignity, or at least the name, of Ἀρχιερεὺς." This writer refers as his authorities to Schwartz, *Dissertatio de γραμματεῦσι, Magistratu Civitatum Asiae Proconsulis* (Altorf, 1735); Van Dale, *Dissertat.* v. 425; Spanheim, *De Usu et Praest. Numm.* i. 704. A good note on this topic will be found in the *New Englander* (U. S. A.), x. 144.

It is evident, therefore, from Luke's account, as illustrated by ancient records, that the Ephesian town-clerk acted a part entirely appropriate to the character in which he appears. The speech delivered by him, it may be remarked, is the model of a popular harangue. He argues that such excitement as the Ephesians evinced was undignified, inasmuch as they stood above all suspicion in religious matters (Acts xix. 35, 36); that it was unjustifiable, since they could establish nothing against the men whom they accused (ver. 37); that it was unnecessary, since other means of redress were open to them (vers. 38, 39); and, finally, if neither pride nor a sense of justice availed anything, fear of the Roman power should restrain them from such illegal proceedings (ver. 40). [H. B. H.]

TRACHONITIS (Τραχωνίτις: *Trachonitis*). This place is mentioned only once in the Bible. In

1. בַּחֹן, בַּחוֹן, and בַּחוּן; ἐπαλξις; from בַּחַן, "search," "explore," a searcher or watcher; and hence the notion of a watch-tower. In Is. xxxii. 14, the tower of Ophel is probably meant (Neh. iii. 26; Ges. 198).
2. מִגְדֹּל, and מִגְדֵּל or מִגְדֹּל; πύργος; *turris*; from מִגְדַּל, "become great" (Ges. 265), used sometimes as a proper name. [MIGDOL.]

3. מִצֹּר; πέτρα; *munitio*; only once "tower," Hab. ii. 1.
4. עֵפֶל; οἶκος; *domus*; only in 2 K. v. 24. [OPHEL.]
5. פִּנָּה, usually "corner," twice only "tower," Zeph. i. 16, iii. 6; γωνία; *angulus*.
6. מִצְפָּה; σκοπία; *specula*; "watch-tower." [MIZPAH.]
7. מִשְׁגָּב; ὀχύρωμα; *robur*; only in poetry. [MISGAB]

Luke iii. 1 we read that Philip "was tetrarch of Ituraea, καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας;" and it appears that this "Trachonite region," in addition to the little province of Trachonitis, included parts of Auranitis, Gaulanitis, and Batanaea (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 8, §1, and 11, §4).

Trachonitis is, in all probability, the Greek equivalent for the Aramaic *Argob*. The Targumists render the word אַרְגֹּב, in Deut. iii. 14, by טַרְכוֹנָא. According to Gesenius, אַרְגֹּב signifies "a heap of stones," from the root רָגַב, "to pile up stones." So Τραχωνίτις or Τραχών is a "rugged or stony tract." William of Tyre gives a curious etymology of the word Trachonitis:—"Videtur autem nobis a traconibus dicta. Tracones enim dicuntur occulti et subterranei meatus, quibus ista regio abundat" (*Gest. Dei per Francos*, p. 895). Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that the whole region abounds in caverns, some of which are of vast extent. Strabo refers to the caves in the mountains beyond Trachon (*Geog.* xvi.), and he affirms that one of them is so large that it would contain 4000 men. The writer has visited some spacious caves in Jebel Hauran, and in the interior of the Lejah.

The situation and boundaries of Trachonitis can be defined with tolerable accuracy from the notices in Josephus, Strabo, and other writers. From Josephus we gather that it lay south of Damascus, and east of Gaulanitis, and that it bordered on Auranitis and Batanaea (*B. J.* iv. 1, §1, i. 20, §4, iii. 10, §7). Strabo says there were δύο Τραχῶνες (*Geog.* xvi.). From Ptolemy we learn that it bordered on Batanaea, near the town of Saccaea (*Geog.* xv.). In the Jerusalem Gemara it is made to extend as far south as Bostra (Lightfoot, *Opp.* ii. 473). Eusebius and Jerome, though they err in confounding it with Ituraea, yet the latter rightly defines its position, as lying between Bostra and Damascus (*Onom.* s. v.). Jerome also states that Kenath was one of its chief towns (*Onom.* s. v. "Canath").

From these data we have no difficulty in fixing the position of Trachonitis. It included the whole of the modern province called *el-Lejah* (اللاج), with a section of the plain southward, and also a part of the western declivities of Jebel Haurân. This may explain Strabo's two trachons. The identity of the Lejah and Trachonitis does not rest merely on presumptive evidence. On the northern border of the province are the extensive ruins of *Musmeih*, where, on the door of a beautiful temple, Burckhardt discovered an inscription, from which it appears that this is the old city of *Phocus*, and the capital of Trachonitis (μητροκωμία Τραχῶνος, *Trav. in Syr.* 117). The Lejah is bounded on the east by the mountains of Batanaea (now Jebel Haurân), on whose slopes are the ruins of Saccaea and Kenath; on the south by Auranitis (now Haurân), in which are the extensive ruins of Bostra; on the west by Gaulanitis (now Jaulân); and on the north by Ituraea (now Jedûr) and Damascus. If all other proofs were wanting, a comparison of the features of the Lejah with the graphic description Josephus gives of Trachonitis would be sufficient to establish the identity. The inhabitants, he says, "had neither towns nor fields, but dwelt in caves that served as a refuge both for themselves and their flocks. They had, besides, cisterns of water and well-stored granaries, and were thus able

* In Mark v. 42 and xvi. 8 it is used simply for astonishment mingled with awe, not for the trance-state.

to remain long in obscurity and to defy their enemies. The doors of their caves are so narrow that but one man can enter at a time, while within they are incredibly large. The ground above is almost a plain, but it is covered with rugged rocks, and is difficult of access, except where a guide points out the paths. These paths do not run in a straight course, but have many windings and turns" (*Ant.* xv. 10, §1). A description of the Lejah has been given above [ARGOB], with which this may be compared.

The notices of Trachonitis in history are few and brief. Josephus affirms that it was colonised by Uz the son of Aram (*Ant.* i. 6, §4). His next reference to it is when it was held by Zenodorus, the bandit-chief. Then its inhabitants made frequent raids, as their successors do still, upon the territories of Damascus (*Ant.* xv. 10, §1). Augustus took it from Zenodorus, and gave it to Herod the Great, on condition that he should repress the robbers (*Ant.* xvi. 9, §1). Herod bequeathed it to his son Philip, and his will was confirmed by Caesar (*B. J.* ii. 6, §3). This is the Philip referred to in Luke iii. 1. At a later period it passed into the hands of Herod Agrippa (*B. J.* iii. 3, §5). After the conquest of this part of Syria by Cornelius Palma, in the beginning of the second century, we hear no more of Trachonitis (Burckhardt, *Trav. in Syr.* 110 sq.; Porter, *Damascus*, ii. 240-275; *Journ. Geog. Soc.* xxviii. 250-252). [J. L. P.]

TRANCE (ἐκστασις: *excessus*). (1.) In the only passage (Num. xxiv. 4, 16) in which this word occurs in the English of the O. T. there is, as the italics shew, no corresponding word in Hebrew, simply נָפַל, "falling," for which the LXX. gives ἐν ὑπνῳ, and the Vulg. more literally *qui cadit*. The Greek ἐκστασις is, however, used as the equivalent for many Hebrew words, signifying dread, fear, astonishment (*Trommii Concordant.*). In the N. T. we meet with the word three times (Acts x. 10, xi. 5, xxii. 17), the Vulgate giving "excessus" in the two former, "stupor mentis" in the latter. Luther uses "entzückt" in all three cases. The meaning of the Greek and Latin words is obvious enough. The ἐκστασις is the state in which a man has passed out of the usual order of his life, beyond the usual limits of consciousness and volition. "Excessus," in like manner, though in classical Latin chiefly used as an euphemism for death, became, in ecclesiastical writers, a synonyme for the condition of seeming death to the outer world, which we speak of as a trance. "Hanc vim ecstasi dicimus, excessum sensus, et amentie instar" (Tertull. *de An.* c. 45). The history of the English word presents an interesting parallel. The Latin "transitus" took its place also among the euphemisms for death. In early Italian "essere in transito," was to be as at the point of death, the passage to another world. Passing into French, it also, abbreviated into "transe," was applied, not to death itself, but to that which more or less resembled it (Diez, *Roman. Wörterbuch*, s. v. "transito").

(2.) Used as the word is by Luke, "the physician," and, in this special sense, by him only, in the N. T., it would be interesting to inquire what precise meaning it had in the medical terminology of the time. From the time of Hippocrates, who uses it to describe the loss of conscious perception,

b The distinction drawn by Hippocrates and Galen between ἐκστάσεις σιγῶσαι and ἐκστ. μελαγχολικαί

it had probably borne the connotation which it has had, with shades of meaning for good or evil, ever since. Thus, Hesychius gives as the account of a man in an ecstasy, that he is *ὁ εἰς ἑαυτὸν μὴ ὢν*. Apuleius (*Apologia*), speaks of it as "a change from the earthly mind (*ἀπὸ τοῦ γῆϊνου φρονήματος*) to a divine and spiritual condition both of character and life." Tertullian (*l. c.*) compares it to the dream-state in which the soul acts, but not through its usual instruments. Augustine (*Confess. ix. 11*) describes his mother in this state as "abstracta a presentibus," and gives a description of like phenomena in the case of a certain Restitutus (*de Civ. Dei, xiv. 24*).

(3.) We may compare with these statements the more precise definitions of modern medical science. There the ecstatic state appears as one form of catalepsy. In catalepsy pure and simple, there is "a sudden suspension of thought, of sensibility, of voluntary motion." "The body continues in any attitude in which it may be placed;" there are no signs of any process of thought; the patient continues silent. In the ecstatic form of catalepsy, on the other hand, "the patient is lost to all external impressions, but wrapt and absorbed in some object of the imagination." The man is "as if out of the body." "Nervous and susceptible persons are apt to be thrown into these trances under the influence of what is called mesmerism. There is, for the most part, a high degree of mental excitement. The patient utters the most enthusiastic and fervid expressions or the most earnest warnings. The character of the whole frame is that of intense contemplative excitement. He believes that he has seen wonderful visions and heard singular revelations" (Watson, *Principles and Practice*, Lect. xxxix.; Copland, *Dict. of Medicine*, s. v. "Catalepsy"). The causes of this state are to be traced commonly to strong religious impressions; but some, though, for the most part, not the ecstatic, phenomena of catalepsy are producible by the concentration of thought on one object, or of the vision upon one fixed point (*Quart. Rev. xciii. pp. 510-522*, by Dr. W. B. Carpenter; comp. URIM and THUMMIM), and, in some more exceptional cases, like that mentioned by Augustine (there, however, under the influence of sound, "ad imitatas quasi lamentantis cujuslibet hominis voces"), and that of Jerome Cardan (*Var. Rer. viii. 43*), men have been able to throw themselves into a cataleptic state at will.

(4.) Whatever explanation may be given of it, it is true of many, if not of most, of those who have left the stamp of their own character on the religious history of mankind, that they have been liable to pass at times into this abnormal state. The union of intense feeling, strong volition, long-continued thought (the conditions of all wide and lasting influence), aided in many cases by the withdrawal from the lower life of the support which is needed to maintain a healthy equilibrium, appears to have been more than the "earthen vessel" will bear. The words which speak of "an ecstasy of adoration" are often literally true. The many visions, the journey through the heavens, the so-called epilepsy of Mahomet, were phenomena of

this nature. Of three great mediæval teachers, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas Aquinas, and Joannes Scotus, it is recorded that they would fall into the ecstatic state, remain motionless, seem as if dead, sometimes for a whole day, and then, returning to consciousness, speak as if they had drunk deep of divine mysteries (Gualtferius, *Crit. Sac. on Acts x. 10*). The old traditions of Aristeas and Epimenides, the conflicts of Dunstan and Luther with the powers of darkness, the visions of Savonarola, and George Fox, and Swedenborg, and Böhmen, are generically analogous. Where there has been no extraordinary power to influence others, other conditions remaining the same, the phenomena have appeared among whole classes of men and women in proportion as the circumstances of their lives tended to produce an excessive susceptibility to religious or imaginative emotion. The history of monastic orders, of American and Irish revivals, gives countless examples. Still more noticeable is the fact that many of the *improvisatori* of Italy are "only able to exercise their gift when they are in a state of ecstatic trance, and speak of the gift itself as something morbid" (Copland, *l. c.*); while in strange contrast with their earlier history, and pointing perhaps to a national character that has become harder and less emotional, there is the testimony of a German physician (Frank), who had made catalepsy a special study, that he had never met with a single case of it among the Jews (Copland, *l. c.*)^d

(5.) We are now able to take a true estimate of the trances of Biblical history. As in other things, so also here, the phenomena are common to higher and lower, to true and false systems. The nature of man continuing the same, it could hardly be that the awfulness of the Divine presence, the terrors of Divine judgment, should leave it in the calm equilibrium of its normal state. Whatever made the impress of a truth more indelible, whatever gave him to whom it was revealed more power over the hearts of others, might well take its place in the Divine education of nations and individual men. We may not point to trances and ecstasies as proofs of a true Revelation, but still less may we think of them as at all inconsistent with it. Thus, though we have not the word, we have the thing in the "deep sleep" (*ἔκστασις*, LXX.), the "horror of great darkness," that fell on Abraham (Gen. xv. 12). Balaam, as if overcome by the constraining power of a Spirit mightier than his own, "sees the vision of God, *falling*, but with opened eyes" (Num. xxiv. 4). Saul, in like manner, when the wild chant of the prophets stirred the old depths of feeling, himself also "prophesied" and "fell down" (most, if not all, of his kingly clothing being thrown off in the ecstasy of the moment), "all that day and all that night" (1 Sam. xix. 24). Something there was in Jeremiah that made men say of him that he was as one that "is mad and maketh himself a prophet" (Jer. xxix. 26). In Ezekiel the phenomena appear in more wonderful and awful forms. He sits motionless for seven days in the stupor of astonishment, till the word of the Lord comes to him (Ez. iii. 15). The "hand of the Lord" falls on him, and he too sees the "visions of

answers obviously to that of later writers between pure and ecstatic catalepsy (comp. Foesius, *Oeconom. Hippocrat. s. v. ἔκστασις*).

^e Analogous to this is the statement of Aristotle (*Protr. c. 30*) that the *μελαγχολικοί* speak often in wild bursts of

poetry, and as the Sibyls and others who are inspired (*ἐνθεοί*).

^d A fuller treatment of the whole subject than can be entered on here may be found in the chapter on *Les Magiques* in Maury, *La Magie et l' Astrologie*.

God," and hears the voice of the Almighty, is "lifted up between the earth and heaven," and passes from the river of Chebar to the Lord's house in Jerusalem (Ez. viii. 3).

(6.) As other elements and forms of the prophetic work were revived in "the Apostles and Prophets" of the N. T., so also was this. More distinctly even than in the O. T. it becomes the medium through which men rise to see clearly what before was dim and doubtful, in which the mingled hopes and fears and perplexities of the waking state are dissipated at once. Though different in form, it belongs to the same class of phenomena as the GIFT OF TONGUES, and is connected with "visions and revelations of the Lord." In some cases, indeed, it is the chosen channel for such revelations. To the "trance" of Peter in the city, where all outward circumstances tended to bring the thought of an expansion of the Divine kingdom more distinctly before him than it had ever been brought before, we owe the indelible truth stamped upon the heart of Christendom, that God is "no respecter of persons," that we may not call any man "common or unclean" (Acts x., xi.). To the "trance" of Paul, when his work for his own people seemed utterly fruitless, we owe the mission which was the starting-point of the history of the Universal Church, the command which bade him "depart . . . far hence unto the Gentiles" (Acts xxii. 17-21). Wisely for the most part did that Apostle draw a veil over these more mysterious experiences. He would not sacrifice to them, as others have often sacrificed, the higher life of activity, love, prudence. He could not explain them to himself. "In the body or out of the body" he could not tell, but the outer world of perception had passed away, and he had passed in spirit into "paradise," into "the third heaven," and had heard "unspeakable words" (2 Cor. xii. 1-4). Those trances too, we may believe, were not without their share in fashioning his character and life, though no special truth came distinctly out of them. United as they then were, but as they have seldom been since, with clear perceptions of the truth of God, with love wonderful in its depth and tenderness, with energy unrelaxing, and subtle tact almost passing into "guile," they made him what he was, the leader of the Apostolic band, emphatically the "master builder" of the Church of God (comp. Jowett, *Fragment on the Character of St. Paul*). [E. H. P.]

TRESPASS-OFFERING. [SIN-OFFERING.]

TRIAL. Information on the subject of trials under the Jewish law will be found in the articles on JUDGES and SANHEDRIM, and also in JESUS CHRIST. A few remarks, however, may here be added on judicial proceedings mentioned in Scripture, especially such as were conducted before foreigners.

(1.) The trial of our Lord before Pilate was, in a legal sense, a trial for the offence *laesae majestatis*; one which, under the Julian Law, following out that of the Twelve Tables, would be punishable with death (Luke xxiii. 2, 38; John xix. 12, 15; Dig. iv. 1, 3).

(2.) The trials of the Apostles, of St. Stephen, and of St. Paul before the high-priest, were conducted according to Jewish rules (Acts iv., v. 27, vi. 12, xxii. 30, xxiii. 1).

(3.) The trial, if it may be so called, of St. Paul and Silas at Philippi, was held before the *duumviri*, or, as they are called, *στρατηγολί*, praeters, on the

charge of innovation in religion—a crime punishable with banishment or death (Acts xvi. 19, 22; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Colonia," p. 318; Conybeare and Howson, i. 345, 355, 356).

(4.) The interrupted trial of St. Paul before the pro-consul Gallio, was an attempt made by the Jews to establish a charge of the same kind (Acts xviii. 12-17; Conybeare and Howson, i. 492-496).

(5.) The trials of St. Paul at Caesarea (Acts xxiv., xxv., xxvi.) were conducted according to Roman rules of judicature, of which the procurators Felix and Festus were the recognised administrators. (a.) In the first of these, before Felix, we observe the employment, by the plaintiffs, of a Roman advocate to plead in Latin. [ORATOR.] (b.) The postponement (*ampliatio*) of the trial after St. Paul's reply (*Dict. of Antiq.* "Judex," p. 647). (c.) The free custody in which the accused was kept, pending the decision of the judge (Acts xxiv. 23-26). The second formal trial, before Festus, was, probably, conducted in the same manner as the former one before Felix (Acts xxv. 7, 8), but it presents two new features: (a.) the appeal, *appellatio* or *provocatio*, to Caesar, by St. Paul as a Roman citizen. The right of appeal ad populum, or to the tribunes, became, under the Empire, transferred to the emperor, and, as a citizen, St. Paul availed himself of the right to which he was entitled, even in the case of a provincial governor. The effect of the appeal was to remove the case at once to the jurisdiction of the emperor (Conybeare and Howson, ii. 360; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Appellatio," p. 107; Dig. xlix. 1, 4). (b.) The conference of the procurator with "the council" (Acts xxv. 12). This council is usually explained to have consisted of the assessors, who sat on the bench with the praetor as *consilarii* (Suet. *Tib.* 33; *Dict. of Antiq.* "Assessor," p. 143; Grotius, *On Acts* xxv.; Conybeare and Howson, ii. 358, 361). But besides the absence of any previous mention of any assessors (see below), the mode of expression *συλλαλήσας μετὰ τοῦ συμβουλίου* seems to admit the explanation of conference with the deputies from the Sanhedrim (*τὸ συμβ.*). St. Paul's appeal would probably be in the Latin language, and would require explanation on the part of the judge to the deputation of accusers, before he carried into effect the inevitable result of the appeal, viz. the dismissal of the case so far as they were concerned.

(6.) We have, lastly, the mention (Acts xix. 38) of a judicial assembly which held its session at Ephesus, in which occur the terms *ἀγοραῖοι* (*i. e.* *ἡμέραι*) *ἔγονται*, and *ἀνθύπατοι*. The former denotes the assembly, then sitting, of provincial citizens forming the *conventus*, out of which the proconsul, *ἀνθύπατος*, selected "judices" to sit as his assessors. The *ἀνθύπατοι* would thus be the judicial tribunal composed of the proconsul and his assessors. In the former case, at Caesarea, it is difficult to imagine that there could be any *conventus* and any provincial assessors. There would be the Roman officials attached to the procurator; but in Proconsular Asia such assemblies are well known to have existed (*Dict. of Antiq.* "Provincia," pp. 965, 966, 967).

Early Christian practice discouraged resort to heathen tribunals in civil matters (1 Cor. vi. 1).

TRIBUTE (*τὰ δίδραχμα*, *didrachma*, Matt. xvii. 24; *κῆνσος*, *census*, ib. 25).

(1.) The chief Biblical facts connected with the

payment of tribute have been already given under TAXES. A few remain to be added in connexion with the word which in the above passage is thus rendered, inaccurately enough, in the A. V. The payment of the half-shekel (= half-stater = two drachmae) was (as has been said) [TAXES], though resting on an ancient precedent (Ex. xxx. 13), yet, in its character as a fixed annual rate, of late origin. It was proclaimed according to Rabbinic rules, on the first of Adar, began to be collected on the 15th, and was due, at latest, on the first of Nisan (Mishna, *Shekalim*, i. f. 7; Surenhusius, pp. 260, 261). It was applied to defray the general expenses of the Temple, the morning and evening sacrifice, the incense, wood, shew-bread, the red heifers, the scape-goat, &c. (*Shekal. l. c.* in Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. xvii. 24). After the destruction of the Temple it was sequestered by Vespasian and his successors, and transferred to the Temple of the Capitoline Jupiter (Joseph. *B. J.* vii. 6, §6).

(2.) The explanation thus given of the "tribute" of Matt. xvii. 24, is beyond all doubt, the true one. To suppose with Chrysostom, Augustine, Maldonatus, and others, that it was the same as the tribute (*κῆνσος*) paid to the Roman emperor (Matt. xxii. 17), is at variance with the distinct statements of Josephus and the Mishna, and takes away the whole significance of our Lord's words. It may be questioned, however, whether the full significance of those words is adequately brought out in the popular interpretation of them. As explained by most commentators, they are simply an assertion by our Lord of His divine Sonship, an implied rebuke of Peter for forgetting the truth which he had so recently confessed (comp. Wordsworth, Alford, and others): "Then are the children (*υἱοί*) free;" Thou hast owned me as the Son of the Living God, the Son of the Great King, of the Lord of the Temple, in whose honour men pay the Temple-tribute; why, forgetting this, dost thou so hastily make answer as if I were an alien and a stranger? True as this exegesis is in part, it fails to account for some striking facts. (1.) The plural, not the singular is used—"then are the children free." The words imply a class of "sons" as contrasted with a class of aliens. (2.) The words of our Lord here must be interpreted by his language elsewhere. The "sons of the kingdom" are, as in the Hebrew speech of the O. T., those who belong to it, in the Apostolic language "heirs of the kingdom" (Matt. viii. 12, xiii. 38; Jam. ii. 5; Rom. viii. 17), "sons of God," "children of their Father in Heaven." (3.) The words that follow, "Give unto them for me and thee," place the disciple as standing, at least in some degree, on the same ground as his Master. The principle involved in the words "then are the children free" extends to him also. Payment is made for both, not on different, but on the same grounds.

(3.) A fuller knowledge of the facts of the case may help us to escape out of the trite routine of commentators, and to rise to the higher and broader truth implied in our Lord's teaching. The Temple-rate, as above stated, was of comparatively late origin. The question whether the costs of the morning and evening sacrifice ought to be defrayed by such a fixed compulsory payment, or left to the free-will offerings of the people, had been a contested point between the Pharisees and Sadducees, and the former had carried the day after a long struggle and debate, lasting from the 1st to the

8th day of Nisan. So great was the triumph in the eyes of the whole party, that they kept the anniversary as a kind of half festival. The Temple-rate question was to them what the Church-rate question has been to later Conservatives (Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums*, i. 218). We have to remember this when we come to the narrative of St. Matthew. In a hundred different ways, on the questions of the Sabbath, of fasting, of unwashed hands and the like, the teaching of our Lord had been in direct antagonism to that of the Pharisees. The collectors of the rate, probably, from the nature of their functions, adherents of the Pharisee party, now come, half-expecting opposition on this point also. Their words imply that he had not as yet paid the rate for the current year. His life of constant wandering, without a home, might seem like an evasion of it. They ask tauntingly, "Will he side, on this point, with their Sadducee opponents and refuse to pay it altogether?" The answer of Peter is that of a man who looks on the payment as most other Jews looked on it. With no thought of any higher principle, of any deeper truth, he answers at once, "His Master will of course pay what no other religious Israelite would refuse." The words of his Lord led him to the truth of which the Pharisees were losing sight. The offerings of the children of the kingdom should be free, and not compulsory. The Sanhedrim, by making the Temple-offering a fixed annual tax, collecting it as men collected tribute to Caesar, were lowering, not raising the religious condition and character of the people. They were placing every Israelite on the footing of a "stranger," not on that of a "son." The true principle for all such offerings was that which St. Paul afterwards asserted, following in his Master's footsteps, "not grudgingly, or of necessity, for God loveth a cheerful giver." In proportion to the degree in which any man could claim the title of a Son of God, in that proportion was he "free" from this forced exaction. Peter, therefore, ought to have remembered that here at least, was one who, by his own confession as the Son of the Living God, was *ipso facto* exempted.

(4.) The interpretation which has now been given leads us to see, in these words, a precept as wide and far-reaching as the yet more memorable one, "Render unto Caesar the things that be Caesar's, and unto God the things that be God's." They condemn, instead of sanctioning, the compulsory payments which human policy has so often substituted for the "cheerful gifts" which alone God loves. But the words which follow condemn also the perversity which leads men to a spurious martyrdom in resisting such payments. "Lest we should offend them . . . give unto them for me and thee." It is better to comply with the payment than to startle the weak brethren, or run counter to feelings that deserve respect, or lay an undue stress on a matter of little moment. In such quarrels, paradoxical as it may seem, both parties are equally in the wrong. If the quarrel is to find a solution, it must be by a mutual acknowledgment that both have been mistaken.

(5.) It is satisfactory to find that some interpreters at least, have drawn near to the true meaning of one of the most characteristic and pregnant sayings in the whole cycle of our Lord's teaching. Augustine (*Quaestiones Evangel. lxxv.*), though missing the main point, saw that what was true of the Lord and of Peter was true of all ("Salvator autem, cum pro se et Petro dari jubet, pro omnibus

exsolvisse videtur"). Jerome (*ad loc.*) sees in the words, a principle extending in some form or other, to all believers ("Nos pro illius honore tributa non reddimus, et quasi filii Regis a vectigalibus immunes sumus"), though his words claim an exemption which if true at times of the Christian clergy, has never been extended to the body of Christian laity. Calvin, though adhering to the common explanation, is apparently determined chiefly by his dislike of the inferences drawn from the other explanation by Papists on the one side, and Anabaptists on the other, as claiming an exemption from obedience in matters of taxation to the civil magistrate. Luther (*Annot. in Matt. xvii.*) more boldly, while dwelling chiefly on the friendly pleasantry which the story represents as passing between the master and the disciple,* seizes, with his usual acuteness, the true point. "Qui fit (this is his paraphrase of the words of Christ) mi Petre, ut a te petant, cum sis Regis filius. . . . Vade et scito nos esse in alio regno reges et filios regis. Sinito illis suum regnum, in quo sumus hospites. . . . Filii regni sumus, sed non hujus regni mundani." Tindal (*Marg. Note on Matt. xvii. 26*) in like manner, extends the principle, "So is a Christian man free in all things . . . yet payeth he tribute, and submitteth himself to all men for his brother's sake." [E. H. P.]

TRIBUTE-MONEY. [TAXES; TRIBUTE.]

TRIP'OLIS (ἡ Τρίπολις). The Greek name of a city of great commercial importance, which served at one time as a point of federal union for Aradus, Sidon, and Tyre. What its Phoenician name was is unknown; but it seems not impossible that it was Kadytis, and that this was really the place captured by Neco of which Herodotus speaks (ii. 159, iii. 5). Kadytis is the Greek form of the Syrian *Kedutha*, "the holy," a name of which a relic still seems to survive in the *Nahr-Kadish*, a river which runs through *Tarablous*, the modern representative of Tripolis. All ancient federations had for their place of meeting some spot consecrated to a common deity, and just to the south of Tripolis was a promontory which went by the name of Θεοῦ πρόσωπον. [PENIEL, p. 768, a.]

It was at Tripolis that, in the year 351 B. C., the plan was concocted for the simultaneous revolt of the Phoenician cities and the Persian dependencies in Cyprus against the Persian king Ochus. Although aided by a league with Nectanebus king of Egypt, this attempt failed, and in the sequel great part of Sidon was burnt and the chief citizens destroyed. Perhaps the importance of Tripolis was increased by this misfortune of its neighbour, for soon after, when Alexander invaded Asia, it appears as a port of the first order. After the battle of Issus some of the Greek officers in Darius's service retreated thither, and not only found ships enough to carry themselves and 8000 soldiers away, but a number over and above, which they burnt in order to preclude the victor from an immediate pursuit of them (Arrian, ii. 13). The destruction of Tyre by Alexander, like that of Sidon by Ochus, would naturally tend rather to increase than diminish the importance of Tripolis as a commercial port. When Demetrius Soter, the son of Seleucus, succeeded in wresting Syria from the young son of Antiochus (B. C. 161), he landed there and made the place the base of his operations. It is this circumstance to

* "Es muss ja ein fehn, freundlich, lieblich Gesellschaft rein gewest *inter Christum et discipulos suos.*"

which allusion is made in the only passage in which Tripolis is mentioned in the Bible (2 Macc. xiv. 1). The prosperity of the city, so far as appears, continued down to the middle of the 6th century of the Christian era. Dionysius Periegetes applies to it the epithet λιπαρὴν in the 3rd century. In the Peutinger Table (which probably was compiled in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius) it appears on the great road along the coast of Phoenicia; and at Orthosia (the next station to it northwards) the roads which led respectively into Mesopotamia and Cilicia branched off from one another. The possession of a good harbour in so important a point for land-traffic, doubtless combined with the richness of the neighbouring mountains in determining the original choice of the site, which seems to have been a factory for the purposes of trade established by the three great Phoenician cities. Each of these held a portion of Tripolis surrounded by a fortified wall, like the Western nations at the Chinese ports. But in A. D. 543 it was laid in ruins by the terrible earthquake which happened in the month of July of that year, and overthrew Tyre, Sidon, Berytus, and Byblus as well. On this occasion the appearance of the coast was much altered. A large portion of the promontory Theuprosopon (which in the Christian times had its name, from motives of piety, changed to Lithoprosopon) fell into the sea, and, by the natural breakwater it constituted, created a new port, able to contain a considerable number of large vessels. The ancient Tripolis was finally destroyed by the Sultan El Mansour in the year 1289 A. D.; and the modern *Tarablous* is situated a couple of miles distant to the east, and is no longer a port. *El Myna*, which is perhaps on the site of the ancient Tripolis, is a small fishing village. *Tarablous* contains a population of 15 or 16,000 inhabitants, and is the centre of one of the four pashalics of Syria. It exports silk, tobacco, galls, and oil, grown in the lower parts of the mountain at the foot of which it stands; and performs, on a smaller scale, the part which was formerly taken by Tripolis as the entrepôt for the productions of a most fertile region (Diod. Sic. xvi. 41; Strabo, vi. c. 2; Vossius ad Melam, i. 12; Theophanes, *Chronographia, sub anno 6043*). [J. W. B.]

TRO'AS (Τρωάς). The city from which St. Paul first sailed, in consequence of a divine intimation, to carry the Gospel from Asia to Europe (Acts xvi. 8, 11)—where he rested for a short time on the northward road from Ephesus (during the next missionary journey) in the expectation of meeting Titus (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13)—where on the return southwards (during the same missionary journey) he met those who had preceded him from Philippi (Acts xx. 5, 6), and remained a week, the close of which (before the journey to Assos) was marked by the raising of Eutychus from the dead during the protracted midnight discourse—and where, after an interval of many years, the Apostle left (during a journey the details of which are unknown) a cloak and some books and parchments in the house of Carpus (2 Tim. iv. 13)—deserves the careful attention of the student of the New Testament.

The full name of the city was *Alexandria Troas* (Liv. xxxv. 42), and sometimes it was called simply *Alexandria*, as by Pliny (*H. N. v. 33*) and Strabo (xiii. p. 593), sometimes simply *Troas* (as in the N. T. and the *Ant. Itin.* See Wesseling, p. 334). The former part of the name indicates the period at which it was founded. It was first built by Antigonos, under the name of *Antigoneia Troas*

and peopled with the inhabitants of some neighbouring cities. Afterwards it was embellished by Lysimachus, and named Alexandria Troas. Its situation was on the coast of MYSIA, opposite the S.E. extremity of the island of Tenedos.

Under the Romans it was one of the most important towns of the province of ASIA. It was the chief point of arrival and departure for those who went by sea between Macedonia and the western Asiatic districts; and it was connected by good roads with other places on the coast and in the interior. For the latter see the map in Leake's *Asia Minor*. The former cannot be better illustrated than by St. Paul's two voyages between Troas and Philippi (Acts xvi. 11, 12, xx. 6), one of which was accomplished in two days, the other in five. At this time Alexandria Troas was a *colonia* with the *Jus Italicum*. This strong Roman connexion can be read on its coins. The Romans had a peculiar feeling connected with the place, in consequence of the legend of their origin from Troy. Suetonius tells us that Julius Caesar had a plan of making Troas the seat of empire (*Caes.* 79). It may perhaps be inferred from the words of Horace (*Carm.* iii. 3, 57) that Augustus had some such dreams. And even the modern name *Eski-Stamboul* (or "Old Constantinople") seems to commemorate the thought which was once in Constantine's mind (*Zosim.* ii. 30; *Zonar.* xiii. 3), who, to use Gibbon's words, "before he gave a just preference to the situation of Byzantium, had conceived the design of erecting the seat of empire on this celebrated spot, from which the Romans derived their fabulous origin."

The ruins at *Eski-Stamboul* are considerable. The most conspicuous, however, especially the remains of the aqueduct of Herodes Atticus, did not exist when St. Paul was there. The walls, which may represent the extent of the city in the Apostle's time, enclose a rectangular space, extending above a mile from east to west, and nearly a mile from north to south. That which possesses most interest for us is the harbour, which is still distinctly traceable in a basin about 400 feet long and 200 broad. Descriptions in greater or less detail are given by Poccoke, Chandler, Hunt (in Walpole's *Memoirs*), Clarke, Prokesch, and Fellows. [J. S. H.]

TROGYLLIUM [see SAMOS]. Samos is exactly opposite the rocky extremity of the ridge of Mycale, which is called *Τρωγύλλιον* in the N. T. (Acts xx. 15) and by Ptolemy (v. 2), and *Τρωγύλιον* by Strabo (xiv. p. 636). The channel is extremely narrow. Strabo (*l. c.*) makes it about a mile broad, and this is confirmed by our Admiralty Charts (1530 and 1555). St. Paul sailed through this channel on his way to Jerusalem at the close of his third missionary journey (Acts, *l. c.*). The navigation of this coast is intricate; and it can be gathered from Acts xx. 6, with subsequent notices of dark moon. Thus the night was spent at Trogyllium. It is interesting to observe that a little to the east of the extreme point there is an anchorage, which is still called *St. Paul's Port*. [J. S. H.]

TROOP, BAND. These words have a peculiar

signification in many passages of the O. T., which is apt to be overlooked, and the knowledge of which throws a brighter light upon them. They are employed to represent the Hebrew word *גִּדּוּד*, *gédúð*, which has invariably the force of an irregular body of people, large or small, united not for the purpose of defence or regular aggression, like an army, but with the object of marauding and plunder. [See MOAB, vol. ii. 395, note, where the term *gédúð* is examined.] In addition to the instances of its use there named, it may be observed that our translators have in a few cases tried to bring out its meaning more strongly; as in 1 Chr. xii. 21, "band-of-the-rovers;" Hos. vi. 9, and vii. 1, "troop-of-robbers." [G.]

TROPHIMUS (*Τρόφιμος*). Of the three passages where this companion of St. Paul is mentioned, the first associates him very closely with TYCHICUS (Acts xx. 4), and the last seems in some degree to renew the association, and in reference to the same geographical district (2 Tim. iv. 20; see ver. 12), while the intermediate one separates him entirely from this connexion (Acts xxi. 29).

From the first of these passages we learn that Tychicus, like Trophimus, was a native of ASIA (*Ἀσιανοί*), and that the two were among those companions who travelled with the Apostle in the course of the third missionary journey, and during part of the route which he took in returning from Macedonia towards Syria. From what we know concerning the collection which was going on at this time for the poor Christians in Judaea, we are disposed to connect these two men with the business of that contribution. This, as we shall see, suggests a probable connexion of Trophimus with another circumstance.

Both he and Tychicus accompanied St. Paul from Macedonia as far as Asia (*ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας l. c.*), but Tychicus seems to have remained there while Trophimus proceeded with the Apostle to Jerusalem. There he was the innocent cause of the tumult in which St. Paul was apprehended, and from which the voyage to Rome ultimately resulted. Certain Jews from the district of Asia saw the two Christian missionaries together, and supposed that Paul had taken Trophimus into the Temple (Acts xxi. 27-29). From this passage we learn two new facts, viz. that Trophimus was a Gentile, and that he was a native, not simply of Asia, but of EPHESUS.

A considerable interval now elapses, during which we have no trace of either Tychicus or Trophimus; but in the last letter written by St. Paul, shortly before his martyrdom, from Rome, he mentions them both (*Τυχικὸν ἀπέστειλα εἰς Ἐφεσον*, 2 Tim. iv. 12; *Τρόφιμον ἀπέλιπον ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἀσθενοῦντα*, ib. 20). From the last of the phrases we gather simply that the Apostle had no long time before been in the Levant, that Trophimus had been with him, and that he had been left in infirm health at Miletus. Of the further details we are ignorant; but this we may say here, that while there would be considerable difficulty in accommodating this passage to any part of the recorded narrative previous to the voyage to Rome,* all difficulty vanishes on the supposition of two im-

of Asia Minor to the E. end of Crete (Acts xxvii. 7). We may add, that when Trophimus was left in sickness at Miletus, whenever that might be, he was within easy reach of his home-friends at Ephesus, as we see from Acts xx. 17

* Trophimus was no doubt at Miletus on the occasion recorded in Acts xx. 15-38, but it is most certain that he was not left there. The theory also that he was left there on the voyage to Rome is preposterous; for the wind forced St. Paul's vessel to run direct from the S.W. corner

prisonments, and a journey in the Levant between them.

What was alluded to above as probable, is that Trophimus was one of the two brethren who, with Titus, conveyed the 2nd Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. viii. 16-24). The argument is so well stated by Professor Stanley, that we give it in his words:—"Trophimus was, like Titus, one of the few Gentiles who accompanied the Apostle; an Ephesian, and therefore likely to have been sent by the Apostle from Ephesus with the First Epistle, or to have accompanied him from Ephesus now; he was, as is implied of 'this brother,' whose praise was in all the Churches, well known; so well known that the Jews of Asia [Minor?] at Jerusalem immediately recognised him; he was also especially connected with the Apostle on this very mission of the collection for the poor in Judaea. Thus far would appear from the description of him in Acts xxi. 29. From Acts xx. 4 it also appears that he was with St. Paul on his return from this very visit to Corinth" (Stanley's *Corinthians*, 2nd edit. p. 492).

The story in the Greek Menology that Trophimus was one of the seventy disciples is evidently wrong; the legend that he was beheaded by Nero's orders is possibly true. [J. S. H.]

TRUMPET. [CORNET.]

TRUMPETS, FEAST OF (יום תְּרוּעָה), Num. xxix. 1; *ἡμέρα σημασίας*; *dies clangoris et tubarum*; זְכֵרֹן תְּרוּעָה, Lev. xxiii. 24; *μνημόσυνον σαλπίγγων*; *sabbatum memoriale clangentibus tubis*: in the Mishna, ראש השנה "the beginning of the year"), the feast of the new moon, which fell on the first of Tizri. It differed from the ordinary festivals of the new moon in several important particulars. It was one of the seven days of Holy Convocation. [FEASTS.] Instead of the mere blowing of the trumpets of the Temple at the time of the offering of the sacrifices, it was "a day of blowing of trumpets." In addition to the daily sacrifices and the eleven victims offered on the first of every month [NEW MOON], there were offered a young bullock, a ram, and seven lambs of the first year, with the accustomed meat offerings, and a kid for a sin offering (Num. xxix. 1-6). The regular monthly offering was thus repeated, with the exception of one young bullock.

It is said that both kinds of trumpet were blown in the temple on this day, the straight trumpet (חֲצֻצְרָה) and the cornet (שׁוֹפָר and קֶרֶן), and that elsewhere any one, even a child, might blow a cornet (Reland, iv. 7, 2; Carpzov, p. 425; *Rosh Hash. i. 2*; JUBILEE, p. 1149, note c; CORNET). When the festival fell upon a Sabbath, the trumpets were blown in the Temple, but not out of it (*Rosh Hash. iv. 1*).

It has been conjectured that Ps. lxxxi., one of the songs of Asaph, was composed expressly for the Feast of Trumpets. The Psalm is used in the service for the day by the modern Jews. As the third verse is rendered in the LXX., the Vulgate, and the A.V., this would seem highly probable—"Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, the time appointed, on our solemn feast day." But the best authorities understand the word translated *new moon* (כֶּסֶף) to mean *full moon*. Hence the Psalm would more properly belong to the service for one of the festivals which take place at the full moon,

the Passover, or the Feast of Tabernacles (Ges. *Thes. s. v.*; Rosenmüller and Hengstenberg on Ps. lxxxi.)

Various meanings have been assigned to the Feast of Trumpets. Maimonides considered that its purpose was to awaken the people from their spiritual slumber to prepare for the solemn humiliation of the Day of Atonement, which followed it within ten days. This may receive some countenance from Joel ii. 15, "Blow the trumpet (שׁוֹפָר) in Zion, sanctify a fast, call a solemn assembly." Some have supposed that it was intended to introduce the seventh or Sabbatical month of the year, which was especially holy because it was the seventh, and because it contained the Day of Atonement and the Feast of Tabernacles (Fagius in *Lev. xxiii. 24*; Buxt. *Syn. Jud. c. xxiv.*). Philo and some early Christian writers regarded it as a memorial of the giving of the Law on Sinai (Philo, vol. v. p. 46, ed. Tauch.; Basil, in *Ps. lxxxi.*; Theod. *Quaest. xxxii. in Lev.*). But there seems to be no sufficient reason to call in question the common opinion of Jews and Christians, that it was the festival of the New Year's Day of the civil year, the first of Tizri, the month which commenced the Sabbatical year and the year of Jubilee. [JUBILEE, p. 1152.] If the New Moon Festival was taken as the consecration of a natural division of time, the month in which the earth yielded the last ripe produce of the season, and began again to foster seed for the supply of the future, might well be regarded as the first month of the year. The fact that Tizri was the great month for sowing might thus easily have suggested the thought of commemorating on this day the finished work of Creation, when the sons of God shouted for joy (Job xxxviii. 7). The Feast of Trumpets thus came to be regarded as the anniversary of the birthday of the world (Mishna, *Rosh Hash. i. 1*; Hupfeld, *De Fest. Heb. ii. p. 13*; Buxt. *Syn. Jud. c. xxiv.*).

It was an odd fancy of the Rabbis that on this day, every year, God judges all men, and that they pass before Him as a flock of sheep pass before a shepherd (*Rosh Hash. i. 2*). [S. C.]

TRYPHENA and TRYPHOSA (Τρύφαινα και Τρυφώσα). Two Christian women at Rome, who, among those that are enumerated in the conclusion of St. Paul's letter to that city, receive a special salutation, and on the special ground that they are engaged there in "labouring in the Lord" (Rom. xvi. 12). They may have been sisters, but it is more likely that they were fellow-deaconesses, and among the predecessors of that large number of official women who ministered in the Church of Rome at a later period (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl. vi. 43*); for it is to be observed that they are spoken of as at that time occupied in Christian service (τῆς κοπιώσας), while the salutation to Persis, in the same verse, is connected with past service (ἔκοπίασεν).

We know nothing more of these two sister-workers of the Apostolic time; but the name of one of them occurs curiously, with other names familiar to us in St. Paul's Epistles, in the Apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. There Tryphena appears as a rich Christian widow of Antioch, who gives Thecla a refuge in her house, and sends money to Paul for the relief of the poor. (See Jones, *On the Canon*, ii. 371, 380.) It is impossible to discern any trace of probability in the part of the legend.

It is an interesting fact that the columbaria of "Caesar's household" in the *Vigna Codini*, near *Porta S. Sebastiano*, contain the name Tryphena, as well as other names mentioned in this chapter, Philologus and Julia (ver. 15), and also Amplias (ver. 8).—Wordsworth's *Tour in Italy* (1862), p. 173. [J. S. H.]

TRYPHON (Τρύφων). A usurper of the Syrian throne. His proper name was Diodotus (Strab. xvi. 2, 10; App. *Syr.* 68), and the surname Tryphon was given to him, or, according to Appian, adopted by him, after his accession to power. He was a native of Cariana, a fortified place in the district of Apamea, where he was brought up (Strab. *l. c.*). In the time of Alexander Balas he was attached to the court (App. *l. c.* δούλος τῶν βασιλέων; Diod. *fr.* xxi. ap. Müll. *Hist. Gr. fragm.* ii. 17, στρατηγός; 1 Macc. xi. 39, τῶν παρὰ Ἀλεξ.); but towards the close of his reign he seems to have joined in the conspiracy which was set on foot to transfer the crown of Syria to Ptol. Philometor (1 Macc. xi. 13; Diod. *l. c.*). After the death of Alexander Balas he took advantage of the unpopularity of Demetrius II. to put forward the claims of Antiochus VI., the young son of Alexander (1 Macc. xi. 39; B.C. 145). After a time he obtained the support of Jonathan, who had been alienated from Demetrius by his ingratitude, and the young king was crowned (B.C. 144). Tryphon, however, soon revealed his real designs on the kingdom, and, fearing the opposition of Jonathan, he gained possession of his person by treachery (1 Macc. xii. 39-50), and after a short time put him to death (1 Macc. xiii. 23). As the way seemed now clear, he murdered Antiochus and seized the supreme power (1 Macc. xiii. 31, 32), which he exercised, as far as he was able, with violence and rapacity (1 Macc. xiii. 34). His tyranny again encouraged the hopes of Demetrius, who was engaged in preparing an expedition against him (B.C. 141), when he was taken prisoner (1 Macc. xiv. 1-3), and Tryphon retained the throne (Just. xxxvi. 1; Diod. *Leg.* xxxi.) till Antiochus VII., the brother of Demetrius, drove him to Dora, from which he escaped to Orthosia in Phoenicia (1 Macc. xv. 10-14, 37-39; B.C. 139). Not long afterwards, being hard pressed by Antiochus, he committed suicide, or, according to other accounts, was put to death by Antiochus (Strab. xiv. 5, 2; App. *Syr.* 68, Ἀντίοχος—κτείνει. . . σὺν πόνῳ πολλῷ). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 7, §2) adds that he was killed at Apamea, the place which he made his head-quarters (Strab. xvi. 2, 10). The authority of Tryphon was evidently very partial, as appears from the growth of Jewish independence under Simon Maccabaeus; and Strabo describes him as one of the chief authors of Cilician piracy (xiv. 3, 2). His name occurs on the coins of ANTIUCHUS VI. [vol. i. p. 77], and he also struck coins in his own name. [ANTIUCHUS; DEMETRIUS.] [B. F. W.]



Coin of Tryphon.

TRYPHO'SA. [TRYPHENA and TRYPHOSA.]

TU'BAL (תּוּבַל; תּוּבַל in Gen. x. 2, Ez. xxxii.

26, xxxix. 1: Θοβέλ, except in Ez. xxxix. 1, where Alex. Θοβέρ: *Thubal*, but in Is. lxvi. 19, *Itaha*). In the ancient ethnological tables of Genesis and 1 Chr., Tubal is reckoned with Javan and Meshech among the sons of Japheth (Gen. x. 2; 1 Chr. i. 5). The three are again associated in the enumeration of the sources of the wealth of Tyre; Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, brought slaves and copper vessels to the Phoenician markets (Ez. xxvii. 13). Tubal and Javan (Is. lxvi. 19), Meshech and Tubal (Ez. xxxii. 26, xxxviii. 2, 3, xxxix. 1), are nations of the north (Ez. xxxviii. 15, xxxix. 2). Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6, §1) identifies the descendants of Tubal with the Iberians, that is—not, as Jerome would understand it, Spaniards, but—the inhabitants of a tract of country, between the Caspian and Euxine Seas, which nearly corresponded to the modern Georgia.* This approximates to the view of Bochart (*Phaleg*, iii. 12), who makes the Moschi and Tibareni represent Meshech and Tubal. These two Colchian tribes are mentioned together in Herodotus on two occasions; first, as forming part of the 19th satrapy of the Persian empire (iii. 94), and again as being in the army of Xerxes under the command of Ariomardus the son of Darius (vii. 78). The Moschi and Tibareni, moreover, are "constantly associated, under the names of *Muschi* and *Tuplai*, in the Assyrian inscriptions" (Sir H. Rawlinson in Rawlinson's *Her.* i. p. 535). The Tibareni are said by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (ii. 1010) to have been a Scythian tribe, and they as well as the Moschi are probably to be referred to that Turanian people, who in very early times spread themselves over the entire region between the Mediterranean and India, the Persian Gulf and the Caucasus (Rawlinson, *Her.* i. p. 535). In the time of Sargon, according to the inscriptions, Ambris, the son of Khuliya, was hereditary chief of Tubal (the southern slopes of Taurus). He "had cultivated relations with the kings of Musak and Vararat (Meshech and Ararat, or the Moschi and Armenia) who were in revolt against Assyria, and thus drew upon himself the hostility of the great king" (ibid. i. p. 169, note³). In former times the Tibareni were probably more important, and the Mocchi and Tibareni, Meshech and Tubal, may have been names by which powerful hordes of Scythians were known to the Hebrews. But in history we only hear of them as pushed to the furthest limits of their ancient settlements, and occupying merely a strip of coast along the Euxine. Their neighbours the Chaldeans were in the same condition. In the time of Herodotus the Moschi and Tibareni were even more closely connected than at a later period, for in Xenophon we find them separated by the Macrones and Mossynoeci (*Anab.* v. 5, §1; Plin. vi. 4, &c.). The limits of the territory of the Tibareni are extremely difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy. After a part of the 10,000 Greeks on their retreat with Xenophon had embarked at Cerasus (perhaps near the modern *Kerasoun Dere Sú*), the rest marched along the coast, and soon came to the boundaries of the Mossynoeci (*Anab.* v. 4, §2). They traversed the country occupied by this people in eight days and then came to the Chalybes, and after them to

widely-spread Turanian family, known to the Hebrews as Tubal (*Völkertafel d. Gen.* §13).

* Knobel connects these Iberians of the East and West, and considers the Tibareni to have been a branch of this

the Tibareni. The eastern limit of the Tibareni was therefore about 80 or 90 miles along the coast W. of Cerasus. Two days' march through Tibarene brought the Greeks to Cotyora (*Anab.* v. 5, §3), and they were altogether three days in passing through the country (Diod. Sic. xiv. 30). Now from C. Jasonium to Boon, according to Arrian (*Perip.* 16), the distance was 90 stadia, 90 more to Cotyora, and 60 from Cotyora to the river Melanthius, making in all a coast line of 240 stadia, or three days' march. Professor Rawlinson (*Her.* iv. 181) conjectures that the Tibareni occupied the coast between Cape *Yasoun* (Jasonium) and the River Melanthius (*Melet Irmak*), but if we follow Xenophon, we must place Boon as their western boundary, one day's march from Cotyora, and their eastern limit must be sought some 10 miles east of the *Melet Irmak*, perhaps not far from the modern *Aptar*, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours from that river. The anonymous author of the *Periplus* of the Euxine says (33) that the Tibareni formerly dwelt west of Cotyora as far as Polemonium, at the mouth of the *Pouleman chai*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile east of *Fatsáh*.

In the time of Xenophon the Tibareni were an independent tribe (*Anab.* vii. 8, §25). Long before this they were subject to a number of petty chiefs, which was a principal element of their weakness, and rendered their subjugation by Assyria more easy. Dr. Hincks (quoted by Rawlinson, *Herod.* i. 380, note 1) has found as many as twenty-four kings of the *Tuplai* mentioned in the inscriptions. They are said by Apollonius Rhodius to have been rich in flocks (*Arg.* ii. 377). The traffic in slaves and vessels of copper with which the people of Tubal supplied the markets of Tyre (*Ez.* xxvii. 13) still further connects them with the Tibareni. It is well known that the regions bordering on the Pontus Euxinus furnished the most beautiful slaves, and that the slave traffic was an extensive branch of trade among the Cappadocians (Polyb. iv. 38, §4; *Hor. Ep.* i. 6, 39; *Pers. Sat.* vi. 77; *Mart. Ep.* vi. 77, x. 76, &c.). The copper of the Mosynoeci, the neighbours of the Tibareni, was celebrated as being extremely bright, and without any admixture of tin (*Arist. De Mir. Auscult.* 62); and the Chalybes, who lived between these tribes, were long famous for their craft as metal-smiths. We must not forget, too, the copper-mines of Chalvar in Armenia (Hamilton, *As. Min.* i. 173).

The Arabic Version of Gen. x. 2 gives Chorasán and China for Meshech and Tubal; in Eusebius (see Bochart) they are Illyria and Thessaly. The Talmudists (*Yoma*, fol. 10, 2), according to Bochart, define Tubal as "the home of the *Uniaci* (אוניקי), whom he is inclined to identify with the Huns (*Phaleg*, iii. 12). They may perhaps take their name from Oenoe, the modern *Unieh*, a town on the south coast of the Black Sea, not far from Cape *Yasoun* (Jasonium), and so in the immediate neighbourhood of the Tibareni. In the Targum of R. Joseph on 1 Chr. (ed. Wilkins) נתיני is given as the equivalent of Tubal, and Wilkins renders it by Bithynia. But the reading in this passage, as well as in the Targums of Jerusalem and of Jonathan on Gen. x. is too doubtful to be followed as even a traditional authority.

[W. A. W.]

TUBAL-CA'IN (תובל קין: ὁ ὀβελ: *Tubal-caïn*). The son of Lamech the Cainite by his wife Zillah (*Gen.* iv. 22). He is called "a furbisher of

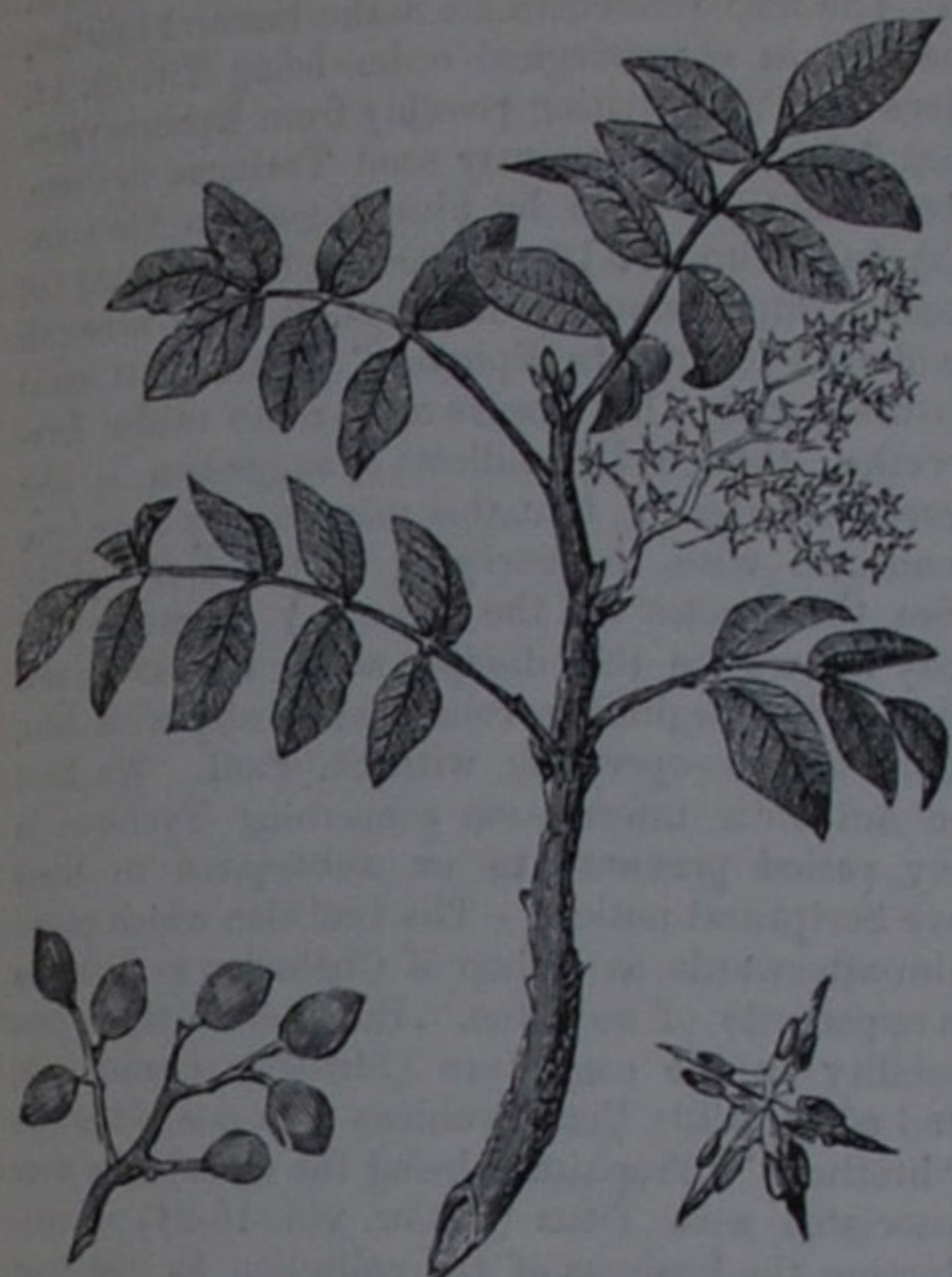
every cutting instrument of copper and iron." The Jewish legend of later times associates him with his father's song. "Lamech was blind," says the story as told by Rashi, "and Tubal-Cain was leading him; and he saw Cain, and he appeared to him like a wild beast, so he told his father to draw his bow, and he slew him. And when he knew that it was Cain his ancestor he smote his hands together and struck his son between them. So he slew him, and his wives withdraw from him, and he conciliates them." In this story Tubal-Cain is the "young man" of the song. Rashi apparently considers the name of Tubal-Cain as an appellative, for he makes him director of the works of Cain for making weapons of war, and connects "Tubal" with תביל, *tabbél*, to season, and so to prepare skillfully. He appears moreover to have pointed it תובל, *tóbél*, which seems to have been the reading of the LXX. and Josephus. According to the writer last mentioned (*Ant.* i. 2, §2), Tubal-Cain was distinguished for his prodigious strength and his success in war.

The derivation of the name is extremely obscure. Hasse (*Entdeckungen*, ii. 37, quoted by Knobel on *Gen.* iv. 22) identifies Tubal-Cain with Vulcan; and Buttmann (*Mythol.* i. 164) not only compares these names, but adds to the comparison the *Τελαχῆρες* of Rhodes, the first workers in copper and iron (*Strabo*, xiv. 654), and Dwalinn, the demon smith of the Scandinavian mythology. Gesenius proposed to consider it a hybrid word, compounded of the Pers. توپال, *tupal*, iron slag, or scoria, and the Arab. قين, *kain*, a smith; but this etymology is more than doubtful. The Scythian race TUBAL, who were coppersmiths (*Ez.* xxvii. 13), naturally suggest themselves in connexion with Tubal-Cain. [W. A. W.]

TUBIE'NI (Τουβιήνοι; Alex. Τουβεινοι: *Tubianaei*). The "Jews called Tubieni" lived about Charax, 750 stadia from a strongly-fortified city called Caspis (2 *Macc.* xii. 17). They were doubtless the same who are elsewhere mentioned as living in the towns of Toubion (A. V. TOBIE), which again is probably the same with the TOB of the Old Testament. [G.]

TURPENTINE-TREE (τερέβινθος, *terebinthos*: *terebinthus*) occurs only once, viz. in the Apocrypha (*Ecclus.* xxiv. 16), where wisdom is compared with the "turpentine-tree that stretcheth forth her branches." The *τερέβινθος* or *τέρεβινθος* of the Greeks is the *Pistacia terebinthus*, terebinth tree, common in Palestine and the East, supposed by some writers to represent the *élah* (אלה) of the Hebrew Bible. [OAK.] The terebinth, though not generally so conspicuous a tree in Palestine as some of the oaks, occasionally grows to a large size. See Robinson (*B. B.* ii. 222, 3), who thus speaks of it: "The Butm" (the Arabic name of the terebinth) "is not an evergreen, as often represented, but its small lancet-shaped leaves fall in the autumn, and are renewed in the spring. The flowers are small, and followed by small oval berries, hanging in clusters from two to five inches long, resembling much those of the vine when the grapes are just set. From incisions in the trunk there is said to flow a sort of transparent balsam, constituting a very pure and fine species of turpentine, with an agreeable odour like citron or jessamine, and a nail

taste, and hardening gradually into a transparent gum. In Palestine nothing seems to be known of this product of the butm!" The terebinth belongs to the Nat. Order *Anacardiaceae*, the plants of which order generally contain resinous secretions. [W. H.]



Pistacia terebinthus.

TURTLE, TURTLE-DOVE (תור, *tôr*: *טורגון*: *turtur*: generally in connexion with *יונה*, *yônâh*, "dove"). [DOVE.] The name is phonetic, evidently derived from the plaintive cooing of the bird. The turtle-dove occurs first in Scripture in Gen. xv. 9, where Abram is commanded to offer it along with other sacrifices, and with a young pigeon (*גוזל*, *gôzâl*). In the Levitical law a pair of turtle-doves, or of young pigeons, are constantly prescribed as a substitute for those who were too poor to provide a lamb or a kid, and these birds were admissible either as trespass, sin, or burnt-offering. In one instance, the case of a Nazarite having been accidentally defiled by a dead body, a pair of turtle-doves or young pigeons were specially enjoined (Num. vi. 10). It was in accordance with the provision in Lev. xii. 6 that the mother of our Lord made the offering for her purification (Luke ii. 24). During the early period of Jewish history, there is no evidence of any other bird except the pigeon having been domesticated, and up to the time of Solomon, who may, with the peacock, have introduced other gallinaceous birds from India, it was probably the only poultry known to the Israelites. To this day enormous quantities of pigeons are kept in dove-cots in all the towns and villages of Palestine, and several of the fancy races so familiar in this country have been traced to be of Syrian origin. The offering of two young pigeons must have been one easily within the reach of the poorest, and the offerer was accepted according to that he had, and not according to that he had not. The admission of a pair of turtle-doves was perhaps a yet further concession to extreme poverty; for, unlike the pigeon, the turtle from its migratory nature and timid disposition, has never yet been kept in a state of free domestication; but being ex-

tremely numerous, and resorting especially to gardens for nidification, its young might easily be found and captured by those who did not even possess pigeons.

It is not improbable that the palm-dove (*Turtur aegyptiacus*, Temm.) may in some measure have supplied the sacrifices in the wilderness, for it is found in amazing numbers wherever the palm-tree occurs, whether wild or cultivated. In most of the oases of North Africa and Arabia every tree is the home of two or three pairs of these tame and elegant birds. In the crown of many of the date-trees five or six nests are placed together; and the writer has frequently, in a palm-grove, brought down ten brace or more without moving from his post. In such camps as Elim a considerable supply of these doves may have been obtained.

From its habit of pairing for life, and its fidelity for its mate, it was a symbol of purity and an appropriate offering (comp. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* x. 52). The regular migration of the turtle-dove and its return in spring are alluded to in Jer. viii. 7, "The turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming;" and Cant. ii. 11, 12, "The winter is past . . . and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land." So Pliny, "Hyeme mutis, a vere vocalibus;" and Arist. *Hist. An.* ix. 8, "Turtle-doves spend the summer in cold countries, the winter in warm ones." Although elsewhere (viii. 5) he makes it hibernate (*φωλεῖ*). There is, indeed, no more grateful proof of the return of spring in Mediterranean countries than the voice of the turtle. One of the first birds to migrate northwards, the turtle, while other songsters are heard chiefly in the morning, or only at intervals, immediately on its arrival pours forth from every garden, grove, and wooded hill its melancholy yet soothing ditty, unceasingly from early dawn till sunset. It is from its plaintive note doubtless that David in Ps. lxxiv. 19, pouring forth his lament to God, compares himself to a turtle-dove.

From the abundance of the dove tribe and their importance as an article of food the ancients discriminated the species of *Columbidae*, more accurately than of many others. Aristotle enumerates five species, which are not all easy of identification, as but four species are now known *commonly* to inhabit Greece. In Palestine the number of species is probably greater. Besides the rock-dove (*Columba livia*, L.), very common on all the rocky parts of the coast and in the inland ravines, where it remains throughout the year, and from which all the varieties of the domestic pigeon are derived, the ringdove (*Columba palumbus*, L.) frequents all the wooded districts of the country. The stock-dove (*Columba aenas*, L.) is as generally, but more sparingly distributed. Another species, allied either to this or to *Columba livia*, has been observed in the valley of the Jordan, perhaps *Col. leuconota*, Vig. See *Ibis*, vol. i. p. 35. The turtle-dove (*Turtur auritus*, L.) is, as has been stated, most abundant, and in the valley of the Jordan, an allied species, the palm-dove, or Egyptian turtle (*Turtur aegyptiacus*, Temm.), is by no means uncommon. This bird, most abundant among the palm-trees in Egypt and North Africa, is distinguished from the common turtle-dove by its ruddy chesnut colour, its long tail, smaller size, and the absence of the collar on the neck. It does not migrate, but from the similarity of its note and habits, it is not probable that it was distinguished by the ancients.

The large Indian turtle (*Turtur gelastes*, Temm.) has also been stated, though without authority, to occur in Palestine. Other species, as the well-known collared dove (*Turtur risoria*, L.) have been incorrectly included as natives of Syria. [H. B. T.]



Turtur aegyptiacus.

TYCHICUS (Τύχικος). A companion of St. Paul on some of his journeys, and one of his fellow-labourers in the work of the Gospel. He is mentioned in five separate books of the New Testament, and in four cases explicitly, in the fifth very probably, he is connected with the district of Asia. (1) In Acts xx. 4, he appears as one of those who accompanied the Apostle through a longer or shorter portion of his return-journey from the third missionary circuit. Here he is expressly called (with Trophimus) Ἀσιανός: but while Trophimus went with St. Paul to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29), Tychicus was left behind in Asia, probably at Miletus (Acts xx. 15, 38). (2) How Tychicus was employed in the interval before St. Paul's first imprisonment we cannot tell: but in that imprisonment he was with the Apostle again, as we see from Col. iv. 7, 8. Here he is spoken of, not only as "a beloved brother," but as "a faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord;" and he is to make known to the Colossians the present circumstances of the Apostle (τὰ κατ' ἐμὲ πάντα γνωρίσει), and to bring comfort to the Colossians themselves (ἵνα παρακαλέσῃ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν). From this we gather that diligent service and warm Christian sympathy were two features of the life and character of Tychicus. Colossae was in Asia; but from the fact that of Onesimus, who is mentioned immediately afterwards, it is said, ὅς ἐστιν ἐξ ὑμῶν, whereas Tychicus is not so styled, we naturally infer that the latter was not a native of that city. These two men were doubtless the bearers both of this letter and the following, as well as that to Philemon. (3) The language concerning Tychicus in Eph. vi. 21, 22, is very similar, though not exactly in the same words. And it is the more important to notice this passage carefully, because it is the only personal allusion in the Epistle, and

is of some considerable value as a subsidiary argument for its authenticity. If this was a circular letter, Tychicus, who bore a commission to Colossae, and who was probably well known in various parts of the province of Asia, would be a very proper person to see the letter duly delivered and read. (4) The next references are in the Pastoral Epistles, the first in chronological order being Tit. iii. 12. Here St. Paul (writing possibly from Ephesus) says that it is probable he may send Tychicus to Crete, about the time when he himself goes to Nicopolis. (5) In 2 Tim. iv. 12 (written at Rome during the second imprisonment) he says, "I am herewith sending Tychicus to Ephesus." At least it seems natural, with Dr. Wordsworth, so to render ἀπέστειλα, though Bp. Ellicott's suggestion is also worth considering, that this mission may have been connected with the carrying of the first Epistle. (See their notes on the passage.) However this may be, we see this disciple at the end, as we saw him at the beginning, connected locally with Asia, while also co-operating with St. Paul. We have no authentic information concerning Tychicus in any period previous to or subsequent to these five Scriptural notices. The tradition which places him afterwards as bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia is apparently of no value. But there is much probability in the conjecture (Stanley's *Corinthians*, 2nd ed. p. 493) that Tychicus was one of the two "brethren" (Trophimus being the other) who were associated with Titus (2 Cor. viii. 16-24) in conducting the business of the collection for the poor Christians in Judaea. As arguments for this view we may mention the association with Trophimus, the probability that both were Ephesians, the occurrence of both names in the second Epistle to Timothy (see 2 Tim. iv. 20), the chronological and geographical agreement with the circumstances of the third missionary journey, and the general language used concerning Tychicus in Colossians and Ephesians. [ASIA; EPHEBUS; TROPHIMUS.] [J. S. H.]

TYRAN'NUS (Τύραννος). The name of a man in whose school or place of audience Paul taught the Gospel for two years, during his sojourn at Ephesus (see Acts xix. 9). The halls or rooms of the philosophers were called σχολαί among the later Greeks (Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*); and as Luke applies that term to the auditorium in this instance, the presumption is that Tyrannus himself was a Greek, and a public teacher of philosophy or rhetoric. He and Paul must have occupied the room at different hours; whether he hired it out to the Christians or gave to them the use of it (in either case he must have been friendly to them) is left uncertain. Meyer is disposed to consider that Tyrannus was a Jewish rabbi, and the owner of a private synagogue or house for teaching (תַּיִרָנוֹן). But, in the first place, his Greek name, and the fact that he is not mentioned as a Jew or proselyte, disagree with that supposition; and, in the second place, as Paul repaired to this man's school after having been compelled to leave the Jewish synagogue (Acts xix. 9), it is evident that he took this course as a means of gaining access to the heathen; an object which he would naturally seek through the co-operation of one of their own number, and not by associating himself with a Jew or a Gentile adherent of the Jewish faith. In speaking of him merely as a certain Tyrannus (Τυράννου τινός), Luke indicates certainly that he was not a believer at first; though it is natural

enough to think that he may have become such as the result of his acquaintance with the Apostle. Hemsen (*Der Apostel Paulus*, p. 218) throws out the idea that the hall may have belonged to the authorities of the city, and have derived its name from the original proprietor. [H. B. H.]

TYRE (תַּיִר, תַּיִר, i. e. *Tzôr*: Τύρος: *Tyrus*: Josh. xix. 29; 2 Sam. xxi. 7; Is. xxiii. 1; Ez. xxvi. 15, xxvii. 2, &c.). A celebrated commercial city of antiquity, situated in Phoenicia, on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, in latitude 33° 17' N. (Admiral Smythe's *Mediterranean*, p. 469). Its Hebrew name "Tzôr" signifies a rock; which well agrees with the site of *Sûr*, the modern town, on a rocky peninsula, formerly an island. From the word "Tzôr" were derived two names of the city, in which the first letters differed from each other, though both had a feature of their common parent: 1st, the Aramaic word *Tura*, whence the Greek word *Turos*, probably pronounced *Tyros*, which finally prevailed in Latin, and, with slight changes, in the modern languages of the West; and, 2ndly, *Sara*, or *Sarra*, which occurs in Plautus (*Truc.* ii. 6, 58, "purpuram ex Sarâ tibi attuli"), and which is familiar to scholars through the well-known line of Virgil, "Ut gemmâ bibat, et Sarrauo dormiat ostro" (*Georg.* ii. 506; comp. Aul. Gell. xiv. 6; Silius Italicus, xv. 203; Juvenal, x. 30). According to a passage of Probus (ad Virg. *Georg.* ii. 115), as quoted by Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, iii. 353), the form "Sara" would seem to have occurred in one of the Greek epics now lost, which passed under the name of Homer. Certainly, this form accords best with the modern Arabic name of *Sûr*.

PALAE TYRUS, or Old Tyre. There is no doubt that, previous to the siege of the city by Alexander the Great, Tyre was situated on an island; but, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, if we may believe Justin (xi. 10), there was a city on the mainland before there was a city on the island; and the tradition receives some colour from the name of Palaetyrus, or Old Tyre, which was borne in Greek times by a city on the continent, 30 stadia to the south (Strabo, xii. 11, 24). But a difficulty arises in supposing that Palaetyrus was built before Tyre, as the word Tyre evidently means "a rock," and few persons who have visited the site of Palaetyrus can seriously suppose that any rock on the surface there can have given rise to the name. To escape this difficulty, Hengstenberg makes the suggestion that Palaetyrus meant Tyre that formerly existed; "quæ quondam fuit;" and that the name was introduced after the destruction of the greater part of it by Nebuchadnezzar, to distinguish it from that part of Tyre which continued to be in existence (*De rebus Tyriorum*, p. 26). Movers, justly deeming this explanation unlikely, suggests that the original inhabitants of the city on the mainland possessed the island as part of their territory, and named their city from the characteristic features of the island, though the island itself was not then inhabited (*Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 173). This explanation is possible; but other explanations are equally possible. For ex-

ample, the Phoenician name of it may have been the Old City; and this may have been translated "Palaetyrus" in Greek. Or, if the inhabitants of the mainland migrated to the island, they may afterwards, at some time or other, have given to the city which they left the name of Old Tyre, without its being necessarily implied that the city had ever borne simply the name of Tyre. Or some accidental circumstance, now beyond the reach of conjecture, may have led to the name; just as for some unaccountable reason Roma Vecchia, or Old Rome, is the name given in the Roman Campagna (as is stated on the high authority of Mr. H. E. Bunbury) to ruins of the age of Caracalla situated between the roads leading to Frascati and Albano, although there are no traces there of any Old Town, and there is not the slightest reason to suppose that there is any historical foundation whatever for the name. And this again would tally with Mr. Grote's remark, who observes (*l. c.*) that perhaps the Phoenician name which the city on the mainland bore may have been something resembling Palae-Tyros in sound but not coincident in meaning. It is important, however, to bear in mind that this question regarding Palaetyrus is merely archaeological, and that nothing in Biblical history is affected by it. Nebuchadnezzar necessarily besieged the portion of the city on the mainland, as he had no vessels with which to attack the island; but it is reasonably certain that, in the time of Isaiah and Ezekiel, the heart or core of the city was on the island. The city of Tyre was consecrated to Hercules (Melkarth) who was the principal object of worship to the inhabitants (Quintus Curtius, iv. 2; Strabo, xvi. p. 757); and Arrian in his History says that the temple on the island was the most ancient of all temples within the memory of mankind (ii. 16). It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the island had long been inhabited. And with this agree the expressions as to Tyre being "in the midst of the seas" (Ezek. xxvii. 25, 26); and even the threat against it that it should be made like the top of a rock to spread nets upon (see Des Vignoles' *Chronologie de l'Histoire Sainte*, Berlin, 1738, vol. ii. p. 25). As, however, the space on the island was limited, it is very possible that the population on the mainland may have exceeded the population on the island (see Movers, *l. c.* p. 81).

Whether built before or later than Palaetyrus, the renowned city of Tyre, though it laid claims to a very high antiquity* (Is. xxiii. 7; Herodot. ii. 14; Quintus Curtius, iv. 4), is not mentioned either in the Iliad or in the Odyssey; but no inference can be legitimately drawn from this fact as to the existence or non-existence of the city at the time when those poems were composed. The tribe of Canaanites which inhabited the small tract of country which may be called Phoenicia Proper [PHOENICIA] was known by the generic name of Sidonians (Judg. xviii. 7; Is. xxiii. 2, 4, 12; Josh. xiii. 6; Ez. xxxii. 30); and this name undoubtedly included Tyrians, the inhabitants being of the same race, and the two cities being less than 20 English miles distant from each other. Hence when Solomon sent to Hiram king of Tyre for cedar-trees out

the commencement of the building of Solomon's temple. Under any circumstances, Josephus could not, with his ideas and chronology, have accepted the date of the Tyrian priests; for then Tyre would have been founded before the era of the Deluge. See an instructive passage as to the chronology of Josephus in *Ant.* viii. 3, §1.

* According to Herodotus, the priests at Tyre told him that their city had been founded 2300 years before his visit. Supposing he was at Tyre in 450 B.C., this would make the date of its foundation 2750 B.C. Josephus makes the more sober statement, probably founded on Alexander's history, that it was founded 230 years before