

of Lebanon to be hewn by Hiram's subjects, he reminds Hiram that "there is not among us any that can skill to hew timber like the Sidonians" (1 K. v. 6). Hence Virgil, who, in his very first mention of Carthage, expressly states that it was founded by colonists from Tyre (*Aen.* i. 12), afterwards, with perfect propriety and consistency, calls it the Sidonian city (*Aen.* i. 677, 678, iv. 545. See Des Vignoles, *l. c.* p. 25.) And in like manner, when Sidonians are spoken of in the Homeric Poems (*Il.* vi. 290, xxiii. 743; *Od.* iv. 84, xvii. 424), this might comprehend Tyrians; and the mention of the city Sidon, while there is no similar mention of Tyre, would be fully accounted for—if it were necessary to account for such a circumstance at all in a poem—by Sidon's having been in early times more flourishing than Tyre. It is worthy, likewise, of being noted, that Tyre is not mentioned in the Pentateuch; but here, again, though an inference may be drawn against the importance, no inference can be legitimately drawn against the existence, of Tyre in the times to which the Pentateuch refers.

In the Bible, Tyre is named for the first time in the Book of Joshua (xix. 29), where it is adverted to as a fortified city (in the A. V. "the strong city"), in reference to the boundaries of the tribe of Asher. Nothing historical, however, turns upon this mention of Tyre; for it is indisputable that the tribe of Asher never possessed the Tyrian territory. According to the injunctions of the Pentateuch, indeed, all the Canaanitish nations ought to have been exterminated; but, instead of this, the Israelites dwelt among the Sidonians or Phoenicians, who were inhabitants of the land (*Judg.* i. 31, 32), and never seem to have had any war with that intelligent race. Subsequently, in a passage of Samuel (2 Sam. xxiv. 7), it is stated that the enumerators of the census in the reign of David went in pursuance of their mission to Tyre, amongst other cities, which must be understood as implying, not that Tyre was subject to David's authority, but merely that a census was thus taken of the Jews resident there. But the first passages in the Hebrew historical writings, or in ancient history generally, which afford glimpses of the actual condition of Tyre, are in the Book of Samuel (2 Sam. v. 11), in connection with Hiram king of Tyre sending cedar-wood and workmen to David, for building him a palace; and subsequently in the Book of Kings, in connection with the building of Solomon's temple. One point at this period is particularly worthy of attention. In contradistinction from all the other most celebrated independent commercial cities out of Phoenicia in the ancient and modern world, Tyre was a monarchy and not a republic; and, notwithstanding its merchant princes, who might have been deemed likely to favour the establishment of an aristocratical commonwealth, it continued to preserve the monarchical form of government until its final loss of independence. Another point is the skill in the mechanical arts which seems to have been already attained by the Tyrians. Under this head, allusion is not specially made to the excellence of the Tyrians in felling trees; for, through vicinity to the forests of Lebanon, they would as naturally have become skilled in that art as the back-

<sup>b</sup> It may be interesting to compare the distance from which the limestone was brought with which St. Paul's Cathedral was built. It was hewn from quarries in the Isle of Portland, and was sent to London round the North Foreland up the river Thames. The distance to London in

woodsmen of America. But what is peculiarly noteworthy is that Tyrians had become workers in brass or copper to an extent which implies considerable advancement in art. In the enumeration of the various works in brass executed by the Tyrian artists whom Solomon sent for, there are lilies, palm-trees, oxen, lions, and cherubim (1 K. vii. 13-45). The manner in which the cedar-wood and fir-wood was conveyed to Jerusalem is likewise interesting, partly from the similarity of the sea voyage to what may commonly be seen on the Rhine at the present day, and partly as giving a vivid idea of the really short distance between Tyre and Jerusalem. The wood was taken in floats to Joppa (2 Chr. ii. 16; 1 K. v. 9), a distance of less than 74 geographical miles. In the Mediterranean during summer there are times when this voyage along the coast would have been perfectly safe, and when the Tyrians might have reckoned confidently, especially at night, on light winds to fill the sails which were probably used on such occasions. From Joppa to Jerusalem the distance was about 32 miles; and it is certain that by this route the whole distance between the two celebrated cities of Jerusalem and Tyre was not more than 106<sup>b</sup> geographical, or about 122 English, miles. Within such a comparatively short distance (which by land, in a straight line, was about 20 miles shorter) it would be easy for two sovereigns to establish personal relations with each other; more especially as the northern boundary of Solomon's kingdom, in one direction, was the southern boundary of Phoenicia. Solomon and Hiram may frequently have met, and thus laid the foundations of a political alliance in personal friendship. If by messengers they sent riddles and problems for each other to solve (*Joseph. Ant.* viii. 5, §3; *c. Apion.* i. 17), they may previously have had, on several occasions, a keen encounter of wits in convivial intercourse. In this way, likewise, Solomon may have become acquainted with the Sidonian women who, with those of other nations, seduced him to Polytheism and the worship of Astarte in his old age. Similar remarks apply to the circumstances which may have occasioned previously the strong affection of Hiram for David (1 K. v. 1).

However this may be, it is evident that under Solomon there was a close alliance between the Hebrews and the Tyrians. Hiram supplied Solomon with cedar wood, precious metals, and workmen, and gave him sailors for the voyage to Ophir and India, while on the other hand Solomon gave Hiram supplies of corn and oil, ceded to him some cities, and permitted him to make use of some havens on the Red Sea (1 K. ix. 11-14, 26-28, x. 22). These friendly relations survived for a time the disastrous secession of the Ten Tribes, and a century later Ahab married a daughter of Ethbaal, king of the Sidonians (1 K. xvi. 31), who, according to Menander (*Josephus, Ant.* viii. 13, §2), was daughter of Ithobal, king of Tyre. As she was zealous for her national religion, she seems to have been regarded as an abomination by the pious worshippers of Jehovah; but this led to no special prophetic denunciations against Tyre. The case became different, however, when mercan-

a straight line from the North Foreland alone is of itself about twelve miles greater than from Tyre to Joppa; while the distance from the Isle of Portland to the North Foreland is actually three times as great.

tile cupidity induces the Tyrians and the neighbouring Phoenicians to buy Hebrew captives from their enemies and to sell them as slaves to the Greeks [PHOENICIA, p. 1001] and Edomites. From this time commenced denunciations, and, at first, threats of retaliation (Joel iii. 4-8; Amos i. 9, 10): and indeed, though there might be peace, there could not be sincere friendship between the two nations. But the likelihood of the denunciations being fulfilled first arose from the progressive conquests of the Assyrian monarchs. It was not probable that a powerful, victorious, and ambitious neighbour could resist the temptation of endeavouring to subjugate the small strip of land between the Lebanon and the sea, so insignificant in extent, but overflowing with so much wealth, which by the Greeks was called Phoenicia. [PHOENICIA.] Accordingly, when Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, had taken the city of Samaria, had conquered the kingdom of Israel and carried its inhabitants into captivity, he turned his arms against the Phoenician cities. At this time, Tyre had reached a high point of prosperity. Since the reign of Hiram, it had planted the splendid colony of Carthage (143 years and eight months, Josephus says, after the building of Solomon's temple, *c. Apion.* i. 18); it possessed the island of Cyprus, with the valuable mines of the metal "copper" (so named from the island); and, apparently, the city of Sidon was subject to its sway. But Shalmaneser seems to have taken advantage of a revolt of the Cyprians; and what ensued is thus related by Menander, who translated the archives of Tyre into the Greek language (see Josephus, *Ant.* ix. 14, §2): "Elulæus reigned 36 years (over Tyre). This king, upon the revolt of the Kittæans (Cyprians), sailed with a fleet against them, and reduced them to submission. On the other hand, the king of the Assyrians attacked in war the whole of Phoenicia, but soon made peace with all, and turned back. On this, Sidon and Ace (*i.e.* Akkô or Acre) and Palaetyrus revolted from the Tyrians, with many other cities which delivered themselves up to the king of Assyria. Accordingly, when the Tyrians would not submit to him, the king returned and fell upon them again, the Phoenicians having furnished him with 60 ships and 800 rowers. Against these the Tyrians sailed with 12 ships, and, dispersing the fleet opposed to them, they took five hundred men prisoners. The reputation of all the citizens in Tyre was hence increased. Upon this the king of the Assyrians, moving off his army, placed guards at their river and aqueducts to prevent the Tyrians from drawing water. This continued for five years, and still the Tyrians held out, supplying themselves with water from wells." It is in reference to this siege that the prophecy against Tyre in the writings entitled Isaiah, chap. xxiii., was uttered, if it proceeded from the Prophet Isaiah himself: but this point will be again noticed.

After the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser (which must have taken place not long after 721 B.C.), Tyre remained a powerful state with its own kings (Jer. xxv. 22, xxvii. 3; Ez. xxviii. 2-12), remarkable for its wealth, with territory on the mainland, and protected by strong fortifications (Ez. xxviii. 5, xxvi. 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, xxvii. 11; Zech. ix. 3). Our knowledge of its condition thenceforward until the siege by Nebuchadnezzar depends entirely on various notices of it by the Hebrew prophets; but some of these notices are singularly full, and especially, the twenty-seventh chapter of Ezekiel

furnishes us, on some points, with details such as have scarcely come down to us respecting any one city of antiquity, excepting Rome and Athens. One point especially arrests the attention, that Tyre, like its splendid daughter Carthage, employed mercenary soldiers (Ez. xxvii. 10, 11). This has been the general tendency in commercial cities on account of the high wages which may be obtained by artisans in a thriving community, compared with the ordinary pay of a soldier; and Tyre had been unable to resist the demoralizing temptation. In its service there were Phoenicians from Arvad, Ethiopians obtained through the commerce of Egypt, and hardy mountaineers from Persia. This is the first time that the name of Persia occurs in the remains of ancient literature, before its sons founded a great monarchy on the ruins of the Chaldaean empire. We may conceive them like the Swiss, who, poor, faithful, and brave, have during many centuries, until the last few years, deemed enlistment in foreign service a legitimate source of gain. Independently, however, of this fact respecting Tyrian mercenary soldiers, Ezekiel gives interesting details respecting the trade of Tyre. On this head, without attempting to exhaust the subject, a few leading points may be noticed. The first question is as to the countries from which Tyre obtained the precious metals; and it appears that its gold came from Arabia by the Persian Gulf (v. 22), just as in the time of Solomon it came from Arabia by the Red Sea [OPHIR]. Whether the Arabian merchants, whose wealth was proverbial in Roman classical times (Horace, *Od.* i. 29, 1), obtained their gold by traffic with Africa or India, or whether it was the product of their own country, is uncertain; but as far as the latter alternative is concerned, the point will probably be cleared up in the progress of geological knowledge. On the other hand, the silver, iron, lead, and tin of Tyre came from a very different quarter of the world, viz. from the South of Spain, where the Phoenicians had established their settlement of Tarshish, or Tartessus. As to copper, we should have presumed that it was obtained from the valuable mines in Cyprus; but it is mentioned here in conjunction with Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, which points to the districts on the south of the Black Sea, in the neighbourhood of Armenia, in the southern line of the Caucasus, between the Black Sea and the Caspian. The country whence Tyre was supplied with wheat was Palestine. This point has been already noticed elsewhere [PHOENICIANS, p. 1002] as helping to explain why there is no instance on record of war between Tyre and the Israelites. It may be added that the value of Palestine as a wheat-country to Tyre was greatly enhanced by its proximity, as there was scarcely a part of the kingdom of Israel on the west of the River Jordan which was distant more than a hundred miles from that great commercial city. The extreme points in the kingdom of Judah would be somewhat more distant; but the wheat probably came from the northern part of Palestine. Tyre likewise obtained from Palestine oil, honey, and balm, but not wine apparently, notwithstanding the abundance of grapes and wine in Judah (Gen. xlix. 11). The wine was imported from Damascus, and was called wine of Helbon, which was probably not the product of the country adjoining the celebrated city of that name, but came from the neighbourhood of Damascus itself (see Porter's *Handbook for Syria*, vol. ii. p. 495: compare Athenæus, i. 51). The Bedawin Arabs

supplied Tyre with lambs and rams and goats, for the rearing of which their mode of life was so well adapted. Egypt furnished linen for sails, and doubtless for other purposes, and the dyes from shell-fish, which afterwards became such a source of profit to the Tyrians, were imported from the Peloponnesus (compare the "Laconicas purpuras" of Horace, *Od.* ii. 18, 7, and Pliny ix. 40). Lastly, from Dedan in the Persian Gulf, an island occupied possibly by a Phoenician colony, horns of ivory and ebony were imported, which must originally have been obtained from India (*Ez.* xxvii. 10, 11, 22, 12, 13, 17, 18, 21, 7, 15).

In the midst of great prosperity and wealth, which was the natural result of such an extensive trade (*Ez.* xxviii. 4), Nebuchadnezzar, at the head of an army of the Chaldees, invaded Judaea, and captured Jerusalem. As Tyre was so near to Jerusalem, and as the conquerors were a fierce and formidable race (*Hab.* i. 6), led by a general of undoubted capacity, who had not long before humbled the power of the Egyptians, it would naturally be supposed that this event would have excited alarm and terror amongst the Tyrians. Instead of this, we may infer from Ezekiel's statement (xxvi. 2) that their predominant feeling was one of exultation. At first sight this appears strange and almost inconceivable; but it is rendered intelligible by some previous events in Jewish history. Only 34 years before the destruction of Jerusalem, commenced the celebrated Reformation of Josiah, B.C. 622. This momentous religious revolution, of which a detailed account is given in two chapters of the Book of Kings (2 K. xii. xxiii.), and which cannot be too closely studied by any one who wishes to understand the Jewish Annals, fully explains the exultation and malevolence of the Tyrians. In that Reformation, Josiah had heaped insults on the gods who were the objects of Tyrian veneration and love, he had consumed with fire the sacred vessels used in their worship, he had burnt their images and defiled their high places—not excepting even the high place near Jerusalem, which Solomon the friend of Hiram had built to Ashtoreth the Queen of Heaven, and which for more than 350 years had been a striking memorial of the reciprocal good-will which once united the two monarchs and the two nations. Indeed, he seemed to have endeavoured to exterminate their religion, for in Samaria (2 K. xxiii. 20) he had slain upon the altars of the high places all their priests. These acts, although in their ultimate results they may have contributed powerfully to the diffusion of the Jewish religion, must have been regarded by the Tyrians as a series of sacrilegious and abominable outrages; and we can scarcely doubt that the death in battle of Josiah at Megiddo, and the subsequent destruction of the city and Temple of Jerusalem were hailed by them with triumphant joy as instances of divine retribution in human affairs.

This joy, however, must soon have given way to other feelings, when Nebuchadnezzar invaded Phoenicia, and laid siege to Tyre. That siege lasted thirteen years (*Joseph. c. Apion.* i. 21), and it is still a disputed point, which will be noticed separately in this article, whether Tyre was actually taken by Nebuchadnezzar on this occasion. How-

\* It was owing to this Reformation of Josiah that when the Jews were carried into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar a generation had arisen untainted by idolatry, and yet

ever this may be, it is probable that, on some terms or other, Tyre submitted to the Chaldees. This would explain, amongst other points, an expedition of Apries, the Pharaoh-Hophra of Scripture, against Tyre, which probably happened not long after, and which may have been dictated by obvious motives of self-defence in order to prevent the naval power of Tyre becoming a powerful instrument of attacking Egypt in the hands of the Chaldees. In this expedition Apries besieged Sidon, fought a naval battle with Tyre, and reduced the whole of the coast of Phoenicia, though this could not have had lasting effects (*Herod.* ii. 161; *Diod.* i. 68; *Movers, Das Phönizische Alterthum*, vol. ii. p. 451). The rule of Nebuchadnezzar over Tyre, though real, may have been light, and in the nature of an alliance; and it may have been in this sense that Merbal, a subsequent Tyrian king, was sent for to Babylon (*Joseph. c. Apion.* i. 21). During the Persian domination the Tyrians were subject in name to the Persian king, and may have given him tribute. With the rest of Phoenicia, they had submitted to the Persians, without striking a blow; perhaps, through hatred of the Chaldees; perhaps, solely from prudential motives. But their connexion with the Persian king was not slavish. Thus, when Cambyses ordered them to join in an expedition against Carthage, they refused compliance, on account of their solemn engagements and parental relation to that colony: and Cambyses did not deem it right to use force towards them (*Herod.* iii. 19). Afterwards they fought with Persia against Greece, and furnished vessels of war in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece (*Herod.* vii. 98); and Mapên, the son of Sirom the Tyrian, is mentioned amongst those who, next to the commanders, were the most renowned in the fleet. It is worthy of notice that at this time Tyre seems to have been inferior in power to Sidon. These two cities were less than twenty English miles distant from each other; and it is easy to conceive that in the course of centuries their relative importance might fluctuate, as would be very possible in our own country with two neighbouring cities, such, for example, as Liverpool and Manchester. It is possible also that Tyre may have been seriously weakened by its long struggle against Nebuchadnezzar. Under the Persian dominion, Tyre and Sidon supplied cedar wood again to the Jews for the building of the second Temple; and this wood was sent by sea to Joppa, and thence to Jerusalem, as had been the case with the materials for the first Temple in the time of Solomon (*Ezra.* iii. 7). Under the Persians likewise Tyre was visited by an historian, from whom we might have derived valuable information respecting its condition (*Herod.* ii. 44). But the information actually supplied by him is scanty, as the motive of his voyage seems to have been solely to visit the celebrated temple of Melkarth (the Phoenician Hercules), which was situated in the island, and was highly venerated. He gives no details as to the city, and merely specifies two columns which he observed in the temple, one of gold, and the other of emerald; or rather, as is reasonably conjectured by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, of green glass (*Rawlinson's Herodotus*, ii. 81, 82). Towards the close of the following century, B.C. 332, Tyre was assailed for the third time by a great

many of them probably free from the intense scrupulousness in ceremonial observances which prevailed subsequently.

conqueror: and if some uncertainty hangs over the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, the results of the siege by Alexander were clear and undeniable. It was essential to the success of his military plans that the Phoenician fleet should be at his command, and that he should not be liable through their hostility to have his communications by sea with Greece and Macedonia suddenly cut off; and he accordingly summoned all the Phoenician cities to submit to his rule. All the rest of them, including Aradus, Byblus and Sidon, complied with his demands, and the seamen of those cities in the Persian fleet brought away their ships to join him. Tyre alone, calculating probably at first on the support of those seamen, refused to admit him within its walls—and then ensued a memorable siege which lasted seven months, and the success of which was the greatest of all the achievements which Alexander up to that time had attempted. It is not necessary to give here the details of that siege, which may be found in Arrian and Quintus Curtius, and in all good Grecian histories, such as those of Bishop Thirlwall and Mr. Grote. It may be sufficient to say, that at that time Tyre was situated on an island nearly half a mile from the mainland—that “it was completely surrounded by prodigious walls, the loftiest portion of which on the side fronting the mainland reached a height not less than 150 feet;” and that notwithstanding his persevering efforts, he could not have succeeded in his attempt, if the harbour of Tyre to the north had not been blockaded by the Cyprians, and that to the south by the Phoenicians, thus affording an opportunity to Alexander for uniting the island to the mainland by an enormous artificial<sup>d</sup> mole. Moreover, owing to internal disturbances, Carthage was unable to afford any assistance to its parent state.

The immediate results of the capture by Alexander were most disastrous to it, as its brave defenders were put to death; and, in accordance with the barbarous policy of ancient times, 30,000 of its inhabitants, including slaves, free females and free children were sold as slaves (Arrian, iv. 24, §9; Diodorus, xvii. 46). It gradually, however, recovered its prosperity through the immigration of fresh settlers, though its trade is said to have suffered by the vicinity and rivalry of Alexandria. Under the Macedonian successors of Alexander, it shared the fortunes of the Seleucidæ, who bestowed on it many privileges; and there are still in existence coins of that epoch with a Phoenician and Greek inscription (Eckhel, *Doctr. Nummorum Vet.* vol. iii. p. 379, &c.; Gesenius, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, pp. 262-264, and Tab. 34). Under the Romans, at first it continued to enjoy a kind of freedom; for Josephus mentions that when Cleopatra pressed Antony to include Tyre and Sidon in a gift of Phoenician and Jewish territory which he made to her, he steadily refused, knowing them to have been “free cities from their ancestors” (*Ant.* xv. 4, §1). Subsequently, however, on the arrival

of Augustus in the East, he is said to have deprived the two cities of their liberties for seditious conduct (*ἔδουλώσατο*, Dion Cassius, lxi. 7). Still the prosperity of Tyre in the time of Augustus was undeniably great. Strabo gives an account of it at that period (xvi. 2, 23), and speaks of the great wealth which it derived from the dyes of the celebrated Tyrian purple, which, as is well known, were extracted from shell-fish found on the coast, belonging to a species of the genus *Murex*. In the days of Ezekiel, the Tyrians had imported purple from the Peloponnesus; but they had since learned to extract the dye for themselves; and they had the advantage of having shell-fish on their coast better adapted for this purpose even than those on the Lacedæmonian coast (Pausanias, iii. 21, §6). Strabo adds, that the great number of dyeing works rendered the city unpleasant as a place of residence.<sup>e</sup> He further speaks of the houses as consisting of many stories, even of more than in the houses at Rome—which is precisely what might be expected in a prosperous fortified city of limited area, in which ground-rent would be high. Pliny the Elder gives additional information respecting the city, for in describing it he says that the circumference of the city proper (*i. e.* the city on the peninsula) was 22 stadia, while that of the whole city, including Palaetyrus, was 19 Roman miles (*Nat. Hist.* v. 17). The accounts of Strabo and Pliny have a peculiar interest in this respect, that they tend to convey an idea of what the city must have been, when visited by Christ (Matt. xv. 21; Mark vii. 24). It was perhaps more populous than Jerusalem [*JERUSALEM*, p. 1025], and if so, it was undoubtedly the largest city which he is known to have visited. It was not much more than thirty miles distant from Nazareth, where Christ mainly lived as a carpenter's son during the greater part of his life (Matt. ii. 23, iv. 12, 13, 18; Mark vi. 3). We may readily conceive that He may often have gone to Tyre, while yet unknown to the world; and whatever uncertainty there may be as to the extent to which the Greek language was likely to be spoken at Nazareth, at Tyre and in its neighbourhood there must have been excellent opportunities for conversation in that language, with which He seems to have been acquainted (Mark vii. 26). From the time of Christ to the beginning of the 5th century, there is no reason to doubt that, as far as was compatible with the irreparable loss of independence, Tyre continued in uninterrupted prosperity; and about that period Jerome has on record very striking testimony on the subject, which has been often quoted, and is a landmark in Tyrian history (see Gesenius's *Jesaja*, vol. i. p. 714). Jerome, in his Commentaries on Ezekiel, comes to the passage in which the prophet threatens Tyre with the approach of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon (Ez. xxvi. 7); and he then, amongst other points, refers to the verse in which the prophet predicts of Tyre, “Thou shalt be built no more,” saying that this raises a

<sup>d</sup> That Tyre was on an island, previous to its siege by Alexander, is one of the most certain facts of history; but on examining the locality at the present day few persons would suspect from existing appearances that there was anything artificial in the formation of the present peninsula.

<sup>e</sup> Pliny the elder gives an account of the Phoenician shell-fish (ix. 60, 61), and states that from the larger ones the dye was extracted, after taking off the shell: but that the small fish were crushed alive together with the shells. Mr. Wilde, an intelligent modern traveller, observed at

Tyre numerous round holes cut in the solid sandstone rock, in which shells seem to have been crushed. They were perfectly smooth on the inside; and many of them were shaped exactly like a modern iron pot, broad and flat at the bottom, and narrowing toward the top. Many of these were filled with a breccia of shells; in other places this breccia lay in heaps in the neighbourhood. All the shells were of one species, and were undoubtedly the *Murex trunculus*. See *Narrative of a Voyage to Madeira, Teneriffe, and along the Shores of the Mediterranean*, Dublin, 1844.

question as to how a city can be said not to be built any more, which we see at the present day the most noble and the most beautiful city of Phoenicia. "Quodque sequitur: nec aedificaberis ultra, videtur facere quaestionem quomodo non sit aedificata, quam hodie cernimus Phoenices nobilissimam et pulcherrimam civitatem." He afterwards, in his remarks on the 3rd verse of the 27th chapter, in which Tyre is called, "a merchant of the people for many isles," says that this continues down to his time, so that commercial dealings of almost all nations are carried on in that city—"quod quidem usque hodie perseverat, ut omnium propemodo gentium in illâ exerceantur commercia." Jerome's Commentaries on Ezekiel are supposed to have been written about the years 411-414 A.D. (see Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, vol. ii. p. 465), so that his testimony respecting the prosperity of Tyre bears date almost precisely a thousand years after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 588. As to the passage in which Ezekiel states that Tyre shall be built no more, Jerome says the meaning is, that "Tyre will be no more the Queen of Nations, having its own king, as was the case under Hiram and other kings, but that it was destined to be always subject, either to the Chaldeans, or to the Macedonians, or to the Ptolemies, or at last to the Romans." At the same time Jerome notices a meaning given to the passage by some interpreters, that Tyre would not be built *in the last days*; but he asks of such interpreters, "How they will be able to preserve the part attributed to Nebuchadnezzar, especially as we read in what follows, that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre, but had no reward of his labour (xxix. 18), and that Egypt was given over to him because in besieging Tyre he had served the purpose of God."

When Jerome spoke of Tyre's subjection to the Romans, which had then lasted more than four hundred years, he could scarcely have anticipated that another subjugation of the country was reserved for it from a new conquering power, coming not from the North, but from the South. In the 7th century A.D. took place the extraordinary Arabian revolution under Mahomet, which has given a new religion to so many millions of mankind. In the years 633-638 A.D. all Syria and Palestine, from the Dead Sea to Antioch, was conquered by the Khalif Omar. This conquest was so complete, that in both those countries the language of Mahomet has almost totally supplanted the language of Christ. In Syria, there are only three villages where Syriac (or Aramaic) is the vernacular language. In Palestine, it is not the language of a single native: and in Jerusalem, to a stranger who understands what is involved in this momentous revolution, it is one of the most suggestive of all sounds to hear the Muezzin daily call Mahometans to prayers in the Arabic language of Mahomet, within the sacred precincts where once stood the Temple, in which Christ worshipped in Hebrew, or in Aramaic. (As to the Syriac language, see Porter's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, vol. ii. p. 551.) But even this conquest did not cause the overthrow of Tyre. The most essential conditions on which peace was granted to Tyre, as to other Syrian cities, were the payment of a poll-tax, the obligation to give board and lodging for three days to every Muslem traveller, the wearing a peculiar dress, the admission of Muslems into the churches, the doing away with all crosses and all sounds of bells, the avoiding of all insulting expressions towards the Mahometan religion, and the

prohibition to ride on horseback or to build new churches. (See Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifer*, l. i. 81-82.) Some of these conditions were humiliating, and nearly heart-breaking; but if submitted to, the lives and private property of the inhabitants remained untouched. Accordingly, at the time of the Crusades Tyre was still a flourishing city, when it surrendered to the Christians on the 27th of June, 1124. It had early been the seat of a Christian bishopric, and Cassius, bishop of Tyre, is named as having been present at the Council of Caesarea towards the close of the 2nd century (Reland, *Palestine*, 1054); and now, in the year after its capture by the Crusaders, William, a Frenchman, was made its archbishop. This archbishop has left on record an account of the city, which gives a high idea of its wealth and great military strength. (See *Wilhelmi Tyrensis Historia*, lib. xiii. cap. 5.) And his statements are confirmed by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited it in the same century. (See *Purchas's Pilgrims*, ii. 1443.) The latter writer, who died in 1173, says: "Nor do I think any haven in the world to be like unto this. The city itself, as I have said, is goodly, and in it there are about four hundred Jews, among whom some are very skilful in disciplinary readings, and especially Ephraim the Egyptian judge, and Mair, and Carchesona, and Abraham, the head of the university. Some of the Jews there have ships at sea for the cause of gain. There are artificial workmen in glass there, who make glass, called Tyrian glass, the most excellent, and of the greatest estimation in all countries. The best and most approved sugar is also found there." In fact, at this period, and down to the close of the 13th century, there was perhaps no city in the known world which had stronger claims than Tyre to the title of the "Eternal City," if experience had not shewn that cities as well as individuals were subject to decay and dissolution. Tyre had been the parent of colonies, which at a distant period had enjoyed a long life and had died; and it had survived more than fifteen hundred years its greatest colony, Carthage. It had outlived Aegyptian Thebes, and Babylon, and ancient Jerusalem. It had seen Grecian cities rise and fall; and although older than them all, it was in a state of great prosperity when an illustrious Roman, who had been sailing from Aegina to Megara, told Cicero, in imperishable words, of the corpses or carcasses of cities, the *oppidorum cadavera*, by which in that voyage he had been in every direction encompassed (*Ep. ad Familiar.* iv. 5). Rome, it is true, was still in existence in the 13th century; but, in comparison with Tyre, Rome itself was of recent date, its now twice consecrated soil having been merely the haunt of shepherds or robbers for some hundred years after Tyre was wealthy and strong. At length, however, the evil day of Tyre undoubtedly arrived. It had been more than a century and a half in the hands of Christians, when in March, A.D. 1291, the Sultan of Egypt and Damascus invested Acre, then known to Europe by the name of Ptolemais, and took it by storm after a siege of two months. The result was told in the beginning of the next century by Marinus Sanutus, a Venetian, in the following words: "On the same day on which Ptolemais was taken, the Tyrians, at vespers, leaving the city empty, without the stroke of a sword, without the tumult of war, embarked on board their vessels, and abandoned the city to be occupied freely by their conquerors. On the morrow the Saracens entered, no one attempting to prevent them, and

they did what they pleased." (*Liber Secretorum fidelium Crucis*, lib. iii. cap. 22.)<sup>f</sup>

This was the turning-point in the history of Tyre, 1879 years after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; and Tyre has not yet recovered from the blow. In the first half of the 14th century it was visited by Sir John Maundeville, who says, speaking of "Tyre, which is now called Sûr, here was once a great and goodly city of the Christians: but the Saracens have destroyed it in great part; and they guard that haven carefully for fear of the Christians" (*Wright's Early Travels in Palestine*, p. 141). About A.D. 1610-11 it was visited by Sandys, who said of it: "But this once famous Tyre is now no other than a heap of ruins; yet have they a reverent aspect, and do instruct the pensive beholder with their exemplary frailty. It hath two harbours, that on the north side the fairest and best throughout all the Levant (which the cursours enter at their pleasure); the other choked with the decayes of the city." (*Purchas's Pilgrims*, ii. 1393.) Towards the close of the same century, in 1697 A.D., Maundrell says of it, "On the north side it has an old Turkish castle, besides which there is nothing here but a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c., there being not so much as an entire house left. Its present inhabitants are only a few poor wretches that harbour in vaults and subsist upon fishing." (See Harris, *Voyages and Travels*, ii. 846.) Lastly, without quoting at length Dr. Richard Pococke, who in 1737-40 A.D. stated (see vol. x. of Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, p. 470) that, except some janizaries, there were few other inhabitants in the city than two or three Christian families, the words of Hasselquist, the Swedish naturalist, may be recorded, as they mark the lowest point of depression which Tyre seems to have reached. He was there in May 1751 A.D., and he thus speaks of his visit: "We followed the sea shore . . . . and came to Tyre, now called Zur, where we lay all night. None of these cities, which formerly were famous, are so totally ruined as this except Troy. Zur now scarcely can be called a miserable village, though it was formerly Tyre, the queen of the sea. Here are about ten inhabitants, Turks and Christians, who live by fishing." (See Hasselquist, *Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, London, 1766.) A slight change for the better began soon after. Volney states that in 1766 A.D. the Metâwileh took possession of the place, and built a wall round it twenty feet high, which existed when he visited Tyre nearly twenty years afterwards. At that time Volney estimated the population at fifty or sixty poor families. Since the beginning of the present century there has been a partial revival of prosperity. But it has been visited at different times during the last thirty years by biblical scholars, such as Professor Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 463-471), Canon Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, 270), and M. Ernest Renan (*Letter in the Moniteur*, July 11,

1861), who all concur in the account of its general aspect of desolation. Mr. Porter, who resided several years at Damascus, and had means of obtaining correct information, states in 1858 that "the modern town, or rather village, contains from 3000 to 4000 inhabitants, about one-half being Metâwileh, and the other Christians" (*Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine*, p. 391). Its great inferiority to Beyrout for receiving vessels suited to the requirements of modern navigation will always prevent Tyre from becoming again the most important commercial city on the Syrian coast. It is reserved to the future to determine whether with a good government, and with peace in the Lebanon, it may not increase in population, and become again comparatively wealthy.

In conclusion, it is proper to consider two questions of much interest to the Biblical student, which have been already noticed in this article, but which could not then be conveniently discussed fully. 1st. The date and authorship of the prophecy against Tyre in Isaiah, chap. xxiii.; and 2ndly, the question of whether Nebuchadnezzar, after his long siege of Tyre, may be supposed to have actually taken it.

On the first point it is to be observed, that as there were two sieges of Tyre contemporaneous with events mentioned in the Old Testament, viz. that by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, in the reign of Hezekiah, and the siege by Nebuchadnezzar, king of the Chaldees, after the capture of Jerusalem in 588 B.C., and as Isaiah was living during the former siege, but must have been dead considerably more than a hundred years at the time of the latter siege, it is probable, without denying predictive prophecy, that the prophecy relates to the first siege, if it was written by Isaiah. As the prophecy is in the collection of writings entitled "Isaiah," there would formerly not have been any doubt that it was written by that prophet. But it has been maintained by eminent Biblical critics that many of the writings under the title of his name were written at the time of the Babylonian Captivity. This seems to be the least open to dispute in reference to the prophecies commencing with "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people," in the 1st verse of the 40th chapter, concerning which the following facts seem to the writer of the present article to be well established.<sup>h</sup> 1st. These prophecies are different in style from the undisputed writings of Isaiah. 2ndly. They do not predict that the Jews will be carried away into captivity at Babylon, but they presuppose that the Jews are already in captivity there at the time when the prophecies are uttered; that Jerusalem is desolate, and that the Temple is burnt (Is. lxiv. 10, 11, xlv. 26, 28, xlv. 13, xlvii. 5, 6, lii. 2, 9, li. 3, 11, 17-23). 3rdly. The name of Cyrus, who conquered Babylon probably at least a hundred and fifty years after the death of Isaiah is mentioned in them twice (xlv. 28, xlv. 1): and 4thly, there is

<sup>f</sup> A copy of this work is in *Gesta Dei per Francos*. Janoviae, 1611.

<sup>g</sup> M. Ernest Renan says there has been no subsidence of the land, owing to earthquakes or other causes; and that the west of the island has the same level as in ancient times. Mr. Wilde had spoken with great caution on this point, pp. 383-385. It is still very desirable that the peninsula and the adjoining coast should be minutely examined by an experienced practical geologist. There seems to be no doubt that the city has suffered from earthquakes. See Porter, *l. c.*; and compare Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* vi. 1-11, Strabo, *l. c.* p. 757, and *Jour.* xi. 2, 1.

<sup>h</sup> Doubts as to the authorship of these chapters were first suggested by Döderlein in 1781, in a review of Kopp's translation of Lowth's Isaiah. Since 1781 their later date has been accepted by Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Gesenius, Winer, Ewald, Hitzig, Knobel, Herzfeld, Bleek, Geiger, and Davidson, and by numerous other Hebrew scholars. The evidence has been nowhere stated more clearly than by Gesenius in his *Jesaja* (part ii. pp. 18-35, Leipzig, 1821). [On the other hand, the writer of the article ISAAH in the present Work maintains the unity of the book.—Ed.]

no external contemporary evidence between the time of Isaiah and the time of Cyrus to prove that these prophecies were then in existence. But although in this way the evidence of a later date is peculiarly cogent in reference to the 40th and following chapters, there is also reasonable evidence of the later date of several other chapters, such, for example, as the 13th and 14th (on which observe particularly the four first verses of the 14th chapter) and chapters xxiv.—xxvii. Hence there is no *à priori* difficulty in admitting that the 23rd chapter, respecting Tyre, may likewise have been written at the time of the Chaldean invasion. Yet this is not to be assumed without something in the nature of probable proof, and the real point is whether any such proof can be adduced on this subject. Now although Hitzig (*Der Prophet Jesaja*, Heidelberg, 1833, p. 272) undertakes to show that there is a difference of language between Isaiah's genuine prophecies and the 23rd chapter, and although Ewald (*Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, vol. i. p. 238), who refers it to the siege of Tyre by Shalmaneser, believes the 23rd chapter, on the grounds of style and language, to have been written by a younger contemporary and scholar of Isaiah, not by Isaiah himself, it is probable that the majority of scholars will be mainly influenced in their opinions as to the date of that chapter by their view of the meaning of the 13th verse. In the A. V. the beginning of the verse is translated thus: "Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness"—and this has been supposed by some able commentators, such as Rosenmüller and Hitzig (*ad loc.*), to imply that the enemies with which the Tyrians were threatened were the Chaldees under Nebuchadnezzar, and not the Assyrians under Shalmaneser. If this is the meaning, very few critics would now doubt that the prophecy was composed in the time of Nebuchadnezzar; and there is certainly something remarkable in a supposed mention of the Chaldees by such an early writer as Isaiah, inasmuch as, with the possible exceptions in the mention of Abraham and Abraham's family as having belonged to "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi. 28, 31, xv. 7), the mention of the Chaldees by Isaiah would be the earliest in the Bible. The only other passage respecting which a doubt might be raised is in the Book of Job (i. 17)—a work, however, which seems to the author of this article to have been probably written later than Isaiah.<sup>1</sup> But the 13th verse of the chapter attributed to Isaiah by no means necessarily implies that the Chaldees under Nebuchadnezzar were attacking Tyre, or were about to attack it. Accepting the ordinary version, it would be amply sufficient that Chaldees should be formidable mercenaries in the Assyrian army. This is the interpretation of Gesenius (*Commentar über den Jesaja*, *ad loc.*), who goes still farther. Founding his reasoning on the frequent mention by Xenophon of Chaldees, as a bold, warlike, and predatory tribe in the neighbourhood of Armenia, and collecting scattered notices round this fundamental fact, he conjectures that bands of them, having served either as mercenaries or as volunteers in the Assyrian army, had received lands for their permanent settle-

<sup>1</sup> In the total absence of external evidence nothing in favour of an earlier date can be adduced to outweigh one circumstance long since noticed among numerous others by Gesenius (*Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*), that the Aramaic plural *ܫܠܝܢ* occurs twelve

ment on the banks of the Euphrates not long before the invasion of Shalmaneser (see Xenophon, *Cyropaed.* iii. 2, §§7, 12; *Anab.* iv. 3, §4, v. 5, §9, vii. 8, §14). So great is our ignorance of the Chaldees previous to their mention in the Bible, that this conjecture of Gesenius cannot be disproved. There is not indeed sufficient positive evidence for it to justify its adoption by an historian of the Chaldees; but the possibility of its being true should make us hesitate to assume that the 13th verse is incompatible with the date ordinarily assigned to the prophecy in which it occurs. But, independently of these considerations, the beginning of the 13th verse is capable of a totally different translation from that in the Authorized Version. It may be translated thus: "Behold the land of the Chaldees, the people is no more, Assyria has given it [the land] to the dwellers in the wilderness." This is partly in accordance with Ewald's translation, not following him in the substitution of "Canaanites" (which he deems the correct reading) for "Chaldees"—and then the passage might refer to an unsuccessful rebellion of the Chaldees against Assyria, and to a consequent desolation of the land of the Chaldees by their victorious rulers. One point may be mentioned in favour of this view, that the Tyrians are not warned to look at the Chaldees in the way that Habakkuk threatens his contemporaries with the hostility of that "terrible and dreadful nation," but the Tyrians are warned to look at the *land* of the Chaldees. Here, again, we know so little of the history of the Chaldees, that this interpretation, likewise, cannot be disproved. And, on the whole, as the burden of proof rests with any one who denies Isaiah to have been the author of the 23rd chapter, as the 13th verse is a very obscure passage, and as it cannot be proved incompatible with Isaiah's authorship, it is permissible to acquiesce in the Jewish tradition on the subject.

2ndly. The question of whether Tyre was actually taken by Nebuchadnezzar after his thirteen years' siege has been keenly discussed. Gesenius, Winer, and Hitzig decide it in the negative, while Hengstenberg has argued most fully on the other side. Without attempting to exhaust the subject, and assuming, in accordance with Movers, that Tyre, as well as the rest of Phoenicia, submitted at last to Nebuchadnezzar, the following points may be observed respecting the supposed capture:—1st. The evidence of Ezekiel, a contemporary, seems to be against it. He says (xxix. 18) that "Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyre;" that "every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled, yet had he no wages, nor his army for Tyrus, for the service that he served against it;" and the obvious inference is that, however great the exertions of the army may have been in digging entrenchments or in casting up earthworks, the siege was unsuccessful. This is confirmed by the following verses (19, 20), in which it is stated that the land of Egypt will be given to Nebuchadnezzar as a compensation, or wages, to him and his army for their having served against Tyre. Movers, indeed, asserts that the only mean-

times in the book (iv. 2; xii. 11; xv. 13; xviii. 2; xxvi. 4; xxxii. 11, 14; xxxiii. 8, 32; xxxiv. 3; xxxv. 16; xxxviii. 2). [But there are strong reasons for assigning an earlier date to the book: see Job, p. 1095—Ed.]

ing of the expression that Nebuchadnezzar and his army had no wages for their service against Tyre is, that they did not plunder the city. But to a virtuous commander the best reward of besieging a city is to capture it; and it is a strange sentiment to attribute to the Supreme Being, or to a prophet, that a general and his army received no wages for capturing a city, because they did not plunder it. 2ndly. Josephus, who had access to historical writings on this subject which have not reached our times although he quotes Phoenician writers who show that Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre (*Ant. x. 11, §1; c. Apion. 23*), neither states on his own authority, nor quotes any one else as stating, that Nebuchadnezzar took it. 3rdly. The capture of Tyre on this occasion is not mentioned by any Greek or Roman author whose writings are now in existence. 4thly. In the time of Jerome it was distinctly stated by some of his contemporaries that they had read, amongst other histories on this point, histories of Greeks and Phoenicians, and especially of Nicolaus Damascenus, in which nothing was said of the siege of Tyre by the Chaldees: and Jerome, in noticing this fact, does not quote any authority of any kind for a counter-statement, but contents himself with a general allegation that many facts are related in the Scriptures which are not found in Greek works, and that "we ought not to acquiesce in the authority of those whose perfidy and falsehood we detest" (see *Comment. ad Ezechielem, xxvi. 7*). On this view of the question there would seem to be small reason for believing that the city was actually captured, were it not for another passage of Jerome in his Commentaries on the passage of Ezekiel already quoted (xxix. 18), in which he explains that the meaning of Nebuchadnezzar's having received no wages for his warfare against Tyre is, not that he failed to take the city, but that the Tyrians had previously removed everything precious from it in ships, so that when Nebuchadnezzar entered the city he found nothing there. This interpretation has been admitted by one of the most distinguished critics of our own day (Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes, ad loc.*) who, deeming it probable that Jerome had obtained the information from some historian whose name is not given, accepts as historical this account of the termination of the siege. This account therefore, as far as inquirers of the present day are concerned, rests solely on the authority of Jerome; and it thus becomes important to ascertain the principles and method which Jerome adopted in writing his Commentaries. It is peculiarly fortunate that Jerome himself has left on record some valuable information on this point in a letter to Augustine, for the understanding of which the following brief preliminary explanation will be sufficient:—In Jerome's Commentaries on the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, when adverting to the passage (vers. 11-14) in which St. Paul states that he had withstood Peter to the face, "because he was to be blamed" for requiring Christians to comply with the observances of the Jewish ritual law, Jerome denies that there was any real difference of opinion between the two Apostles, and asserts that they had merely made a preconcerted arrangement of apparent difference,

in order that those who approved of circumcision might plead the example of Peter, and that those who were unwilling to be circumcised might extol the religious liberty of Paul. Jerome then goes on to say that "the fact of simulation being useful, and occasionally permissible, is taught by the example of Jehu king of Israel, who never would have been able to put the priests of Baal to death unless he had feigned willingness to worship an idol, saying, 'Ahab served Baal a little, but Jehu shall serve him much.'" On this Augustine strongly remonstrated with Jerome in two letters which are marked 56 and 67 in Jerome's Correspondence. To these Jerome returned an answer in a letter marked 112, in which he repudiates the idea that he is to be held responsible for all that is contained in his Commentaries, and then frankly confesses how he composed them. Beginning with Origen, he enumerates several writers whose Commentaries he had read, specifying, amongst others, Laodiceus, who had lately left the Church, and Alexander, an old heretic. He then avows that having read them all he sent for an amanuensis, to whom he dictated sometimes his own remarks, sometimes those of others, without paying strict attention either to the order or the words, and sometimes not even to the meaning. "Itaque ut simpliciter fatear, legi haec omnia, et in mente meâ plurima coacervans, accito notario, vel mea, vel aliena dictavi, nec ordinis, nec verborum, interdum nec sensuum memor" (see Migne's Edition of Jerome, vol. i. p. 918). Now if the bearing of the remarks concerning simulation for a pious purpose, and of the method which Jerome followed in the composition of his Commentaries is seriously considered, it cannot but throw doubt on his uncorroborated statements in any case wherein a religious or theological interest may have appeared to him to be at stake.

Jerome was a very learned man, perhaps the most learned of all the Fathers. He was also one of the very few among them who made themselves acquainted with the Hebrew language, and in this, as well as in other points, he deserves gratitude for the services which he has rendered to Biblical literature. He is, moreover, a valuable witness to facts, when he can be suspected of no bias concerning them, and especially when they seem contrary to his religious prepossessions. But it is evident, from the passages in his writings above quoted, that he had not a critical mind, and that he can scarcely be regarded as one of those noble spirits who prefer truth to supposed pious ends which may be attained by its violation. Hence, contrary to the most natural meaning of the prophet Ezekiel's words (xxix. 18), it would be unsafe to rely on Jerome's sole authority for the statement that Nebuchadnezzar and his army eventually captured Tyre.

*Literature.*—For information on this head, see PHOENICIANS, p. 1006. In addition to the works there mentioned, see Robinson's *Bibl. Res.* ii. 461-471; Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 264-268; Porter's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*, pp. 390-396; Hengstenberg, *De Rebus Tyriorum*, Berlin, 1832; and Ritter's *Erdkunde*, vol. xvii. 1st part, 3rd book, pp. 320-379. Professor Robinson, in addition to his instructive history of Tyre, has pub-

\* Hengstenberg (*De Rebus Tyriorum*, p. 75) says that this silence of the Greek and Phoenician historians proves too much, as there is no doubt that the city was besieged by Nebuchadnezzar. To this Hitzig replies, that the

historians could only have omitted to mention the siege, because the siege had not been followed by the capture of the city (*Der Prophet Jesaja*, p. 278).



ished, in the Appendix to his third volume, a detailed list, which is useful for the knowledge of Tyre, of works by authors who had themselves travelled or resided in Palestine. See likewise an excellent account of Tyre by Gesenius in his *Jesaja*, i. 707-719, and by Winer, *s. v.*, in his *Bibl. Realwört.* [E. T.]



Coin of Tyre.

**TY'RUS.** This form is employed in the A. V. of the Books of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea (Joel has "Tyre"), Amos, Zechariah, 2 Esdras, Judith, and the Maccabees, as follows: Jer. xxv. 22, xxvii. 3, xlvii. 4; Ezek. xxvi. 2, 3, 4, 7, 15, xxvii. 2, 3, 8, 32, xxviii. 2, 12, xxix. 18; Hos. ix. 13; Am. i. 9, 10; Zech. ix. 2, 3; 2 Esd. i. 11; Jud. ii. 28; 1 Macc. v. 15; 2 Macc. iv. 18, 52, 44, 49.

## U

**U'CAL** (אֲכַל, and in some copies אֲכַל). According to the received text of Prov. xxx. 1, Ithiel and Ucal must be regarded as proper names, and if so, they must be the names of disciples or sons of Agur the son of Jakeh, an unknown sage among the Hebrews. But there is great obscurity about the passage. The LXX. translate τοῖς πιστεύουσι θεῷ καὶ παύομαι: the Vulgate, *cum quo est Deus, et qui Deo secum morante confortatus*. The Arabic follows the LXX. to some extent; the Targum reproduces Ithiel and Ucal as proper names, and the Syriac is corrupt, Ucal being omitted altogether. Luther represents the names as *Leithiel* and *Uchal*. De Wette regards them as proper names, as do most translators and commentators. Junius explains both as referring to Christ. The LXX. probably read אֲכַל וְאֵל. The Veneto-Greek has καὶ σὺν ἡσσομαί = וְאֵל. Cocceius must have pointed the words thus, אֲכַל וְאֵל, "I have laboured for God and have obtained," and this, with regard to the first two words must have been the reading of J. D. Michaelis, who renders, "I have wearied myself for God, and have given up the investigation," applying the words to a man who had bewildered himself with philosophical speculations about the Deity, and had been compelled to give up the search. Bertheau also (*Die Sprüche Sal. Einl.* xvii.) sees in the words, "I have wearied myself for God, I have wearied myself for God, and have fainted" (אֲכַל), an appropriate commencement to the series of proverbs which follow. Hitzig's view is substantially the same, except that he points the last word אֲכַל and renders, "and I became dull;" applying it to the dimness which the investigation produced upon the eye of the mind (*Die Spr. Sal.* p. 316). Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, i. p. clxxx.) follows

Bertheau's punctuation, but regards אֲכַל as its first occurrence as a symbolical name of the speaker. "The saying of the man 'I-have-wearied-myself-for-God; I have wearied myself for God, and have fainted away.' There is, however, one fatal objection to this view, if there were no others, and that is, that the verb אָכַל, "to be wearied," nowhere takes after it the accusative of the object of weariness. On this account alone, therefore, we must reject all the above explanations. If Bertheau's pointing be adopted, the only legitimate translation of the words is that given by Dr. Davidson (*Introd.* ii. 338), "I am weary, O God, I am weary, O God, and am become weak." Ewald considers both Ithiel and Ucal as symbolical names, employed by the poet to designate two classes of thinkers to whom he addresses himself, or rather he combines both names in one, "God-with-me-and-I-am-strong," and bestows it upon an imaginary character, whom he introduces to take part in the dialogue. The name 'God-with-me,' says Keil (*Hävernich, Einl.* iii. p. 412), "denotes such as gloried in a more intimate communion with God, and a higher insight and wisdom obtained thereby," while 'I-am-strong,' indicates "the so-called strong spirits who boast of their wisdom and might, and deny the holy God, so that both names most probably represent a class of freethinkers, who thought themselves superior to the revealed law, and in practical atheism indulged the lusts of the flesh." It is to be wished that in this case, as in many others, commentators had observed the precept of the Talmud, "Teach thy tongue to say, 'I do not know.'" [W. A. W.]

**U'EL** (אֱוֵל: Οὐήλ: *Vel*). One of the family of Bani, who during the Captivity had married a foreign wife (Ezr. x. 34). Called JUEL in 1 Esd. ix. 34.

**U'KNAZ** (אֱוֵנָז: Κενέζ: *Cenez*). In the margin of 1 Chr. iv. 15 the words "even Kenaz" in the text are rendered "Uknaz," as a proper name. Apparently some name has been omitted before Kenaz, for the clause begins "and the sons of Elah," and then only Kenaz is given. Both the LXX. and Vulg. omit the conjunction. In the Peshito Syriac, which is evidently corrupt, Kenaz is the third son of Caleb the son of Jephunneh.

**ULA'I** (אֱוֵלַי: Οὐβάλ: *Ulai*) is mentioned by Daniel (viii. 2, 16) as a river near to Susa, where he saw his vision of the ram and the he-goat. It has been generally identified with the Eulaeus of the Greek and Roman geographers (Marc. Heracl. p. 18. *Arr. Exp. Al.* vii. 7; Strab. xv. 3, §22; Ptol. vi. 3; Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 31), a large stream in the immediate neighbourhood of that city. This identification may be safely allowed, resting as it does on the double ground of close verbal resemblance in the two names, and complete agreement as to the situation.

Can we, then, identify the Eulaeus with any existing stream? Not without opening a controversy, since there is no point more disputed among comparative geographers. The Eulaeus has been by many identified with the Choaspes, which is undoubtedly the modern *Kerkhah*, an affluent of the Tigris, flowing into it a little below *Kurnah*. By others it has been regarded as the *Kuran*, a large river, considerably further to the eastward, which enters the *Khor Bamishir* near *Mohammerah*. Some have even suggested that it may have been

the *Shapur* or *Sha'ur*, a small stream which rises a few miles N. W. of Susa, and flows by the ruins into the *Dizful* stream, an affluent of the *Kuran*.

The general grounds on which the Eulaeus has been identified with the Choaspes, and so with the *Kerkhah* (Salmasius, Rosenmüller, Wahl, Kitto, &c.) are, the mention of each separately by ancient writers as "the river of Susa," and (more especially) the statements made by some (Strabo, Plin.) that the water of the Eulaeus, by others (Herod., Athen., Plut., Q. Curtius), that that of the Choaspes was the only water tasted by the Persian kings. Against the identification it must be noticed that Strabo, Pliny, Solinus, and Polyclitus (ap. Strab. xv. 3, §4) regard the rivers as distinct, and that the lower course of the Eulaeus, as described by Arrian (*Exp. Al.* vii. 7) and Pliny (*H. N.* vi. 26), is such as cannot possibly be reconciled with that of the *Kerkhah* river.

The grounds for regarding the Eulaeus as the *Kuran* are decidedly stronger than those for identifying it with the *Kerkhah* or Choaspes. No one can compare the voyage of Nearchus in Arrian's *Indica* with Arrian's own account of Alexander's descent of the Eulaeus (vii. 7) without seeing that the Eulaeus of the one narrative is the Pasitigris of the other; and that the Pasitigris is the *Kuran* is almost universally admitted. Indeed, it may be said that all accounts of the lower Eulaeus—those of Arrian, Pliny, Polyclitus, and Ptolemy—identify it, beyond the possibility of mistake, with the lower *Kuran*, and that so far there ought to be no controversy. The difficulty is with respect to the upper Eulaeus. The Eulaeus, according to Pliny, surrounded the citadel of Susa (vi. 27), whereas even the *Dizful* branch of the *Kuran* does not come within six miles of the ruins. It lay to the west, not only of the Pasitigris (*Kuran*), but also of the Coprates (river of *Dizful*), according to Diodorus (xix. 18, 19). So far, it might be the *Shapur*, but for two objections. The *Shapur* is too small a stream to have attracted the general notice of geographers, and its water is of so bad a character that it can never have been chosen for the royal table (*Geograph. Journ.* ix. p. 70). There is also an important notice in Pliny entirely incompatible with the notion that the short stream of the *Shapur*, which rises in the plain about five miles to the N. N. W. of Susa, can be the true Eulaeus. Pliny says (vi. 31) the Eulaeus rose in *Media*, and flowed through Mesobatene. Now this is exactly true of the upper *Kerkhah*, which rises near *Hamadan* (Ecbatana), and flows down the district of *Mah-sabadan* (Mesobatene).

The result is that the various notices of ancient writers appear to identify the upper Eulaeus with the upper *Kerkhah*, and the lower Eulaeus (quite unmistakably) with the lower *Kuran*. Does this apparent confusion and contradiction admit of explanation and reconciliation?

A recent survey of the ground has suggested a satisfactory explanation. It appears that the *Kerkhah* once bifurcated at *Pai Pul*, about 20 miles N. W. of Susa, sending out a branch which passed east of the ruins, absorbing into it the *Shapur*, and flowing on across the plain in a S. S. E. direction till it fell into the *Kuran* at *Ahwaz* (Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*, pp. 424, 425). Thus, the upper *Kerkhah* and the lower *Kuran* were in old

times united, and might be viewed as forming a single stream. The name Eulaeus (*Ulai*) seems to have applied most properly to the eastern branch stream from *Pai Pul* to *Ahwaz*; the stream above *Pai Pul* was sometimes called the Eulaeus, but was more properly the Choaspes, which was also the sole name of the western branch (or present course) of the *Kerkhah* from *Pai Pul* to the Tigris. The name Pasitigris was proper to the upper *Kuran* from its source to its junction with the Eulaeus, after which the two names were equally applied to the lower river. The *Dizful* stream, which was not very generally known, was called the Coprates. It is believed that this view of the river names will reconcile and make intelligible all the notices of them contained in the ancient writers.

It follows from this that the water which the Persian kings drank, both at the court, and when they travelled abroad, was that of the *Kerkhah*, taken probably from the eastern branch, or proper Eulaeus, which washed the walls of Susa, and (according to Pliny) was used to strengthen its defences. This water was, and still is, believed to possess peculiar lightness (Strab. xv. 3, §22; *Geograph. Journ.* ix. p. 70), and is thought to be at once more wholesome and more pleasant to the taste than almost any other. (On the controversy concerning this stream the reader may consult Kinnear, *Persian Empire*, pp. 100-106; Sir H. Rawlinson, in *Geograph. Journ.* ix. pp. 84-93; Layard, in the same, xvi. pp. 91-94; and Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*, pp. 424-431.) [G. R.]

U'LAM (𐤀𐤋𐤍: Οὐλάμ: *Ulam*). 1. A descendant of Gilead the grandson of Manasseh, and father of Bedan (1 Chr. vii. 17).

2. (Αἰλάμ; Alex. Οὐλάμ.) The first-born of Eshek, the brother of Azel, a descendant of the house of Saul. His sons were among the famous archers of Benjamin, and with their sons and grandsons made up the goodly family of 150 (1 Chr. viii. 39, 40).

UL'LA (𐤀𐤋𐤋: 'Ολά; Alex. 'Ολά: *Olla*). An Asherite, head of a family in his tribe, a mighty man of valour, but how descended does not appear (1 Chr. vii. 39). Perhaps, as Junius suggests, he may be a son of Ithran or Jether; and we may further conjecture that his name may be a corruption of Ara.

UM'MAH (𐤀𐤍𐤍: 'Αρχάβ; 'Αμμα: *Amma*). One of the cities of the allotment of Asher (Josh. xix. 30 only). It occurs in company with Apeh and Rehob; but as neither of these have been identified, no clue to the situation of Ummah is gained thereby. Dr. Thomson (*Bibl. Sacra*, 1855, p. 822, quoted by Van de Velde) was shown a place called *'Alma* in the highlands on the coast, about five miles E.N.E. of *Ras en-Nakhûra*, which is not dissimilar in name, and which he conjectures may be identical with Ummah. But it is quite uncertain. *'Alma* is described in *The Land and the Book*, chap. xx. [G.]

UNCLEAN MEATS. These were things strangled, or dead of themselves, or through beasts or birds of prey; whatever beast did not both part the hoof and chew the cud; and certain other smaller animals rated as "creeping things" <sup>b</sup> (רֶפְּשִׁי); certain

<sup>a</sup> This looks at first sight like a misplacement of the name Rehob from its proper position further on in the verse. Rehob, however, is usually Ῥαάβ.

<sup>b</sup> Lev. xi. 29-30 forbids eating the weasel, the mouse, the tortoise, the ferret, the chameleon, the lizard, the snail, and the mole. The LXX. has in place of the tor-

classes of birds \* mentioned in Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv. twenty or twenty-one in all; whatever in the waters had not both fins and scales; whatever winged insect had not besides four legs the two hind-legs for leaping;<sup>d</sup> besides things offered in sacrifice to idols; and all blood or whatever contained it (save perhaps the blood of fish, as would appear from that only of beast and bird being forbidden, Lev. vii. 26), and therefore flesh cut from the live animal; as also all fat, at any rate that disposed in masses among the intestines, and probably wherever discernible and separable among the flesh (Lev. iii. 14-17, vii. 23). The eating of blood was prohibited even to "the stranger that sojourneth among you" (Lev. xvii. 10, 12, 13, 14), an extension which we do not trace in other dietary precepts; *e. g.* the thing which died of itself was to be given "unto the stranger that is in thy gates," Deut. xiv. 21. As regards blood, the prohibition indeed dates from the declaration to Noah against "flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof," in Gen. ix. 4, which was perhaps regarded by Moses as still binding upon all Noah's descendants. The grounds, however, on which the similar precept of the Apostolic Council, in Acts xv. 20, 21, appears based, relate not to any obligation resting still unbroken on the Gentile world, but to the risk of promiscuous offence to the Jews and Jewish Christians, "for Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him." Hence this abstinence is reckoned amongst "necessary things" (τὰ ἐπιανάγκαις), and "things offered to idols," although not solely, it may be presumed, on the same grounds, are placed in the same class with "blood and things strangled" (ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος καὶ πνικτού, vv. 28, 29). Besides these, we find the prohibition twice recurring against "seething a kid in its mother's milk." It is added, as a final injunction to the code of dietary precepts in Deut. xiv., after the crowning declaration of ver. 21, "for thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God;" but in Exod. xxiii. 19, xxxiv. 26, the context relates to the bringing firstfruits to the altar, and to the "Angel" who was to "go before" the people. To this precept we shall have occasion further to return.

The general distinction of clean and unclean is rightly observed by Michaelis (*Smith's Translation*,

toise, the κροκόδειλος ὁ χερσαῖος, and instead of the snail (put before the lizard, σαῦρα), the χαλαβώτης.

\* In the LXX. of Lev. xi. 14, two birds only are mentioned, τὸν γύπα καὶ τὸν ἰκτινον, and in the parallel passage of Deut. xiv. 13 the same two; but in the Heb. of the latter passage only our present text has three birds' names. It is therefore probable that one of these, הַנָּזִף, rendered "glede" by the A.V., is a mere corruption of הַנָּזִף, found both in Deut. and in Lev., for which the LXX. gives γύψ, and the Vulgate *Milvius*. So Maimon. took it (Bochart, *Hieroz.* ii. 33, 353). Thus we have twenty birds named as unclean, alike in the Heb. and in the LXX. of Lev. xi. 13-19, and of many of these the identification is very doubtful. Bochart says (p. 354), "nomina avium immundarum recenset Maimon., interpretari ne conatus quidem est." In the Heb. of Deut. xiv. we have, allowing for the probable corruption of one name, the same twenty, but in the LXX. only nineteen; "every raven after his kind" (πάντα κόρακα καὶ τὰ ὅμοια αὐτῶν), of Lev. being omitted, and the other names, although the same as those of Lev., yet having a different order and grouping after the first eight. Thus Lev. xi. 17, consists of the three, καὶ νυκτικόρακα, καὶ καταράκτην, καὶ ἴβιν; whereas Deut. xiv. 16, which should corres-

Art. ccii. &c.) to have its parallel amongst all nations, there being universally certain creatures regarded as clean, *i. e.* fit for food, and the rest as the opposite (comp. Lev. xi. 47). With the greater number of nations, however, this is only a traditional usage based merely perhaps either on an instinct relating to health, or on a repugnance which is to be regarded as an ultimate fact in itself, and of which no further account is to be given. Thus Michaelis (as above) remarks that in a certain part of Germany rabbits are viewed as unclean, *i. e.* are advisedly excluded from diet. Our feelings as regards the frog and the snail, contrasted with those of continentals, supply another close parallel. Now, it is not unlikely that nothing more than this is intended in the distinction between "clean" and "unclean" in the directions given to Noah. The intention seems to have been that creatures recognized, on whatever ground, as unfit for human food, should not be preserved in so large a proportion as those whose number might be diminished by that consumption. The dietary code of the Egyptians, and the traditions which have descended amongst the Arabs, unfortified, certainly down to the time of Mahomet, and in some cases later, by any legislation whatever, so far as we know, may illustrate the probable state of the Israelites. If the Law seized upon such habits as were current among the people, perhaps enlarging their scope and range, the whole scheme of tradition, instinct, and usage so enlarged might become a ceremonial barrier, having a relation at once to the theocratic idea, to the general health of the people, and to their separateness as a nation.

The same personal interest taken by Jehovah in his subjects, which is expressed by the demand for a ceremonially pure state on the part of every Israelite as in covenant with Him, regarded also this particular detail of that purity, *viz.* diet. Thus the prophet (Is. lxvi. 17), speaking in His name, denounces those that "sanctify themselves (consecrate themselves to idolatry), eating swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse," and those "which remain among the graves and lodge in the monuments, which eat swine's flesh, and broth of abominable things is in their vessels" (lxv. 4). It remained for a higher Lawgiver to announce that "there is nothing from without a man that enter-

pond, contains καὶ ἐρωδιὸν, καὶ κύκνον, καὶ ἴβιν. Also the ἔποψ, "hoopoe," and the πορφυρίων, "coot," figure in both the LXX. lists.

<sup>d</sup> In Lev. xi. 21 the *keri* has קְרִי, against the קְרִי of the *cethib*. It is best to adopt the former, and view the last part of the verse as constituting a class that may be eaten from among a larger doubtful class of "flying creeping-things," the *differentia* consisting in their having four feet, and a pair of hind-legs to spring with. The A.V. is here obscure. "All fowls that creep," and "every flying creeping thing," standing in Lev. xi. 20, 21 for precisely the same Heb. phrase, rendered by the LXX. τὰ ἐρπετὰ τῶν πετεινῶν; and "legs above their feet to leap," not showing that the distinct larger springing legs of the locust or cicada are meant; where the Heb. קַמְעַל, and LXX. ἀνώτερον seem to express the upward projection of these legs above the creature's back. So Bochart takes it (p. 452), who also prefers קַמְעַל in the reading above given; "ita enim Hebraei omnes;" and so, he adds, the Samar. Pent. He states that locusts are salted for food in Egypt (iv. 7, 491-2; comp. Hasselquist, 231-233). The edible class is enumerated in four species. No precept is found in Deut. relating to these.

ing into him can defile him" (Mark vii. 15). The fat was claimed as a burnt offering and the blood enjoyed the highest sacrificial esteem. In the two combined the entire victim was by representation offered, and to transfer either to human use was to deal presumptuously with the most holy things. But besides this, the blood was esteemed as "the life" of the creature, and a mysterious sanctity beyond the sacrificial relation thereby attached to it. Hence we read, "whatsoever soul it be that eateth any manner of blood, even that soul shall be cut off from his people" (Lev. vii. 27, comp. xvii. 10, 14). Whereas the offender in other dietary respects was merely "unclean until even" (xi. 40, xvii. 15).

Blood was certainly drunk in certain heathen rituals, especially those which related to the solemnization of a covenant, but also as a pledge of idolatrous worship (Ps. xvi. 4; Ezek. xxxiii. 25). Still there is no reason to think that blood has ever been a common article of food, and any lawgiver might probably reckon on a natural aversion effectually fortifying his prohibition in this respect, unless under some bewildering influence of superstition. Whether animal qualities, grosser appetites, and inhuman tendencies might be supposed by the Hebrews transmitted into the partaker of the blood of animals, we have nothing to show: see, however, Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 11, §2.

It is noteworthy that the practical effect of the rule laid down is to exclude all the *carnivora* among quadrupeds, and, so far as we can interpret the nomenclature, the *raptores* among birds. This suggests the question whether they were excluded as being not averse to human carcasses, and in most Eastern countries acting as the servitors of the battle-field and the gibbet. Even swine have been known so to feed; and, further, by their constant runcation among whatever lies on the ground, suggest impurity, even if they were not generally foul feeders. Amongst fish those which were allowed contain unquestionably the most wholesome varieties, save that they exclude the oyster. Probably, however, sea-fishing was little practised by the Israelites; and the Levitical rules must be understood as referring backwards to their experience of the produce of the Nile, and forwards to their enjoyment of the Jordan and its upper lakes. The exclusion of the camel and the hare from allowable meats is less easy to account for, save that the former never was in common use, and is generally spoken of in reference to the semi-barbarous desert tribes on the eastern or southern border land, some of whom certainly had no insuperable repugnance to his flesh; although it is so impossible to substitute any other creature for the camel as the "ship of the desert," that to eat him, especially where so many other creatures give meat so much preferable, would be the worst economy possible in an Eastern commissariat—that of destroying

the best, or rather the only conveyance, in order to obtain the most indifferent food. The hare<sup>f</sup> was long supposed, even by eminent naturalists,<sup>g</sup> to ruminant, and certainly was eaten by the Egyptians. The horse and ass would be generally spared from similar reasons to those which exempted the camel. As regards other cattle the young males would be those universally preferred for food, no more of that sex reaching maturity than were needful for breeding, whilst the supply of milk suggested the copious preservation of the female. The duties of draught would require another rule in rearing neat-cattle. The labouring steer, man's fellow in the field, had a life somewhat ennobled and sanctified by that comradeship. Thus it seems to have been quite unusual to slay for sacrifice or food, as in 1 K. xix. 21, the ox accustomed to the yoke. And perhaps in this case, as being tougher, the flesh was not roasted but boiled. The case of Araunah's oxen is not similar, as cattle of all ages were useful in the threshing floor (2 Sam. xxiv. 22). Many of these restrictions must be esteemed as merely based on usage, or arbitrary. Practically the law left among the allowed meats an ample variety, and no inconvenience was likely to arise from a prohibition to eat camels, horses, and asses. Swine, hares, &c. would probably as nearly as possible be exterminated in proportion as the law was observed, and their economic room filled by other creatures. Wunderbar (*Biblich-Talm. Medicin*, part ii. p. 50) refers to a notion that "the animal element might only with great circumspection and discretion be taken up into the life of man, in order to avoid debasing that human life by assimilation to a brutal level, so that thereby the soul might become degraded, profaned, filled with animal affections, and disqualified for drawing near to God." He thinks also that we may notice a meaning in "the distinction between creatures of a higher, nobler, and less intensely animal organization as clean, and those of a lower and incomplete organization as unclean," and that the insects provided with four legs and two others for leaping are of a higher or more complete type than others, and relatively nearer to man. This seems fanciful, but may nevertheless have been a view current among Rabbinical authorities. As regards birds, the *raptores* have commonly tough and indigestible flesh, and some of them are in all warm countries the natural scavengers of all sorts of carrion and offal. This alone begets an instinctive repugnance towards them, and associates them with what was beforehand a defilement. Thus to kill them for food would tend to multiply various sources of uncleanness.<sup>h</sup> Porphyry (*Abstin.* iv. 7, quoted by Winer) says that the Egyptian priests abstained from all fish, from all quadrupeds with solid hoofs, or having claws, or which were not horned, and from all carnivorous birds. Other curious parallels have been found amongst more distant nations.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>e</sup> The camel, it may be observed, is the creature most near the line of separation, for the foot is partially cloven but incompletely so, and he is also a ruminant.

<sup>f</sup> The *יֵרֶבּוֹא*, "coney," A.V., Lev. xi. 5, Deut. xiv. 7, Ps. civ. 18, Prov. xxx. 26, is probably the jerboa.

<sup>g</sup> See a correspondence on the question in *The Standard* and most other London newspapers, April 2nd, 1863.

<sup>h</sup> Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 33, 355, l. 43) mentions various symbolical meanings as conveyed by the precepts regarding birds: "Aves rapaces prohibuit ut a rapina averteret, nocturnas, ut abjicerent opera tenebrarum et se proderent lacis illis, lacustres et riparias, quarum victus est im-

purissimus, ut ab omni immundâ cor arceret. Struthionem denique, qui e terrâ non attollitur, ut terrenis relictis ad ea tenderent quae sursum sunt. Quae interpretatio non nostra est sed veterum." He refers to Barnabas, *Epist.* x.; Clemens Alex. *Strom.* v.; Origen, *Homil. in Levit.*; Novatian, *De Cibis Judaic.* cap. iii.; Cyril, *contra Julian.* lib. ix.

<sup>i</sup> Winer refers to Von Bohlen (*Genesis*, 88) as finding the origin of the clean and unclean animals in the Zendavesta, in that the latter are the creation of Ahri-man, whereas man is ascribed to that of Ormuzd. He rejects, however, and quite rightly, the notion that Persian institutions exercised any influence over Hebrew ones

But as Orientals have minds sensitive to teaching by types, there can be little doubt that such ceremonial distinctions not only tended to keep Jew and Gentile apart, but were a perpetual reminder to the former that he and the latter were not on one level before God. Hence, when that economy was changed, we find that this was the very symbol selected to instruct St. Peter in the truth that God was not a "respector of persons." The vessel filled with "fourfooted beasts of the earth, and wild beasts, and creeping things, and fowls of the air," was expressive of the Gentile world, to be put now on a level with the Israelite, through God's "purifying their hearts by faith." A sense of this their prerogative, however dimly held, may have fortified the members of the privileged nation in their struggle with the persecutions of the Gentiles on this very point. It was no mere question of which among several means of supporting life a man chose to adopt, when the persecutor dictated the alternative of swine's flesh or the loss of life itself, but whether he should surrender the badge and type of that privilege by which Israel stood as the favoured nation before God (1 Macc. i. 63, 64; 2 Macc. vi. 18, vii. 1). The same feeling led to the exaggeration of the Mosaic regulations, until it was "unlawful for a man that was a Jew to keep company with or come unto one of another nation" (Acts x. 28); and with such intensity were badges of distinction cherished, that the wine, bread, oil, cheese, or anything cooked by a heathen,<sup>k</sup> were declared unlawful for a Jew to eat. Nor was this strictness, however it might at times be pushed to an absurdity, without foundation in the nature of the case. The Jews, as, during and after the return from captivity, they found the avenues of the world opening around them, would find their intercourse with Gentiles unavoidably increased, and their only way to avoid an utter relaxation of their code would lie in somewhat overstraining the precepts of prohibition. Nor should we omit the tendency of those who have no scruples to "despise" those who have, and to parade their liberty at the expense of these latter, and give piquancy to the contrast by wanton tricks, designed to beguile the Jew from his strictness of observance, and make him unguardedly partake of what he abhorred, in order to heighten his confusion by derision. One or two instances of such amusement at the Jew's expense would drive the latter within the entrenchments of an universal repugnance and avoidance, and make him seek the safe side at the cost of being counted a churl and a bigot. Thus we may account for the refusal of the "king's meat" by the religious captives (Dan. i. 8), and for the similar conduct recorded of Judith (xii. 2) and Tobit (Tob. i. 11); and in a similar spirit Shakspeare makes Shylock say, "I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you" (*Merchant of Venice*, Act I. Sc. iii.). As regards things offered to idols, all who own one God meet on common ground; but the Jew viewed the precept as demanding a literal objective obedience, and had a holy horror of even an unconscious infraction of the law: hence, as he could never know what had received idolatrous consecration, his only safety lay in total abstinence; whereas St. Paul admonishes the Christian to abstain, "for his sake that showed it and for conscience

at the earliest period of the latter, and connects it with the efforts of some "den Pentateuch recht jung und die Ideen des Zendavesta recht alt zu machen." See UNCLEANNESS

sake," from a thing said to have been consecrated to a false god, but not to parade his conscientious scruples by interrogating the butcher at his stall or the host in his guest-chamber (1 Cor. x. 25-29), and to give opposite injunctions would doubtless in his view have been "compelling the Gentiles to live as did the Jews" (*ἰουδαίσειν*, Gal. ii. 14).

The prohibition to "seethe a kid in his mother's milk" has caused considerable difference of opinion amongst commentators. Michaelis (Art. ccx.) thought it was meant merely to encourage the use of olive oil instead of the milk or butter of an animal, which we commonly use in cookery, where the Orientals use the former. This will not satisfy any mind by which the clue of symbolism, so blindly held by the Eastern devotee, and so deeply interwoven in Jewish ritual, has been once duly seized. Mercy to the beasts is one of the under-currents which permeate that law. To soften the feelings and humanise the character was the higher and more general aim. When St. Paul, commenting on a somewhat similar precept, says, "Doth God care for oxen, or saith He it altogether for *our* sakes?" he does not mean to deny God's care for oxen, but to insist the rather on the more elevated and more human lesson. The milk was the destined support of the young creature: viewed in reference to it, the milk was its "life," and had a relative sanctity resembling that of the forbidden blood (comp. Juv. xi. 68, "qui plus lactis habet quam sanguinis," speaking of a kid destined for the knife). No doubt the abstinence from the forbidden action, in the case of a young creature already dead, and a dam unconscious probably of its loss, or whose consciousness such an use of her milk could in nowise quicken, was based on a sentiment merely. But the practical consequence, that milk must be foregone or elsewhere obtained, would revert the sympathy from being an empty one. It could not be the passive emotion which becomes weaker by repetition, for want of an active habit with which to ally itself. And thus its operation would lie in indirectly quickening sympathies for the brute creation at all other times. The Talmudists took an extreme view of the precept, as forbidding generally the cooking of flesh in milk (Mishna, *Chollin*, viii.; Hottinger, *Leg. Hebr.* 117, 141, quoted by Winer).

It remains to mention the sanitary aspect of the case. Swine are said to be peculiarly liable to disease in their own bodies. This probably means that they are more easily led than other creatures to the foul feeding which produces it; and where the average heat is great, decomposition rapid, and malaria easily excited, this tendency in the animal is more mischievous than elsewhere. A *meazel* or *mezel*, from whence we have "measled pork," is the old English word for a "leper," and it is asserted that eating swine's flesh in Syria and Egypt tends to produce that disorder (Bartholini, *De Morbis Bibl.* viii.; Wunderbar, p. 51). But there is an indefiniteness about these assertions which prevents our dealing with them scientifically. *Meazel* or *mezel* may well indeed represent "leper," but which of all the morbid symptoms classed under that head it is to stand for, and whether it means the same, or at least a parallel disorder, in man and in pig, are indeterminate questions. [LEPER.] The prohibition on eating fat was salubrious in a region

for other resemblances between Persian and Hebrew ritual  
<sup>k</sup> Winer also refers to *Abolza Zara*, II. 2-6, V. 2, Hottinger, *Leg. Hebr.*, 117, 141.

where skin diseases are frequent and virulent, and that on blood had, no doubt, a similar tendency. The case of animals dying of themselves needs no remark: the mere wish to ensure avoiding disease, in case they had died in such a state, would dictate the rule. Yet the beneficial tendency is veiled under a ceremonial difference, for the "stranger" dwelling by the Israelite was allowed it, although the latter was forbidden. Thus is their distinctness before God, as a nation, ever put prominently forward, even where more common motives appear to have their turn. As regards the animals allowed for food, comparing them with those forbidden, there can be no doubt on which side the balance of wholesomeness lies. Nor would any dietetic economist fail to pronounce in favour of the Levitical dietary code as a whole, as ensuring the maximum of public health, and yet of national distinctness, procured, however, by a minimum of the inconvenience arising from restriction.

Bochart's *Hierozycon*; Forskal's *Descriptiones Animalium, etc., quae in Itinere Orientali Observavit*, with his *Icones Rerum Naturalium*, and Rosenmüller's *Handbuch der Bibl. Alterthumskunde*, vol. iv., *Natural History*, may be consulted on some of the questions connected with this subject; also more generally, Moses Maimonides, *De Cibis Vetitis*; Reinhard, *De Cibis Hebraeorum Prohibitis*. [H. H.]

**UNCLEANNES.** The distinctive idea attached to ceremonial uncleanness among the Hebrews was, that it cut a person off for the time from social privileges, and left his citizenship among God's people for the while in abeyance. It did not merely require by law a certain ritual of purification, in order to enhance the importance of the priesthood, but it placed him who had contracted an uncleanness in a position of disadvantage, from which certain ritualistic acts alone could free him. These ritualistic acts were primarily the means of recalling the people to a sense of the personality of God, and of the reality of the bond in which the Covenant had placed them with him. As regards the nature of the acts themselves, they were in part purely ceremonial, and in part had a sanitary tendency; as also had the personal isolation in which the unclean were placed, acting to some extent as a quarantine, under circumstances where infection was possible or supposable. It is remarkable that, although many acts having no connexion specially with cleansing entered into the ritual, the most frequently enjoined method of removing ceremonial pollution was that same washing which produces physical cleanliness. Nor can we adequately comprehend the purport and spirit of the Lawgiver, unless we recognize on either side of the merely ceremonial acts, often apparently enjoined for the sake of solemnity alone, the spiritual and moral benefits on the one side, of which they spake in shadow only, and the physical correctives or preventives on the other, which they often in substance conveyed. Maimonides and some other expositors, whilst they apparently forbid, in reality practise the rationalizing of many ceremonial precepts (*Wunderbar, Biblisch-Talmudische Medicin*, 2<sup>es</sup> Heft, 4).

There is an intense reality in the fact of the Divine Law taking hold of a man by the ordinary infirmities of flesh, and setting its stamp, as it were, in the lowest clay of which he is moulded.

\* Compare the view of the modern Persians in this respect. *Chardin's Voyages*, vol. II. 343, chap. iv. "Le corps se présente devant Dieu comme l'âme; il faut donc

And indeed, things which would be unsuited to the spiritual dispensation of the New Testament, and which might even sink into the ridiculous by too close a contact with its sublimity, have their proper place in a law of temporal sanctions, directly affecting man's life in this world chiefly or solely. The sacredness attached to the human body is parallel to that which invested the Ark of the Covenant itself. It is as though Jehovah thereby would teach them that the "very hairs of their head were all numbered" before Him, and that "in His book were all their members written." Thus was inculcated, so to speak, a bodily holiness.\* And it is remarkable indeed, that the solemn precept, "Ye shall be holy; for I am holy," is used not only where moral duties are enjoined, as in Lev. xix. 2, but equally so where purely ceremonial precepts are delivered, as in xi. 44, 45. So the emphatic and recurring period, "I am the Lord your God," is found added to the clauses of positive observance as well as to those relating to the grandest ethical barriers of duty. The same weight of veto or injunction seems laid on all alike: *e. g.* "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you: I am the Lord," and "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God: I am the Lord" (xix. 28, 32). They had His mark set in their flesh, and all flesh on which that had passed had received, as it were, the broad arrow of the king, and was really owned by him. They were preoccupied by that mark of ownership in all the leading relations of life, so as to exclude the admission of any rival badge.

Nor were they to be only "separated from other people," but they were to be "holy unto God" (xx. 24, 26), "a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation." Hence a number of such ordinances regarding outward purity, which in Egypt they had seen used only by the priests, were made publicly obligatory on the Hebrew nation.

The importance to physical well-being of the injunctions which required frequent ablution, under whatever special pretexts, can be but feebly appreciated in our cooler and damper climate, where there seems to be a less rapid action of the atmosphere, as well as a state of the frame less disposed towards the generation of contagion, and towards morbid action generally. Hence the obvious utility of reinforcing, by the sanction of religion, observances tending in the main to that healthy state which is the only solid basis of comfort, even though in certain points of detail they were burdensome. The custom of using the bath also on occasions of ceremonious introduction to persons of rank or importance (*Ruth* iii. 3; *Judith* x. 3), well explains the special use of it on occasions of religious ministrations, viewed as a personal appearing before God; whence we understand the office of the lavers among the arrangements of the Sanctuary (*Ex.* xxx. 18-21; *1 K.* vii. 38, 39; *comp. Ex.* xix. 10, 14; *1 Sam.* xvi. 5; *Josh.* iii. 5; *2 Chr.* xxx. 17). The examples of parallel observances among the nations of antiquity, will suggest themselves easily to the classical student without special references. The closest approximation, however, to the Mosaic ritual in this respect, is said to be found in the code of Menu (*Winer, "Reinigkeit,"* 313, note).

qu'il soit pur, tant pour parler à Dieu que pour entrer dans le lieu consacré à son culte."

To the priests was ordinarily referred the exposition of the law of uncleanness, as may be gathered from Hagg. ii. 11. Uncleanness, as referred to man, may be arranged in three degrees; (1) that which defiled merely "until even," and was removed by bathing and washing the clothes at the end of it—such were all contacts with dead animals; (2) that graver sort which defiled for seven days, and was removed by the use of the "water of separation"—such were all defilements connected with the human corpse; (3) uncleanness from the morbid, puerperal, or menstrual state, lasting as long as that morbid state lasted—but see further below; and in the case of leprosy lasting often for life.

It suffices barely to notice the spiritual significance which the law of carnal ordinances veiled. This seems sometimes apparent, as in Deut. xxi. 6-8 (comp. Ps. xxvi. 6, lxxiii. 13), yet calling for a spiritual discernment in the student; and this is the point of relation between these "divers washings" and Christian Baptism (1 Pet. iii. 21). Those who lacked that gift were likely to confound the inward with the outward purification, or to fix their regards exclusively on the latter.

As the human person was itself the seat of a covenant-token, so male and female had each their ceremonial obligations in proportion to their sexual differences. Further than this the increase of the nation was a special point of the promise to Abraham and Jacob, and therefore their fecundity as parents was under the Divine tutelage, beyond the general notion of a curse, or at least of God's disfavour, as implied in barrenness. The "blessings of the breasts and of the womb" were His (Gen. xlix. 25), and the law takes accordingly grave and, as it were, paternal cognizance of the organic functions connected with propagation. Thus David could feel, "Thou hast possessed my reins; thou hast covered me in my mother's womb" (Ps. cxxxix. 13); and St. Paul found a spiritual analogy in the fact that "God had tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked" (1 Cor. xii. 24). The changes of habit incident to the female, and certain abnormal states of either sex in regard to such functions, are touched on reverently, and with none of the Aesculapian coldness of science—for the point of view is throughout from the Sanctuary (Lev. xv. 31); and the purity of the individual, both moral and physical, as well as the preservation of the race, seems included in it. There is an emphatic reminder of human weakness in the fact of birth and death—man's passage alike into and out of his mortal state—being marked with a stated pollution. Thus the birth of the infant brought defilement on

<sup>b</sup> Comp. Herod. ii. 64, where it appears that after such intercourse an Egyptian could not enter a sanctuary without first bathing.

<sup>c</sup> Ancient Greek physicians assert that, in southern countries, the symptoms of the puerperal state continue longer when a woman has borne a daughter than when a son. Michaelis (*Smith's Translation*), Art. 214.

<sup>d</sup> Winer quotes a remarkable passage from Pliny, N. H. vii. 13, specifying the mysteriously mischievous properties ascribed in popular superstition to the menstrual flux; e. g., buds and fruits being blighted, steel blunted, dogs driven mad by it, and the like. But Pliny has evidently raked together all sorts of "old wives' fables," without any attempt at testing their truth, and is therefore utterly untrustworthy. More to the purpose is his quotation of Haller, *Elem. Physiol.* vii. 148, to the effect that this opinion of the virulent and baneful effects of

its mother, which she, except so far as necessarily isolated by the nature of the circumstances, propagated around her. Nay, the conjugal act itself or any act resembling it, though done involuntarily (vv. 16-18), entailed uncleanness for a day. The corpse, on the other hand, bequeathed a defilement of seven days to all who handled it, to the "tent" or chamber of death, and to sundry things within it. Nay, contact with one slain in the field of battle, or with even a human bone or grave, was no less effectual to pollute, than that with a corpse dead by the course of nature (Num. xix. 11-18). This shows that the source of pollution lay in the mere fact of death, and seems to mark an anxiety to fix a sense of the connexion of death, even as of birth, with sin, deep in the heart of the nation, by a wide pathology, if we may so call it, of defilement. It is as though the pool of human corruption was stirred anew by whatever passed into or out of it. For the special cases of male, female, and intersexual defilement, see Lev. xii., xv. Wunderbar, *Biblich-Talmudische Medicin*, pt. iii. 19-20, refers to Mishna, *Zabim*, ii. 2, *Nasir*, ix. 4, as understanding by the symptoms mentioned in Lev. xv. 2-8 the *gonorrhoea benigna*. The same authority thinks that the plague "for Peor's sake" (Num. xxv. 1, 8, 9; Deut. iv. 3; Josh. xxii. 17), was possibly a syphilitic affection derived from the Moabites. [ISSUE; MEDICINE.]

The duration of defilement caused by the birth of a female infant, being double that due to a male, extending respectively to eighty<sup>c</sup> and forty days in all (Lev. xii. 2-5), may perhaps represent the woman's heavier share in the first sin and first curse (Gen. iii. 16; 1 Tim. ii. 14). For a man's "issue," besides the uncleanness while it lasted, a probation of seven days, including a washing on the third day, is prescribed. Similar was the period in the case of the woman, and in that of intercourse with a woman so affected (Lev. xv. 13, 28, 24). Such an act during her menstrual separation<sup>d</sup> was regarded as incurring, beyond uncleanness, the penalty of both the persons being cut off from among their people (xx. 18). We may gather from Gen. xxxi. 35, that such injunctions were agreeable to established traditional notions. The propagation of uncleanness from the person to the bed, saddle, clothes, &c., and through them to other persons, is apt to impress the imagination with an idea of the loathsomeness of such a state or the heinousness of such acts, more forcibly by far than if the defilement clove to the first person merely (Lev. xv. 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 20, 22-24, 26, 27). It threw a broad margin around them, and warned all off by amply defined boundaries. One expression in ver. 8. seems to

this secretion proceeded from Asia, and was imported into Europe by the Arabians; which, however, lacks due foundation, and which Pliny's language so far contradicts. The laws of Menu are said to be more stringent on this head than the Mosaic. The menstrual affection begins at an earlier age, and has periods of longer duration with oriental women than with those of our own climate. That Greek religion recognized some of the Levitical pollutions is plain from Eurip. *Iphig. Taur.* 380 foll., where we read of a goddess—*ἡ τις, βροτῶν μὲν ἢν τις ἀφῆται φόνον, ἢ καὶ λοχείας, ἢ νεκροῦ θίγη χερσίν, βροτῶν ἀπείργει, μυσάρων ὡς ἡγουμένη.* A fragment of the same poet, adduced by Mr. Paley *ad loc. cit.*, is even more closely in point. It is, *πάλλευκα δ' ἔχων εἴματα φόνου γένεσιν τε βροτῶν καὶ νεκροθήκης ἀχρημπτόμενος, τῶν τ' ἐμψύχων βρώσιν ἐδεστῶν πεφύλαγμα.* Comp. also Theophr. *Char.* 17.

have misled Winer into supposing that an issue of rheum (*Schleimfluss*) was perhaps intended. That "spitting," in some cases where there was no disease in question, conveyed defilement, seems implied in Num. xii. 14, and much more might such an act so operate, from one whose malady made him a source of pollution even to the touch.

As regards the propagation of uncleanness the Law of Moses is not quite clear. We read (Num. xix. 22), "Whatsoever the unclean person toucheth shall be unclean;" but there uncleanness from contact with the corpse, grave, &c., is the subject of the chapter which the injunction closes; and this is confirmed by Hagg. ii. 13, where "one that is unclean by a dead body" is similarly expressly mentioned. Also from the command (Num. v. 2-4) to "put the unclean out of the camp;" where the "leper," the one "that hath an issue," and the one "defiled by the dead," are particularized, we may assume that the minor pollution for one day only was not communicable, and so needed not to be "put forth." It is observable also that the *major* pollution of the "issue" communicated by contact the *minor* pollution only (Lev. xv. 5-11). Hence may perhaps be deduced a tendency in the contagiousness to exhaust itself; the minor pollution, whether engendered by the major or arising directly, being non-communicable. Thus the major itself would expire after one remove from its original subject. To this pertains the distinction mentioned by Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr. on Matt. xv. 2*), viz. that between נטמ "unclean," and פסול "profane" or "polluted," in that the latter does not pollute another beside itself nor propagate pollution. In the ancient commentary on Num. known as "Siphri" (ap. Ugol. *Thes.* xv. 346), a greater transmissibility of polluting power seems assumed, the defilement being there traced through *three* removes from the original subject of it; but this is no doubt a Rabbinical extension of the original Levitical view.

Michaelis notices a medical tendency in the restriction laid on coition, whereby both parties were unclean until even; he thinks, and with some reason, that the law would operate to discourage polygamy, and, in monogamy, would tend to preserve the health of the parents and to provide for the healthiness of the offspring. The uncleanness similarly imposed upon self-pollution (Lev. xv. 16; Deut. xxiii. 10), even if involuntary, would equally exercise a restraint both moral and salutary to health, and suggest to parents the duty of vigilance over their male children (Michaelis, Art. ccxiv.-ccxvii.).

With regard to uncleanness arising from the lower animals, Lightfoot (*Hor. Hebr. on Lev. xi.-xv.*) remarks, that all which were unclean to touch when dead were unclean to eat, but not conversely; and that all which were unclean to eat were unclean to sacrifice, but not conversely; since "multa edere licet quae non sacrificari, et multa tangere licet quae non edere." For uncleanness in matters of food see UNCLEAN MEATS. All animals, however, if dying of themselves, or eaten with the blood, were unclean to eat. [BLOOD.] The carcass also of any animal unclean as regards diet, however dying, defiled whatever person it, or any part of it, touched. By the same touch any garment, sack, skin, or vessel, together with its con-

tents, became unclean, and was to be purified by washing or scouring; or if an earthen vessel, was to be broken, just as the Brahmins break a vessel out of which a Christian has drunk. Further, the water in which such things had been purified communicated their uncleanness; and even seed for sowing, if wetted with water, became unclean by touch of any carrion, or unclean animal when dead. All these defilements were "until even" only, save the eating "with the blood," the offender in which respect was to "be cut off" (Lev. xi. xvii. 14).

It should further be added, that the same sentence of "cutting off," was denounced against all who should "do presumptuously" in respect even of minor defilements; by which we may understand all contempt of the legal provisions regarding them. The comprehensive term "defilement," also includes the contraction of the unlawful marriages and the indulgence of unlawful lusts, as denounced in Lev. xviii. Even the sowing heterogeneous seeds in the same plot, the mixture of materials in one garment, the sexual admixture of cattle with a diverse kind, and the ploughing with diverse animals in one team, although not formally so classed, yet seem to fall under the same general notion, save in so far as no specified term of defilement or mode of purification is prescribed (Lev. xix. 19; Deut. xxii. 9-11; comp. Michaelis, as above, ccxx.). In the first of these cases the fruit is pronounced "defiled," which Michaelis interprets as a consecration, *i. e.* confiscation of the crop for the uses of the priests.

The fruit of trees was to be counted "as uncircumcised," *i. e.* unclean for the first three years, in the fourth it was to be set apart as "holy to praise the Lord withal," and eaten commonly not till the fifth. Michaelis traces an economic effect in this regulation, it being best to pluck off the blossom in the early years, and not allow the tree to bear fruit till it had attained to some maturity (*ibid.* ccxxii.).

The directions in Deut. xxiii. 10-13, relate to the avoidance of impurities in the case of a host encamped, as shown in ver. 9, and from the mention of "enemies" in ver. 14. The health of the army would of course suffer from the neglect of such rules; but they are based on no such ground of expediency, but on the scrupulous ceremonial purity demanded by the God whose presence was in the midst of them. We must suppose that the rule which expelled soldiers under certain circumstances of pollution from the camp for a whole day, was relaxed in the presence of an enemy, as otherwise it would have placed them beyond the protection of their comrades, and at the mercy of the hostile host. As regards the other regulation, it is part of the teaching of nature herself that an assembled community should reject whatever the human body itself expels. And on this ground the Levitical Law seems content to let such a matter rest, for it annexes no stated defilement, nor prescribes any purification.

Amongst causes of defilement should be noticed the fact that the ashes of the red heifer, burnt whole, which were mixed with water and became the standing resource for purifying uncleanness in the second degree, themselves became a source of defilement to all who were *clean*, even as of purification

though it were required of the host of Israel *i. e.* the whole body of the people, throughout the whole of their wandering in the wilderness. *The Pentateuch, &c.* ch. vi

\* The passage in the Latin version is, "Si vasa quae tangunt hominem, qui tangat vasa, quae tangant mortuum, sunt immunda," &c.

† Bishop Colenso appears to have misapplied this, as



to the unclean, and so the water. Thus the priest and Levite, who administered this purification in their respective degrees, were themselves made unclean thereby, but in the first or lightest degree only (Num. xix. 7, foll.). Somewhat similarly the scape-goat, who bore away the sins of the people, defiled him who led him into the wilderness, and the bringing forth and burning the sacrifice on the Great Day of Atonement had a similar power. This lightest form of uncleanness was expiated by bathing the body and washing the clothes. Besides the water of purification made as aforesaid, men and women in their "issues," were, after seven days, reckoned from the cessation of the disorder, to bring two turtle-doves or young pigeons to be killed by the priests. The purification after child-bed is well known from the N. T.; the law, however, primarily required a lamb and a bird, and allowed the poor to commute for a pair of birds as before. That for the leper declared clean consisted of two stages: the first, not properly sacrificial, though involving the shedding of blood, consisted in bringing two such birds, the one of which the priest killed over spring-water with which its blood was mingled, and the mixture sprinkled seven times on the late leper, with an instrument made of cedar-wood, scarlet wool, and hyssop; the living bird was then dipped in it, and let fly away, symbolizing probably the liberty to which the leper would be entitled when his probation and sacrifice were complete, even as the slaughtered bird signified the discharge of the impurities which his blood had contained during the diseased state. The leper might now bathe, shave himself, and wash his clothes, and come within the town or camp, nor was every place which he entered any longer polluted by him (Mishna, *Negaim*, xiii. 11; *Celim*, i. 4), he was, however, relegated to his own house or tent for seven days. At the end of that time he was scrupulously to shave his whole body, even to his eyebrows, and wash and bathe as before. The final sacrifice consisted of two lambs, and an ewe sheep of the first year with flour and oil, the poor being allowed to bring one lamb and two birds as before, with smaller quantities of flour and oil. For the detail of the ceremonial, some of the features of which are rather singular, see Lev. xiv. Lepers were allowed to attend the synagogue worship, where separate seats were assigned them (*Negaim*, xiii. 12).

All these kinds of uncleanness disqualified for holy functions: as the layman so affected might not approach the congregation and the sanctuary, so any priest who incurred defilement must abstain from the holy things (Lev. xxii. 2-8). The High-Priest was forbidden the customary signs of mourning for father or mother, "for the crown of the anointing oil of his God is upon him" (Lev. xxi. 10-12), and beside his case the same prohibition seems to have been extended to the ordinary priests. At least we have an example of it in the charge given to Eleazar and Ithamar on their brethren's death (Lev. x. 6). From the specification of "father or mother," we may infer that he was permitted to mourn for his wife, and so Maimonides (*de Luctu*, cap. ii., iv.,

<sup>8</sup> i. e. Conveying in symbol only a release from the state to which the leper, whilst such, was sentenced. It is probable, however, that the duality of the symbol arose from the natural impossibility of representing life and death in the same creature, and that both the birds involve a complete representation of the Death, Resurrection, and Ascension which procure the Christian

v.) explains the text. Further, from the special prohibition of Ezekiel, who was a priest, to mourn for his wife (Ez. xxiv. 15, foll.), we know that to mourn for a wife was generally permitted to the priests. Among ordinary Israelites, the man or woman who had an issue, or the latter while in the menstrual or puerperal state, might not, according to the Rabbins, enter even the mount on which the Temple stood; nor might the intra-mural space be entered by any Israelite in mourning. In Jerusalem itself, according to the same authorities, a dead body might not be allowed to pass the night, nor even the bones of one be carried through its streets; neither was any cultivation allowed there, for fear of the dung, &c., to which it might give rise (Maimonides, *Constit. de Temp.* cap. vii. xiv.-xvi.). No bodies were to be interred within towns, unless seven chief men, or the public voice, bade the interment there; and every tomb within a town was to be carefully walled in (*ibid.* xiii.). If a man in a state of pollution presumed to enter the sanctuary, he was obliged to offer a sacrifice as well as suffer punishment. The sacrifice was due under the notion that the pollution of the sanctuary needed expiation, and the punishment was either whipping, the "rebel's beating," which meant leaving the offender to the mercies of the mob, "cutting off from the congregation," or death "by the hand of heaven" (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Levit. xv.; Ugolini, *Thes.* xvi. 126).

As regards the special case of the leper, see LEPROSY. To the remarks there made, it may be added that the priests, in their contact with the leper to be adjudged, were exempted from the law of defilement; that the garb and treatment of the leper seems to be that of one dead in the eye of the Law, or rather a perpetual mourner for his own estate of death with "clothes rent and head bare," the latter being a token of profound affliction and prostration of spirit among an Oriental people, which no conventional token among ourselves can adequately parallel. The fatal cry, *טמא, טמא* "unclean, unclean!" was uttered not only by the leper, but by all for whose uncleanness no remedy could be found (*Pesichtha*, §2; Ugol. *Thes.* xvi. 40). When we consider the aversion to leprous contact which prevailed in Jewish society, and that whatever the leper touched was, as if touched by a corpse, defiled seven days, we see the happy significance of our Lord's selecting the touch as his means of healing the leper (Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Matt. viii. 2); as we also appreciate better the bold faith of the woman, and how daringly she overstepped conventional usage based on the letter of the Law, who having the "issue of blood," hitherto incurable, "came behind him and touched the hem of his garment," confident that not pollution to him but cleansing to herself would be the result of that touch (Luke viii. 43, foll.).

As regards the analogies which the ceremonial of other Oriental nations offers, it may be mentioned that amongst the Arabs the touching a corpse still defiles (Burckhardt, 80). Beyond this, M. Chardin in his account of the religion of the Per-

Atonement. This would of course, however, escape the notice of the worshipper. Christ, with His own blood, "entered the holy places not made with hands," as the living bird soared up to the visible firmament with the blood of its fellow. We may compare the two goats completing apparently one similar joint-symbol on the day of Atonement.

mans (*Voyages en Perse*, vol. ii. 348, foll.), enters into particulars which show a singularly close correspondence with the Levitical code. This will be seen by quoting merely the headings of some of his chapters and sections. Thus we find under "chap. iv. 1<sup>re</sup> partie, Des purifications qui se font avec de l'eau. 2<sup>de</sup> partie, De l'immondicité; 1<sup>re</sup> section, De l'impureté qui se contracte *semine coitus*; 2<sup>de</sup> section, De l'impureté qui arrive aux femmes par les pertes de sang, De l'impureté des pertes de sang extraordinaires, De l'impureté des pertes de sang des couches. 3<sup>eme</sup> partie, De la purification des corps morts." We may compare also with certain Levitical precepts the following: "Si un chien boit dans un vase ou léche quelque plat, il faut écurer le vase avec de la terre nette, et puis le laver deux fois d'eau nette, et il sera net." It is remarkable also that these precepts apply to the people not *quâ* they are Mahomedans, but *quâ* they are Persians, as they are said to shun even Mahomedans who are not of the same ritual in regard to these observances.

For certain branches of this subject the reader may be referred to the treatises in the Mishna named *Niddah* (*menstruata*), *Parah* (*vacca rufa*), *Tehoroth* (*Puritates*), *Zabbim fluxu laborantes*, *Celim* (*vasa*), *Miscath Arlah* (*arborum praeputia*); also to Maimon. lib. v. *Issure Biah* (*prohibitae coitiones*), *Niddah* (*ut sup.*), *Maccaloth Assuroth* (*cibi prohibiti*). [H. H.]

UNDERGIRDING, Acts xxvii. 17. [SHIP, p. 1283a.]

UNICORN (אֶרְיָס, *rēem*; אֶרְיָיִם, *rēeym*; or אֶרְיָיִם, *rēym*: μονοκέρας, ἄδρως: *rhinoceros, unicornis*), the unhappy rendering by the A. V., following the LXX., of the Hebrew *Rēem*, a word which occurs seven times in the O. T. as the name of some large wild animal. More, perhaps, has been written on the subject of the unicorn of the ancients than on any other animal, and various are the opinions which have been given as to the creature intended. The *Rēem* of the Hebrew Bible, however, has nothing at all to do with the one-horned animal mentioned by Ctesias (*Indica*, iv. 25-27), Aelian (*Nat. Anim.* xvi. 20), Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* ii. 2, §8), Pliny (*N. H.* viii. 21), and other Greek and Roman writers, as is evident from Deut. xxxiii. 17, where, in the blessing of Joseph, it is said, "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of a unicorn" (אֶרְיָיִם), not, as the text of the A. V. renders it, "the horns of unicorns." The two horns of the *Rēem* are "the ten thousands of Ephraim and the thousands of Manasseh"—the two tribes which sprang from one, *i. e.* Joseph, as two horns from one head. This text, most appropriately referred to by Schultens (*Comment. in Job.* xxxix. 9), puts a one-horned animal entirely out of the question, and in consequence disposes of the opinion held by Bruce (*Trav.* v. 89) and others, that some species of rhinoceros is denoted, or that maintained by some writers that the *Rēem* is identical with some one-horned animal said to have been seen by travellers in South Africa and in Thibet (see Barrow's *Travels in S. Africa*, i. 312-318, and *Asiatic Journal*, xi. 154), and identical with the veritable unicorn of Greek and Latin writers! Bochart (*Hieroz.* ii. 335) contends that the Hebrew *Rēem* is identical with the Arabic *Rim* (رِيم), which is usually referred to

the *Oryx leucoryx*, the white antelope of North Africa, and at one time perhaps an inhabitant of Palestine. Bochart has been followed by Rosenmüller, Winer, and others. Arnold Boot (*Animad. Sacr.* iii. 8, Lond. 1644), with much better reason, conjectures that some species of *Urus* or wild-ox is the *Rēem* of the Hebrew Scriptures. He has been followed by Schultens (*Comment. in Jobum* xxxix. 9, who translates the term by *Bos sylvestris*: this learned writer has a long and most valuable note on this question), by Parkhurst (*Heb. Lex.* s. v. אֶרְיָיִם), Maurer (*Comment. in Job.* l. c.), Dr. Harris (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*), and by Cary (*Notes on Job*, l. c.). Robinson (*Bib. Res.* ii. 412) and Gesenius (*Thes.* s. v.) have little doubt that the buffalo (*Bubalus buffalus*) is the *Rēem* of the Bible. Before we proceed to discuss these several claimants to represent the *Rēem*, it will be well to note the Scriptural allusions in the passages where the term occurs. The great strength of the *Rēem* is mentioned in Num. xxiii. 22, Job xxxix. 11; his having two horns in Deut. xxxiii. 17; his fierce nature in Ps. xxii. 21; his indomitable disposition in Job xxxix. 9-11; the active and playful habits of the young animal are alluded to in Ps. xxix. 6; while in Is. xxxiv. 6, 7, where Jehovah is said to be preparing "a sacrifice in Bozrah," it is added, "the *Rēemim* shall come down, and the bullocks with the bulls."

The claim of any animal possessed of a single horn to be the *Rēem* has already been settled, for it is manifestly too much to assume, as some writers have done, that the Hebrew term does not always denote the same animal. Little can be urged in favour of the rhinoceros, for even allowing that the two-horned species of Abyssinia (*R. bicornis*) may have been an inhabitant of the woody districts near the Jordan in Biblical times, this *pachyderm* must be out of the question, as one which would have been forbidden to be sacrificed by the Law of Moses, whereas the *Rēem* is mentioned by Isaiah as coming down with bullocks and rams to the Lord's sacrifice. "Omnia animalia," says Rosenmüller (*Schol. in Is.* l. c.), "ad sacrificia idonea in unum congregantur." Again, the skipping of the young *Rēem* (Ps. xxix. 6) is scarcely compatible with the habits of a rhinoceros. Moreover this animal when unmolested is not generally an object of much dread, nor can we believe that it ever existed so plentifully in the Bible lands, or even would have allowed itself to have been sufficiently often seen so as to be the subject of frequent attention, the rhinoceros being an animal of retired habits.

With regard to the claims of the *Oryx leucoryx*, it must be observed that this antelope, like the rest of the family, is harmless unless wounded or hard pressed by the hunter, nor is it remarkable for the possession of any extraordinary strength. Figures of the *Oryx* occur frequently on the Egyptian sculptures, "being among the animals tamed by the Egyptians and kept in great numbers in their preserves" (Wilkinson's *Anc. Egypt.* i. 227, ed. 1854). Certainly this antelope can never be the fierce indomitable *Rēem* mentioned in the Book of Job.

Considering therefore that the *Rēem* is spoken of as a two-horned animal of great strength and ferocity, that it was evidently well known and often seen by the Jews, that it is mentioned as an animal fit for sacrificial purposes, and that it is frequently associated with bulls and oxen, we think there can be no doubt that some species of wild-ox is intended. The allusion in Ps. xcii. 10, "Bu

thou shalt lift up, as a *Rēēm*, my horn," seems to point to the mode in which the *Bovidae* use their horns, lowering the head and then tossing it up. But it is impossible to determine what particular species of wild-ox is signified. At present there is no existing example of any wild bovine animal found in Palestine; but negative evidence in this respect must not be interpreted as affording testimony against the supposition that wild cattle formerly existed in the Bible lands. The lion, for instance, was once not unfrequently met with in Palestine, as is evident from Biblical allusions, but no traces of living specimens exist now. Dr. Roth found lions' bones in a gravel bed of the Jordan some few years ago, and it is not improbable that some future explorer may succeed in discovering bones and skulls of some huge extinct *Urus*, allied perhaps to that gigantic ox of the Hercynian forests which Caesar (*Bell. Gall.* vi. 20) describes as being of a stature scarcely below that of an elephant, and so fierce as to spare neither man nor beast should it meet with either. "Notwithstanding assertions to the contrary," says Col. Hamilton Smith (*Kitto's Cycl. art. "Reem"*), "the *Urus* and the *Bison* were spread anciently from the Rhine to China, and existed in Thrace and Asia Minor; while they, or allied species, are still found in Siberia and the forests both of Northern and Southern Persia. Finally, though the Buffalo was not found anciently farther west than Aracoria, the gigantic *Gaur* (*Bibos gaurus*) and several congeners are spread over all the mountain wildernesses of India and the Sheriff-al-Wady; and a further colossal species roams with other wild bulls in the valleys of Atlas."

Some have conjectured that the *Rēēm* denotes the wild buffalo. Although the *Chainsa*, or tame buffalo, was not introduced into Western Asia until the Arabian conquest of Persia, it is possible that some wild species, *Bubalus arnee*, or *B. brachycerus*, may have existed formerly in Palestine. We are, however, more in favour of some gigantic *Urus*.<sup>a</sup>

Numerous references as to the *μονοκέρας* of the ancients will be found in Bochart (*Hieroz.* iii. cap. 27), Winer (*Bib. Realw.* "Einhorn"); but no further notice of this point is taken here except to observe that the more we study it the more convinced we are that the animal is fabulous. The supposed unicorns of which some modern travellers speak have never been seen by trustworthy witnesses.<sup>b</sup>

[W. H.]

**UN'NI.** 1. (יָנִי: 'Ελιωήλ, 'Ηλωνεί; FA *Ani*: *Ani*.) One of the Levite doorkeepers (A. V. "porters") appointed to play the psaltery "on alamoth" in the service of the sacred Tent, as settled by David (1 Chr. xv. 18, 20).

2. (יָנִי, but in *Keri* יָנִי: Vat. and Alex. omit; FA *Ianaī*: *Anni*.) A second Levite (unless the family of the foregoing be intended) concerned in the sacred office after the Return from Babylon (Neh. xii. 9).

**U'PHAZ** (יֻפְחָז: Μωφάζ, 'Οφάζ: *Ophaz*, *obryzum*), Jer. x. 9; Dan. x. 5. [OPHIR, p. 637 b.]

<sup>a</sup> There appears to be no doubt that the ancient lake-inhabitants of Switzerland towards the close of the stone period succeeded in taming the *urus*. "In a tame state," says Sir C. Lyell (*Antiquity of Man*, p. 24), "its bones were somewhat less massive and heavy, and its horns were somewhat smaller than in wild individuals."

<sup>b</sup> The reader will find a full discussion of the "Unicorn

**UR** (אֹר: Χώρα: *Ur*) occurs in Genesis only, and is there mentioned as the land of Haran's nativity (Gen. xi. 28), the place from which Terah and Abraham started "to go into the land of Canaan" (xi. 31). It is called in Genesis "Ur of the Chaldaeans" (אֹר כַּשְׁדִּים), while in the Acts St. Stephen places it, by implication, in Mesopotamia (vii. 2, 4). These are all the indications which Scripture furnishes as to its locality. As they are clearly insufficient to fix its site, the chief traditions and opinions on the subject will be first considered, and then an attempt will be made to decide, by the help of the Scriptural notices, between them.

One tradition identifies Ur with the modern *Orfah*. There is some ground for believing that this city, called by the Greeks *Edessa*, had also the name of *Orrha* as early as the time of Isidore (ab. B.C. 150); and the tradition connecting it with Abraham is perhaps not later than St. Ephraem (A.D. 330-370), who makes Nimrod king of *Edessa*, among other places (*Comment. in Gen. Op.* vol. i. p. 58, B.). According to Pocock (*Description of the East*, vol. i. p. 159), that Ur is *Edessa* or *Orfah* is "the universal opinion of the Jews;" and it is also the local belief, as is indicated by the title, "Mosque of Abraham," borne by the chief religious edifice of the place, and the designation, "Lake of Abraham the Beloved," attached to the pond in which are kept the sacred fish (*Ainsworth, Travels in the Trach, &c.*, p. 64; comp. Pocock, i. 159, and Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, p. 330).

A second tradition, which appears in the Talmud, and in some of the early Arabian writers, finds Ur in *Warka*, the 'Ορχόνη of the Greeks, and probably the *Erech* of Holy Scripture (called 'Ορέχ by the LXX.). This place bears the name of *Huruk* in the native inscriptions, and was in the country known to the Jews as "the land of the Chaldaeans."

A third tradition, less distinct than either of these, but entitled to at least equal attention, distinguishes Ur from *Warka*, while still placing it in the same region (see *Journal of Asiatic Society*, vol. xii. p. 481, note 2). There can be little doubt that the city whereto this tradition points is that which appears by its bricks to have been called *Hur* by the natives, and which is now represented by the ruins at *Mugheir*, or *Umgheir*, on the right bank of the Euphrates, nearly opposite to its junction with the *Shat-el-Hie*. The oldest Jewish tradition which we possess, that quoted by Eusebius from Eupolemus\* (*Praep. Ev.* ix. 17), who lived about B.C. 150, may be fairly said to intend this place; for by identifying Ur (*Uria*) with the Babylonian city, known also as *Camarina* and *Chaldaeopolis*, it points to a city of the Moon, which *Hur* was—*Kamar* being "the Moon" in Arabic, and *Khaldi* the same luminary in the Old Armenian.

An opinion, unsupported by any tradition, remains to be noticed. Bochart, Calmet, Bunsen, and others, identify "Ur of the Chaldees" with a place of the name, mentioned by a single late writer—Ammianus Marcellinus—as "a castle" existing in his day in Eastern Mesopotamia, between *Hatra* (*El Hadhr*) and *Nisibis* (*Amm. Marc.*

of the Ancients" in the writer's article in the *Ann. and Mag. of Nat. Hist.* November, 1862.

\* The words of Eusebius are: Δεκάτη γενεῆ, ὅπου [Εὐπόλεμος], ἐν πόλει τῆς Βαβυλωνίας Καμαρίνη, ἢ τινες λέγουσιν πόλιν Οὐρίην, εἶναι δὲ μεθερμηνευμένην Χαλδαίων πόλιν, ἐν τοίνυν δεκάτῃ γενεῇ γενεῆς Ἀβραάμ.

xxv. 3). The chief arguments in favour of this site seem to be the identity of name and the position of the place between Arrapachitis, which is thought to have been the dwelling-place of Abraham's ancestors in the time of Arphaxad, and Haran (*Harran*), whither he went from Ur.

It will be seen, that of the four localities thought to have a claim to be regarded as Abraham's city, two are situated in Upper Mesopotamia, between the Mons Masius and the Sinjar range, while the other two are in the alluvial tract near the sea, at least 400 miles further south. Let us endeavour first to decide in which of these two regions Ur is more probably to be sought.

That Chaldaea was, properly speaking, the southern part of Babylonia, the region bordering upon the Gulf, will be admitted by all. Those who maintain the northern emplacement of Ur argue, that with the extension of Chaldaean power the name travelled northward, and became co-extensive with Mesopotamia; but, in the first place, there is no proof that the name Chaldaea was ever extended to the region above the Sinjar; and secondly, if it was, the Jews at any rate mean by Chaldaea exclusively the lower country, and call the upper, Mesopotamia or Padan-Aram (see Job i. 17; Is. xiii. 19, xliii. 14, &c.). Again, there is no reason to believe that Babylonian power was established beyond the Sinjar in these early times. On the contrary, it seems to have been confined to Babylonia Proper, or the alluvial tract below Hit and Tekrit, until the expedition of Chedorlaomer, which was later than the migration of Abraham. The conjectures of Ephraem Syrus and Jerome, who identify the cities of Nimrod with places in the upper Mesopotamian country, deserve no credit. The names all really belong to Chaldaea Proper. Moreover, the best and earliest Jewish authorities place Ur in the low region. Eupolemus has been already quoted to this effect. Josephus, though less distinct upon the point, seems to have held the same view (*Ant.* i. 6). The Talmudists also are on this side of the question; and local traditions, which may be traced back nearly to the Hegira, make the lower country the place of Abraham's birth and early life. If *Orfah* has a Mosque and a Lake of Abraham, Cutha near Babylon goes by Abraham's name, as the traditional scene of all his legendary miracles.

Again, it is really in the lower country only that a name closely corresponding to the Hebrew אֲרָם is found. The cuneiform *Hur* represents 𐎶𐎵 letter for letter, and only differs from it in the greater strength of the aspirate. Isidore's *Orrha* (Ὀρρῶα) differs from 'Ur considerably, and the supposed Ur of Ammianus is probably not Ur, but Adur.<sup>d</sup>

The argument that Ur should be sought in the neighbourhood of Arrapachitis and Seruj, because the names Arphaxad and Serug occur in the genealogy of Abraham (Bunsen, *Egypt's Place &c.*, iii. 366, 367), has no weight till it is shown that the human names in question are really connected with the places, which is at present assumed somewhat boldly. Arrapachitis comes probably from *Arapkha*, an old Assyrian town of no great consequence on the left bank of the Tigris, above Nineveh, which has only three letters in common with Arphaxad (אַרְפַּכְשָׁד); and Seruj is a name which

does not appear in Mesopotamia till long after the Christian era. It is rarely, if ever, that we can extract geographical information from the names in an historical genealogy; and certainly in the present case nothing seems to have been gained by the attempt to do so.

On the whole, therefore, we may regard it as tolerably certain that "Ur of the Chaldees" was a place situated in the real Chaldaea—the low country near the Persian Gulf. The only question that remains in any degree doubtful is, whether Warka or Mugheir is the true locality. These places are not far apart; and either of them is sufficiently suitable. Both are ancient cities, probably long anterior to Abraham. Traditions attach to both, but perhaps more distinctly to Warka. On the other hand, it seems certain that Warka, the native name of which was *Huruk*, represents the Erech of Genesis, which cannot possibly be the Ur of the same Book. Mugheir, therefore, which bore the exact name of 'Ur or Hur, remains with the best claim, and is entitled to be (at least provisionally) regarded as the city of Abraham.

If it be objected to this theory that Abraham, having to go from Mugheir to Palestine, would not be likely to take Haran (*Harran*) on his way, more particularly as he must then have crossed the Euphrates twice, the answer would seem to be, that the movement was not that of an individual but of a tribe, travelling with large flocks and herds, whose line of migration would have to be determined by necessities of pasturage, and by the friendly or hostile disposition, the weakness or strength of the tribes already in possession of the regions which had to be traversed. Fear of Arab plunderers (Job i. 15) may very probably have caused the emigrants to cross the Euphrates before quitting Babylonia, and having done so, they might naturally follow the left bank of the stream to the Belik, up which they might then proceed, attracted by its excellent pastures, till they reached Harran. As a pastoral tribe proceeding from Lower Babylonia to Palestine must ascend the Euphrates as high as the latitude of Aleppo, and perhaps would find it best to ascend nearly to *Bir*, Harran was but a little out of the proper route. Besides, the whole tribe which accompanied Abraham was not going to Palestine. Half the tribe were bent on a less distant journey; and with them the question must have been, where could they, on or near the line of route, obtain an unoccupied territory.

If upon the grounds above indicated *Mugheir* may be regarded as the true "Ur of the Chaldees," from which Abraham and his family set out, some account of its situation and history would seem to be appropriate in this place. Its remains have been very carefully examined, both by Mr. Loftus and Mr. Taylor, while its inscriptions have been deciphered and translated by Sir Henry Rawlinson.

'Ur or Hur, now *Mugheir*, or *Um-Mugheir*, "the bitumened," or "the mother of bitumen," is one of the most ancient, if not the most ancient, of the Chaldaean sites hitherto discovered. It lies on the right bank of the Euphrates, at the distance of about six miles from the present course of the stream, nearly opposite the point where the Euphrates receives the *Shat-el-Hie* from the Tigris. It is now not less than 125 miles from the sea; but there are grounds for believing that it was anciently a maritime town,

<sup>d</sup> The MS. reading is "Adur venere;" "ad Ur" is an emendation of the commentators. The former is to

be preferred, since Ammianus does not use "ad" after "venio."



Ruins of Temple at Mugheir (Loftus).

and that its present inland position has been caused by the rapid growth of the alluvium. The remains of buildings are generally of the most archaic character. They cover an oval space, 1000 yards long by 800 broad, and consist principally of a number of low mounds enclosed within an *enceinte*, which on most sides is nearly perfect. The most remarkable building is near the northern end of the ruins. It is a temple of the true Chaldaean type, built in stages, of which two remain, and composed of brick, partly sun-burnt and partly baked, laid chiefly in a cement of bitumen. The bricks of this building bear the name of a certain *Uruk*, who is regarded as the earliest of the Chaldaean monumental kings, and the name may possibly be the same as that of *Orchamus* of *Ovid* (*Metaph.* iv. 212). His supposed date is B.C. 2000, or a little earlier. 'Ur was the capital of this monarch, who had a dominion extending at least as far north as *Niffer*, and who, by the grandeur of his constructions, is proved to have been a wealthy and powerful prince. The great temple appears to have been founded by this king, who dedicated it to the Moon-god, *Hurki*, from whom the town itself seems to have derived its name. *Iggi*, son of *Uruk*, completed the temple, as well as certain other of his father's buildings, and the kings who followed upon these continued for several generations to adorn and beautify the city. 'Ur retained its metropolitan character for above two centuries, and even after it became second to *Babylon*, was a great city, with an especially sacred character. The notions entertained of its superior sanctity led to its being used as a cemetery city, not only during the time of the early Chaldaean supremacy, but throughout the Assyrian and even the later Babylonian period. It is in the main a city of tombs. By far the greater portion of the space within the *enceinte* is occupied by graves of one kind or another, while outside the enclosure, the whole space for a distance of several hundred yards is a thickly-occupied burial-ground. It is believed that 'Ur was for 1800 years

a site to which the dead were brought from vast distances, thus resembling such places as *Kerbela* and *Nedjif*, or *Meshed Ali*, at the present day. The latest mention that we find of 'Ur as an existing place is in the passage of *Eupolemus* already quoted, where we learn that it had changed its name, and was called *Camarina*. It probably fell into decay under the Persians, and was a mere ruin at the time of *Alexander's* conquests. Perhaps it was the place to which *Alexander's* informants alluded when they told him that the tombs of the old Assyrian kings were chiefly in the great marshes of the lower country (*Arrian, Exp. Alex.* vii. 22). [G. R.]

**URBA'NE** (Ὀὐρβανός: *Urbanus*). It would have been better if the word had been written **URBAN** in the Authorised Version. For unlearned readers sometimes mistake the sex of this Christian disciple, who is in the long list of those whom *St. Paul* salutes in writing to *Rome* (*Rom.* xvi. 9). We have no means, however, of knowing more about *Urbanus*, except, indeed, that we may reasonably conjecture from the words that follow (τὸν συνεργὸν ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ) that he had been at some time in active religious co-operation with the Apostle. Each of those who are saluted just before and just after is simply called τὸν ἀγαπητὸν μου. The name is Latin. [J. S. H.]

**URI** (יְרִי: Ὀὐρέας, *Ex.* xxxi. 2; Ὀὐρίας, *Ex.* xxxv. 30, 2 *Chr.* i. 5; Ὀὐρί, 1 *Chr.* ii. 20; *Alex.* Ὀὐρί, except in 2 *Chr.*: *Uri*). 1. The father of *Bezaleel* one of the architects of the tabernacle (*Ex.* xxxi. 2, xxxv. 30, xxxviii. 22; 1 *Chr.* ii. 20; 2 *Chr.* i. 5). He was of the tribe of *Judah*, and grandson of *Caleb ben-Hezron*, his father being *Hur*, who, according to tradition, was the husband of *Miriam*.

2. (Ἀδαί.) The father of *Geber*, *Solomon's* commissariat officer in *Gilead* (1 *K.* iv. 19).

3. (Ἦδοῦθ; *Alex.* Ἦδοῦέ.) One of the gatekeepers of the temple, who had married a foreign wife in the time of *Ezra* (*Ezr.* x. 24).

URIAH (יִרְיָהוּ, "light of Jehovah:"); *Ovriah*: *Urias*. 1. One of the thirty commanders of the thirty bands into which the Israelite army of David was divided (1 Chr. xi. 41; 2 Sam. xxiii. 39). Like others of David's officers (Ittai of Gath; Ishbosheth the Canaanite, 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, LXX.; Zelek the Ammonite, 2 Sam. xxiii. 37) he was a foreigner—a Hittite. His name, however, and his manner of speech (2 Sam. xi. 11) indicate that he had adopted the Jewish religion. He married Bathsheba, a woman of extraordinary beauty, the daughter of Eliam—possibly the same as the son of Ahithophel, and one of his brother officers (2 Sam. xxiii. 34); and hence, perhaps, as Professor Blunt conjectures (*Coincidences*, II. x.), Uriah's first acquaintance with Bathsheba. It may be inferred from Nathan's parable (2 Sam. xii. 3) that he was passionately devoted to his wife, and that their union was celebrated in Jerusalem as one of peculiar tenderness. He had a house at Jerusalem underneath the palace (2 Sam. xi. 2). In the first war with Ammon he followed Joab to the siege, and with him remained encamped in the open field (*ib.* 11). He returned to Jerusalem, at an order from the king, on the pretext of asking news of the war,—really in the hope that his return to his wife might cover the shame of his own crime. The king met with an unexpected obstacle in the austere, soldier-like spirit which guided all Uriah's conduct, and which gives us a high notion of the character and discipline of David's officers. He steadily refused to go home, or partake of any of the indulgences of domestic life, whilst the ark and the host were in booths and his comrades lying in the open air. He partook of the royal hospitality, but slept always at the gate of the palace till the last night, when the king at a feast vainly endeavoured to entrap him by intoxication. The soldier was overcome by the debauch, but still retained his sense of duty sufficiently to insist on sleeping at the palace. On the morning of the third day, David sent him back to the camp with a letter (as in the story of Bellerophon), containing the command to Joab to cause his destruction in the battle. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 7, §1) adds, that he gave as a reason an imaginary offence of Uriah. None such appears in the actual letter. Probably to an unscrupulous soldier like Joab the absolute will of the king was sufficient.

The device of Joab was, to observe the part of the wall of Rabbath-Ammon, where the greatest force of the besieged was congregated, and thither, as a kind of forlorn hope, to send Uriah. A sally took place. Uriah and the officers with him advanced as far as the gate of the city, and were there shot down by the archers on the wall. It seems as if it had been an established maxim of Israelitish warfare not to approach the wall of a besieged city; and one instance of the fatal result was always quoted, as if proverbially, against it—the sudden and ignominious death of Abimelech at Thebez, which cut short the hopes of the then rising monarchy. This appears from the fact (as given in the LXX.) that Joab exactly anticipates what the king will say when he hears of the disaster.

Just as Joab had forewarned the messenger, the king broke into a furious passion on hearing of the loss, and cited, almost in the very words which Joab had predicted, the case of Abimelech. (The only variation is the omission of the name of the grandfather of Abimelech, which, in the LXX., is Ner instead of Joash.) The messenger, as instructed by Joab, calmly continued, and ended the story with

the words: "Thy servant also, Uriah the Hittite, is dead." In a moment David's anger is appeased. He sends an encouraging message to Joab on the unavoidable chances of war, and urges him to continue the siege. It is one of the touching parts of the story that Uriah falls unconscious of his wife's dishonour. She hears of her husband's death. The narrative gives no hint as to her shame or remorse. She "mourned" with the usual signs of grief as a widow; and then became the wife of David (2 Sam. xi. 27).

Uriah remains to us, preserved by this tragical incident, an example of the chivalrous and devoted characters that were to be found amongst the Canaanites serving in the Hebrew army. [A. P. S.]

2. High-priest in the reign of Ahaz (Is. viii. 2; 2 K. xvi. 10-16). We first hear of him as a witness to Isaiah's prophecy concerning Maher-shalal-hash-baz, with Zechariah, the son of Jeberechiah. He is probably the same as Urijah the priest, who built the altar for Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 10). If this be so, the prophet summoned him as a witness probably on account of his position as high-priest, not on account of his personal qualities; though, as the incident occurred at the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, Uriah's irreligious subserviency may not yet have manifested itself. When Ahaz, after his deliverance from Rezin and Pekah by Tiglath-Pileser, went to wait upon his new master at Damascus, he saw there an altar which pleased him, and sent the pattern of it to Uriah at Jerusalem, with orders to have one made like it against the king's return. Uriah zealously executed the idolatrous command, and when Ahaz returned, not only allowed him to offer sacrifices upon it, but basely complied with all his impious directions. The new altar was accordingly set in the court of the temple, to the east of where the brazen altar used to stand; and the daily sacrifices, and the burnt-offerings of the king and people, were offered upon it; while the brazen altar, having been removed from its place, and set to the north of the Syrian altar, was reserved as a private altar for the king to inquire by. It is likely, too, that Uriah's compliances did not end here, but that he was a consenting party to the other idolatrous and sacrilegious acts of Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 17, 18, xxiii. 5, 11, 12; 2 Chr. xxviii. 23-25).

Of the parentage of Uriah we know nothing. He probably succeeded Azariah, who was high-priest in the reign of Uzziah, and was succeeded by that Azariah who was high-priest in the reign of Hezekiah. Hence it is probable that he was son of the former and father of the latter, it being by no means uncommon among the Hebrews, as among the Greeks, for the grandchild to have the grandfather's name. Probably, too, he may have been descended from that Azariah who must have been high-priest in the reign of Asa. But he has no place in the sacerdotal genealogy (1 Chr. vi. 4-15), in which there is a great gap between Amariah in ver. 11, and Shallum the father of Hilkiyah in ver. 13. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 810.] It is perhaps a legitimate inference that Uriah's line terminated in his successor, Azariah, and that Hilkiyah was descended through another branch from Amariah, who was priest in Jehoshaphat's reign.

3. A priest of the family of Hakkoz (in A. V. wrongly KOZ), the head of the seventh course of priests. (See 1 Chr. xxiv. 10.) It does not appear when this Urijah lived, as he is only named as the father or ancestor of Meremoth in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezr. viii. 23; Neh. iii. 4, 21). In Neh. his name is URIJAH. [A. C. H.]

URIAS (Οὐρίας: *Urias*). 1. URIAH, the husband of Bathsheba (Matt. i. 6).

2. URIJAH, 3 (1 Esd. ix. 43; comp. Neh. viii. 4).

URIEL, "the fire of God," an angel named only in 2 Esdr. iv. 1, 36, v. 20, x. 28. In the second of these passages he is called "the archangel."

URIEL (לְאִירִיֵּאל: Οὐριήλ: *Uriel*). 1. A Kohathite Levite, son of Tahath (1 Chr. vi. 24 [9]). If the genealogies were reckoned in this chapter from father to son, Uriel would be the same as Zephaniah in ver. 36; but there is no reason to suppose that this is the case.

2. Chief of the Kohathites in the reign of David (1 Chr. xv. 5, 11). In this capacity he assisted, together with 120 of his brethren, in bringing up the ark from the house of Obed-edom.

3. Uriel of Gibeah was the father of Maachah, or Michaiiah, the favourite wife of Rehoboam, and mother of Abijah (2 Chr. xiii. 2). In 2 Chr. xi. 20 she is called "Maachah the daughter of Absalom;" and Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 10, §1) explains this by saying that her mother was Tamar, Absalom's daughter. Rashi gives a long note to the effect that Michaiiah was called Maachah after the name of her daughter-in-law the mother of Asa, who was a woman of renown, and that her father's name was Uriel Abishalom. There is no indication, however, that Absalom, like Solomon, had another name, although in the Targum of R. Joseph on Chronicles it is said that the father of Maachah was called Uriel that the name of Absalom might not be mentioned.

URIJAH (הִרְיָהּ: Οὐρίας: *Urias*). 1. Urijah the priest in the reign of Ahaz (2 K. xvi. 10), probably the same as URIAH, 2.

2. (Οὐρία.) A priest of the family of Koz, or hak-Koz, the same as URIAH, 3.

3. (Οὐρίας: *Uria*.) One of the priests who stood at Ezra's right-hand when he read the Law to the people (Neh. viii. 4).

4. (הִרְיָהּ: *Urias*). The son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim. He prophesied in the days of Jehoiakim concerning the land and the city, just as Jeremiah had done, and the king sought to put him to death; but he escaped, and fled into Egypt. His retreat was soon discovered: Elnathan and his men brought him up out of Egypt, and Jehoiakim slew him with the sword, and cast his body forth among the graves of the common people (Jer. xxvi. 20-23). The story of Shemaiah appears to be quoted by the enemies of Jeremiah as a reason for putting him to death; and, as a reply to the instance of Micah the Morasthite, which Jeremiah's friends gave as a reason why his words should be listened to and his life spared. Such, at least, is the view adopted by Rashi.

[W. A. W.]

URIM AND THUMMIM (אֲבִירִים, תְּמִימִים: *doctrina et veritas*).

1. (1.) When the Jewish exiles were met on their return from Babylon by a question which they had no *data* for answering, they agreed to postpone the settlement of the difficulty till there should rise

<sup>a</sup> The exceptions to the *consensus* are just worth noticing. (1) Bellarmine wishing to defend the Vulg. translation, suggested the derivation of Urim from אֲבִירִים = "to teach," and Thummim from תְּמִימִים, "to be true." (Buxtorf, *Diss. de Ur. et Th.*) (2) Thummim has been

up "a Priest with Urim and Thummim" (Ezr. ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65). The inquiry, what those Urim and Thummim themselves were, seems likely to wait as long for a final and satisfying answer. On every side we meet with confessions of ignorance—"Non constat" (Kimchi), "Nescimus" (Aben-Ezra), "Difficile est invenire" (Augustine), varied only by wild and conflicting conjectures. It would be comparatively an easy task to give a catalogue of these hypotheses, and transcribe to any extent the learning which has gathered round them. To attempt to follow a true historical method, and so to construct a theory which shall, at least, include all the phenomena, is a more arduous, but may be a more profitable task.

(2.) The starting-point of such an inquiry must be from the words which the A. V. has left untranslated. It will be well to deal with each separately.

(A.) In *Urim*, Hebrew scholars, with hardly an exception, have seen the plural of אֵשׁ (=light, or fire). The LXX. translators, however, appear to have had reasons which led them to another rendering than that of φῶς, or its cognates. They give ἡ δῆλωσις (Ex. xxviii. 30; Ecclus. xlv. 10), and δῆλοι (Num. xxvii. 21; Deut. xxxiii. 8; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6), while in Ezr. ii. 63, and Neh. vii. 65, we have respectively plural and singular participles of φωτίζω. In Aquila and Theodotion we find the more literal φωτισμοί. The Vulg., following the lead of the LXX., but going further astray, gives *doctrina* in Ex. xxviii. 30 and Deut. xxxiii. 8, omits the word in Num. xxvii. 21, paraphrases it by "*per sacerdotes*" in 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, and gives "*judicium*" in Ecclus. xlv. 10, as the rendering of δῆλωσις. Luther gives *Licht*. The literal English equivalent would of course be "lights;" but the renderings in the LXX. and Vulg. indicate, at least, a traditional belief among the Jews that the plural form, as in Elohim and other like words, did not involve numerical plurality.

(B.) *Thummim*. Here also there is almost a *consensus*<sup>a</sup> as to the derivation from תְּמִימִים (=perfection, completeness); but the LXX., as before, uses the closer Greek equivalent τέλειος but once (Ezr. ii. 63), and adheres elsewhere to ἀλήθεια; and the Vulg., giving "*perfectus*" there, in like manner gives "*veritas*" in all other passages. Aquila more accurately chooses τελειώσεις. Luther, in his first edition, gave *Völligkeit*, but afterwards rested in *Recht*. What has been said as to the plural of Urim applies here also. "Light and Perfection" would probably be the best English equivalent. The assumption of a *hendiadys*, so that the two words = "perfect illumination" (Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 5; Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. p. 135), is unnecessary and, it is believed, unsound. The mere phrase, as such, leaves it therefore uncertain whether each word by itself denoted many things of a given kind, or whether the two taken together might be referred to two distinct objects, or to one and the same object. The presence of the article הַ, and yet more of the demonstrative אֵלֶּם before each, is rather in favour of distinctness. In Deut. xxxiii. 8, we have separately, "Thy Thummim and thy Urim," the first order being inverted. Urim is found alone in Num. xxvii. 21; 1 Sam. xxviii. 6; Thummim

derived from אֲבִירִים contr. אֲבִירִים = "a twin," on the theory that the two groups of gems, six on each side the breast-plate, were what constituted the Urim and Thummim (R. Azarias, in Buxtorf, *l. c.*)

never by itself, unless with Züllig we find it in Ps. xvi. 5.

II. (1.) *Scriptural Statements*.—The mysterious words meet us for the first time, as if they needed no explanation in the description of the High-Priest's apparel. Over the EPHOD there is to be a "breastplate of judgment" (חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט, λογείον κοίσεως,<sup>b</sup> rationale judicii), of gold, scarlet, purple, and fine linen, folded square and doubled, a "span" in length and width. In it are to be set four rows of precious stones, each stone with the name of a tribe of Israel engraved on it, that Aaron may "bear them upon his heart." Then comes a further order. Inside the breastplate, as the Tables of the Covenant were placed inside the Ark (the preposition לְ is used in both cases, Ex. xxv. 16, xxviii. 30), are to be placed "the Urim and the Thummim," the Light and the Perfection; and they, too, are to be on Aaron's heart, when he goes in before the Lord (Ex. xxviii. 15-30). Not a word describes them. They are mentioned as things already familiar both to Moses and the people, connected naturally with the functions of the High-Priest, as mediating between Jehovah and His people. The command is fulfilled (Lev. viii. 8). They pass from Aaron to Eleazar with the sacred Ephod, and other pontificalia (Num. xx. 28). When Joshua is solemnly appointed to succeed the great hero-lawgiver, he is bidden to stand before Eleazar, the priest, "who shall ask counsel for him after the judgment of Urim," and this counsel is to determine the movements of the host of Israel (Num. xvii. 21). In the blessings of Moses, they appear as the crowning glory of the tribe of Levi ("Thy Thummim and thy Urim are with thy Holy One"), the reward of the zeal which led them to close their eyes to everything but "the Law and the Covenant" (Deut. xxxiii. 8, 9). Once, and once only, are they mentioned by name in the history of the Judges and the monarchy. Saul, left to his self-chosen darkness, is answered "neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophet" (1 Sam. xxviii. 6). There is no longer a priest with Urim and Thummim (τοῖς φωτίζουσι καὶ τοῖς τελείοις, Ezr. ii. 63; ὁ φωτίζων, Neh. vii. 65) to answer hard questions. When will one appear again? The Son of Sirach copies the Greek names (δηλοί, ἀλήθεια) in his description of Aaron's garments, but throws no light upon their meaning or their use (Ecclus. xlv. 10).<sup>c</sup>

(2.) Besides these direct statements, there are others in which we may, without violence, trace a reference, if not to both, at least to the Urim. When questions precisely of the nature of those described in Num. xvii. 21 are asked by the leader of the people, and answered by Jehovah (Judg. i. 1, xx. 18)—when like questions are asked by Saul of the High-Priest Ahiah, "wearing an ephod" (1 Sam. xiv. 3, 18)—by David, as soon as he has with him the presence of a High-Priest with

his ephod (1 Sam. xxiii. 2, 12, xxx. 7, 8)—we may legitimately infer that the treasures which the ephod contained were the conditions and media of his answer. The questions are in almost all cases strategical,<sup>d</sup> "Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites first?" (Judg. i. 1, so xx. 18), "Will the men of Keilah deliver me and my men into the hand of Saul?" (1 Sam. xxiii. 12), or, at least, national (2 Sam. xxi. 1). The answer is, in all cases very brief, but more in form than a simple Yes or No. One question only is answered at a time.

(3.) It deserves notice before we pass beyond the range of Scriptural data, that in some cases of deflection from the established religious order, we find the ephod connected not with the Urim, but with the TERAPHIM, which, in the days of Laban, if not earlier, had been conspicuous in Aramaic worship. Micah, first consecrating one of his own sons, and then getting a Levite as his priest, makes for him "an ephod and teraphim" (Judg. xvii. 5, xviii. 14, 20). Throughout the history of the northern kingdom their presence at Dan made it a sacred place (Judg. xviii. 30), and apparently determined Jeroboam's choice of it as a sanctuary. When the prophet Hosea foretells the entire sweeping away of the system which the Ten Tribes had cherished, the point of extremest destitution is, that "they shall be many days . . . without an ephod, and without teraphim" (Hos. iii. 4), deprived of all counterfeit oracles, in order that they may in the end "return and seek the Lord."<sup>e</sup> It seems natural to infer that the teraphim were, in these instances, the unauthorized substitutes for the Urim. The inference is strengthened by the fact that the LXX. uses here, instead of teraphim, the same word (δήλων) which it usually gives for Urim. That the teraphim were thus used through the whole history of Israel may be inferred from their frequent occurrence in conjunction with other forms of divination. Thus we have in 1 Sam. xv. 23, "witchcraft" and "teraphim" (A. V. "idolatry"), in 2 K. xxiii. 24, "familiar spirits," "wizards, and teraphim" (A. V. "images"). The king of Babylon, when he uses divination, consults them (Ez. xxi. 21). They speak vanity (Zech. x. 2).

III. *Theories*—(1.) For the most part we have to deal with independent conjectures rather than with inferences from these data. Among the latter, however, may be noticed the notion that, as Moses is not directed to make the Urim and Thummim, they must have had a supernatural origin, specially created, unlike anything upon earth (R. ben Nachman and Hottinger in Buxtorf, *Diss. de U. et T.* in Ugolini, xii.). It would be profitless to discuss so arbitrary an hypothesis.

(2.) A favourite view of Jewish and of some Christian writers has been, that the Urim and Thummim were identical with the twelve stones on which the names of the Tribes of Israel were engraved, and the mode in which an oracle was given was by the illumination, simultaneous or

<sup>b</sup> The LXX. rendering, so different from the literal meaning, must have originated either (1) from a false etymology, as if the word was derived from שָׁפַט = "to divine" (Gen. xlv. 15); or (2) from the oracular use made of the breast-plate; or (3) from other associations connected with both the former (*infra*). The Vulg. simply follows the LXX. Seb. Schmidt gives the more literal "pectorale."

<sup>c</sup> "Breast-plate" is, perhaps, somewhat misleading.

<sup>d</sup> The A. V., singularly enough, retranslates the Greek words back into the Hebrew, and gives "Urim and Thummim" as if they were proper names.

<sup>d</sup> On this account, probably, the High-Priest was to go out to battle (Num. xxxi. 6), as, in his absence, there was to be a *Sacerdos Castrens*. [PRIESTS.]

<sup>e</sup> The writer cannot bring himself with Pusey (*Comm. in loc.*), to refer the things named by the Prophet, partly to the true, partly to the false ritual; still less with Spencer (*Diss. de Ur. et Th.*), to see in all of them things which the Prophet recognises as right and good. It is simpler to take them as describing the actual polity and ritual in which the Northern kingdom had gloried, and of which it was to be deprived.



successive, of the letters which were to make up the answer (Jalkut Sifre, Zohar in Exod. f. 105; Maimonides, R. ben Nachman, in Buxtorf, *l. c.*; Drusius, in *Crit. Sac.* on Ex. xxviii.; Chrysostom, Grotius, *et al.*). Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §5) adopts another form of the same story, and, apparently identifying the Urim and Thummim with the sardonyxes on the shoulders of the ephod, says that they were bright before a victory, or when the sacrifice was acceptable, dark when any disaster was impending. Epiphanius (*de xii. gemm.*), and the writer quoted by Suidas (*s. v. 'Εφοίδη*), present the same thought in yet another form. A single diamond (*ἀδάμας*) placed in the centre of the breastplate prognosticated peace when it was bright, war when it was red, death when it was dusky. It is conclusive against such views (1) that, without any evidence, without even an analogy, they make unauthorized additions to the miracles of Scripture; (2) that the former identify two things which, in Ex. xxviii., are clearly distinguished; (3) that the latter makes no distinction between the Urim and the Thummim, such as the repeated article leads us to infer.

(3.) A theory, involving fewer gratuitous assumptions, is that in the middle of the ephod, or within its folds, there was a stone or plate of gold on which was engraved the sacred name of Jehovah, the *Shem-hammephorash* of Jewish cabbalists,<sup>1</sup> and that by virtue of this, fixing his gaze on it, or reading an invocation which was also engraved with the name, or standing in his ephod before the mercy-seat, or at least before the veil of the sanctuary, he became capable of prophesying, hearing the Divine voice within, or listening to it as it proceeded, in articulate sounds, from the glory of the Shechinah (Buxtorf, *l. c.* 7; Lightfoot, vi. 278; Braunius, *de Vestitu Hebr.* ii.; Saalschütz, *Archäolog.* ii. 363). Another form of the same thought is found in the statement of Jewish writers, that the Holy Spirit spake sometimes by Urim, sometimes by prophecy, sometimes by the Bath-Kol (Seder Olam, c. xiv. in Braunius, *l. c.*), or that the whole purpose of the unknown symbols was "ad excitandam prophetiam" (R. Levi ben Gershon, in Buxtorf, *l. c.*; Kimchi, in Spencer, *l. c.*). A more eccentric form of the "writing" theory was propounded by the elder Carpzov, who maintained that the Urim and Thummim were two confessions of faith in the Messiah and the Holy Spirit (Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 5).

(4.) Spencer (*de U. et T.*) presents a singular union of acuteness and extravagance. He rightly recognises the distinctness of the two things which others had confounded. Whatever the Urim and Thummim were, they were not the twelve stones, and they were distinguishable one from the other. They were placed inside the folds of the doubled *Choshen*. Resting on the facts referred to, he inferred the identity of the Urim and the Teraphim.<sup>2</sup> This was an instance in which the Divine wisdom accommodated itself to man's weakness, and allowed the debased superstitious Israelites to retain a fragment of the idolatrous system of their fathers, in order to wean them gradually from the system as a whole. The obnoxious name of Teraphim was

<sup>1</sup> A wilder form of this belief is found in the cabbalistic book Zohar. There the Urim is said to have had the Divine name in 42, the Thummim in 72 letters. The notion was probably derived from the Jewish invocations of books like the *Clavicula Salomonis*. [SOLOMON.]

<sup>2</sup> He had been preceded in this view by Joseph Mede

dropped. The thing itself was retained. The very name Urim was, he argued, identical in meaning with Teraphim.<sup>3</sup> It was, therefore, a small image probably in human form. So far the hypothesis has, at least, the merit of being inductive and historical, but when he comes to the question how it was instrumental oracularly, he passes into the most extravagant of all assumptions. The image, when the High-Priest questioned it, spoke by the mediation of an angel, with an articulate human voice, just as the Teraphim spoke, in like manner, by the intervention of a demon! In dealing with the Thummim, which he excludes altogether from the oracular functions of the Urim, Spencer adopts the notion of an Egyptian archetype, which will be noticed further on.

(5.) Michaelis (*Laws of Moses*, v. §52) gives his own opinion that the Urim and Thummim were three stones, on one of which was written Yes, on another No, while the third was left blank or neutral. The three were used as lots, and the High-Priest decided according as the one or the other was drawn out. He does not think it worth while to give one iota of evidence; and the notion does not appear to have been more than a passing caprice. It obviously fails to meet the phenomena. Lots were familiar enough among the Israelites (Num. xxvi. 55; Josh. xiii. 6, *et al.*; 1 Sam. xiv. 41; Prov. xvi. 33), but the Urim was something solemn and peculiar. In the cases where the Urim was consulted, the answers were always more than a mere negative or affirmative.

(6.) The conjecture of Züllig (*Comm. in Apoc. Exc.* ii.) though adopted by Winer (*Rueb.*) can hardly be looked on as more satisfying. With him the Urim are bright, *i. e.* cut and polished, diamonds, in form like dice; the Thummim perfect, *i. e.* whole, rough, uncut ones, each class with inscriptions of some kind engraved on it. He supposes a handful of these to have been carried in the pouch of the High-Priest's *Choshen*, and when he wished for an oracle, to have been taken out by him and thrown on a table or, more probably, on the Ark of the Covenant. As they fell their position, according to traditional rules known only to the high-priestly families, indicated the answer. He compares it with fortune-telling by cards or coffee-grounds. The whole scheme, it need hardly be said, is one of pure invention, at once arbitrary and offensive. It is at least questionable whether the Egyptians had access to diamonds, or knew the art of polishing or engraving them. [DIAMOND.] A handful of diamond cubes, large enough to have words or monograms engraved on them, is a thing which has no parallel in Egyptian archaeology, nor, indeed, any where else.

(7.) The latest Jewish interpreter of eminence (Kalisch, on Ex. xxviii. 31), combining parts of the views (2) and (3), identifies the Urim and Thummim with the twelve tribal gems, looks on the name as one to be explained by a hendiadys (Light and Perfection = Perfect illumination), and believes the High-Priest, by concentrating his thoughts on the attributes they represented, to have divested himself of all selfishness and prejudice, and so to have passed into a true prophetic state. In

(*Diss.* l. c. 35), who pointed out the strong resemblance if not the identity, of the two.

<sup>3</sup> The process of proof is ingenious, but hardly convincing. Urim = "lights, fires;" Seraphim = "the burning, or fiery ones;" and Teraphim is but the same word, with an Aramaic substitution of  $\aleph$  for  $\tau$ .

what he says on this point there is much that is both beautiful and true. Lightfoot, it may be added, had taken the same view (ii. 407, vi. 278), and that given above in (3) converges to the same result.

IV. *One more Theory.*—(1.) It may seem venturesome, after so many wild and conflicting conjectures, to add yet another. If it is believed that the risk of falling into one as wild and baseless need not deter us, it is because there are materials within our reach, drawn from our larger knowledge of antiquity, and not less from our fuller insight into the less common phenomena of consciousness, which were not, to the same extent, within the reach of our fathers.

(2.) The starting-point of our inquiry may be found in adhering to the conclusions to which the Scriptural statements lead us. The Urim were not identical with the Thummim, neither of them identical with the tribal gems. The notion of a *hendiadys* (almost always the weak prop of a weak theory) may be discarded. And, seeing that they are mentioned with no description, we must infer that they and their meaning were already known, if not to the other Israelites, at least to Moses. If we are to look for their origin anywhere, it must be in the customs and the symbolism of Egypt.

(3.) We may start with the Thummim, as presenting the easier problem of the two. Here there is at once a patent and striking analogy. The priestly judges of Egypt, with whose presence and garb Moses must have been familiar, wore, each of them, hanging on his neck, suspended on a golden chain, a figure which Greek writers describe as an image of Truth (*Ἀλήθεια*, as in the LXX.) often with closed eyes, made sometimes of a sapphire or other precious stones, and, therefore necessarily small. They were to see in this a symbol of the purity of motive, without which they would be unworthy of their office. With it they touched the lips of the litigant as they bade him speak the truth, the whole, the perfect truth (Diod. Sic. i. 48, 75; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xiv. 34). That this parallelism commended itself to the most learned of the Alexandrian Jews we may infer (1) from the deliberate but not obvious use by the LXX. of the word *ἀλήθεια* as the translation of Thummim; (2) from a remarkable passage in Philo (*de Vit. Mos.* iii. 11), in which he says that the breastplate (*λόγιον*) of the High-Priest was made strong that he might wear as an image (*ἵνα ἀγαλματοφορῆ*) the two virtues which were so needful for his office. The connexion between the Hebrew and the Egyptian symbol was first noticed, it is believed, by Spencer (*l. c.*). It was met with cries of alarm. No single custom, rite, or symbol, could possibly have been transferred from an idolatrous system into that of Israel. There was no evidence of the antiquity of the Egyptian practice. It was probably copied from the Hebrew (Witsius, *Aegyptiaca*, ii. 10, 11, 12, in Ugolini, i.; Riboudealdus, *de Urim et Th.* in Ugolini, xii.; Patrick, *Comm. in Ex.* xxviii.). The discussion of the principle involved need not be entered on here. Spencer's way of putting the case, assuming that a debased

form of religion was given in condescension to the superstitions of a debased people, made it, indeed, needlessly offensive, but it remains true, that a revelation of any kind must, to be intelligible, use pre-existent words, and that those words, whether spoken or symbolic, may therefore be taken from any language with which the recipients of the revelation are familiar.<sup>1</sup> In this instance the prejudice has worn away. The most orthodox of German theologians accept the once startling theory, and find in it a proof of the veracity of the Pentateuch (Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the five Books of Moses*, c. vi.). It is admitted, partially at least, by a devout Jew (Kalisch, on Ex. xxviii. 31).<sup>2</sup> And the missing link of evidence has been found. The custom was not, as had been said, of late origin, but is found on the older monuments of Egypt. There, round the neck of the judge, are seen the two figures of Thmei, the representative of Themis, Truth, Justice (Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, v. 28). The coincidence of sound may, it is true, be accidental, but it is at least striking. In the words which tell of the tribe of Levi, in close connexion with the Thummim as its chief glory, that it did the stern task of duty, blind to all that could turn it aside to evil, "saying to his father and his mother, I have not seen him" (Deut. xxxiii. 9), we may perhaps trace a reference to the closed eyes of the Egyptian Thmei.

(4.) The way is now open for a further inquiry. We may legitimately ask whether there was any symbol of Light standing to the Urim in the same relation as the symbolic figure of Truth stood to the Thummim. And the answer to that question is as follows. On the breast of well-nigh every member of the priestly caste of Egypt there hung a pectoral plate, corresponding in position and in size to the *Choshen* of the High-Priest of Israel. And in many of these we find, in the centre of the *pectorale*, right over the heart of the priestly mummy, as the Urim was to be "on the heart" of Aaron, what was a known symbol of Light (see British Museum, *First Egyptian Room, Cases 67, 69, 70, 88, 89. Second ditto, Cases 68, 69, 74*). In that symbol were united and embodied the highest religious thoughts to which man had then risen. It represented the Sun and the Universe, Light and Life, Creation and Resurrection. The material of the symbol varied according to the rank of the wearer. It might be of blue porcelain, or jasper, or cornelian, or lapis lazuli, or amethyst. Prior to our knowing what the symbol was, we should probably think it natural and fitting that this, like the other, should have been transferred from the lower worship to the higher, from contact with falsehood to fellowship with truth. Position, size, material, meaning, everything answers the conditions of the problem.

(5.) But the symbol in this case was the mystic Scarabaeus; and it may seem to some startling and incredible to suggest that such an emblem could have been borrowed for such a purpose. It is perhaps quite as difficult for us to understand how it could ever have come to be associated with such ideas. We have to throw ourselves back into a

*thum.* p. 307-9), but without sufficient grounds. Ewald's treatment of the whole subject is, indeed, at once superficial and inconsistent. In the *Alterthümer* (*l. c.*) he speaks of the Urim and Thummim as lots, adopting Michaelis's view. In his *Propheten* (i. 15) he speaks of the High-Priest fixing his gaze on them to bring himself into the prophetic state.

<sup>1</sup> It may be reasonably urged indeed that in such cases the previous connexion with a false system is a reason for, and not against the use of a symbol in itself expressive. The Priests of Israel were taught that they were not to have lower thoughts of the light and perfection which they needed than the Priests of Ra.

<sup>2</sup> It is right to add that the Egyptian origin is rejected both by Bähr (*Symbolik*, II. p. 164) and Ewald (*Alter-*

stage of human progress, a phase of human thought, the most utterly unlike any that comes within our experience. Out of the mud which the Nile left in its flooding, men saw myriad forms of life issue. That of the Scarabæus was the most conspicuous. It seemed to them self-generated, called into being by the light, the child only of the sun. Its glossy wing-cases reflecting the bright rays made it seem like the sun in miniature. It became at once the emblem of Ra, the sun, and its creative power (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 4, §21; Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* iii. 4; Brugsch, *Liber Metempsychoseos*, p. 33; Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, iv. 295, v. 26, 476). But it came also out of the dark earth, after the flood of waters, and was therefore the symbol of life rising out of death in new forms; of a resurrection and a metempsychosis (Brugsch, *l. c.* and *Aegypt. Alterth.* p. 32). So it was that not in Egypt only, but in Etruria and Assyria and other countries, the same strange emblems reappeared (Dennis, *Cities and Sepulchres of Etruria*, introd. lxxiii.; Layard, *Nineveh*, ii. 214). So it was that men, forgetting the actual in the ideal, invested it with the title of *Μονογενής* (Horapollon, *Hierogl.* l. c. 10), that the more mystic, dreamy, Gnostic sects adopted it into their symbolic language, and that semi-Christian Scarabæi are found with the sacred words *Jao*, *Sabaoth*, or the names of angels engraved on them (Bellermann, *Ueber die Scarabæen-Gemmen*, i. 10), just as the mystic *Tau*, or *Cruz ansata*, appears, in spite of its original meaning, on the monuments of Christian Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. 283). In older Egypt it was, at any rate, connected with the thought of Divine illumination, found in frequent union with the symbolic eye, the emblem of the providence of God, and with the hieroglyphic invocation, "Tu radians das vitam puris hominibus" (Brugsch's translation, *Liber Metemps.* p. 33). It is obvious that in such a case, as with the *Cruz ansata*, the Scarabæus is neither an idol, nor identified with idolatry.<sup>m</sup> It is simply a *word* as much the mere exponent of a thought as if it were spoken with the lips, or written in phonetic characters. There is nothing in its Egyptian origin or its animal form which need startle us any more than the like origin of the Ark or the Thummim, or the like form in the BRAZEN SERPENT, or the fourfold symbolic figures of the Cherubim. It is to be added, that Joseph by his marriage with the daughter of the Priest of On, the priest of the sun-god Ra, and Moses, as having been trained in the learning of the Egyptians, and probably among the priests of the same ritual, and in the same city, were certain to be acquainted with the sculptured *word*, and with its meaning. For the latter, at any rate, it would need no description, no interpretation. Deep set in the *Choshen*, between the gems that represented Israel, it would set forth that Light and

<sup>m</sup> The symbolic language of one nation or age will, of course, often be unintelligible, and even seem ludicrous to another. They will take for granted that men have worshipped what they manifestly respected. Would it be easy to make a Mahometan understand clearly the meaning of the symbols of the four Evangelists as used in the ornamentations of English Churches? Would an English congregation, not archaeologists, bear to be told that they were to engrave on their seals a pelican or a fish, as a type of Christ? (Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* iii. 11, §59.)

<sup>n</sup> The words of Epiphanius are remarkable, ἡ δὲ ἰσχυρία ἐστὶν ὁ ἀδάμας.

<sup>p</sup> For the reasons stated above, in discussing Züllig's

Truth were the centre of the nation's life. Belonging to the breastplate of judgment, it would bear witness that the High-Priest, in his oracular acts, needed above all things spotless integrity and Divine illumination. It fulfilled all the conditions and taught all the lessons which Jewish or Christian writers have connected with the Urim.

(6.) (A.) Have we any *data* for determining the material of the symbol? The following tend at least to a definite conclusion: (1) If the stone was to represent light, it would probably be one in which light was, as it were, embodied in its purest form, colourless and clear, diamond or rock-crystal. (2) The traditions quoted above from Suidas and Epiphanius confirm this inference.<sup>n</sup> (3) It is accepted as part of Züllig's theory, by Dean Trench (*Epistles to Seven Churches*, p. 125).<sup>o</sup> The "white stone" of Rev. ii. 17, like the other rewards of him that overcometh, declared the truth of the Universal Priesthood. What had been the peculiar treasure of the house of Aaron should be bestowed freely on all believers.

(B.) Another fact connected with the symbol enables us to include one of the best supported of the Jewish conjectures. As seen on the bodies of Egyptian priests and others it almost always bore an inscription, the name of the god whom the priest served, or, more commonly, an invocation, from the Book of the Dead, or some other Egyptian liturgy (Brugsch, *Lib. Metemps.* l. c.). There would here, also, be an analogy. Upon the old emblem, ceasing, it may be, to bear its old distinctive form,<sup>p</sup> there might be the "new name written," the Tetragrammaton, the *Shem-hammephorash* of later Judaism, directing the thoughts of the priest to the true Lord of Life and Light, of whom, unlike the Lord of Life in the Temples of Egypt, there was no form or similitude, a Spirit, to be worshipped therefore in spirit and in truth.

(7.) We are now able to approach the question, "In what way was the Urim instrumental in enabling the High-Priest to give a true oracular response?" We may dismiss, with the more thoughtful writers already mentioned (Kimchi, on 2 Sam. xxv., may be added), the gratuitous prodigies which have no existence but in the fancies of Jewish or Christian dreamers, the articulate voice and the illumined letters. There remains the conclusion that, in some way, they helped him to rise out of all selfishness and hypocrisy, out of all ceremonial routine, and to pass into a state analogous to that of the later prophets, and so to become capable of a new spiritual illumination. The *modus operandi* in this case may, it is believed, be at least illustrated by some lower analogies in the less common phenomena of consciousness. Among the most remarkable of such phenomena is the change produced by concentrating the thoughts on a single idea, by gazing stedfastly on a

theory, the writer finds himself unable to agree with Dean Trench as to the diamond being certainly the stone in question. So far as he knows, no diamonds have as yet been found among the jewels of Egypt. Rock-crystal seems therefore the more probable of the two.

<sup>p</sup> Changes in the form of an emblem till it ceases to bear any actual resemblance to its original prototype, are familiar to all students of symbolism. The *Cruz ansata*, the *Tau*, which was the sign of life, is, perhaps, the most striking instance (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt.* v. 283). Gesenius, in like manner, in his *Monumenta Phœnicia* ii. 68, 69, 70, gives engravings of Scarabæi in which nothing but the oval form is left.

single fixed point. The brighter and more dazzling the point upon which the eyes are turned the more rapidly is the change produced. The life of perception is interrupted. Sight and hearing fail to fulfil their usual functions. The mind passes into a state of profound abstraction, and loses all distinct personal consciousness. Though not asleep it may see visions and dream dreams. Under the suggestions of a will for the time stronger than itself, it may be played on like "a thinking automaton."<sup>9</sup> When not so played on, its mental state is determined by the "dominant ideas" which were impressed upon it at the moment when, by its own act, it brought about the abnormal change (Dr. W. B. Carpenter in *Quarterly Rev.* xciii. pp. 510, 522).

(8.) We are familiar with these phenomena chiefly as they connect themselves with the lower forms of mysticism, with the tricks of electrobiologists, and other charlatans. Even as such they present points of contact with many facts of interest in Scriptural or Ecclesiastical History. Independent of many facts in monastic legends of which this is the most natural explanation, we may see in the last great controversy of the Greek Church a startling proof how terrible may be the influence of these morbid states when there is no healthy moral or intellectual activity to counteract them. For three hundred years or more the rule of the Abbot Simeon of Xeroceros, prescribing a process precisely analogous to that described above, was adopted by myriads of monks in Mount Athos and elsewhere. The Christianity of the East seemed in danger of giving its sanction to a spiritual suicide like that of a Buddhist seeking, as his highest blessedness, the annihilation of the *Nirvana*. Plunged in profound abstraction, their eyes fixed on the centre of their own bodies, the Quietists of the 14th century (*ἡσυχασταί, ὁμολογητικοί*) enjoyed an unspeakable tranquillity, believed themselves to be radiant with a Divine glory, and saw visions of the uncreated light which had shone on Tabor. Degrading as the whole matter seems to us, it was a serious danger then. The mania spread like an epidemic, even among the laity. Husbands, fathers, men of letters, and artisans gave themselves up to it. It was important enough to be the occasion of repeated Synods, in which emperors, patriarchs, bishops were eager to take part, and mostly in favour of the practice, and the corollaries deduced from it (Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* xv. 9; Gieseler, *Ch. Hist.* §129; Maury, *La Magie et l'Astrologie*, pp. 429-30).

(9.) It is at least conceivable, however, that, within given limits, and in a given stage of human progress, the state which seems so abnormal, might have a use as well as an abuse. In the opinion of one of the foremost among modern physiologists, the processes of hypnotism would have their place in a perfect system of therapeutics (*Quart. Review*, l. c.). It is open to us to believe that they may, in the less perfect stages of the spiritual history of mankind, have helped instead of hindering. In this way only, it may be, the sense-bound spirit could abstract itself from the outer world, and take up the attitude of an expectant tranquillity. The

entire suppression of human consciousness, as in the analogous phenomena of an ecstatic state [comp. TRANCE], the surrender of the entire man to be played upon, as the hand plays upon the harp, may, at one time, have been an actual condition of the inspired state, just as even now it is the only conception which some minds are capable of forming of the fact of inspiration in any form or at any time. Bearing this in mind, we may represent to ourselves the process of seeking counsel "by Urim." The question brought was one affecting the well-being of the nation, or its army, or its king. The inquirer spoke in a low whisper, asking one question only at a time (Gem. Bab. *Joma*, in *Mede, l. c.*). The High-Priest, fixing his gaze on the "gems oracular" that lay "on his heart," fixed his thoughts on the Light and the Perfection which they symbolised, on the Holy Name inscribed on them. The act was itself a prayer, and, like other prayers, it might be answered.<sup>7</sup> After a time, he passed into the new, mysterious, half-ecstatic state.<sup>8</sup> All disturbing elements—selfishness, prejudice, the fear of man—were eliminated. He received the insight which he craved. Men trusted in his decisions as with us men trust the judgment which has been purified by prayer for the help of the Eternal Spirit, more than that which grows only out of debate, and policy, and calculation.

(10.) It is at least interesting to think that a like method of passing into this state of insight was practised unblamed in the country to which we have traced the Urim, and among the people for whose education this process was adapted. We need not think of Joseph, the pure, the heaven-taught, the blameless one, as adopting, still less as falsely pretending to adopt, the dark arts of a system of imposture (Gen. xlv. 5, 15). For one into whose character the dream-element of prevision entered so largely, there would be nothing strange in the use of *media* by which he might superinduce at will the dream-state which had come to him in his youth unbidden, with no outward stimulus; and the use of the cup by which Joseph "divined" was precisely analogous to that which has been now described. To fill the cup with water, to fix the eye on a gold or silver coin in it, or, more frequently, on the dazzling reflection of the sun's rays from it, was an essential part of the *κυλικομαντεία*, the *λεκανομαντεία* of ancient systems of divination (Maury, *La Magie et l'Astrologie*, pp. 426-28; Kalisch, *Genesis, in loc.*). In the most modern form of it, among the magicians of Cairo, the boy's fixed gaze upon the few drops of ink in the palm of his hand answers the same purpose and produces the same result (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.* l. c. xii). The difference between the true and the false in these cases is however far greater than the superficial resemblance. To enter upon that exceptional state with vague stupid curiosity, may lead to an imbecility which is the sport of every casual suggestion. To pass into it with feelings of hatred, passion, lust, may add to their power a fearful intensity for evil, till the state of the soul is demoniac rather than human. To enter upon it as the High-Priest entered, with the prayer of faith, might in like

bolised, and may be looked upon as an echo of the High Priest's prayer in a form in which it might be used by any devout worshipper.

<sup>8</sup> The striking exclamation of Saul, "Withdraw thy hand!" when it seemed to him that the Urim was no longer needed, was clearly an interruption of this process (1 Sam. xiv. 19).

<sup>9</sup> The word is used, of course, in its popular sense, as a toy moving by machinery. Strictly speaking, automatic force is just the element which has, for the time, disappeared.

<sup>7</sup> The prayer of Ps. xliii. 3, "Send out thy light and thy truth," though it does not contain the words Urim and Thummim, speaks obviously of that which they sym-

manner intensify what was noblest and truest in him, and fit him to be for the time a vessel of the Truth.

(11.) It may startle us at first to think that any physical media should be used in a divine order to bring about a spiritual result, still more that those media should be the same as are found elsewhere in systems in which evil is at least preponderant; yet here too Scripture and History present us with very striking analogies. In other forms of worship, in the mysteries of Isis, in Orphic and Corybantian revels, music was used to work the worshippers into a state of orgiastic frenzy. In the mystic fraternity of Pythagoras it was employed before sleep, that their visions might be serene and pure (Plutarch, *De Is. et Osir.* ad fin.). Yet the same instrumentality bringing about a result analogous at least to the latter, probably embracing elements of both, was used from the first in the gatherings of the prophets (1 Sam. x. 5). It soothed the vexed spirit of Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 23); it wrought on him, when it came in its choral power, till he too burst into the ecstatic song (1 Sam. xix. 20-24). With one at least of the greatest of the prophets it was as much the preparation for his receiving light and guidance from above as the gaze at the Urim had been to the High-Priest. "Elisha said . . . 'Now bring me a minstrel.' And it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him" (2 K. iii. 15).<sup>1</sup>

(12.) The facts just noticed point to the right answer to the question which yet remains, as to the duration of the Urim and the Thummim, and the reasons of their withdrawal. The statement of Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §5-7) that they had continued to shine with supernatural lustre till within two hundred years of his own time is simply a Jewish fable, at variance with the direct confession of their absence on the return from the Captivity (Ezr. ii. 63), and in the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 46, xiv. 41). As little reliance is to be placed on the assertion of other Jewish writers, that they continued in activity till the time of the Babylonian Exile (Sota, p. 43; Midrash on *Song of Sol.* in Buxtorf, *l. c.*). It is quite inconceivable, had it been so, that there should have been no single instance of an oracle thus obtained during the whole history of the monarchy of Judah. The facts of the case are few, but they are decisive. Never, after the days of David, is the Ephod, with its appendages, connected with counsel from Jehovah (so Carpzov, *App. Crit.* i. 5). Abiathar is the last priest who habitually uses it for that purpose (1 Sam. xxiii. 6, 9, xxviii. 6; probably also 2 Sam. xxi. 1). His name is identified in a strange tradition embodied in the Talmud (*Sanhedr.* f. 19, 1, in Lightfoot, xi. 386) with the departed glory of the Urim and the Thummim. And the explanation of these facts is not far to seek. Men had been taught by this time another process by which the spiritual might at once assert its independence of the sensuous life, and yet retain its distinct personal consciousness—a process less liable to per-

<sup>1</sup> That "the hand of the Lord" was the recognised expression for this awful consciousness of the Divine presence we find from the visions of Ezekiel (i. 3, iii. 14, et al.), and 1 K. xviii. 46. It helps us obviously to determine the sense of the corresponding phrase, "with the finger of God," in Ex. xxxi. 18. Comp. too, the equivalence, in our Lord's teaching, of the two forms. "If I with the finger of God (Luke xi. 20 = 'by the Spirit of God,' Matt. xii. 28) cast out devils."

version, leading to higher and more continuous illumination. Through the sense of hearing, not through that of sight, was to be wrought the subtle and mysterious change. Music—in its marvellous variety, its subtle sweetness, its stirring power—was to be, for all time to come, the lawful help to the ecstasy of praise and prayer, opening heart and soul to new and higher thoughts. The utterances of the prophets, speaking by the word of the Lord, were to supersede the oracles of the Urim. The change which about this period passed over the speech of Israel was a witness of the moral elevation which that other change involved. "He that is now called a prophet was beforetime called a seer" (1 Sam. ix. 9). To be the mouthpiece, the spokesman, of Jehovah was higher than to see visions of the future, however clear, whether of the armies of Israel or the lost asses of Kish.

(13.) The transition was probably not made without a struggle. It was accompanied by, even if it did not in part cause, the transfer of the Pontificate from one branch of the priestly family to another. The strange opposition of Abiathar to the will of David, at the close of his reign, is intelligible on the hypothesis that he, long accustomed, as holding the Ephod and the Urim, to guide the king's councils by his oracular answers, viewed, with some approach to jealousy, the growing influence of the prophets, and the accession of a prince who had grown up under their training. With him at any rate, so far as we have any knowledge, the Urim and the Thummim passed out of sight. It was well, we may believe, that they did so. To have the voices of the prophets in their stead was to gain and not to lose. So the old order changed, giving place to the new. If the fond yearning of the Israelites of the Captivity had been fulfilled, and a priest had once again arisen with Urim and Thummim, they would but have taken their place among the "weak and beggarly elements" which were to pass away. All attempts, from the *Rule of Simeon* to the *Spiritual Exercises* of Loyola, to invert the Divine order, to purchase spiritual ecstasies by the sacrifice of intellect and of conscience, have been steps backward into darkness, not forward into light. So it was that God, in many different measures and many different fashions (πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως), spake in time past unto the Fathers (Heb. i. 1). So it is, in words that embody the same thought, and draw from it a needful lesson, that

"God fulfils himself in many ways,

Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."<sup>a</sup>

[E. H. P.]

**USURY.** Information on the subject of lending and borrowing will be found under **LOAN**. It need only be remarked here that the practice of mortgaging land, sometimes at exorbitant interest, grew up among the Jews during the Captivity, in direct violation of the law (Lev. xxv. 36, 37; Ez. xviii. 8, 13, 17). We find the rate reaching 1 in 100 per month, corresponding to the Roman *centesimae usurae*, or 12 per cent. per annum—a rate which

<sup>a</sup> In addition to the authorities cited in the text, one has to be named to which the writer has not been able to get access, and which he knows only through the *Thesaurus* of Gesenius. Bellermand, whose treatises on the Scarabaei are quoted above, has also written, *De Urim und Thummim, die ältesten Gemmen*. He apparently identifies the Urim and Thummim with the *zams* of the breastplate.

Siebuhr considers to have been borrowed from abroad, and which is, or has been till quite lately, a very usual or even a minimum rate in the East (Nieb. *Hist. of Rome*, iii. 57, Engl. Tr.; Volney, *Trav.* ii. 254, note; Chardin, *Voy.* vi. 122). Yet the law of the Kurán, like the Jewish, forbids all usury (Lane, *M. E.* i. 132; Sale, *Kurán*, c. 30). The laws of Menu allow 18 and even 24 per cent. as an interest rate; but, as was the law in Egypt, accumulated interest was not to exceed twice the original sum lent (*Laws of Menu*, c. viii. 140, 141, 151; Sir W. Jones, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 295; Diod. i. 9, 79). This Jewish practice was annulled by Nehemiah, and an oath exacted to ensure its discontinuance (Neh. v. 3-13; Selden, *De Jur. Nat.* vi. 10; Hofmann, *Lexic.* "Usura"). [H. W. P.]

UTA (Ovra: *Utha*) 1 Esdr. v. 30. It appears to be a corruption of AKKUB (Ezr. ii. 45).

UTHAI (יְתָאִי: Γνωθί: Alex. Γωθί: *Othei*).

1. The son of Ammihud, of the children of Pharez, the son of Judah (1 Chr. ix. 4). He appears to have been one of those who dwelt in Jerusalem after the Captivity. In Neh. xi. 4 he is called "ATHAIAH the son of Uzziab."

2. (Ovba: *Uthai*.) One of the sons of Bigvai, who returned in the second caravan with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 14).

UTHII (Ovbi) 1 Esdr. viii. 40. [UTHAI 2].

UZ (יָוֶז; Oύζ, Ως, Ως: *Us, Hus*). This name is applied to—1. A son of Aram (Gen. x. 23), and consequently a grandson of Shem, to whom he is immediately referred in the more concise genealogy of the Chronicles, the name of Aram being omitted\* (1 Chr. i. 17). 2. A son of Nahor by Milcah (Gen. xxii. 21; A. V. HUZ). 3. A son of Dishan, and grandson of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 28). 4. The country in which Job lived (Job i. 1). As the genealogical statements of the Book of Genesis are undoubtedly ethnological, and in many instances also geographical, it may be fairly surmised that the coincidence of names in the above cases is not accidental, but points to a fusion of various branches of the Shemitic race in a certain locality. This surmise is confirmed by the circumstance that other connecting links may be discovered between the same branches. For instance, Nos. 1 and 2 have in common the names Aram (comp. Gen. x. 23, xxii. 21) and Maachah as a geographical designation in connexion with the former (1 Chr. xix. 6), and a personal one in connexion with the latter (Gen. xxii. 24). Nos. 2 and 4 have in common the names Buz and Buzite (Gen. xxii. 21; Job xxxii. 2), Chesed and Chasdim (Gen. xxii. 22; Job i. 17, A. V. "Chaldaeans"), Shuah, a nephew of Nahor, and Shuhite (Gen. xxv. 2; Job ii. 11), and Kedem, as the country whither Abraham sent Shuah, together with his other children by Keturah, and also as the country where Job lived (Gen. xxv. 6; Job i. 3). Nos. 3 and 4, again, have in common Eliphaz (Gen. xxxvi. 10; Job ii. 11), and Teman and Temanite (Gen. xxxvi. 11; Job ii. 11). The ethnological fact embodied in the above coincidences of names appears to be as follows:—Certain branches of the Aramaic family, being both more ancient and occupying a more

northerly position than the others, coalesced with branches of the later Abrahamids, holding a somewhat central position in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and again with branches of the still later Edomites of the south, after they had become a distinct race from the Abrahamids. This conclusion would receive confirmation if the geographical position of Uz, as described in the Book of Job, harmonized with the probability of such an amalgamation. As far as we can gather, it lay either east or south-east of Palestine (Job i. 3; see BENE-KEDEM); adjacent to the Sabacans and the Chaldaeans (Job i. 15, 17), consequently northward of the southern Arabians, and westward of the Euphrates; and, lastly, adjacent to the Edomites of Mount Seir, who at one period occupied Uz, probably as conquerors (Lam. iv. 21), and whose troglodyte habits are probably described in Job xxx. 6, 7. The position of the country may further be deduced from the native lands of Job's friends, Eliphaz the Temanite being an Idumean, Elihu the Buzite being probably a neighbour of the Chaldaeans, for Buz and Chesed were brothers (Gen. xxii. 21, 22), and Bildad the Shuhite being one of the Bene-Kedem. Whether Zophar the Naamathite is to be connected with Naamah in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 41) may be regarded as problematical: if he were, the conclusion would be further established. From the above data we infer that the land of Uz corresponds to the *Arabia Deserta* of classical geography, at all events to so much of it as lies north of the 30th parallel of latitude. This district has in all ages been occupied by nomadic tribes, who roam from the borders of Palestine to the Euphrates, and northward to the confines of Syria. Whether the name of Uz survived to classical times is uncertain: a tribe named Aesitae (Αἰσιταί) is mentioned by Ptolemy (v. 19, §2); this Bochart identifies with the Uz of Scripture by altering the reading into Αὐσιταί (*Phaleg*, ii. 8); but, with the exception of the rendering in the LXX. (ἐν χώρα τῆ Αὐσιτιδῆ, Job i. 1; comp. xxxii. 2), there is nothing to justify such a change. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1003) is satisfied with the form Aesitae as sufficiently corresponding to Uz. [W. L. B.]

U'ZAI (יִזְאִי: Eύζαί; FA. Eύεί: *Ozi*). The father of Palal, who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the city wall (Neh. iii. 25).

U'ZAL (יִזְאֵל; Samar. יִזְאֵל: Αἰζήλ, Αἰσήλ *Uzal, Huzal*). The sixth son of Joktan (Gen. x. 27; 1 Chr. i. 21), whose settlements are clearly traced in the ancient name of San'a, the capital city of the Yemen, which was originally Awzál,

اوزال (Ibn-Khaldoon, ap. Caussin, *Essai*, i. 40, foot-note; *Marásid*, s. v.; Gesen. *Lex.* s. v.; Bunsen's *Bibelwerk*, &c.).<sup>b</sup> It has disputed the right to be the chief city of the kingdom of Sheba from the earliest ages of which any traditions have come down to us; the rival cities being SHEBA (the Arabic Sebà), and SEPHAR (or Zafár). Unlike one or both of these cities which passed occasionally into the hands of the people of HAZARMAVETH (Hadramäwt), it seems to have always belonged to the people of Sheba; and from its position in the

Oozál, and says, "It is said that its name was Oozál; and when the Abyssinians arrived at it, and saw it to be beautiful, they said 'San'a,' which means beautiful. therefore it was called San'a."

\* The LXX. inserts the words καὶ υἱοὶ Ἀράμ before the notice of Uz and his brothers: but for this there is no authority in the Hebrew. For a parallel instance of conciseness see ver. 4.

<sup>b</sup> The printed edition of the *Marásid* writes the name

centre of the best portion of that kingdom, it must always have been an important city, though probably of less importance than Seba itself. Niebuhr (*Descr.* 201, *seq.*) says that it is a walled town, situate in an elevated country, in lat. 15° 2', and with a stream (after heavy rains) running through it (from the mountain of Sawáfee, El-Idreese, i. 50), and another larger stream a little to the west, with country-houses and villages on its banks. It has a citadel on the site of a famous temple, called Beyt-Ghumdán, said to have been founded by Shoorabeel; which was razed by order of Othman. The houses and palaces of San'á, Niebuhr says, are finer than those of any other town of Arabia; and it possesses many mosques, public baths, and caravanserais. El-Idreese's account of its situation and flourishing state (i. 50, quoted also by Bochart, *Phaleg*, xxi.) agrees with that of Niebuhr. Yákcot says, "San'á is the greatest city in the Yemen, and the most beautiful of them. It resembles Damascus, on account of the abundance of its trees (or gardens), and the rippling of its waters" (*Mushtarak*, s. v., comp. Ibn-El-Wardee MS.); and the author of the *Marásid* (said to be Yákcot) says, "It is the capital of the Yemen and the best of its cities; it resembles Damascus, on account of the abundance of its fruits" (s. v. San'á).

Uzal, or Awzál, is most probably the same as the Auzara (Αὔζαρα), or Ausara (Αὔσαρα) of the classics, by the common permutation of *l* and *r*. Pliny (*N. H.* xii. 16) speaks of this as belonging to the Gebanitae; and it is curious that the ancient division (or "mikhláf") of the Yemen in which it is situate, and which is called Sinhán, belonged to a very old confederacy of tribes named Jenb, or Genb, whence the Gebanitae of the classics; another division being also called Mikhláf Jenb (*Marásid*, s. v. mikhláf and jenb, and *Mushtarak*, s. v. jenb). Bochart accepts Ausara as the classical form of Uzal (*Phaleg*, l. c.), but his derivation of the name of the Gebanitae is purely fanciful.

Uzal is perhaps referred to by Ezek. (xxvii. 19), translated in the A. V. "Javan," *going to and fro*, Heb. מַאוּל. A city named Yáwan, or Yáwán, in the Yemen, is mentioned in the *Kámoos* (see Gesenius, *Lex.* and Bochart, l. c.). Commentators are divided in opinion respecting the correct reading of this passage; but the most part are in favour of the reference to Uzal. See also JAVAN. [E. S. P.]

UZ'ZA (נִזְזָא: 'Aζά: Oza). 1. A Benjamite of the sons of Ehud (1 Chr. viii. 7). The Targum on Esther makes him one of the ancestors of Mordecai.

2. ('Oζά.) Elsewhere called UZZAH (1 Chr. xiii. 7, 9, 10, 11).

3. ('Aζά, 'Oζί; 'Aζά, 'Oζί: Aza.) The children of Uzza were a family of Nethinim who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 49; Neh. vii. 51).

4. (נִזְזָא: 'Oζά; Alex. 'Aζά: Oza). Properly "Uzzah." As the text now stands, Uzzah is a descendant of Merari (1 Chr. vi. 29 [14]); but there appears to be a gap in the verse by which the sons of Gershom are omitted, for Libni and Shimei are elsewhere descendants of Gershom, and not of Merari. Perhaps he is the same as Zina (נִזְנָא), or Zizah (נִזְזָא), the son of Shimei (1 Chr. xxiii. 10, 11); for these names evidently denote the same person and, in Hebrew character, are not unlike Uzzah.

UZ'ZA, THE GARDEN OF (נִזְזָא יָדָא: κῆ-

πος 'Oζά: hortus Aza). The spot in which Manasseh king of Judah, and his son Amon, were both buried (2 K. xxi. 18, 26). It was the garden attached to Manasseh's palace (ver. 18, and 2 Chr. xxxiii. 20), and therefore presumably was in Jerusalem. The fact of its mention shows that it was not where the usual sepulchres of the kings were. No clue, however, is afforded to its position. Josephus (*Ant.* x. 3, §2) simply reiterates the statement of the Bible. It is ingeniously suggested by Cornelius a Lapide, that the garden was so called from being on the spot at which Uzza died during the removal of the Ark from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem, and which is known to have retained his name for long after the event (2 Sam. vi. 8). There are some grounds for placing this in Jerusalem, and possibly at or near the threshing-floor of Araunah. [NACHON, p. 455, and note.]

The scene of Uzza's death was itself a threshing-floor (2 Sam. vi. 6), and the change of the word from this, *goren*, גֹּרֵן, into *gan*, גַּן, garden, would not be difficult or improbable. But nothing certain can be said on the point.

Bunsen (*Bibelwerk*, note on 2 K. xxi. 18) on the strength of the mention of "palaces" in the same paragraph with Ophel (A. V. "forts") in a denunciation of Isaiah (xxxii. 14), asserts that a palace was situated in the Tyropoeon valley at the foot of the Temple mount, and that this was in all probability the palace of Manasseh and the site of the Garden of Uzza. Surely a slender foundation for such a superstructure! [G.]

UZ'ZAH (נִזְזָא in 2 Sam. vi. 3, elsewhere נִזְזָא: 'Oζά; Alex. 'Aζά, 'Aζζά: Oza). One of the sons of Abinadab, in whose house at Kirjath-jearim the ark rested for 20 years. The eldest son of Abinadab (1 Sam. vii. 1) seems to have been Eleazar, who was consecrated to look after the ark. Uzzah probably was the second, and Ahio<sup>a</sup> the third. They both accompanied its removal, when David first undertook to carry it to Jerusalem. Ahio apparently went before the cart—the new cart (1 Chr. xiii. 7)—on which it was placed, and Uzzah walked by the side of the cart. The procession, with all manner of music, advanced as far as a spot variously called "the threshing-floor" (1 Chr. xiii. 9), "the threshing-floor of Chidon" (ib. Heb. LXX.; Jos. *Ant.* vii. 4, §2), "the threshing-floor of Nachor" (2 Sam. vi. 6, LXX.), "the threshing-floor of Nachon" (ib. Heb.). At this point—perhaps slipping over the smooth rock—the oxen (or, LXX., "the calf") stumbled (Heb.) or "overturned the ark" (LXX.). Uzzah caught it to prevent its falling.

He died immediately, by the side of the ark. His death, by whatever means it was accomplished, was so sudden and awful that, in the sacred language of the Old Testament, it is ascribed directly to the Divine anger. "The anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah, and God smote him there." "For his error," עֲשֵׂה טֹעֵה, adds the present Hebrew text, not the LXX.; "because he put his hand to the ark" (1 Chr. xiii. 10). The error or sin is not explained. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 4, §2) makes it to be because he touched the ark not being a priest. Some have supposed that it was because the ark was in a cart, and not (Ex. xxv. 14) carried on the shoulders of the Levites. But the narrative seems

<sup>a</sup> The LXX. for "Ahio" read "his brethren."

to imply that it was simply the rough, nasty handling of the sacred coffer. The event produced a deep sensation. David, with a mixture of awe and resentment, was afraid to carry the ark further; and the place, apparently changing its ancient name,<sup>b</sup> was henceforth called "Perez-Uzzah," the "breaking," or "disaster" of Uzzah (2 Sam. vi. 8; 1 Chr. xiii. 11; Jos. Ant. vii. 4, §2).

There is no proof for the assertion that Uzzah was a Levite. [A. P. S.]

UZ'ZEN-SHERAH (שֵׁרָה וּזְזֵן: καὶ υἱὸς Ὀζᾶν, Σενπά: Ozensara). A town founded or rebuilt by Sherah, an Ephraimite woman, the daughter either of Ephraim himself or of Beriah. It is named only in 1 Chr. vii. 24, in connexion with the two Beth-horons. These latter still remain probably in precisely their ancient position, and called by almost exactly their ancient names; but no trace of Uzzen-Sherah appears to have been yet discovered, unless it be in *Beit Sira*, which is shown in the maps of Van de Velde and Tobler as on the N. side of the *Wady Suleiman*, about three miles S.W. of *Beitûr et-tahta*. It is mentioned by Robinson (in the lists in Appendix to vol. iii. of *B. R.* 1st edit. p. 120); and also by Tobler (*3tte Wanderung*, 188).

The word *ozen* in Hebrew signifies an "ear;" and assuming that *uzzen* is not merely a modification of some unintelligible Canaanite word, it may point to an earlike projection or other natural feature of the ground. The same may be said of *Aznoth-Tabor*, in which *aznoth* is perhaps related to the same root.

It has been proposed to identify Uzzen-Sherah with Timnath-Serah; but the resemblance between the two names exists only in English (שֵׁרָה and סֵרָה), and the identification, tempting as it is from the fact of Sherah being an ancestress of Joshua, cannot be entertained.

It will be observed that the LXX. (in both MSS.) give a different turn to the passage, by the addition of the word וּבְנֵי before Uzzen. Sherah, in the former part of the verse, is altogether omitted in the Vat. MS. (Mai), and in the Alex. given as Σααπα. [G.]

UZ'ZI (זִי: Ὀζι: Ozi: short for עֲזִיָּה, "Jehovah is my strength." Compare Uzziab, Uzziel). 1. Son of Bukki, and father of Zerabiah, in the line of the high-priests (1 Chr. vi. 5, 51; Ezr. vii. 4). Though Uzzi was the lineal ancestor of Zadok, it does not appear that he was ever high-priest. Indeed, he is included in those descendants of Phinehas between the high-priest Abishua (Ἰάσσηρος) and Zadok, who, according to Josephus (Ant. viii. 1), were private persons. He must have been contemporary with, but rather earlier than, Eli. In Josephus's list UZZI is unaccountably transformed into JONATHAN.

2. Son of Tola the son of Issachar, and father of five sons, who were all chief men (1 Chr. vii. 2, 3.)

3. Son of Bela, of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr. vii. 7).

4. Another, or the same, from whom descended some Benjamite houses, which were settled at Jerusalem after the return from captivity (1 Chr. ix. 8).

5. A Levite, son of Bani, and overseer of the

<sup>b</sup> For the conjecture that this was the GARDEN OF UZZA mentioned in the later history, see the preceding article.

Levites dwelling at Jerusalem, in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. xi. 22).

6. A priest, chief of the father's-house of Jedaiab, in the time of Joiakim the high-priest (Neh. xii. 19).

7. One of the priests who assisted Ezra in the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem (Neh. xiii. 42). Perhaps the same as the preceding. [A. C. H.]

UZZI'A (זִי'א: Ὀζία; Alex. Ὀζεία: Ozia). One of David's guard, and apparently, from his appellation "the Ashterathite," a native of Ashtaroth beyond Jordan (1 Chr. xi. 44).

UZZIAH (זִיָּה: Ἀζαφίας in Kings, Ὀζίας elsewhere; Alex. Ὀχοζίας in 2 K. xv. 13: Ozias, but Azarias in 2 K. xv. 13).

1. Uzziab king of Judah. In some passages his name appears in the lengthened form עֲזִיָּהוּ (2 K. xv. 32, 34; 2 Chr. xxvi. xxvii. 2; Is. i. 1, vi. 1, vii. 1), which Gesenius attributes to an error of the copyists, עֲזִיָּה and עֲזִרְיָה being nearly identical, or "to an exchange of the names as spoken by the common people, ss being pronounced for sr." This is possible, but there are other instances of the princes of Judah (not of Israel) changing their names on succeeding to the throne, undoubtedly in the later history, and perhaps in the earlier, as Jehoahaz to Ahaziah (2 Chr. xxi. 17), though this example is not quite certain. [AHAZIAH, No. 2.] After the murder of Amaziah, his son Uzziab was chosen by the people to occupy the vacant throne, at the age of 16; and for the greater part of his long reign of 52 years he lived in the fear of God, and showed himself a wise, active, and pious ruler. He began his reign by a successful expedition against his father's enemies the Edomites, who had revolted from Judah in Jehoram's time, 80 years before, and penetrated as far as the head of the Gulf of 'Akaba, where he took the important place of Elath, fortified it, and probably established it as a mart for foreign commerce, which Jehoshaphat had failed to do. This success is recorded in the 2nd Book of Kings (xiv. 22), but from the 2nd Book of Chronicles (xxvi. 1, &c.) we learn much more. Uzziab waged other victorious wars in the south, especially against the Mehunim, or people of Maân, and the Arabs of Gurbaal. A fortified town named *Maân* still exists in Arabia Petraea, south of the Dead Sea. The situation of Gurbaal is unknown. (For conjectures, more or less probable, see Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 321; MEHUNIM; GURBAAL.) Such enemies would hardly maintain a long resistance after the defeat of so formidable a tribe as the Edomites. Towards the west, Uzziab fought with equal success against the Philistines, levelled to the ground the walls of Gath, Jabneh, and Ashdod, and founded new fortified cities in the Philistine territory. Nor was he less vigorous in defensive than offensive operations. He strengthened the walls of Jerusalem at their weakest points, furnished them with formidable engines of war, and equipped an army of 307,500 men with the best inventions of military art. He was also a great patron of agriculture, dug wells, built towers in the wilderness for the protection of the flocks, and cultivated rich vineyards and arable land on his own account. He never deserted the worship of the true God, and was much influenced by Zechariah, a prophet who is only mentioned in connexion with him (2 Chr. xxvi. 5); for, as he must have died before Uzziab, he cannot be the same as the



Zechariah of Is viii. 2. So the southern kingdom was raised to a condition of prosperity which it had not known since the death of Solomon; and as the power of Israel was gradually falling away in the latter period of Jehu's dynasty, that of Judah extended itself over the Ammonites and Moabites, and other tribes beyond Jordan, from whom Uzziah exacted tribute. See 2 Chr. xxvi. 8, and Is. xvi. 1-5, from which it would appear that the annual tribute of sheep (2 K. iii. 4) was revived either during this reign or soon after. The end of Uzziah was less prosperous than his beginning. Elated with his splendid career, he determined to burn incense on the altar of God, but was opposed by the high-priest Azariah and eighty others. (See Ex. xxx. 7, 8; Num. xvi. 40, xviii. 7.) The king was enraged at their resistance, and, as he pressed forward with his censer, was suddenly smitten with leprosy, a disease which, according to Gerlach (*in loco*), is often brought out by violent excitement. In 2 K. xv. 5 we are merely told that "the Lord smote the king, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house;" but his invasion of the priestly office is not specified. This catastrophe compelled Uzziah to reside outside the city, so that the kingdom was administered till his death by his son Jotham as regent. Uzziah was buried "with his fathers," yet apparently not actually in the royal sepulchres (2 Chr. xxvi. 23). During his reign an earthquake occurred, which, though not mentioned in the historical books, was apparently very serious in its consequences, for it is alluded to as a chronological epoch by Amos (i. 1), and mentioned in Zech. xiv. 5, as a convulsion from which the people "fled." [EARTHQUAKE.] Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 10, §4) connects it with Uzziah's sacrilegious attempt to offer incense, but this is very unlikely, as it cannot have occurred later than the 17th year of his reign [AMOS]. The first six chapters of Isaiah's prophecies belong to this reign, and we are told (2 Chr. xxvi. 22) that a full account of it was written by that prophet. Some notices of the state of Judah at this time may also be obtained from the contemporary prophets Hosea and Amos, though both of these laboured more particularly in Israel. We gather from their writings (Hos. iv. 15, vi. 11; Am. vi. 1), as well as from the early chapters of Isaiah, that though the condition of the southern kingdom was far superior, morally and religiously, to that of the northern, yet that it was by no means free from the vices which are apt to accompany wealth and prosperity. At the same time Hosea conceives bright hopes of the blessings which were to arise from it; and though doubtless these hopes pointed to something far higher than the brilliancy of Uzziah's administration, and though the return of the Israelites to "David their king" can only be adequately explained of Christ's kingdom, yet the prophet, in contemplating the condition of Judah at this time, was plainly cheered by the thought that there God was really honoured, and His worship visibly maintained, and that therefore with it was bound up every hope that His promises to His people would be at last fulfilled (Hos. i. 7, iii. 3). It is to be observed, with reference to the general character of Uzziah's reign, that the writer of the Second Book of Chronicles distinctly states that his lawless attempt to burn incense was the only exception to the excellence of his administration (2 Chr. xxvii. 2). His reign lasted from B.C. 808-9 to 756-7.

[G. E. L. C.]

2. (Oζία: *Ozias*.) A Kohathite Levite, and ancestor of Samuel (1 Chr. vi. 24 [9]).

3. A priest of the sons of Harim, who had taken a foreign wife in the days of Ezra (Ezr. x. 21).

4. (Αζία: *Aziam*.) Father of Athaiah, or Uthai (Neh. xi. 4).

5. (אֲזִיָּא: 'Oζίας: *Ozias*.) Father of Jehonathan, one of David's overseers (1 Chr. xxvii. 25).

UZ'ZIEL (לְאִיִּל: 'Oζειήλ, Ex. vi. 18; elsewhere 'Oζειήλ: *Oziel*: "God is my strength").

1. Fourth son of Kohath, father of Mishael, Elizaphan or Elizaphan, and Zithri, and uncle to Aaron (Ex. vi. 18, 22; Lev. x. 4). The family descended from him were called Uzzielites, and Elizaphan, the chief of this family, was also the chief father of the Kohathites, by Divine direction, in the time of Moses (Num. iii. 19, 27, 30), although he seems to have been the youngest of Kohath's sons (1 Chr. vi. 2, 18). The house of Uzziel numbered 112 adults, under Amminadab their chief, at the time of the bringing up of the ark to Jerusalem by King David (1 Chr. xv. 10).

2. A Simeonite captain, son of Ishi, who, after the successful expedition of his tribe to the valley of Gedor, went with his three brethren, at the head of five hundred men, in the days of Hezekiah, to Mount Seir, and smote the remnant of the Amalekites, who had survived the previous slaughter of Saul and David, and took possession of their country, and dwelt there "unto this day" (1 Chr. iv. 42; see Bertheau).

3. Head of a Benjamite house, of the sons of Bela (1 Chr. vii. 7).

4. A musician, of the sons of Heman, in David's reign (1 Chr. xxv. 4), elsewhere called Azareel (ver. 18). Compare Uzziah and Azariah.

5. A Levite, of the sons of Jeduthun, who in the days of King Hezekiah took an active part in cleansing and sanctifying the Temple, after all the pollutions introduced by Ahaz (2 Chr. xxix. 14, 19).

6. Son of Harhaiah, probably a priest in the days of Nehemiah, who took part in repairing the wall (Neh. iii. 8). He is described as "of the goldsmiths," i. e. of those priests whose hereditary office it was to repair or make the sacred vessels, as may be gathered from the analogy of the apothecaries, mentioned in the same verse, who are defined 1 Chr. ix. 30. The goldsmiths are also mentioned Neh. iii. 31, 32. That this Uzziel was a priest is also probable from his name (No. 1), and from the circumstance that Malchiah, the goldsmith's son, was so. [A. C. H.]

UZ'ZIELITES, THE (לְאִיִּלִּים: 'Oζειήλ: *Ozielitae*, *Ozielitae*). The descendants of Uzziel, and one of the four great families into which the Kohathites were divided (Num. iii. 27; 1 Chr. xxvi. 23).

## V

VAJEZATHA (Βαζουθα: *Zabouθαios*; FA. *Zabouδεθαν*: *Jezatha*). One of the ten sons of Haman whom the Jews slew in Shushan (Esth. ix. 9). Gesenius derives his name from the Pers. *ویژه*, "white," Germ. *weiss*; but Fürst suggests as more probable that it is a compound of the

*Zed vaha*, "better," an epithet of the Ized haoma, and *zata*, "born," and so "born of the Ized haoma." But such etymologies are little to be trusted.

**VALE, VALLEY.** It is hardly necessary to state that these words signify a hollow sweep of ground between two more or less parallel ridges of high land. Vale is the poetical or provincial form. It is in the nature of the case that the centre of a valley should usually be occupied by the stream which forms the drain of the high land on either side, and from this it commonly receives its name; as, the Valley of the Thames, of the Colne, of the Nile. It is also, though comparatively seldom, called after some town or remarkable object which it contains; as, the Vale of Evesham, the Vale of White-horse.

Valley is distinguished from other terms more or less closely related; on the one hand, from "glen," "ravine," "gorge," or "dell," which all express a depression at once more abrupt and smaller than a valley; on the other hand, from "plain," which, though it may be used of a wide valley, is not ordinarily or necessarily so.

It is to be regretted that with this quasi-precision of meaning the term should not have been employed with more restriction in the Authorised Version of the Bible.

The structure of the greater part of the Holy Land does not lend itself to the formation of valleys in our sense of the word. The abrupt transitions of its crowded rocky hills preclude the existence of any extended sweep of valley; and where one such does occur, as at Hebron, or on the south-east of Gerizim, the irregular and unsymmetrical positions of the enclosing hills rob it of the character of a valley. The nearest approach is found in the space between the mountains of Gerizim and Ebal, which contains the town of *Nablús*, the ancient Shechem. This, however, by a singular chance, is not mentioned in the Bible. Another is the "Valley of Jezreel"—the undulating hollow which intervenes between Gilboa (*Jebel Fukua*), and the so-called Little Hermon (*Jebel Duhy*).

Valley is employed in the Authorised Version to render five distinct Hebrew words.

1. *'Ēmek* (עֵמֶק: φάραγξ, κοιλάς, also very rarely πεδίον, αὐλῶν, and Εμεκ or Αμεκ). This appears to approach more nearly to the general sense of the English word than any other, and it is satisfactory to find that our translators have invariably, without a single exception, rendered it by "valley." Its root is said to have the force of deepness or seclusion, which Professor Stanley has ingeniously urged may be accepted in the sense of lateral rather than of vertical extension, as in the modern expression,—a deep house, a deep recess. It is connected with several places; but the only one which can be identified with any certainty is the *Emek* of Jezreel, already mentioned as one of the nearest approaches to an English valley. The other *Emeks* are:—Achor, Ajalon, Baca, Berachah, Beth-rehob, Elah, Gibeon, Hebron, Jehoshaphat, Keziz, Rephaim, Shaveh, Siddim, Succoth, and of *ha-Charuts* or "the decision" (Joel iii. 14).

2. *Gai* or *Gé* (גַּי or גֵּי: φάραγξ). Of this natural feature there is fortunately one example remaining which can be identified with certainty—the deep hollow which encompasses the S.W. and S. of Jerusalem, and which is without doubt iden-

tical with the Ge-hinnom or Ge-ben-hinnom of the O. T. This identification appears to establish the *Ge* as a deep and abrupt ravine, with steep sides and narrow bottom. The term is derived by the lexicographers from a root signifying to flow together; but Professor Stanley, influenced probably by the aspect of the ravine of Hinnom, proposes to connect it with a somewhat similar root (גִּי), which has the force of rending or bursting, and which perhaps gave rise to the name Gihon, the famous spring at Jerusalem.

Other *Ges* mentioned in the Bible are those of Gedor, Jiphthah-el, Zeboim, Zephathah, that of salt, that of the craftsmen, that on the north side of Ai, and that opposite Beth Peor in Moab.

3. *Nachal* (נַחַל: φάραγξ, χειμάρρους). This is the word which exactly answers to the Arabic *wady*, and has been already alluded to in that connexion. [PALESTINE, p. 676 a; RIVER, p. 1045 b.] It expresses, as no single English word can, the bed of a stream (often wide and shelving, and like a "valley" in character, which in the rainy season may be nearly filled by a foaming torrent, though for the greater part of the year dry), and the stream itself, which after the subsidence of the rains has shrunk to insignificant dimensions. To autumn travellers in the south of France such appearances are familiar; the wide shallow bed strewn with water-worn stones of all sizes, amongst which shrubs are growing promiscuously, perhaps crossed by a bridge of four or five arches, under the centre one of which brawls along a tiny stream, the sole remnant of the broad and rapid river which a few months before might have carried away the structure of the bridge. Such is the nearest likeness to the wadys of Syria, excepting that—owing to the demolition of the wood which formerly shaded the country, and prevented too rapid evaporation after rain—many of the latter are now entirely and constantly dry. To these last it is obvious that the word "valley" is not inapplicable. It is employed in the A. V. to translate *nachal*, alternating with "brook," "river," and "stream." For a list of the occurrences of each, see *Sinai and Pal. App.* §38.

4. *Bek'áh* (בְּעֵי: πεδίον). This term appears to mean rather a plain than a valley, wider than the latter, though so far resembling it as to be enclosed by mountains, like the wide district between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, which is still called the *Beka'a*, as it was in the days of Amos. [PLAIN, p. 889 b.] It is rendered by "valley" in Deut. xxxiv. 3; Josh. xi. 8, 17, xii. 7; 2 Chr. xxxv. 22; Zech. xii. 11.

5. *has-Shēfēlāh* (הַשְּׁפֵלָה: τὸ πεδίον, ἡ πεδινή). This is the only case in which the employment of the term "valley" is really unfortunate. The district to which alone the name *has-Shēfēlāh* is applied in the Bible has no resemblance whatever to a valley, but is a broad swelling tract of many hundred miles in area, which sweeps gently down from the mountains of Judah

"To mingle with the bounding main"

of the Mediterranean. [See PALESTINE, p. 672; PLAINS, p. 890 b; SEPHELA, p. 1199, &c.] It is rendered "the vale" in Deut. i. 7; Josh. x. 40; 1 K. x. 27; 2 Chr. i. 15; Jer. xxxiii. 13; and "the valley" or "valleys" in Josh. ix. 1, xi. 2, 16, xii. 8, xv. 33; Judg. i. 9; Jer. xxxii. 44. [G.]

**VAN'AH** (וַנְיָהּ): Οὐνανία; Alex. Οὐονία; fA. Οὐιερέ: *Vania*). One of the sons of Bani, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 36).

**VASH'NI** (וַשְׁנִי): Σαβί: *Vasseni*). The first-born of Samuel as the text now stands (1 Chr. vi. 28 [13]). But in 1 Sam. viii. 2 the name of his firstborn is Joel. Most probably in the Chronicles the name of Joel has dropped out, and "Vashni" is a corruption of וַשְׁנִי, "and (the) second." The Peshito Syriac has amended the text, and rendered "The sons of Samuel, his firstborn Joel, and the name of his second son Abiah." In this it is followed by the Arabic of the London Polyglott.

**VASH'TI** (וַשְׁתִּי): Ἀστίη; Οὐάστη, Joseph.: *Vashti*: "a beautiful woman," Pers.). The "queen" (מַלְכָּה) of Ahasuerus, who, for refusing to show herself to the king's guests at the royal banquet, when sent for by the king, incurred his wrath, and was repudiated and deposed (Esth. i.); when Esther was substituted in her place. Many attempts have been made to identify her with historical personages; as by Ussher with Atossa, the wife of Darius Hystaspis, and by J. Capellus with Parysatis, the mother of Ochus; but, as was said of Esther (like the "threescore queens" in Cant. vi. 8, 9<sup>a</sup>), it is far more probable that she was only one of the inferior wives, dignified with the title of queen, whose name has utterly disappeared from history. [ESTHER.] This view of Vashti's position seems further to tally exactly with the narrative of Ahasuerus's order, and Vashti's refusal, considered with reference to the national manners of the Persians. For Plutarch (*Conjug. praecept.* c. 16) tells us, in agreement with Herod. v. 18, that the kings of Persia have their legitimate wives to sit at table with them at their banquets, but that, when they choose to riot and drink, they send their wives away and call in the concubines and singing-girls. Hence, when the heart of Ahasuerus "was merry with wine," he sent for Vashti, looking upon her only as a concubine; she, on the other hand, considering herself as one of the *κουριδίαι γυναῖκες*, or legitimate wives, refused to come. See Winer, *Realwb.* Josephus's statement (*Ant.* xi. 6, §1), that it is contrary to the customs of the Persians for their wives to be seen by any men but their own husbands, is evidently inaccurate, being equally contradicted by Herodotus, v. 18,<sup>b</sup> and by the Book of Esther itself (v. 4, 8, 12, &c.). [A. C. H.]

**VEIL.** Under the head of DRESS we have already disposed of various terms improperly rendered "veil" in the A.V., such as *mitpachath* (Ruth iii. 15), *tsaiph* (Gen. xxiv. 65, xxxviii. 14, 19), and *rádid* (Cant. v. 7; Is. iii. 23). These have been explained to be rather shawls, or mantles, which might at pleasure be drawn over the face, but which were not designed for the special purpose of veils. It remains for us to notice the following terms which describe the veil proper:

<sup>a</sup> γαμίουσι δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας θηναῖκας, πολλὰ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται (Herod. 135).

<sup>b</sup> "It is the custom of us Persians, when we make a

—(1.) *Masveh*,<sup>c</sup> used of the veil which Moses assumed when he came down from the mount (Ex. xxxiv. 33-35). A cognate word, *súth*,<sup>d</sup> occurs in Gen. xlix. 11 as a general term for a man's raiment, leading to the inference that the *masveh* also was an ample outer robe which might be drawn over the face when required. The context, however, in Ex. xxxiv. is conclusive as to the object for which the robe was assumed, and, whatever may have been its size or form, it must have been used as a veil. (2.) *Mispáchôth*,<sup>e</sup> used of the veils which the false prophets placed upon their heads (Ezek. xiii. 18, 21; A. V. "kerchiefs"). The word is understood by Gesenius (*Theo.* p. 965) of cushions or mattresses, but the etymology (*sâphach, to pour*) is equally, if not more favourable, to the sense of a *flowing* veil, and this accords better with the notice that they were to be placed "upon the head of every stature," implying that the length of the veil was proportioned to the height of the wearer (Fürst, *Lex.* s. v.; Hitzig in *Ez.* l. c.). (3.) *Rě'áloth*,<sup>f</sup> used of the light veils worn by females (Is. iii. 19; A. V. "mufflers"), which were so called from their rustling motion. The same term is applied in the Mishna (*Sab.* 6, §6) to the veils worn by Arabian women. (4.) *Tsam-máh*,<sup>g</sup> understood by the A. V. of "locks" of hair (Cant. iv. 1, 3, vi. 7; Is. xlvii. 2), and so by Winer (*Rwb.* "Schleier"); but the contents of the passages in which it is used favour the sense of veil, the wearers of the article being in each case highly born and handsomely dressed. A cognate word is used in the Targum (Gen. xxiv. 65) of the robe in which Rebecca enveloped herself.

With regard to the use of the veil, it is important to observe that it was by no means so general in ancient as in modern times. At present, females are rarely seen without it in Oriental countries, so much so that in Egypt it is deemed more requisite to conceal the face, including the top and back of the head, than other parts of the person (Lane, i. 72). Women are even delicate about exposing their heads to a physician for medical treatment (Russell's *Aleppo*, i. 246). In remote districts, and among the lower classes, the practice is not so rigidly enforced (Lane, i. 72). Much of the scrupulousness in respect to the use of the veil dates from the promulgation of the Koran, which forbade women appearing unveiled except in the presence of their nearest relatives (*Kor.* xxxiii. 55, 59). In ancient times, the veil was adopted only in exceptional cases, either as an article of ornamental dress (Cant. iv. 1, 3, vi. 7), or by betrothed maidens in the presence of their future husbands, especially at the time of the wedding (Gen. xxiv. 65, xxix. 25 [MARRIAGE]), or, lastly, by women of loose character for purposes of concealment (Gen. xxxviii. 14). But, generally speaking, women both married and unmarried appeared in public with their faces exposed, both among the Jews (Gen. xii. 14, xxiv. 16, xxix. 10; 1 Sam. i. 12), and among the Egyptians and Assyrians, as proved by the invariable absence of the veil in the sculptures and paintings of these peoples.

Among the Jews of the New Testament age it appears to have been customary for the women to

great feast, to invite both our concubines and our wives to sit down with us."

<sup>c</sup> מַסְוֵה.

<sup>d</sup> סוּת.

<sup>e</sup> מִסְפָּחֹת.

<sup>f</sup> רְעָלוֹת.

<sup>g</sup> צִמָּה.

cover their heads (not necessarily their faces) when engaged in public worship. For, St. Paul rebukes the disuse of the veil by the Corinthian women, as implying an assumption or equality with the other sex, and enforces the covering of the head as a sign<sup>a</sup> of subordination to the authority of the men (1 Cor. xi. 5-15). The same passage leads to the conclusion that the use of the *talith*, with which the Jewish males cover their heads in prayer, is a comparatively modern practice; inasmuch as the apostle, putting a hypothetical case, states that every man having anything on his head dishonours his head, *i.e.* Christ, inasmuch as the use of the veil would imply subjection to his fellow-men rather than to the Lord (1 Cor. xi. 4). [W. L. B.]

### VEIL OF THE TABERNACLE AND TEMPLE. [TABERNACLE; TEMPLE.]

VERSIONS, ANCIENT, OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS. On the ancient versions in general, see Walton's *Prolegomena*; Simon, *Histoire Critique*; Marsh's *Michaelis*; Eichhorn's *Einleitung*; Hug's *Einleitung*; De Wette's *Einleitung*; Hävernicks's *Einleitung*; Davidson's *Introduction*; Reuss, *Geschichte des Neuen Testaments*; Horne's *Introduction* by Ayre (vol. ii.) and Tregelles (vol. iv.); Scrivener's *Plain Introduction*; Bleek's *Einleitung*.

There were two things which, in the early centuries after the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, were closely connected: the preaching of the Gospel, leading to the diffused profession of the Christian faith amongst nations of varied languages; and the formation of versions of the Holy Scriptures for the use of the Churches thus gathered in varied countries. In fact, for many ages the spread of Christianity and the appearance of vernacular translations seem to have gone almost continually hand in hand. The only exceptions, perhaps, were those regions in which the Christian profession did not extend beyond what might be called the civilized portion of the community, and in which also the Greek language, diffused through the conquests of Alexander, or the Latin, the concomitant of the dominion of Rome, had taken a deeply-rooted and widely-extended hold. Before the Christian era, the Greek version of the Old Testament, commonly termed the Septuagint, and the earlier Targums (if, indeed, any were *written* so early) supplied every want of the Jews, so far as we can at all discover. And it cannot be doubted that the Greek translation of the Old Testament had produced some considerable effect beyond the mere Jewish pale: for thus the comparatively large class of proselytes which we find existing in the time of our Lord and his Apostles must apparently have been led to embrace a religion, not then commended by the holiness of its professors or by external advantages, but only accredited by its doctrines, which professed to be given by the Revelation of God (as, indeed, they were); and which, in setting forth the unity of God, and in the condemnation of all idolatry, supplied a need, not furnished by anything which professed to be a system of positive religion as held by the Greek, Latin, or Egyptian priests.

In making inquiry as to the versions formed

after the spread of Christianity, we rarely find any indication as to the translators, or the particular circumstances under which they were executed. All we can say is, that those who had learned that the doctrines of the Apostles,—namely, that in the name of Jesus Christ the Son of God there is forgiveness of sins and eternal life through faith in his propitiatory sacrifice,—are indeed the truth of God; and who knew that the New Testament contains the records of this religion, and the Old the preparation of God for its introduction through promises, types, and prophecies, did not long remain without possessing these Scriptures in languages which they understood. The appearance of vernacular translations was a kind of natural consequence of the formation of Churches.

We have also some indications that parts of the New Testament were translated, not by those who received the doctrines, but by those who opposed them; this was probably done in order the more successfully to guard Jews and proselytes to Judaism against the doctrines of the Cross of Christ, "to the Jews a stumbling-block."

Translations of St. John's Gospel and of the Acts of the Apostles into the Hebrew dialect, are mentioned in the very curious narration given by Epiphanius (i. xxx. 3, 12) respecting Joseph of Tiberias; he speaks of their being secretly preserved by the Jewish teachers of that city. But these or any similar versions do not appear to have been examined, much less used, by any Christians. They deserve a mention here, however, as being translations of parts of the New Testament, the former existence of which is recorded.

In treating of the ancient versions that have come down to us, in whole or in part, they will be described in the alphabetical order of the languages. It may be premised that in most of them the Old Test. is not a version from the Hebrew, but merely a secondary translation from the Septuagint in some one of its early forms. The value of these secondary versions is but little, except as bearing on the criticism of the text of the LXX., a department of Biblical learning in which they will be found of much use, whenever a competent scholar shall earnestly engage in the revision of that Greek version of the Old Test., pointing out the corrections introduced through the labours of Origen. [S. P. T.]

**ÆTHIOPIC VERSION.**—Christianity was introduced into Æthiopia in the 4th century, through the labours of Frumentius and Aedesius of Tyre, who had been made slaves and sent to the king (Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 23; Socr. i. 19; Sozomen, ii. 24). Hence arose the episcopal see of Axum, to which Frumentius was appointed by Athanasius. The Æthiopic version which we possess is in the ancient dialect of Axum; hence some have ascribed it to the age of the earliest missionaries; but from the general character of the version itself, this is improbable; and the Abyssinians themselves attribute it to a later period; though their testimony is of but little value by itself; for their accounts are very contradictory, and some of them even speak of its having been translated from the Arabic; which is certainly incorrect.

The Old Testament, as well as the New, was executed from the Greek.

In 1513 Potken published the Æthiopic Psalter at Rome: he received this portion of the Scriptures from some Abyssinians with whom he had met.

<sup>a</sup> The term ἐξουσία in 1 Cor. xi. 10 = *sign* of authority, just as βασιλεία in Diod. Sic. i. 47 = *sign* of royalty.

whom, however, he called Chaldaeans, and their language Chaldee.

In 1548-9, the Aethiopic New Test. was also printed at Rome, edited by three Abyssinians: they sadly complained of the difficulties under which they laboured, from the printers having been occupied on what they were unable to read. They speak of having had to fill up a considerable portion of the Book of Acts by translating from the Latin and Greek: in this, however, there seems to be some overstatement. The Roman edition was reprinted in Walton's Polyglott; but (according to Ludolf) all the former errors were retained, and new ones introduced. When Bode in 1753 published a careful Latin translation of the Aethiopic text of Walton, he supplied Biblical scholars in general with the means of forming a judgment as to this version, which had been previously impossible, except to the few who were acquainted with the language.

In 1826-30, a new edition, formed by a collation of MSS., was published under the care of Mr. Thomas Pell Platt (formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge), whose object was not strictly *critical*, but rather to give to the Abyssinians their Scriptures for ecclesiastical use in as good a form as he conveniently could, consistently with MS. authority. From the notes made by Mr. Platt in the course of his collations, it is evident that the translation had been variously revised. The differences of MSS. had appeared so marked to Ludolf that he supposed that there must have been two ancient versions. But Mr. Platt found, in the course of his examination, that where certain MSS. differ widely in their readings, some other copy would introduce both readings either in a conflate form, or simply in the way of repetition. The probability appears to be that there was originally one version of the Gospels; but that this was afterwards revised with Greek MSS. of a different complexion of text; and that succeeding copyists either adopted one or the other form in passages; or else, by omitting nothing from text or margin, they formed a confused combination of readings. It appears probable that all the portion of the New Test. after the Gospels originated from some of the later revisers of the former part; its paraphrastic tone accords with this opinion. We can only form a judgment from the *printed* texts of this version, until a collation of the MSS. now known shall be so executed as to be available for critical use.

As it is, we find in the copies of the version, readings which show an affinity with the older class of Greek MSS., intermingled with others decidedly Byzantine. Some of the copies known show a stronger leaning to the one side or the other; and this gives a considerable degree of certainty to the conclusion on the subject of revision.

An examination of the version proves both that it was executed from the Greek, and also that the translator made such mistakes that he could hardly have been a person to whom Greek was the native tongue. The following instances (mostly taken from C. B. Michaelis) prove this: *δρια* is confounded with *δρεα* (or *δρη*); Matt. iv. 13, "in monte Zabulon;" xix. 1, "in montes Judaeae trans Jordanem." Acts iii. 20, *προκεχειρισμένον* is rendered as "quem praeunxit" (*προκεχειρισμένον*); ii. 37, *κατενόγησαν* "aperiti sunt quoad cor eorum" (*κατηνοίγησαν*); xvi. 25, *ἐπηκροῶντο αὐτῶν οἱ δέσμοι*, "percuissa sunt vincula eorum" (*ἐπεκρού-*

*οντο αὐτῶν οἱ δεσμοί*). Matt. v. 25, *ἐννοῶν* is rendered as *intelligens* (*ἐννοῶν*); Luke viii. 29, *καὶ πέδαις φυλασσόμενος*, "a *parvulis* custoditus," as if *παιδίοις*. Rom. vii. 11, *ἐξηπάτησεν* "conculcavit," as if *ἐξεπάτησεν*. Rev. iv. 3, *ἱερεῖς*, "sacerdotes," as if *ἱερεῖς*. The meaning of words alike in spelling is confounded: thus, 1 Cor. xii. 28, "Posuit Dominus *aurē* ecclesiae," from the differing meanings of *ΟΥΣ*. Also wrong renderings sometimes seem to have originated with false etymology: thus, Matt. v. 22, "Qui autem dixerit fratrem suum *pannosum*," *ρακά* having been connected with *ράκος*.

Bode's Latin version, to which reference has already been made, enabled critical scholars to use the Roman text with much confidence. The late Mr. L. A. Prevost, of the British Museum, executed for Dr. Tregelles a comparison of the text of Mr. Platt with the Roman, as reprinted in Walton, together with a literal rendering of the variations; this gave him the critical use of both texts. The present Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Ellicott, speaking with the personal advantage possessed by a scholar himself able to use both Aethiopic texts of the New Test., draws attention to the superiority of that edited by Mr. Platt: after speaking (*Aids to Faith*, p. 381) of the non-paraphrastic character of the ancient versions of the New Test. in general, Dr. Ellicott adds in a note: "It may be noticed that we have specified the Aethiopic version as that edited by Mr. Pell Platt. The Aethiopic version found in Walton's Polyglott often degenerates into a paraphrase, especially in difficult passages."

The Old Test. of this version, made from the LXX. (as has been already specified), has been subjected apparently (with the exception of the Psalms) to very little critical examination. A complete edition of the Aethiopic Old Test. has been commenced by Dillmann; the first portion of which appeared in 1853.

*Literature.*—Potken, *Preface to the Aethiopic Psalter*, Rome, 1513; C. B. Michaelis, *Preface to Bode's Collation of St. Matthew*, Halle, 1749; Bode, *Latin Translation of the Aethiopic New Test.* Brunswick, 1753; T. P. Platt, *MS. Notes made in the Collation of Aethiopic MSS., and Private Letters sent to Tregelles*; L. A. Prevost, *MS. Collation of the Text of Platt with the Roman and Translation of Variations, executed for Tregelles*; A. Dillmann, *Aethiopische Bibelübersetzung* in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*. [S. P. T.]

ARABIC VERSIONS.—To give a detailed account of the Arabic versions would be impossible, without devoting a much larger space to the subject than would be altogether in its place in a Dictionary of the Bible: for the versions themselves do not, owing to their comparatively late date, possess any *primary* importance, even for critical studies; and thus many points connected with these translations are rather of literary than strictly Biblical interest. The versions of the Old Test. must be considered separately from those of the New; and those from the Hebrew text must be treated apart from those formed from the LXX.

(I.) *Arabic versions of the Old Test.*

(A.) Made from the Hebrew text.

Rabbi Saadiah Hagggaon, the Hebrew commentator of the 10th century, translated portions (some think the whole) of the O. T. into Arabic. His version of the Pentateuch was printed at Constantinople, in 1546. The Paris Polyglott contains the

same version from a MS. differing in many of its readings: this was reprinted by Walton. It seems as if copyists had in parts altered the version considerably. The version of Isaiah by Saadiah was printed by Paulus, at Jena, in 1791, from a Bodleian MS.; the same library contains a MS. of his version of Job and of the Psalms. Kimchi quotes his version of Hosea.

The Book of Joshua in the Paris and Walton's Polyglotts is also from the Hebrew; and this Rödigier states to be the fact in the case of the Polyglott text of 1 K. xii.; 2 K. xii. 16; and of Neh. i.-ix. 27.

Other portions, translated from Hebrew in later times, do not require to be even specified here.

But it was not the Jews only who translated into Arabic from the original. There is also a version of the Pentateuch of the Samaritans, made by Abu Said. He is stated to have clearly had the translation of Saadiah before him, the phraseology of which he often follows, and at times he must have used the Samaritan version. It is considered that this work of Abu Said (of which a portion has been printed) is of considerable use in connection with the history of the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch. [See SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, ii. 3.]

(B.) Made from the Peshito Syriac.

This is the base of the Arabic text contained in the Polyglotts of the Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, and Nehemiah (with the exception mentioned above in these last-named books).

In some MSS. there is contained a translation from the *Hexaplar*-Syriac text, which (though a recent version) is of some importance for the criticism of that translation.

(C.) Made from the LXX.

The version in the Polyglotts of the books not specified above.<sup>a</sup>

Another text of the Psalter in Justiniani Psalterium Octuplum, Genoa, 1516.

The Arabic versions existing in MS. exhibit very various forms: it appears as if alterations had been made in the different countries in which they had been used; hence it is almost an endless task to discriminate amongst them precisely.

(II.) Arabic versions of the New Test.

The printed editions of the Arabic New Test. must first be specified before their text can be described.

1. The Roman editio princeps of the four Gospels, 1590-91 (issued both with and without an interlinear Latin version. Reissued, with a new title, p. 1619; and again, with a bibliographical preface, 1774).

2. The Erpenian Arabic. The whole New Test. edited by Erpenius, 1616, at Leyden, from a MS. of the 13th or 14th century.

3. The Arabic of the Paris Polyglott, 1645. In the Gospels this follows mostly the Roman text; in the Epistles a MS. from Aleppo was used. The Arabic in Walton's Polyglott appears to be simply taken from the Paris text.

4. The *Carshuni* Arabic text (*i. e.* in Syriac let-

ters), the Syriac and Arabic New Test., published at Rome, in 1703. For this a MS. brought from Cyprus was used.

Storr proved, that in all these editions the Gospels are really the same translation, however it may have been modified by copyists; especially when the Syriac, or Memphitic, stand by the side.

Juynboll, in his description of an Arabic Codex at Franeker (1838), threw new light on the origin of the Arabic Gospels. He proves that the Franeker Codex coincides in its general text with the Roman editio princeps, and that both follow the Latin Vulgate, so that Raymundi, the Roman editor, must not be accused of having Latinized the text. The greater agreement of the Polyglott text with the Greek he ascribes to the influence of an Aleppo MS., which the Paris editor used. Juynboll then identifies the text of the Franeker MS. (and of the Roman edition) with the version made in the 8th century by John, Bishop of Seville. The question to be considered thus becomes, Was the Latin the basis of the version of the Gospels? and did some afterwards revise it with the Greek? or, was it taken from the Greek? and was the alteration to suit the Latin a later work? If the former supposition be correct, then the version of John of Seville may have been the *first*; if the latter, then all that was done by the Spanish bishop must have been to adapt an existing Arabic version to the Latin.

Gildemeister, in his communications to Tischendorf (Gr. Test. 1859. Prolegg. ccxxxix.), endeavours to prove, that all the supposed connexion of this (or apparently of any) version with John of Seville is a mistake. The words, however, of Mariana, the Spanish historian, are express. He says, under the year 737, "His aequalis Joannes Hispalensis Praesul divinos libros lingua Arabica donabat utriusque nationis saluti consulens; quoniam Arabicae linguae multus usus erat Christianis aequae atque Mauris; Latina passim ignorabatur. Ejus interpretationis exempla ad nostram aetatem (*i. e.* A.D. 1600) conservata sunt, extantque non uno in loco in Hispania."<sup>b</sup> Gildemeister says, indeed, that this was entirely caused from a misunderstanding of what had been stated by Roderic of Toledo, the first who says anything on the subject. He adds that John of Seville lived really in the 10th century, and not in the 8th: if so, he must be a different person apparently from the Bishop, of the same name, about whom Mariana could hardly have been misinformed. It does not appear as if Juynboll's details and arguments were likely to be set aside through the brief fragments of Gildemeister's letters to Tischendorf, which the latter has published.

In the Erpenian Arabic the latter part is a translation from the Peshito-Syriac; the Epistles not found in that version and the Apocalypse are said to be from the Memphitic.

The latter part of the text in the Polyglotts is from the Greek. Various Arabic translations of portions of the New Test. exist in MS.: they do not require any especial enumeration here.

<sup>a</sup> Cardinal Wiseman (*On the Miracles of the New Test.* Essays i. 172-176, 240-244) gives a curious investigation of the origin and translation of this Arabic Psalter, and of the occasional use of the Hebrew text, and sometimes of the Syriac version.

<sup>b</sup> Adler (*Reise nach Rom*, p. 184) gives a citation from D. Vincenzio Juan de Lastanosa, who says in his *Museo*

*de las Medallas desconocidas*, Huesca, 1645, p. 115, "El santo Arçobispo Don Juan traduxo la sagrada escritura en Arabigo, par cuya intercessiva hizo Dios muchos milagros i los Moros le llamavan *Caid almateran*." Adler

conjectures this designation to be **قيد المطران** or **المطارنة**.

*Literature.*—Malanimeus, *Preface to the reissue, in 1774, of the Roman edition of the Arabic Gospels*; Storr, *Dissertatio inauguralis critica de Evangeliiis Arabicis*, Tübingen, 1775; Juynboll, *Letterkundige Bijdragen (Tweede Stukje. Beschrijving van een Arabischen Codex der Franeker Bibliotheek, bevattende de vier Evangelien, gevolgd van eenige opmerkingen, welke de letterkundige Geschiedenis van de Arabische Vertaling der Evangelien betreffen)*, Leyden, 1838; Wiseman, *On the Miracles of the New Testament*. [S. P. T.]

ARMENIAN VERSION.—Before the 5th century the Armenians are said to have used the Syriac alphabet; but at that time Miesrob is stated to have invented the Armenian letters. Soon after this it is said that translations into the Armenian language commenced, at first from the Syriac. Miesrob, with his companions, Joseph and Eznak, began a version of the Scriptures with the Book of Proverbs, and completed all the Old Test.; and in the New, they used the Syriac as their basis, from their inability to obtain any Greek books. But when, in the year 431, Joseph and Eznak returned from the council of Ephesus, bringing with them a Greek copy of the Scriptures, Isaac, the Armenian Patriarch, and Miesrob, threw aside what they had already done, in order that they might execute a version from the Greek. But now arose the difficulty of their want of a competent acquaintance with that language; to remedy this, Eznak and Joseph were sent with Moses Chorenensis (who is himself the narrator of these details) to study that language at Alexandria. There they made what Moses calls their *third* translation; the first being that from the Syriac, and the second that which had been attempted without sufficient acquaintance with the Greek tongue. The fact seems to be that the former attempts were used as far as they could be, and that the whole was remodelled so as to suit the Greek.

The first printed edition of the Old and New Testaments in Armenian appeared at Amsterdam in 1666, under the care of a person commonly termed Oscan, or Uscan, and described as being an Armenian bishop (Hug, however, denies that Uscan was his name, and Eichhorn denies that he was a bishop). From this *editio princeps* others were printed, in which no attempt was made to do more than to follow its text; although it was more than suspected that Uscan had by no means faithfully adhered to MS. authority. Zohrab, in 1789, published at Venice an improved text of the Armenian New Test.; and in 1805 he and his coadjutors completed an edition of the entire Armenian Scriptures, for which not only MS. authority was used throughout, but also the results of collations of MSS. were subjoined at the foot of the pages. The basis was a MS. written in the 14th century, in Cilicia; the whole number employed is said to have been eight of the entire Bible, twenty of the New Test., with several more of particular portions, such as the Psalms. Tischendorf states that Aucher, of the monastery of St. Lazarus at Venice, informed him that he and some of his fellow-monks had undertaken a new critical edition: this probably would contain a repetition of the various collations of Zohrab, together with those of other MSS.

The critical editors of the New Test. appear all of them to have been unacquainted with the Armenian language; the want of a Latin translation of this version has made it thus impossible for them

to use it as a critical authority, except by the aid of others. Some readings were thus communicated to Mill by Louis Piques; Wetstein received still more from La Croze; Griesbach was aided by a collation of the New Test. of 1789, made by Breidenkamp of Hamburg. Scholz speaks of having been furnished with a collation of the text of 1805, but either this was done very partially and incorrectly, or else Scholz made but little use (and that without real accuracy) of the collation. These partial collations, however, were by no means such as to supply what was needed for the real critical use of the version; and as it was known that Uscan's text was thoroughly untrustworthy for critical purposes, an exact collation of the Venice text of 1805 became a desideratum; Dr. Charles Rieu of the British Museum undertook the task for Tregelles, thus supplying him with a valuable portion of the materials for his critical edition of the Greek Testament. By marking the words, and noting the import of the various readings, and the discrepancies of Uscan's text, Rieu did all that was practicable to make the whole of the labour of Zohrab available for those not like himself Armenian scholars.

It had been long noticed that in the Armenian New Test. as printed by Uscan 1 John v. 7 is found: those who are only moderately acquainted with criticism would feel assured that this must be an addition, and that it *could* not be part of the original translation. Did Uscan then introduce it from the Vulgate? he seems to have admitted that in some things he supplied defects in his MS. by translations from the Latin. It was, however, said that Haitho king of Armenia (1224-70), had inserted this verse: that he revised the Armenian version by means of the Latin Vulgate, and that he translated the *prefaces* of Jerome (and also those which are spurious) into Armenian. Hence a kind of *suspicion* attached itself to the Armenian version, and its use was accompanied by a kind of doubt whether or not it was a critical authority which could be safely used. The known fact that Zohrab had omitted 1 John v. 7, was felt to be so far satisfactory that it showed that he had not found it in his MSS., which were thus seen to be earlier than the introduction of this corruption. But the collation of Dr. Rieu, and his statement of the Armenian authorities, set forth the character of the version distinctly in this place as well as in the text in general. Dr. Rieu says of 1 John v. 7, that out of eighteen MSS. used by Zohrab, one only, and that written A.D. 1656, has the passage as in the Stephanic Greek text. In one ancient MS. the reading is found from a recent correction. Thus there is no ground for supposing that it was inserted by Haitho. or by any one till the time when Uscan lived. The wording, however, of Uscan in this place, is not in accordance with the MS. of 1656: so that each seems to have been independently borrowed from the Latin. That Uscan did this, there can be no reasonable doubt; for in the immediate context Uscan accords with the Latin in opposition to all collated Armenian MSS.: thus in ver. 6, he follows the Latin "*Christus est veritas*;" in ver. 20 he has, instead of *ἐσμεν*, the subjunctive answering to *simus*: even in this minute point the Armenian MSS. definitely vary from Uscan. In iii. 11, for *ἀγαπῶμεν*, Uscan stands alone in agreeing with the Vulgate *diligatis*. These are proofs of the employment of the Vulgate either by Uscan, or by some one else who prepared the MS. from which

be printed. There are many other passages in which alterations or considerable additions (see for instance Matt. xvi. 2, 3, xxiii. 14; John viii. 1-11; Acts xv. 34, xxiii. 24, xxviii. 25), are proofs that Uscaan agrees with the Vulgate against all known MSS. (These variations in the two texts of Uscaan and Zohrab, as well as the material readings of Armenian MSS. are inserted in Tregelles's Greek Test. on Dr. Rieu's authority.)

But systematic revision with the Vulgate is not to be found even in Uscaan's text: they differ greatly in characteristic readings; though here and there throughout there is some mark of an influence drawn from the Vulgate. And as to accordances with the Latin, we have no reason to believe that there is any proof of alterations having been made in the days of King Haitho.

Some have spoken of this version as though it had been made from the Peshito Syriac, and not from the Greek; the only grounds for such a notion can be the facts connected with part of the history of its execution. There are, no doubt, a few readings which show that the translators had made some use of the Syriac; but these are only exceptions to the general texture of the version: an addition from John xx. 21, brought into Matt. xxviii. 18, in both the Armenian and the Peshito is probably the most marked.

The collations of MSS. show that some amongst them differ greatly from the rest: it seems as if the variations did not in such cases originate in Armenian, but they must have sprung from some recasting of the text and its revision by Greek copies. There may perhaps be proofs of the difference between the MS. brought from Ephesus, and the copies afterwards used at Alexandria; but thus much at least is a certain conclusion, that comparison with Greek copies of different kinds must at some period have taken place. The omission of the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel in the older Armenian copies, and their insertion in the later, may be taken as a proof of some effective revision.

The Armenian version in its general texture is a valuable aid to the criticism of the text of the New Test.: it was a worthy service to rehabilitate it as a critical witness as to the general reading of certain Greek copies existing in the former half of the 5th century.

*Literature.*—Moses Chorenensis, *Historiae Armenicae Libri iii.* ed. Guliel. et Georg. Whiston, 1736; Rieu (Dr. Charles), *MS. collation of the Armenian text of Zohrab, and translation of the various readings made for Tregelles.* [S. P. T.]

CHALDEE VERSIONS. [TARGUMS, p. 1637.]

EGYPTIAN VERSIONS.—I. THE MEMPHITIC VERSION.—The version thus designated was for a considerable time the only Egyptian translation known to scholars; Coptic was then regarded as a sufficiently accurate and definite appellation. But when the fact was established that there were at least two Egyptian versions, the name Coptic was found to be indefinite, and even unsuitable for the translation then so termed: for in the dialect of Upper Egypt there was another; and it is from the ancient *Coptos* in Upper Egypt that the term Coptic is taken. Thus Copto-Memphitic, or more simply Memphitic, is the better name for the version in the dialect of Lower Egypt.

When Egyptian translations were made we do not know: we find, however, that in the middle of

the 4th century the Egyptian language was in great use amongst the Christian inhabitants of that country; for the rule of Pachomius for the monks is stated to have been drawn up in Egyptian, and to have been afterwards translated into Greek. It was prescribed that every one of the monks (estimated at seven thousand) for whom this rule in Egyptian was drawn up, was to learn to read (whether so disposed or not), so as to be able at least to read the New Test. and the Psalms. The whole narration presupposes that there was in Upper Egypt a translation.

So, too, also in Lower Egypt in the same century. For Palladius found at Nitria the Abbot John of Lycopolis, who was well acquainted with the New Test., but who was ignorant of Greek; so that he could only converse with him through an interpreter. There seems to be proof of the ecclesiastical use of the Egyptian language even before this time. Those who know what the early Christian worship was, will feel how cogent is the proof that the Scriptures had then been translated.

When the attention of European scholars was directed to the language and races of modern Egypt, it was found that while the native Christians use only Arabic vernacularly, yet in their services and in the public reading of the Scriptures they employ a dialect of the Coptic. This is the version now termed Memphitic. When MSS. had been brought from Egypt, Thomas Marshall, an Englishman, prepared in the latter part of the 16th century an edition of the Gospels; the publication of which was prevented by his death. From some of the readings having been noted by him Mill was able to use them for insertion in his Greek Test.; they often differ (sometimes for the better) from the text published by Wilkins. Wilkins was a Prussian by birth; in 1716 he published at Oxford the first Memphitic New Test., founded on MSS. in the Bodleian, and compared with some at Rome and Paris. That he did not execute the work in a very satisfactory manner would probably now be owned by every one; but it must be remembered that no one else did it at all. Wilkins gave no proper account of the MSS. which he used, nor of the variations which he found in them: his text seems to be in many places a confused combination of what he took from various MSS.; so that the sentences do not properly connect themselves, even (it is said) in grammatical construction. And yet for 130 years this was the only Memphitic edition.

In 1846-8, Schwartz published at Berlin an edition of the Memphitic Gospels, in which he employed MSS. in the Royal Library there. These were almost entirely modern transcripts; but with these limited materials he produced a far more satisfactory work than that of Wilkins. At the foot of the page he gave the variations which he found in his copies; and subjoined there was a collation of the Memphitic and Thebaic versions with Lachmann's Greek Test. (1842), and the first of Tischendorf (1841). There are also such references to the Latin version of Wilkins, that it almost seems as if he supposed that all who used his edition would also have that of Wilkins before them.

The death of Schwartz prevented the continuation of his labours. Since then Boetticher's editions, first of the Acts and then of the Epistles, have appeared; these are not in a form which is available for the use of those who are themselves unacquainted with Egyptian: the editor gives as his reason for issuing a bare text, that he intended soon to publish



a work of his own in which he would fully employ the authority of the ancient versions. Several years have since passed, and Boetticher does not seem to give any further prospect of the issue of such volume on the ancient versions.

In 1848-52, a magnificent edition of the Memphitic New Test. was published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, under the editorial care of the Rev. R. T. Lieder of Cairo. In its preparation he followed MSS. without depending on the text of Wilkins. There is no statement of the variations of the authorities, which would have hardly been a suitable accompaniment of an edition intended solely for the use of the Coptic churches, and in which, while the Egyptian text which is read aloud is printed in large characters, there is at the side a small column in Arabic in order that the readers may themselves be able to understand something of what they read aloud.

It is thus impossible to give a *history* of this version: we find proof that such a translation existed in early times, we find this now (and from time immemorial) in church use in Egypt; when speaking of its internal character and its value as to textual criticism (after the other Egyptian versions have been described), it will be found that there are many considerations which go far to prove the identity of what we now have, with that which must have existed at an early period.

The Old Testament of this version was made from the LXX. Of this, Wilkins edited the Pentateuch in 1731; the Psalter was published at Rome in 1744. The Rev. Dr. Tattam edited the Minor Prophets in 1836, Job in 1846, and the Major Prophets in 1852. Bardelli published Daniel in 1849.

II. THE THEBAIC VERSION.—The examination of Egyptian MSS. in the last century showed that besides the Memphitic there is also another version in a cognate Egyptian dialect. To this the name *Sahidic* was applied by some, from an Arabic designation for Upper Egypt and its ancient language. It is, however, far better to assign to this version a name not derived from the language of the Arabian occupants of that land: thus Copto-Thebaic (as styled by Giorgi), or simply Thebaic, is far preferable. The first who attended much to the subject of this version was Woide, who collected readings from MSS. which he communicated to Cramer in 1779. In 1785 Mingarelli published a few portions of this version of the New Test. from the Nalian MSS. In 1789 Giorgi edited very valuable Greek and Thebaic fragments of St. John's Gospel, which appear to belong to the *fifth* century. Münter, in 1787, had published a fragment of Daniel in this version; and in 1789 he brought out portions of the Epistles to Timothy, together with readings which he had collected from MSS. in other parts of the New Test. In the following year Mingarelli printed Mark xi. 29-xv. 22, from MSS. which had recently been obtained by Nani; but owing to the editor's death the unfinished sheets were never, properly speaking, *published*. A few copies only seem to have been circulated: they are the more valuable from the fact of the MSS. having been destroyed by the persons into whose hands they fell, and from their containing a portion of the New Test. not found, it appears, in any known MS. Woide was now busily engaged in the collection of portions of the Thebaic Scriptures: he had even issued a Prospectus of such an edition in 1778. Woide's death took place before his edition was completed. In 1799, however, it appeared under the editorial

care of Ford. In this work all the portions found by Woide himself were given, as well as those published by Mingarelli in his lifetime; but not only were Mingarelli's posthumous sheets passed by, but also all that had been published by Münter and Giorgi, as well as the transcripts of Münter from the Borgian MSS., which Ford might have used for his edition. This collection of fragments contains the greater part of the Thebaic New Test. They might, however, be greatly amplified out of what are mentioned by Zoega, as found in the Borgian MSS. (now in the Propaganda), in his catalogue published in 1810 after his death. It could hardly have been thought that this definite account of existing Thebaic fragments would have remained for more than half a century without some Egyptian scholar having rescued the inedited portions of this version from their obscurity; and surely this would not have been the case if Biblical critics had been found who possess Egyptian learning.

In the Memphitic Gospels of Schwartze there is not only, as has been already mentioned, a collation subjoined of the Thebaic text, but also the criticisms of that learned editor on both Ford and Woide, neither of whom, in his judgment, possessed sufficient editorial competency. In this opinion he was perhaps correct; but still let it be observed, that if it had not been for the labours of Woide (of which Ford was simply the continuer), there is no reason to suppose but that the Thebaic New Test. would remain unprinted still. Had this been the case the loss to textual criticism would have been great.

III. A THIRD EGYPTIAN VERSION.—Some Egyptian fragments were noticed by both Münter and Giorgi amongst the Borgian MSS., which in dialect differ both from the Memphitic and Thebaic. These fragments, of a third Egyptian translation, were edited by both these scholars independently in the same year (1789). In what part of Egypt this third dialect was used, and what should be its distinctive name, has been a good deal discussed. Arabian writers mention a third Egyptian dialect under the name of *Bashmuric*, and this has by some been *assumed* as the appellation for this version. Giorgi supposed that this was the dialect of the Ammonian Oasis; in this Münter agreed with him; and thus they called the version the *Ammonian*. There is in fact no certainty on the subject: but as the affinities of the dialect are closely allied to the Thebaic, and as it has been shown that *Bashmur* is the district of Lower Egypt to the east of the Delta, it seems by no means likely that it can belong to a region so far from the Thebaic. Indeed it has been reasonably doubted whether the slight differences (mostly those of orthography) entitle this to be considered to be a really different dialect from the Thebaic itself.

After the first portions of this version, others were transcribed independently by Zoega and Engelbreth, and their transcripts appeared respectively in 1810 and 1811. The latter of these scholars accompanied his edition with critical remarks, and the text of the other Egyptian versions on the same page for purposes of comparison.

*The Character and critical use of the Egyptian Versions.*—It appears that the Thebaic version may reasonably claim a higher antiquity than the Memphitic. The two translations are independent of each other, and both spring from Greek copies. The Thebaic has been considered to be the older of the two, partly from it having been thought that a book in the Thebaic dialect quotes this version, and

from what was judged to be the antiquity of the book so referred to. There are other grounds less precarious. If the Memphitic version exhibits a general agreement with the text current at Alexandria in the third century, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it either belongs to that age, or at least to one not very remote. Now while this is the case it is also to be noticed that the Thebaic seems to have been framed from a text in which there was a much greater admixture, and that not arising from the later revisions which moulded it into the transition text of the fourth century (commencing probably at Antioch), but exactly in the opposite direction: so that the contents of the two versions would seem to show that the antiquity of the Thebaic is most to be regarded, but that the Memphitic is often preferable as to the goodness of its readings, as well as in respect to dialect.

It is probable that the more Hellenized region of Lower Egypt would not require a vernacular version at so early a period as would the more thoroughly Egyptian region of the Thebaic. There are some marks of want of polish in the Thebaic; the Greek words which are introduced are changed into a barbarous form; the habitual introduction of an *aspirate* shows either an ignorance of the true Greek sounds, or else it seems like a want of polish in the dialect itself. That such a mode of expressing Greek words in Egyptian is not needed, we can see from its non-existence in the Memphitic.

The probable conclusions seem to be these:—that the Thebaic version was made in the early part of the third century, for the use of the common people among the Christians in Upper Egypt; that it was formed from MSS. such as were then current in the regions of Egypt which were distant from Alexandria; that afterwards the Memphitic version was executed in what was the more polished dialect, from the Greek copies of Alexandria; and that thus in process of time the Memphitic remained alone in ecclesiastical use. Possibly the disuse of the Thebaic in the Egyptian churches did not take place until Arabic was fast becoming the vernacular tongue of that land. It will be well for those whose studies enable them personally to enter on the domain of Egyptian literature, to communicate to Biblical scholars the results of new researches.

The value of these versions in textual criticism, even though they are known only through defective channels, is very high. In some respect they afford the same kind of evidence relative to the text current in Egypt in the early centuries, as do the Old Latin and the version of Jerome for that in use in the West. [VULGATE.]

A few remarks only need be made respecting the third Egyptian version. The fragments of this follow the Thebaic so closely as to have no independent character. This version does however possess critical value, as furnishing evidence in a small portion not known in the Thebaic. The existence of the third version is a farther argument as to the early existence and use of the Thebaic, for this seems to be formed from it by moulding it into the colloquial dialect of some locality.

*Literature.*—Schwartz, *Quatuor Evangelia in Dialecto Linguae Copticae Memphitica*, 1846-7; Woide, *Novi Testamenti Fragmenta Sahidica* (i.e. Thebaica), [Appendix ad Cod. Alex.], 1799; Mingarelli, *Aegyptiorum Codicum Reliquiae*, 1785, &c.; Münter, *Commentatio de indole Versionis N. T. Sahidicae*, 1789; Giorgi, *Fragmentum Ev. S. Joan. Graeco-Copto-Thebaicum*, 1789; Zoega,

*Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur*, 1810; Engelbreth, *Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, 1811. [S. P. T.]

**GOTHIC VERSION.**—In the year 318 the Gothic bishop and translator of Scripture, Ulphilas, was born. He succeeded Theophilus as bishop of the Goths in 348, when he subscribed a confession rejecting the orthodox creed of Nicaea; through him it is said that the Goths in general adopted Arianism; it may be, however, more correct to consider that Arianism (or Semi-Arianism) had already spread amongst the Goths inhabiting within the Roman Empire, as well as amongst the Greeks and Latins. Theophilus, the predecessor of Ulphilas, had been present at the council of Nicaea, and had subscribed the Homo-ousion confession. The great work of Ulphilas was his version of the Scriptures, a translation in which few traces, if any (except in Phil. ii. 6), can be found of his peculiar and erroneous dogmas. In 388 Ulphilas visited Constantinople to defend his heterodox creed, and while there he died.

In the 5th century the Eastern Goths occupied and governed Italy, while the Western Goths took possession of Spain, where they ruled till the beginning of the 8th century. Amongst the Goths in both these countries can the use of this version be traced. It must in fact have at one time been the vernacular translation of a large portion of Europe.

In the latter part of the 16th century the existence of a MS. of this version was known, through Morillon having mentioned that he had observed one in the library of the monastery of Werden on the Ruhr in Westphalia. He transcribed the Lord's Prayer and some other parts, which were afterwards published, as were other verses copied soon after by Arnold Mercator.

In 1648, almost at the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, the Swedes took that part of Prague on the left of the Moldau (Kleine Seite), and amongst the spoils was sent to Stockholm a copy of the Gothic Gospels, known as the *Codex Argenteus*. This MS. is generally supposed to be the same that Morillon had seen at Werden; but whether the same or not, it had been long at Prague when found there by the Swedes, for Strenius, who died in 1601, mentions it as being there. The *Codex Argenteus* was taken by the Swedes to Stockholm; but on the abdication of Queen Christina of Sweden, a few years later, it disappeared. In 1655 it was in the possession of Isaac Vossius in Holland, who had been the queen's librarian; to him therefore it is probable that it had been given, and not to the queen herself, by the general who brought it from Prague. In 1662 it was repurchased for Sweden by Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, who caused it to be splendidly bound, and placed it in the library of the University of Upsal, where it now remains.

While the book was in the hands of Vossius a transcript was made of its text, from which Junius, his uncle, edited the first edition of the Gothic Gospels at Dort in 1665: the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, edited by Marshall, accompanied the Gothic text. The labours of other editors succeeded: Stiernhielm, 1671; Benzel and Lye, 1750; and others comparatively recent. The MS. is written on vellum that was once purple, in silver letters, except those at the beginning of sections, which are golden. The

Gospels have many lacunae: it is calculated that when entire it consisted of 320 folios; there are now but 188. The uniformity of the writing is wonderful: so that it has been thought whether each letter was not formed by a hot iron impressing the gold or silver, used just as bookbinders put on the lettering to the back of a book. It is pretty certain that this beautiful and elaborate MS. must have been written in the 6th century, probably in Upper Italy when under the Gothic sovereignty. Some in the last century supposed that the language of this document is not Gothic, but Frankish—an opinion which was set at rest by the discovery in Italy of Ostro-Gothic writings, about which there could be no question raised. Some Visi-Gothic monuments in Spain were evidence on the same side.

Kuittel, in 1762, edited from a Wolfenbüttel palimpsest some portions of the Epistle to the Romans in Gothic, in which the Latin stood by the side of the version of Ulphilas. This discovery first made known the existence of any part of a version of the Epistles. The portions brought to light were soon afterwards used by Ihre in the collection of remarks on Ulphilas edited in 1773 by Busching.

But as it was certain that in obscure places the *Codex Argenteus* had been not very correctly read, Ihre laboured to copy it with exactitude, and to form a Latin version: what he had thus prepared was edited by Zahn in 1805.

New light dawned on Ulphilas and his version in 1817. While the late Cardinal Mai was engaged in the examination of palimpsests in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, of which he was at that time a librarian, he noticed traces of some Gothic writing under that of one of the codices. This was found to be part of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. In making further examination, four other palimpsests were found which contained portions of the Gothic Version. Mai deciphered these MSS. in conjunction with Count Carlo Ottavio Castiglione, and their labours resulted in the recovery, besides a few portions of the Old Test., of almost the whole of the thirteen Epistles of St. Paul and some parts of the Gospels.

The edition of Gabelentz and Loebe (1836-45) contains all that has been discovered of the Gothic Version, with a Latin translation, notes, and a Gothic Dictionary and Grammar. These editors were at the pains to re-examine, at Upsal and Milan, the MSS. themselves. They have thus, it appears, succeeded in avoiding the repetition of errors made by their predecessors. The Milan palimpsests were chemically restored when the mode of doing this was not as well known as it is at present; the whole texture of the vellum seems stained and spoiled, and thus it is not an easy task to read the ancient writing correctly. Those who have themselves looked at the Wolfenbüttel palimpsest from which Knittel edited the portions of Romans, and who have also examined the Gothic palimpsests at Milan, will probably agree that it is less difficult to read the unrestored MS. at Wolfenbüttel than the restored MSS. at Milan.<sup>c</sup> This must be borne in mind if we would appreciate the labours of Gabelentz and Loebe.

In 1854 Uppström published an excellent edition of the text of the *Codex Argenteus*, with a beautiful fac-simile. Ten leaves of the MS. were then miss-

ing, and Uppström tells a rather ungratifying story that they had been stolen by some English traveller. It is a satisfaction, however, that a few years afterwards the real thief on his death-bed restored the missing leaves; and, though stolen, it was not by anyone out of Sweden. Uppström edited them as a supplement in 1857.

In 1855-6 Massmann issued an excellent small edition of all the Gothic portions of the Scriptures known to be extant. He accompanies the Gothic text with the Greek and the Latin, and there are a Grammar and Vocabulary subjoined. This edition is said to be more correct than that of Gabelentz and Loebe. Another edition of Ulphilas by F. L. Stamm appeared at Paderborn in 1858.

As an ancient monument of the Gothic language the version of Ulphilas possesses great interest; as a version the use of which was once extended widely through Europe, it is a monument of the Christianization of the Goths; and as a version known to have been made in the 4th century, and transmitted to us in ancient MSS., it has its value in textual criticism, being thus a witness to readings which were current in that age. In certain passages it has been thought that there is some proof of the influence of the Latin; and this has been regarded as confirmed by the order of the Gospels in the *Codex Argenteus*, being that of some of the Old Latin MSS., Matthew, John, Luke, Mark. But if the peculiarities pointed out were borrowed in the Gothic from the Latin, they must be considered rather as exceptional points, and not such as affect the general texture of the version, for its Greek origin is not to be mistaken. This is certain from the manner in which the Greek constructions and the forms of compound words are imitated. The very mistakes of rendering are proofs of Greek and not Latin origin. The marks of conformity to the Latin may have been introduced into the version in the case of MSS. copied in Italy during the rule in that land of the Gothic sovereigns. The Wolfenbüttel palimpsest has Latin by the side of the Gothic.

The Greek from which the version was made must in many respects have been what has been termed the transition text of the 4th century; another witness to which is the revised form of the Old Latin, such as is found in the *Codex Brixianus* (this revision being in fact the *Itala*). [VULGATE.]

In all cases in which the readings of the Gothic confirm those of the most ancient authorities, the united testimony must be allowed to possess especial weight.

*Literature.*—Waitz, *Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulphila*, 1840; Gabelentz and Loebe, *Ulphilas (Prolegomena)*, 1836-43; Uppström, *Codex Argenteus*, 1854 (*Decem Codicis Argentei rediviva folia*, 1857); Massmann, *Ulphilas*, 1857. [S. P. T.]

#### GREEK VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. SEPTUAGINT.—In addition to the special article on this version [SEPTUAGINT] a few points may be noted here.

(I.) *Name.*—In all discussions relative to the name of *Septuagint*, so universally appropriated to the Greek version of Alexandria, the scholion discovered by Osann and published by Ritschl ought to be considered. The origin of this Latin scholion

<sup>c</sup> Such is the writer's judgment from his own examination of the palimpsest at Wolfenbüttel, and of those at

Milan; but of course he never saw the latter prior to their restoration.

is curious. The substance of it is stated to have been extracted from Callimachus and Eratosthenes, the Alexandrian Librarians, by Tzetzes, and from his *Greek* note an Italian of the 15th century has formed the Latin scholion in question. The writer has been speaking of the collecting of ancient Greek poems carried on at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and then he thus continues: "Nam ille philosophis affectissimus (corr. 'differtissimus,' Ritschl, 'affectissimus,' Thiersch) et caeteris omnibus auctoribus claris, disquisitis impensa regiae munificentiae ubique terrarum quantum valuit voluminibus opera Demetrii Phalerei phzxa senum duas bibliothecas fecit, alteram extra regiam alteram autem in regia." The scholion then goes on to speak of books in many languages: "quae summa diligentia rex ille in suam linguam fecit ab optimis interpretibus converti." <sup>a</sup> Bernhardt reads instead of "phzxa senum," "et lxx senum," and this correction is agreed to by Thiersch, as it well may be: some correction is manifestly needed, and this appears to be right. This gives us *seventy elders* associated in the formation of the Library. The testimony comes to us from Alexandrian authority; and this, if true (or even if believed to be true), would connect the *Septuagint* with the Library; a designation which might most easily be applied to a version of the Scriptures there deposited; and, let the translation be once known by such a name, then nothing would be more probable than that the designation should be applied to the *translators*. This may be regarded as the first step in the formation of the fables. Let the *Septuagint* be first known as applying to the associates in the collection of the Library, then to the Library itself, and then to that particular book in the Library which to so many had a far greater value than all its other contents. Whether more than the Pentateuch was thus translated and then deposited in the Royal Library is a separate question.

(II.) *The Connexion of the Pentateuch in the LXX. with the Samaritan Text.*—It was long ago remarked that in the Pentateuch the Samaritan copy and the LXX. agree in readings which differ from the Hebrew text of the Jews. This has been pointed out as occurring in perhaps two thousand places. The conclusion to which some thus came was that the LXX. must have been translated from a Samaritan copy.

But, on many grounds, it would be difficult to admit this, even if it were found impossible to explain the coincidences. For (i.) it must be taken into account that if the discrepancies of the Samaritan and Jewish copies be estimated numerically, the LXX. will be found to agree *far more frequently* with the latter than the former. (ii.) In the cases of considerable and marked passages occurring in the Samaritan which are not in the Jewish, the LXX. does not contain them. (iii.) In the passages in which slight variations are found, both in the Samaritan and LXX., from the Jewish text, they often differ amongst themselves, and the amplification of the LXX. is less than that of the Samaritan. (iv.) Some of the small amplifications in which the Samaritan seems to accord with the LXX. are in such incorrect and non-idiomatic Hebrew that it is suggested that these must be *translations*, and, if so, probably from the LXX. (v.)

The amplifications of the LXX. and Samaritan often resemble each other greatly in character, as if similar false criticism had been applied to the text in each case. But as, in spite of all similarities such as these, the Pentateuch of the LXX. is more Jewish than Samaritan, we need not adopt the notion of translation from a Samaritan Codex, which would involve the subject in greater difficulties, and leave more points to be explained. (On some of the supposed agreements of the LXX. with the Samaritan, see Bishop Fitzgerald in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Oct. 1848, pp. 324-332.)

(III.) *The Liturgical Origin of Portions of the LXX.*—This is a subject for inquiry which has received but little attention, not so much, probably, as its importance deserves. It was noticed by Tregelles many years ago that the headings of certain Psalms in the LXX. coincide with the liturgical directions in the Jewish Prayer-Book: the results were at a later period communicated in Kitto's *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April, 1852, pp. 207-9. The results may be briefly stated:—The 23rd Psalm, LXX. (24th, Hebrew), is headed in the LXX., τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτου; so too in Hebrew, in De Sola's *Prayers of the Sephardim*, ביום הראשון: Ps. xlvii., LXX. (Heb. xlviii.), δευτέρα σαββάτου, ליום שני: Ps. xciii., LXX. (Heb. xciv.), τετράδι σαββάτου, ליום רביעי: Ps. xcii., LXX. (Heb. xciii.), εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου, ליום ששי. There appear to be no Greek copies extant which contain similar headings for Psalms lxxxi. and lxxx. (Heb. lxxxii. and lxxxiii.), which the Jewish Prayer-Book appropriates to the *third* and *fifth* days; but that such once existed in the case of the latter Psalm seems to be shown from the Latin *Psalterium Vetus* having the prefixed *quinta sabbati*, ליום חמישי. Prof. Delitzsch in his *Commentary on the Psalms* has recently pointed out that the notation of these Psalms in the LXX. is in accordance with certain passages in the Talmud.

It is worthy of inquiry whether variations in other passages of the LXX. from the Hebrew text cannot at times be connected with liturgical use, and whether they do not originate in part from rubrical directions. It seems to be at least plain that the Psalms were translated from a copy prepared for synagogue worship.

2. AQUILA.—It is a remarkable fact that in the second century there were three versions executed of the Old Testament Scriptures into Greek. The first of these was made by Aquila, a native of Sinope in Pontus, who had become a proselyte to Judaism. The Jerusalem Talmud (see Bartolocci, *Bibliotheca Rabb.* iv. 281)<sup>e</sup> describes him as a disciple of R. Akiba; and this would place him in some part of the reign of the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-138). It is supposed that the object of his version was to aid the Jews in their controversies with the Christians: and that as the latter were in the habit of employing the LXX., they wished to have a version of their own on which they could rely. It is very probable that the Jews in many Greek-speaking countries were not sufficiently acquainted with Hebrew to refer for themselves to the original, and thus they wished to have such a Greek translation as they might use with confidence in their discus-

on the authority of Irenaeus, instead of that of the Jerusalem Talmud, a confusion which needs to be explicitly and not merely tacitly corrected.

<sup>a</sup> See Thiersch, *De Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina*, pp. 8, 9. Erlangen, 1841.

<sup>e</sup> Eichborn and those who have followed him state this

sions. Such controversies were (it must be remembered) a new thing. Prior to the preaching of the Gospel, there were none besides the Jews who used the Jewish Scriptures as a means of learning God's revealed truth, except those who either partially or wholly became proselytes to Judaism. But now the Jews saw to their grief, that their Scriptures were made the instruments for teaching the principles of a religion which they regarded as nothing less than an apostasy from Moses.

This, then, is a probable account of the origin of this version. Extreme literality and an occasional polemical bias appear to be its chief characteristics. The idiom of the Greek language is very often violated in order to produce what was intended should be a very literal version; and thus, not only sense but grammar even was disregarded: a sufficient instance of this is found in his rendering the Hebrew particle  $\text{וְ}$  by  $\text{σύν}$ , as in Gen. i. 1,  $\text{σύν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σύν τὴν γῆν}$ , "quod Graeca et Latina lingua omnino non recipit," as Jerome says. Another instance is furnished by Gen. v. 5,  $\text{καὶ ἔζησεν Ἀδὰμ τριάκοντα ἔτος καὶ ἑννακόσια ἔτος}$ .

It is sufficiently attested that this version was formed for controversial purposes: a proof of which may be found in the rendering of particular passages, such as Is. vii. 14, where  $\text{πῶς}$ , in the LXX.  $\text{παρθένος}$ , is by Aquila translated  $\text{νεάνις}$ ; such renderings might be regarded perhaps rather as modes of avoiding an argument than as direct falsification. There certainly was room for a version which should express the Hebrew more accurately than was done by the LXX.; but if this had been thoroughly carried out it would have been found that in many important points of doctrine—such, for instance, as in the Divinity of the Messiah and the rejection of Israel, the true rendering of the Hebrew text would have been in far closer conformity with the teaching of the New Test. than was the LXX. itself. It is probable, therefore, that one polemical object was to make the citations in the New Test. from the Old appear to be inconclusive, by producing other renderings (often probably more *literally* exact) differing from the LXX., or even contradicting it. Thus Christianity might seem to the Jewish mind to rest on a false basis. But in many cases a really critical examiner would have found that in points of important doctrine the New Test. definitely rejects the reading of the LXX. (when utterly unsuited to the matter in hand), and adopts the reading of the Hebrew.

It is mentioned that Aquila put forth a second edition (*i. e.* revision) of his version, in which the Hebrew was yet more servilely followed, but it is not known if this extended to the whole, or only to three books, namely, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, of which there are fragments.

Aquila often appears to have so closely sought to follow the etymology of the Hebrew words, that not only does his version produce no definite idea, but it does not even suggest any meaning at all. If we possessed it perfect it would have been of great value as to the criticism of the Hebrew text, though often it would be of no service as to its real understanding.

That this version was employed for centuries by the Jews themselves is proved indirectly by the 146th Novella of Justinian:  $\text{πλὴν οἱ διὰ τῆς Ἑλληνίδος ἀναγινώσκοντες τῆ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα κοήπονται παραδόσει . . . πλὴν ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν μὴ τὰς$

$\text{λοιπὰς αὐτοῖς ἀποκλείειν νομισθεῖται ἐρμηνείας, ἄδειαν δίδομεν καὶ τῆ Ἀκύλου κεχρησῆαι, κἂν εἰ ἀλλόφυλος ἐκεῖνος καὶ οὐ μετρίαν ἐπὶ τινῶν λέξεων ἔχη πρὸς τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα τὴν διαφωνίαν.}$

3. THEODOTION.—The second version, of which we have information as executed in the second century, is that of Theodotion. He is stated to have been an Ephesian, and he seems to be most generally described as an Ebionite: if this is correct, his work was probably intended for those semi-Christians who may have desired to use a version of their own instead of employing the LXX. with the Christians, or that of Aquila with the Jews.

But it may be doubted if the name of *translation* can be rightly applied to the work of Theodotion: it is rather a revision of the LXX. with the Hebrew text, so as to bring some of the copies then in use into more conformity with the original. This he was able to do (with the aid probably of some instructors) so as to eliminate portions which had been introduced into the LXX., without really being an integral part of the version; and also so as to bring much into accordance with the Hebrew in other respects. But his own knowledge of Hebrew was evidently very limited; and thus words and parts of sentences were left untranslated; the Hebrew being merely written with Greek letters.

Theodotion as well as Aquila was quoted by Irenaeus; and against both there is the common charge laid of corrupting texts which relate to the Messiah: some polemical intention in such passages can hardly be doubted. The statement of Epiphanius that he made his translation in the reign of Commodus accords well with its having been quoted by Irenaeus; but it cannot be correct if it is one of the translations referred to by Justin Martyr as giving interpretations contrary to the Christian doctrine of the New Test.

There can be no doubt that this version was much used by Christians: probably many changes in the text of the LXX. were adopted from Theodotion: this may have begun before the Biblical labours of Origen brought the various versions into one conspectus. The translation of the Book of Daniel by Theodotion was substituted for that of the LXX. in ecclesiastical use as early at least as part of the third century. Hence Daniel, as rendered or revised by Theodotion, has so long taken the place of the true LXX., that their version of this book was supposed not to be extant; and it has only been found in one MS. In most editions of the LXX. Theodotion's version of Daniel is still substituted for that which really belongs to that translation.

4. SYMMACHUS is stated by Eusebius and Jerome to have been an Ebionite: so too in the Syrian accounts given by Assemani; Epiphanius, however, and others style him a Samaritan. There may have been Ebionites from amongst the Samaritans, who constituted a kind of separate sect; and these may have desired a version of their own; or it may be that as a Samaritan he made this version for some of that people who employed Greek, and who had learned to receive more than the Pentateuch. But perhaps to such motives was added (if indeed this were not the only cause of the version) a desire for a Greek translation not so unintelligibly bald as that of Aquila, and not displaying such a want of Hebrew learning as that of Theodotion. It is probable that if this translation of Symmachus had appeared prior to the time of Irenaeus, it would have been mentioned by him; and this agrees with what Epi-

Epiphanius says, namely, that he lived under the Emperor Severus.

The translation which he produced was probably better than the others as to sense and general phraseology. When Jerome speaks of a *second edition* he may probably mean some revision, more or less complete, which he executed after his translation was first made: it could hardly be a retranslation, or anything at all tantamount thereto.

5. THE FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH VERSIONS.—Besides the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, the great critical work of Origen comprised as to portions of the Old Test. three other versions, placed for comparison with the LXX.; which, from their being anonymous, are only known as the fifth, sixth, and seventh; redesignations taken from the places which they respectively occupied in Origen's columnar arrangement. Ancient writers seem not to have been uniform in the notation which they applied to these versions; and thus what is cited from one by its number of reference is quoted by others under a different numeral.

These three partial translations were discovered by Origen in the course of his travels in connexion with his great work of Biblical criticism. Eusebius says that two of these versions (but without designating precisely which) were found, the one at Jericho, and the other at Nicopolis on the gulf of Actium. Epiphanius says, that what he terms the fifth, was found at Jericho, and the sixth at Nicopolis; while Jerome speaks of the fifth as having been found at the latter place.

The contents of the *fifth version* appear to have been the Pentateuch, Psalms, Canticles, and the minor prophets: it seems also to be referred to in the Syro-Hexaplar text of the second book of Kings: it may be doubted if in all these books it was complete, or at least if so much were adopted by Origen. The existing fragments prove that the translator used the Hebrew original; but it is also certain that he was aided by the work of former translators.

The *sixth version* seems to have been just the same in its contents as the fifth (except 2 Kings): and thus the two may have been confused: this translator also seems to have had the other versions before him. Jerome calls the authors of the fifth and sixth "*Judaicos translatores*;" but the translator of this must have been a Christian when he executed his work, or else the hand of a Christian reviser must have meddled with it before it was employed by Origen; which seems from the small interval of time to be hardly probable. For in Hab. iii. 15 the translation runs, ἐξήλθες τοῦ σῶσαι τὸν λαόν σου διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου.

Of the *seventh version* very few fragments remain. It seems to have contained the Psalms and minor prophets; and the translator was probably a Jew.

From the references given by Origen, or by those who copied from his columnar arrangement and its results (or who added to such extracts), it has been thought that other Greek versions were spoken of. Of these δ' Ἑβραῖος probably refers to the Hebrew text, or to something drawn from it: δ' Σύρος to the Old Syriac version: τὸ Σαμαρειτικὸν probably a reference to the Samaritan text, or some Samaritan gloss: δ' Ἑλληνικὸς, δ' Ἄλλος, δ' ἀνεπίγραφος some unspecified version or versions.

The existing fragments of these varied versions are mostly to be found in the editions of the

relics of Origen's Hexapla, by Montfaucon and by Bardht.

[For an account of the use made of these versions by Origen, and its results, see SEPTUAGINT.]

6. THE VENETO-GREEK VERSION.—A MS. of the fourteenth century, in the library of St. Mark at Venice, contains a peculiar version of the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and Daniel. All of these books, except the Pentateuch, were published by Villoison at Strasburg in 1784; the Pentateuch was edited by Ammon at Erlangen in 1790-91. The version itself is thought to be four or five hundred years older than the one MS. in which it has been transmitted; this, however, is so thoroughly a matter of opinion, that there seems no absolute reason for determining that this one MS. may not be the original as well as the only one in existence. It is written in one very narrow column on each page; the leaves follow each other in the Hebrew order, so that the book begins at what we should call the end. An examination of the MS. suggested the opinion that it may have been written on the broad inner margin of a Hebrew MS.: and that for some reason the Hebrew portion had been cut away, leaving thus a Greek MS. probably unique as to its form and arrangement. As to the translation itself, it is on any supposition too recent to be of consequence in criticism. It may be said briefly that the translation was made from the Hebrew, although the present punctuation and accentuation is often not followed, and the translator was no doubt acquainted with some other Greek versions. The language of the translation is a most strange mixture of astonishing and cacophonous barbarism with attempts at Attic elegance and refinement. The Doric, which is employed to answer to the Chaldean portions of Daniel, seems to be an indication of remarkable affectation.

THE GREEK OF ST. MATTHEW'S GOSPEL.—Any account of the Greek versions of Holy Scripture would be incomplete without some allusion to the fact, that if early testimonies and ancient opinion unitedly are to have some weight when wholly uncontradicted, then it must be admitted that the original language of the Gospel of St. Matthew was *Hebrew*, and that the text which has been transmitted to us is really a Greek translation.

It may be briefly stated that every early writer who mentions that St. Matthew wrote a Gospel *et al* says that he wrote in Hebrew (that is in the Syro-Chaldaic), and in Palestine in the first century; so that if it be assumed that he did not write in Hebrew but in Greek, then it may well be asked, what ground is there to believe that he wrote any narrative of our Lord's life on earth?

Every early writer that has come down to us uses the *Greek* of St. Matthew, and this with the definite recognition that it is a translation; hence we may be sure that the Greek copy belongs to the Apostolic age, having been thus authoritatively used from and up to that time. Thus the question is not the *authority* of the Greek translation, which comes from the time when the Churches enjoyed apostolic guidance, but whether there was a Hebrew original from which it had been translated.

The witnesses to the Hebrew original were men sufficiently competent to attest so simple a fact, especially seeing that they are relied on in what is far more important,—that St. Matthew wrote a Gospel at all. Papias, in the beginning of the second

century, repeats apparently the words of John the Presbyter, an immediate disciple of our Lord, that "Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew dialect." Irenaeus, in the latter part of the same century, is equally explicit; in connexion with the Indian mission of Pantaenus in the same age, we learn that he found the Gospel of Matthew in the very Hebrew letters. In the next century Origen, the laborious investigator and diligent inquirer, says, that the received account was that St. Matthew had written the first Gospel, and that it was in Hebrew. So too in the next century, Epiphanius and Jerome, both of whom, like Origen, were acquainted with Hebrew. Jerome also mentions the very copies of this Hebrew original which were extant in his time, and which he transcribed. He shows indeed that the copies then circulated amongst the Nazarenes had been variously interpolated: but this would not affect the antecedent fact. So too Epiphanius shows that the document had been variously depraved: but this does not set aside what it originally was.

To follow the unanimous agreement of later writers is needless; but what can be said on the other side? What evidence is adduced that St. Matthew wrote in Greek? None whatever: but simply some *a priori* notions that he ought to have done so are advanced: then it is truly stated that the Greek Gospel does not read as though it had about it the constraint of a translation; and then it is said that *perhaps* the witnesses for the Hebrew original were mistaken.<sup>f</sup> "But (says Principal Campbell) is the positive testimony of witnesses, delivered as of a well-known fact, to be overturned by a mere supposition, a *perhaps*? for that the case is really as they suppose no shadow of evidence is pretended" (*Works*, ii. 171).

For another theory, that St. Matthew wrote both in Hebrew and also in Greek, there is no evidence: the notion is even contradicted by the avowed ignorance of the early Christian writers as to whose hand formed the Greek version which they accepted as authoritative. To them there was nothing self-contradictory (as some have said) in the notion of an authoritative translation. As it can be shown that the public use of the *four* Gospels in Greek was universal in the churches from the apostolic age, it proves to us that apostolic sanction must have been the ground of this usage; this surely is sufficient to authorize the Greek Gospel that we have.

Erasmus seems to have been the first to suggest that the Greek is the original of the Apostle: at least no writer earlier than Erasmus has been brought forward as holding the opinion: in this many have followed him on what may be called very

<sup>f</sup> The manner in which the testimony of competent witnesses has been not only called in question, but set aside, is such as would cast doubt on any historical fact competently attested; and the terms applied to the witnesses themselves, are such as seem to show that argument being vain, it is needful to have recourse to something else; not mere *assertion* as opposed to the definite evidence, but a mode of speaking of the witnesses themselves and of misrepresenting their words, which would not be ventured on in common matters. Thus a writer who is well and justly esteemed on other subjects, the Rev. Dr. Wm. Lindsay Alexander, sets aside the evidence and the statements of Jerome in this manner:—"The one who says he had seen the [Hebrew] gospel is Jerome; but his evidence about it is so conflicting that it is not worth a rush. First he says he has seen it, and is sure that it is the original of the Greek gospel; then he softens down with 'it is called by most people Matthew's authentic,' 'as most believe,' and so on. Now he says,

subjective grounds. Erasmus also advanced the opinion that Irenaeus *against Heresies* was written by him in Latin. For this he had just as good grounds as for the Greek original of St. Matthew. As to Irenaeus no one appears to follow Erasmus; why should so many adhere to his bold opinion (opposed by so much evidence and supported by none) relative to St. Matthew? On the revival of letters there was much curiosity expressed for the recovery of a copy of St. Matthew's Hebrew original. Pope Nicholas V. is said to have offered five thousand ducats for a copy: this probably suggested the translations into Hebrew of this Gospel published in the following century by Sebastian Munster and others.

[S. P. T.]

LATIN VERSIONS. [VULGATE.]

SAMARITAN VERSIONS. [SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, p. 1113 b.]

SLAVONIC VERSION. In the year 862 there was a desire expressed, or an inquiry made, for Christian teachers in Moravia, and in the following year the labours of missionaries began amongst them. We need not consider the Moravia in which these services were commenced to be precisely restricted to or identified with the region which now bears that name, for in the ninth century *Great Moravia* was of far wider extent; and it was amongst the Slavonic people then occupying this whole region, that the effort for Christianization was put forth. But while this farther extent of Moravia is admitted, it is also to be recollected that the province of Moravia, of which Brünn is the metropolis, is not only the nucleus of Moravia, but that also the inhabitants of that country, still retaining as they do their Slavonian tongue, rightly consider themselves as the descendants and successors of those who were then Christianized. Thus, in 1862 they commemorated the thousandth anniversary of their having taken this step, and in 1863 they celebrated the thousandth from the actual arrival of missionaries amongst them. These missionaries were Cyrillus and Methodius, two brothers from Thessalonica: to Cyrillus is ascribed the invention of the Slavonian alphabet, and the commencement of the translation of the Scriptures. Neander truly says that he was honourably distinguished from all other missionaries of that period in not having yielded to the prejudice which represented the languages of rude nations as too profane for sacred uses; and by not having shrunk from any toil which was necessary in order to become accurately acquainted with the language of

'Who translated it into Greek is unknown;' and presently, with amusing self-complacency and obliviousness, he tells us, 'I myself translated it into Greek and Latin!' Why there is not a small-debt court in the country where such a witness would not be hooted to the door." Would such modes of reasoning be adopted if it were not desired to mystify the subject? Who cannot see that Jerome says that it is unknown who had made the Greek translation then current for centuries? And who imagines that he identified with that version the one which he had recently made from the document found at Beroea? But thus it is that *this* is substituted for argument on this subject. Dr. Land, in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Oct. 1858, boldly asserts, "We may safely say that there is, in probability as well as in direct testimony, a weight as heavy in the scale of the Greek text as in that of the Hebrew, not to go farther." But, in fact, there is *no* testimony, direct or indirect, for a Greek original of St. Matthew.

the people amongst whom he laboured. Cyrillus appears to have died at Rome in 868, while Methodius continued for many years to be the bishop of the Slavonians. He is stated to have continued his brother's translation, although how much they themselves actually executed is quite uncertain; perhaps much of the Old Testament was not translated at all in that age, possibly not for many centuries after.

The Old Testament is, as might be supposed, a version from the LXX., but what measure of revision it may since have received seems to be by no means certain. As the oldest known MS. of the whole Bible is of the year 1499, it may reasonably be questioned whether this version may not in large portions be comparatively modern. This could only be set at rest by a more full and accurate knowledge being obtained of Slavonic Biblical MSS. Dobrowsky however mentions (Griesbach's *Gr. Test.* ii., xxxiii.) that this MS. (his 1), and two others copied from it, are the only Slavonic MSS. of the entire Bible existing in Russia. If it be correct that the MSS. which he terms 2 and 3 are copied from this, there are strong reasons for believing that it was not completed for some years subsequently to 1499. The oldest MSS. of any part of this version is an Evangelium, in Cyrillic characters, of the year 1056; that at Rheims (containing the Gospels) on which the kings of France used to take their coronation oath, is nearly as old. One, containing the Gospels, at Moscow, is of the year 1144.

The first printed portion was an edition of the Gospels in Wallachia, in 1512; in 1575 the same portion was printed at Wilna; and in 1581 the whole Bible was printed at Ostrog in Volhynia; from this was taken the Moscow edition of 1663, in which, however, there was some revision, at least so far as the insertion of 1 John v. 7 is concerned.

Wetstein cited a few readings from this version; Alter made more extracts, which were used by Griesbach, together with the collations sent to him by Dobrowsky, both from MSS. and printed editions. We thus can say, with some confidence, that the general text is such as would have been expected in the ninth century: some readings from the Latin have, it appears, been introduced in places: this arises probably from the early Slavonian custom of reading the Gospel in Latin before they did it in their own tongue.

Dobrowsky paid particular attention in his collations to the copies of the Apocalypse: it has been, however, long suspected that that book formed no portion of this version as originally made. We can now go farther and say definitely that the Apocalypse, as found in some at least of the Slavonic copies, could not be anterior to the appearance of the first edition of the *Gr. Test.* of Erasmus in 1516. For there are readings in the Apocalypse of

Erasmus which are entirely devoid of any support from Greek MSS. This can be said confidently, since the one Greek copy used by Erasmus has been identified and described by Prof. Delitzsch.\* It is now therefore known that peculiarities as to error in Erasmus's text of the Apocalypse, as it first appeared, are in several places due not to the MS. from which he drew, but to the want of care in his edition. And thus, whatever agrees with such peculiarities must depend on, and thus be subsequent to, the Erasmian text. In Rev. ii. 13. the Erasmian text has the peculiar reading, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐμαῖς; for this no MS. was cited by Griesbach, and all his authority, besides the Erasmian edition, was in fact "Slav. 3, 4," i. e. two MSS. collated by Dobrowsky; one of these is said by him to be copied from the oldest Slavonic MS. of the whole Bible: if, therefore, it agrees with it in this place, it shows that the Slavonic MS. must, in that part at least, be later than the year 1516. The only Greek authority for this reading, ἐμαῖς, is the margin of 92, the Dublin MS., famous as containing 1 John v. 7: in which the Gospels belong to the end of the fifteenth century; the Acts and Epistles are somewhat later, and the Apocalypse was added about the year 1580.† There seems to be another Slavonic text of the Apocalypse contained in Dobrowsky's 10, but whether it is older than the one already mentioned is doubtful. [S. P. T.]

SYRIAC VERSIONS. I. OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A. *From the Hebrew.*—In the early times of Syrian Christianity there was executed a version of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew, the use of which must have been as widely extended as was the Christian profession amongst that people. Ephraem the Syrian, in the latter half of the 4th century, gives abundant proof of its use in general by his countrymen. When he calls it OUR VERSION, ܩܘܪܝܢܐ, it does not appear to be in opposition to any other Syriac translation (for no other can be proved to have then existed), but in contrast to the original Hebrew text, or to those in other languages.‡ At a later period this Sy-

riac translation was designated *Peshito*, ܩܘܪܝܢܐ (Simple); or, as in the preface of Bar-Hebraeus to his *Thesaurus Arcanorum*, ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ (Simple version). It is probable that this name was applied to the version after another had been formed from the Hexaplar Greek text. In the translation made from Origen's revision of the LXX., the critical marks introduced by him were retained, and thus every page and every part was

and *English Revelation*, 1844) gives it 91\*\*. That would signify a correction in a later hand in 91; which is the modern supplement to the Vatican MS., in which such a correction has been sought in vain.

† Ephraemi Opera Syr. i. 380 (on 1 Sam. xxiv. 4). He is simply comparing the Hebrew phrase and the Syriac

version: — ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ (ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ) ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ

\* Handschriftliche Funde von Franz Delitzsch. Erstes Heft, Die Erasmischen Entstellungen des Textes der Apocalypse, nachgewiesen aus dem verloren geglaubten Codex Reuchlini, 1861.

Handschriftliche Funde von Franz Delitzsch, mit Beiträgen von S. P. Tregelles. Zweites Heft, neue Studien über den Codex Reuchlini, &c., 1862. [Also with the English Title, "Manuscript Discoveries by Francis Delitzsch, with additions by S. P. Tregelles. Part II., New Studies on the Codex Reuchlini, and new results in the textual history of the Apocalypse, drawn from the libraries of Munich, Vienna, Rome, &c., 1862."]

‡ This Greek authority is the one denoted by 92. Tischendorf (following a misprint in Tregelles's *Greek*



marked with *asterisks* and *cbeli*, from which the translation from the Hebrew was free. It might, therefore, be but natural for a bare text to be thus designated, in contrast to the marks and the citations of the different Greek translators found in the version from the Hexaplar Greek. This translation from the Hebrew has always been the ecclesiastical version of the Syrians; and when it is remembered how in the 5th century dissensions and divisions were introduced into the Syrian Churches, and how from that time the Monophysites and those termed Nestorians have been in a state of unhealed opposition, it shows not only the antiquity of this version, but also the deep and abiding hold which it must have taken on the mind of the people, that this version was firmly held fast by both of these opposed parties, as well as by those who adhere to the Greek Church, and by the Maronites. Its existence and use prior to their divisions is sufficiently proved by Ephraem alone. But how much older it is than that deacon of Edessa we have no evidence. From Bar-Hebraeus (in the 13th century) we learn that there were three opinions as to its age; some saying that the version was made in the reigns of Solomon and Hiram, some that it was translated by Asa, the priest who was sent by the King of Assyria to Samaria, and some that the version was made in the days of Adai the apostle and of Abgarus, King of Osroene (at which time, he adds, the *Simple* version of the New Test. was also made).<sup>\*</sup> The first of these opinions of course implies that the books written before that time were then translated; indeed, a limitation of somewhat the same kind would apply to the second. The ground of the first opinion seems to have been the belief that the Tyrian king was a convert to the profession of the true and revealed faith held by the Israelites; and that the possession of Holy Scripture in the Syriac tongue (which they identified with his own) was a necessary consequence of this adoption of the true belief: this opinion is mentioned as having been held by some of the Syrians in the 9th century. The second opinion (which does not appear to have been cited from any Syriac writer prior to Bar-Hebraeus), seems to have some connexion with the formation of the Samaritan *version* of the Pentateuch. As that version is in an Aramaean dialect, any one who supposed that it was made immediately after the mission of the priest from Assyria, might say that it was then first that an Aramaean translation was executed; and this might afterwards, in a sort of indefinite manner, have been connected with what the Syrians themselves used. James of Edessa (in the latter half of the 7th century) had held the *third* of the opinions mentioned by Bar-Hebraeus, who cites him in support of it, and accords with it.

It is highly improbable that any part of the Syriac version is older than the advent of our Lord; those who placed it under Abgarus, King of Edessa, seem to have argued on the account that the Syrian people then received Christianity; and thus they supposed that a version of the Scriptures was a necessary accompaniment of such conversion. All that the account shows clearly is, then, that it was believed to belong to the earliest period of the Christian faith among them: an opinion with which all that we know on the subject accords well. Thus Ephraem, in the 4th century, not only shows that it was then current, but also gives the im-

pression that this had even then been *long* the case. For in his commentaries he gives explanations of terms which were even then obscure. This might have been from age: if so, the version was made comparatively long before his days: or it might be from its having been in a dialect different from that to which he was accustomed at Edessa. In this case, then, the translation was made in some other part of Syria; which would hardly have been done, unless Christianity had at such a time been more diffused there than it was at Edessa. The dialect of that city is stated to have been the purest Syriac; if, then, the version was made for that place, it would no doubt have been a monument of such purer dialect. Probably the origin of the Old Syriac version is to be compared with that of the Old Latin [see VULGATE]; and that it differed as much from the polished language of Edessa as did the Old Latin, made in the African Province, from the contemporary writers of Rome, such as Tacitus.

Even though the traces of the origin of this version of the Old Test. be but few, yet it is of importance that they should be marked; for the Old Syriac has the peculiar value of being the first version from the Hebrew original made for Christian use; and, indeed, the only translation of the kind before that of Jerome, which was made subsequently to the time when Ephraem wrote. This Syriac commentator *may* have termed it "OUR version," in contrast to all others then current (for the Targums were hardly versions), which were merely reflections of the Greek and not of the Hebrew original.

The proof that this version was made from the Hebrew is twofold: we have the direct statements of Ephraem, who compares it in places with the Hebrew, and speaks of this origin as a fact; and who is confirmed (if that had been needful) by later Syrian writers; we find the same thing as evident from the internal examination of the version itself. Whatever internal change or revision it may have received, the Hebrew groundwork of the translation is unmistakable. Such indications of revision must be afterwards briefly specified.

The first printed edition of this version was that which appeared in the Paris Polyglott of Le Jay in 1645; it is said that the editor, Gabriel Sionita, a Maronite, had only an imperfect MS., and that, besides errors, it was defective as to whole passages, and even as to entire books. This last charge *seems* to be so made as if it were to imply that books were omitted besides those of the Apocrypha, a part which Sionita confessedly had not. He is stated to have supplied the deficiencies by translating into Syriac from the Vulgate. It can hardly be supposed but that there is some exaggeration in these statements. Sionita may have filled up occasional hiatus in his MS.; but it requires very definite examination before we can fully credit that he thus supplied whole books. It seems needful to believe that the defective books were simply those in the Apocrypha, which he did not supply. The result, however, is, that the Paris edition is but an infirm groundwork for our speaking with confidence of the text of this version.

In Walton's Polyglott, 1657, the Paris text is reprinted, but with the addition of the Apocryphal books which had been wanting. It was generally said that Walton had done much to amend the texts upon MS. authority; but the late Prof. Lee denies this, stating that "the only addition made by Walton was some Apocryphal books." <sup>from</sup>

\* Wiseman, *Horae Syriacae*, 90

Walton's Polyglott, Kirsch, in 1787, published a separate edition of the Pentateuch. Of the Syriac Psalter there have been many editions. The first of these, as mentioned by Eichhorn, appeared in 1610; it has by the side an Arabic version. In 1625 there were two editions; the one at Paris edited by Gabriel Sionita, and one at Leyden by Erpenius from two MSS. These have since been repeated; but anterior to them all, it is mentioned that the seven penitential Psalms appeared at Rome in 1584.

In the punctuation given in the Polyglotts, a system was introduced which was in part a peculiarity of Gabriel Sionita himself. This has to be borne in mind by those who use either the Paris Polyglott or that of Walton; for in many words there is a redundancy of vowels, and the form of some is thus exceedingly changed.

When the British and Foreign Bible Society proposed more than forty years ago to issue the Syriac Old Testament for the first time in a separate volume, the late Prof. Lee was employed to make such editorial preparations, as could be connected with a mere revision of the text, without any specification of the authorities. Dr. Lee collated for the purpose six Syriac MSS. of the Old Test. in general, and a very ancient copy of the Pentateuch: he also used in part the commentaries of Ephraem and of Bar-Hebraeus. From these various sources he constructed his text, with the aid of that found already in the Polyglotts. Of course the corrections depended on the editor's own judgment; and the want of a specification of the results of collations leaves the reader in doubt as to what the evidence may be in those places in which there is a departure from the Polyglott text. But though more information might be desired, we have in the edition of Lee a veritable Syriac text, from Syriac authorities, and free from the suspicion of having been formed in modern times, by Gabriel Sionita's translating portions from the Latin.

But we have now in this country, in the MS. treasures brought from the Nitrian valleys, the means of far more accurately editing this version. Even if the results should not appear to be striking, a thorough use of these MSS. would place this version on such a basis of diplomatic evidence as would show positively how this earliest Christian translation from the Hebrew was read in the 6th or 7th century, or possibly still earlier:<sup>1</sup> we thus could use the Syriac with a fuller degree of confidence in the criticism of the Hebrew text, just as we can the more ancient versions of the new for the criticism of the Greek.

In the beginning of 1849, the late excellent Biblical scholar, the Rev. John Rogers, Canon of Exeter, published "*Reasons why a New Edition of the Peshito, or ancient Syriac Version of the Old Testament, should be published.*" In this interesting pamphlet, addressed to the late Abp. of Canterbury, Canon Rogers speaks of the value of the version itself, its importance in criticism, the existing editions, their defects, the sources of emendation now possessed by this country, in the Nitrian MSS. especially, "now [1849] under the care of the Rev. Wm. Cureton, who is making known to the public the treasures of the library of the Monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in the Nitrian Desert in Egypt, thus happily obtained." He

<sup>1</sup> The Pentateuch could probably be given on a basis of the 5th century.

advert to the facility which would be afforded for the proper publication of the proposed edition, from type having been of late prepared representing the proper Estrangelo Syriac character, of which Dr. Cureton was even then making use in printing his text of the Syriac Gospels, &c. If it had been an honour to this country to issue the collations of Kennicott for the Hebrew Old Test., and of Holmes for the LXX., might not this proposed Syriac edition be a worthy successor to such works? The plan proposed by Canon Rogers for its execution was this:—to take the Syriac MS. which appeared to be the best in each portion of the Old Test., both on the ground of goodness and antiquity: let this be printed, and then let collations be made by various scholars in interleaved copies; the whole of the results might then be published in the same form as De Rossi's *Variae Lectiones to the Hebrew Bible*. Canon Rogers gives a few hints as to what he thought would be probable results from such a collation. He did not expect that the differences from the printed Syriac would be very great; but still there would be a far greater satisfaction as to the confidence with which this version might be quoted, especially in connexion with the criticism of the Hebrew original. By way of illustration he pointed out a good many passages, in which it can hardly be doubted that the defects in the printed Syriac arise from the defectiveness of the copy or copies on which it was based. He also showed it to be a point of important inquiry, whether in places in which the printed Syriac agrees with the LXX., the Syriac has been altered; or whether both may preserve the more ancient reading of Hebrew copies once extant. The reasons why such a Syriac text should be prepared and published, and why such collations should be made, are thus summed up by Canon Rogers: "1st. Because we have no printed text from ancient and approved MSS. 2nd. Because the Latin version in Walton's Polyglott often fails to convey the sense of the Syriac. 3rd. Because there are many omissions in the printed text which may perhaps be supplied in a collation of early MSS. 4th. Because the facilities now given to the study of Hebrew make it desirable that new facilities should also be given to the study of the cognate languages. 5th. Because it is useless to accumulate ancient and valuable Biblical MSS. at the British Museum, if those MSS. are not applied to the purposes of sacred criticism. 6th. Because in comparing the Syriac with the Hebrew original, many points of important and interesting investigation will arise. Finally, Because it is neither creditable to the literary character of the age, nor to the theological position of the Church of England, that one of our most ancient versions of the Bible should continue in its present neglected state." These considerations of the late Canon Rogers are worthy of being thus repeated, not only as being the deliberate judgment of a good Biblical scholar, but also as pointing out practically the objects to be sought in making proper use of the Biblical materials which are at our hands, and of which the scholars of former ages had not the benefit.

There was a strong hope expressed soon after the issue of Canon Rogers's appeal, that the work would have been formally placed in a proper manner in the hands of the Rev. Wm. Cureton, and that thus it would have been accomplished under his superintendence, at the Oxford University Press. Canon Rogers announced this in an Appendix to his pamphlet. But this has not been effected. It may

still be hoped that Dr. Cureton will edit at least the Pentateuch from a very ancient copy: but there is not now in this country the *practical encouragement* to such Biblical studies as require the devotion of time, labour, and attention (as well as pecuniary expense), which in the last century Ken- nicott and Holmes received.

But if the printed Syriac text rests on by no means a really satisfactory basis, it may be asked, How can it be said positively that what we have is the same version substantially that was used by Ephraem in the 4th century? Happily, we have the same means of identifying the Syriac with that anciently used, as we have of showing that the modern Latin Vulgate is substantially the version executed by Jerome. We admit that the common printed Latin has suffered in various ways, and yet at the bottom and in its general texture it is un- doubtedly the work of Jerome: so with the Peshito of the Old Test., whatever errors of judgment were committed by Gabriel Sionita, the first editor, and however little has been done by those who should have corrected these things on MS. authority, the identity of the version is too certain for it to be thus destroyed, or even (it may be said) materially obscured.

From the citations of Ephraem, and the single words on which he makes remarks, we have suffi- cient proof of the identity of the version: even though at times he also furnishes proof that the copies as printed are not exactly as he read. The following may be taken as instances of accordance: they are mostly from the places (see Wiseman, *H. Syr.* 122, &c.) in which Ephraem thinks it needful to explain a Syrian word in this version, or to discuss its meaning, either from its having become antiquated in his time, or from its being unused in the same sense by the Syrians of Edessa. Thus,

Gen. i. 1,  $\Lambda$  is used in Syriac as answering to the Hebrew  $\text{אֵת}$ . The occurrence of this word Ephraem mentions, giving his own explanation:

i. 2,  $\text{סבסו סבסו}$ ; x. 9, for  $\text{נְבוֹר צִיד}$ , the Syriac has  $\text{נְסַמְיָן}$ , which Ephraem men- tions as being a term which the Persians also use.

Gen. xxx. 14, for  $\text{דִּינְיָאִים}$  there is  $\text{מְבַסְמָא}$ , a word which Ephraem mentions as being there, and the possible meaning of which he discusses.

Exod. xxviii. 4,  $\text{פִּינְסַלְא}$  stands for the Hebrew  $\text{חֵשֶׁן}$ ; Ephraem reads it  $\text{פִּינְסַלְא}$ , and explains

the meaning:—xxxviii. 4,  $\text{מִכְבָּר}$ ); xxxviii. 16,  $\text{עֲרוֹתָיו}$ ); xxviii. 40,

$\text{מִנְבַּעוֹת}$ ); Num. xi. 7, for  $\text{זָר}$  there is  $\text{דְּסַבְיָא}$ , a word equally, it seems, meaning

*coriander*; which was, however, unknown to Eph- raem, who expounds it as though it meant food of all kinds, as if  $\text{דְּסַבְיָא}$ . 1 Sam. xxiii. 28,

for  $\text{סַלְע}$ ; 2 Sam. viii 7,  $\text{מְדַלְהָא}$ ,

merely retaining the Hebrew word  $\text{שְׁלֵטִי}$  in a Syriac form. 1 K. x. 11,  $\text{סַמְזִי}$  ( $\text{אַלְמַנִּים}$ );

xii. 11,  $\text{עֲקָרְבַיִם}$ ); 2 K. iii. 4,  $\text{נַבְיָא}$  ( $\text{אַשְׁפָּה}$ ),

( $\text{נוֹקְד}$ ); Job xxxix. 23,  $\text{מַלְחִימָא}$  ( $\text{אַשְׁפָּה}$ ),

xli. 13,  $\text{לְדַסְרִי}$ , the Heb.  $\text{תִּלְהֵט}$ . Is. iii. 22,  $\text{זְמַמְטָא}$  ( $\text{מְטַפְּחוֹת}$ ); Jer. li. 41,  $\text{זְמַמְטָא}$  ( $\text{זְמַמְטָא}$ ).

Zech. v. 7,  $\text{זְמַמְטָא}$  ( $\text{אַיִפָּה}$ ). In these passages, and in several others, the words of the Peshito are cited by Ephraem because of their obscurity, and of the need that they had of explanation.

The proof that the version which has come down to us is substantially that used by the Syrians in the 4th century, is perhaps more definite from the comparison of words than it would have been from the comparison of passages of greater length; be- cause in longer citations there always might be some ground for thinking that perhaps the MS. of Ephraem might have been conformed to later Syriac copies of the Sacred Text; while, with regard to peculiar words, no such suspicion can have any place, since it is on such words still found in the Peshito that the remarks of Ephraem are based. The fact that he sometimes cites it differently from what we now read, only shows a variation of copies, perhaps ancient, or perhaps such as is found merely in the printed text that we have.

From Ephraem having mentioned *translators* of this version, it has been concluded that it was the work of several: a thing probable enough in itself, but which could hardly be proved from the occur- rence of a casual phrase, nor yet from variations in the rendering of the same Hebrew word; such va- riations being found in almost all translations, even when made by one person—that of Jerome, for instance; and which it would be almost impossible to avoid, especially before the time when concord- ances and lexicons were at hand. Variations in phraseology give a far surer ground for supposing several translators.

It has been much discussed whether this transla- tion were a Jewish or a Christian work. Some, who have maintained that the translator was a Jew, have argued from his knowledge of Hebrew and his mode of rendering. But these considerations *prove* nothing. Indeed, it might well be objected if in that age a Jew would have formed anything except a Chaldee Targum; and thus diffuseness of paraphrase might be expected instead of closeness of translation. There need be no reasonable objection made to the opinion that it is a Christian work. Indeed it is difficult to suppose, that before the dif- fusion of Christianity in Syria, the version could have been needed.

It may be said that the Syriac in general sup- ports the Hebrew text that we have: how far argu- ments may be raised upon minute coincidences or variations cannot be certainly known until the an- cient text of the version is better established. Oc- casionally, however, it is clear that the Syriac translator read one consonant for another in the Hebrew, and translated accordingly; at times another vocalization of the Hebrew was followed.

A resemblance has been pointed out between the

Syriac and the reading of some of the Chaldee Targums: if the Targum is the older, it is not unlikely that the Syriac translator, using every aid in his power to obtain an accurate knowledge of what he was rendering, examined the Targums in difficult passages. This is not the place for formally discussing the date and origin of the Targums [see below, TARGUMS]; but if (as seems almost certain) the Targums which have come down to us are almost without exception more recent than the Syriac version, still they are probably the successors of earlier Targums, which by amplification have reached their present shape. Thus, if existing Targums are more recent than the Syriac, it may happen that their coincidences arise from the use of a common source—an earlier Targum.

But there is another point of inquiry of more importance: it is, how far has this version been affected by the LXX.? and to what are we to attribute this influence? It is possible that the influence of the LXX. is partly to be ascribed to copyists and revisers; while in part this belonged to the version as originally made. For, if a translator had access to another version while occupied in making his own, he might consult it in cases of difficulty; and thus he might unconsciously follow it in other parts. Even knowing the words of a particular translation may affect the mode of rendering in another translation or revision. And thus a tinge from the LXX. may have easily existed in this version from the first, even though in whole books it may not be found at all. But when the extensive use of the LXX. is remembered, and how soon it was superstitiously imagined to have been made by direct inspiration, so that it was deemed canonically authoritative, we cannot feel wonder that readings from the LXX. should have been from time to time introduced; this may have commenced probably before a Syriac version had been made from the Hexaplar Greek text; because in such revised text of the LXX. the additions, &c., in which that version differed from the Hebrew, would be so marked that they would hardly seem to be the authoritative and genuine text.

Some comparison with the Greek is probable even before the time of Ephraem; for, as to the Apocryphal books, while he cites some of them (though not as Scripture), the Apocryphal additions to Daniel and the Books of Maccabees were not yet found in Syriac. Whoever translated any of these books from the Greek, may easily have also compared with it in some places the books previously translated from the Hebrew.

In the Book of Psalms this version exhibits many peculiarities. Either the translation of the Psalter must be a work independent of the Peshito in general, or else it has been strangely revised and altered, not only from the Greek,<sup>m</sup> but also from liturgical use. Perhaps, indeed, the Psalms are a different version; and that in this respect the practice of the Syrian Churches is like that of the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England in using liturgically a different version of the book so much read ecclesiastically.

It is stated that, after the divisions of the Syrian Church, there were revisions of this one version by the Monophysites and by the Nestorians: probably

<sup>m</sup> Perhaps as to this the version of the Psalms from the Greek made by Polycarp (to be mentioned presently) has not been sufficiently taken into account. Indeed, remarkably little attention appears to have been paid to the evidence that such a version existed.

it would be found, if the subject could be fully investigated, that there were in the hands of different parties copies in which the ordinary accidents of transcription had introduced variations.

The *Karkaphensian* recension mentioned by Bar-Hebraeus was only known by name prior to the investigations of Wiseman; it is found in two MSS. in the Vatican; it was formed for the use of Monophysites; there is peculiarity in the punctuation introduced, by a leaning towards the Greek; but it is, as to its substance, the Peshito version.

B. *The Syriac version from the Hexaplar Greek Text.*—The only Syriac version of the Old Test. up to the 6th century was apparently the Peshito. The first definite intimation of a portion of the Old Testament translated from the Greek is through Moses Aghelaeus. This Syriac writer lived in the middle of the 6th century. He made a translation of the *Glaphyra* of Cyril of Alexandria from Greek into Syriac; and, in the prefixed Epistle, he speaks of the versions of the New Test. and the *Psalter*, “which Polycarp (rest his soul!), the Chorepiscopus, made in Syriac for the faithful Xenaias, the teacher of Mabug, worthy of the memory of the good.”<sup>n</sup> We thus see that a Syriac version of the Psalms had a similar origin to the Philoxenian Syriac New Test. We know that the date of the latter was A.D. 508; the Psalter was probably a contemporaneous work. It is said that the Nestorian patriarch, Marabba, A.D. 552, made a version from the Greek; it does not appear to be in existence, so that, if ever it was completely executed, it was probably superseded by the Hexaplar version of Paul of Tela; indeed Paul may have used it as the basis of his work, adding marks of reference, &c.

This version by Paul of Tela, a Monophysite, was made in the beginning of the 7th century; for its basis he used the Hexaplar Greek text—that is, the LXX., with the corrections of Origen, the asterisks, obeli, &c., and with the references to the other Greek versions.

The Syro-Hexaplar version was made on the principle of following the Greek, word for word, as exactly as possible. It contains the marks introduced by Origen; and the references to the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, &c. In fact, it is from this Syriac version that we obtain our most accurate acquaintance with the results of the critical labours of Origen.

Andreas Masius, in his edition of the Book of Joshua,<sup>o</sup> first used the results of this Syro-Hexaplar text; for, on the authority of a MS. in his possession, he revised the Greek, introducing asterisks and obeli, thus showing what Origen had done, how much he had inserted in the text, and what he had marked as not found in the Hebrew. The Syriac MS. used by Masius has been long lost; though in this day, after the recovery of the Codex Reuchlini of the Apocalypse (from which Erasmus first edited that book) by Prof. Delitzsch, it could hardly be a cause for surprise if this Syriac Codex were again found.

It is from a MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan that we possess accurate means of knowing this Syriac version. The MS. in question contains

<sup>n</sup> Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii. 83; where, however, the obscure Syriac is turned into still more obscure Latin.

<sup>o</sup> Josuae imperatoris historia illustrata atque explicata ab Andrea Masio. Antwerp, 1574.

the Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, minor prophets, Jeremiah, Baruch, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. Norberg published, at Lund in 1787, the Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, from a transcript which he had made of the MS. at Milan. In 1788, Bugati published at Milan the Book of Daniel; he also edited the Psalms, the printing of which had been completed before his death in 1816; it was published in 1820. The rest of the contents of the Milan Codex (with the exception of the Apocryphal books) was published at Berlin in 1835, by Middeldorpf, from the transcript made by Norberg; Middeldorpf also added the 4th (2nd) Book of Kings from a MS. at Paris.

Besides these portions of this Syriac version, the MSS. from the Nitrian monasteries now in the British Museum would add a good deal more: amongst these there are six, from which much might be drawn, so that part of the Pentateuch and other books may be recovered. These MSS. are like that at Milan, in having the marks of Origen in the text; the references to readings in the margin; and occasionally the Greek word itself is thus cited in Greek.

Dr. Antonio Ceriani, of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, after having for a considerable time proposed to edit the portions of the Syro-Hexaplar Codex of Milan which had hitherto remained in MS., commenced such a work in 1861 (*Monumenta Sacra et Profana, Opera Collegii Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*), the first part of the Syriac text being Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle of Jeremiah. To this work Ceriani subjoined a collation of some of the more important texts, and critical notes. A second part has since appeared. It is to be hoped that he may thus edit the whole MS., and that the other portions of this version known to be extant may soon appear in print.

The value of this version for the criticism of the LXX. is very great. It supplies, as far as a version can, the lost work of Origen.

The list of versions of the Old Test. into Syriac often appears to be very numerous; but on examination it is found that many translations, the names of which appear in a catalogue, are really either such as never had an actual existence, or else that they are either the version from the Hebrew, or else that from the Hexaplar text of the LXX., under different names, or with some slight revision. To enumerate the supposed versions is needless. It is only requisite to mention that Thomas of Harkel, whose work in the revision of a translation of the New Test. will have to be mentioned, seems also to have made a translation from the Greek into Syriac of some of the Apocryphal books—at least, the subscriptions in certain MSS. state this.

† The following is the notation of these MSS., and their contents and dates:—

12,133 (besides the Peshito Exodus); *Joshua* (defective), cent. vii. "Translated from a Greek MS. of the Hexapla, collated with one of the Tetrapla."

2,134, *Exodus*. A.D. 697.

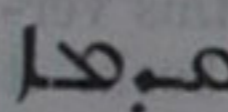
14,434, *Psalms* formed from two MSS. cent. viii. (with the Song of the Three Children subjoined to the second). Both MSS. are defective. Subscription, "According to the LXX."

14,437, *Numbers* and 1 *Kings*, defective (cent. vii. or viii.). The subscription to 1 *Kings* says that it was translated into Syriac at Alexandria in the year 927 (A.D. 616).

## II. THE SYRIAC NEW TESTAMENT VERSIONS

A. *The Peshito Syriac N. T.* (Text of Widmanstadt, and Cureton's Gospels.)

In whatever forms the Syriac New Test. may have existed prior to the time of Philoxenus (the beginning of the sixth century), who caused a new translation to be made, it will be more convenient to consider all such most ancient translations or revisions together; even though there may be reasons afterwards assigned for not regarding the version of the earlier ages of Christianity as absolutely one.

It may stand as an admitted fact that a version of the New Test. in Syriac existed in the 2nd century; and to this we may refer the statement of Eusebius respecting Hegesippus, that he "made quotations from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Syriac," ἔκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 22). It seems equally certain that in the 4th century such a version was as well known of the New Test. as of the Old. It was the companion of the Old Test. translation made from the Hebrew, and as such was in habitual use in the Syriac Churches. To the translation in common use amongst the Syrians, orthodox, Monophysite, or Nestorian, from the 5th century and onward, the name of Peshito has been as commonly applied in the New Test. as the Old. In the 7th century at least the version so current acquired the name of , old, in contrast to that which was then formed and revised by the Monophysites.

Though we have no certain data as to the origin of this version, it is probable on every ground that a Syriac translation of the New Test. was an accompaniment of that of the Old; whatever therefore bears on the one, bears on the other also.

There seem to be but few notices of the old Syriac Version in early writers. Cosmas Indicopleustes, in the former half of the 6th century, incidentally informs us that the Syriac translation does not contain the Second Epistle of Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude. This was found to be correct when a thousand years afterwards this ancient translation became again known to Western scholars. In 1552, Moses of Mardin came to Rome to Pope Julius III., commissioned by Ignatius the Jacobite (Monophysite) patriarch, to state his religious opinions, to effect (it is said) a union with the Romish Church, and to get the *Syriac New Test.* printed. In this last object Moses failed both at Rome and Venice. At Vienna he was, however, successful. Widmanstadt, the chancellor of the Emperor Ferdinand I., had himself learned Syriac from Theodosius Ambrosius many years previously; and through his influence the emperor undertook the charge of an

14,442, *Genesis*, defective (with 1 Sam. Peshito). "According to the LXX." (cent. vi.).  
17,103, *Judges* and *Ruth*, defective (cent. vii. or viii.). Subscription to *Judges*, "According to the LXX.;" to *Ruth*, "From the Tetrapla of the LXX."

The notes on these MSS. made by the present writer in 1857 have been kindly compared and amplified by Mr William Wright of the British Museum.

Rördam issued at Copenhagen in 1859 the first portion of an edition of the MS. 17,103: another part has since been published. Some of these MSS. were written in the same century in which the version was made. They may probably be depended on as giving the text with general accuracy.

edition, which appeared in 1555, through the joint labours of Widmanstadt, Moses, and Postell. Some copies were afterwards issued with the date of 1562 on the back of the title.<sup>a</sup>

In having only three Catholic epistles, this Syriac New Test. agreed with the description of Cosmas; the Apocalypse was also wanting, as well as the section John viii. 1-11; this last omission, and some other points, were noticed in the list of errata. The editors appear to have followed their MSS. with great fidelity, so that the edition is justly valued. In subsequent editions endeavours were made conjecturally to amend the text by introducing 1 John v. 7 and other portions which do not belong to this translation. One of the principal editions is that of Leusden and Schaaf; in this the text is made as full as possible by supplying every lacuna from any source; in the punctuation there is a strange peculiarity, that in the former part Leusden chose to follow a sort of Chaldee analogy, while on his death Schaaf introduced a regular system of Syriac vocalization through all the rest of the volume. The Lexicon which accompanies this edition is of great value. This edition was first issued in 1708: more copies, however, have the date 1709; while some have the false and dishonest statement on the title page, "Secunda editio a mendis purgata," and the date 1717. The late Professor Lee published an edition in 1816, in which he corrected or altered the text on the authority of a few MSS. This is so far independent of that of Widmanstadt. It is, however, very far short of being really a *critical* edition. In 1828, the edition of Mr. William Greenfield (often reprinted from the stereotype plates), was published by Messrs. Bagster: in this the text of Widmanstadt was followed (with the vowels fully expressed), and with certain supplements within brackets from Lee's edition. For the collation with Lee's text Greenfield was not responsible. There are now in this country excellent materials for the formation of a critical edition of this version: it may, however, be said, that as in its first publication the MSS. employed were honestly used, it is in the text of Widmanstadt in a far better condition than is the Peshito Old Testament.

This Syriac Version has been variously estimated: some have thought that in it they had a genuine and unaltered monument of the second, or perhaps even of the first century. They thus naturally upheld it as almost co-ordinate in authority with the Greek text, and as being of a period anterior to any Greek copy extant. Others finding in it indubitable marks of a later age, were inclined to deny that it had any claim to a very remote antiquity; thus La Croze thought that the commonly printed Syriac New Test. is not the Peshito at all,

but the Philoxenian executed in the beginning of the 6th century. The fact is, that this version is transmitted to us containing marks of antiquity, and also traces of a later age. The two things are so blended, that if either class of phenomena alone were regarded, the most opposite opinions might be formed. The opinion of Wetstein was one of the most perverse that could be devised: he found in this version readings which accord with the Latin; and then, acting on the strange system of criticism which he adopted in his later years, he asserted that any such accordance with the Latin was a proof of corruption from that version: so that with him the proofs of antiquity became the tokens of later origin, and he thus assigned the translation to the seventh century. With him the real indications of later readings were only the marks of the very reverse. Michaelis took very opposite ground to that of Wetstein; he upheld its antiquity and authority very strenuously. The former point could be easily proved, if one class of readings alone were considered; and this is confirmed by the contents of the version itself. But on the other hand there are difficulties, for very often readings of a much more recent kind appear; it was thus thought that it might be compared with the Latin as found in the Codex Brixianus, in which there is an ancient groundwork, but also the work of a reviser is manifest. Thus the judgment formed by Griesbach seems to be certainly the correct one as to the peculiarity of the text of this version: he says (using the terms proper to his system of *recensions*); "Nulli harum recensionum Syriaca versio, prout quidem typis excusa est, similis, verum nec ulli prorsus dissimilis est. In multis concinit cum Alexandrina recensione, in pluribus cum Occidentali, in nonnullis etiam cum Constantinopolitana, ita tamen ut quae in hanc posterioribus demum seculis invecta sunt, pleraque repudiet. *Diversis ergo temporibus ad Graecos codices plane diversos iterum iterumque recognita esse videtur*" (*Nov. Test. Proleg.* lxxv.). In a note Griesbach introduced the comparison of the Codex Brixianus, "Illustrari hoc potest codicum nonnullorum Latinorum exemplo, qui priscam quidem versionem ad Occidentalem recensionem accommodatam representant, sed passim ad juniores libros Graecos refictam. *Ex hoc genere est Brixianus Codex Latinus, qui non raro a Graeco-Latinis et vetustioribus Latinis omnibus solus discedit, et in Graecorum partes transit.*"<sup>r</sup> Some proof that the text of the common printed Peshito has been *re-wrought*, will appear when it is compared with the Curetonian Syriac Gospels.

Let it be distinctly remembered that this is no new opinion; that it is not the peculiar notion of Tregelles, or of any one individual; for as the

<sup>a</sup> The date of 1555 appears repeatedly in the body of the volume; at the end of the Gospels, May 18, 1555; St. Paul's Epp., July 18, 1555; Acts, Aug. 14, 1555; Cath. Epp. and the conclusion, Sep. 27, 1555. The volume is dedicated to the Emperor Ferdinand, and the contents mention three other dedications to other members of the Imperial house. All of these three are often wanting, and two of them, addressed to the Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, are not only generally wanting, but it is even said that no copy is known in which they are found.

<sup>r</sup> Griesbach's most matured judgment on this subject was thus given:—"Interpolationes autem e locis Evangeliorum parallelis, quales apud Syrum, Matt. xxviii. 18, Luc. ix. 39, item Matt. xxii. 22, 23, Mar. vi. 11, xiii. 14, Luc. iv. 13, deprehenduntur, non magis quam addita-

menta e lectionariis libris in sacrum contextum traducta velut Luc. xv. 11, aut liturgicum illud assummentum Matt. vi. 13, vitia sunt τῆ κοινῆ propria. . . . . Quin plerasque interpolationes modo enumeratas, cum aliis ejusmodi generis multis, quae nunc in versione Syriaca extant, primitus ab ea abfuisse et seriori demum tempore in eam irrepsisse, plane mihi persuasum est. Verissime enim clar. Hugius ( . . . coll. prolegomenis in majorem m<sup>am</sup> N. T. editionem, Hal. 1796, vol. I. p. lxxv.) animadvertit, versionem hanc a Diorthote quodam videri recognitam fuisse ac castigatam. Id quod quinto seculo ineunte, antequam ecclesiae orientales Nestorianis et Monophysiticis rixis discinderentur, evenisse suspicor et in epistolis magis adhuc quam in Evangeliiis locum habuisse autumo." *Commentarius Criticus II. Meletemata*, II. III. 1811.

question has been re-opened, it has been treated as if this were some theory newly invented to serve a purpose. The Rev. F. H. Scrivener, whose labours in the collation of Greek MSS., and whose care in editing Codex Augiensis of St. Paul's Epistles, deserve very high commendation, avowed himself many years ago an ardent admirer of the Peshito-Syriac. But even then he set aside its authority very often when it happened to adhere to the ancient Greek text, to the other ancient versions, and to the early Fathers, in opposition to the later copies. But when the judgment of Griesbach respecting the common printed Syriac had been repeated and enforced by Tregelles (Horne's *Introd.* vol. iv. 265), Scrivener came forward as its champion. In his Introduction to Codex Augiensis, Mr. Scrivener says, "How is this divergency of the Peshito version from the text of Codex B explained by Tregelles? He feels of course the pressure of the argument against him, and meets it, if not successfully, with even more than his wonted boldness. The translation degenerates in his hands into 'the version commonly printed as the Peshito.' Now let us mark the precise nature of the demand here made on our faith by Dr. Tregelles. He would persuade us that the whole Eastern Church, distracted as it has been, and split into hostile sections for the space of 1400 years, orthodox and Jacobite, Nestorian and Maronite alike, those who could agree in nothing else, have laid aside their bitter jealousies in order to substitute in their monastic libraries and liturgical services, another and a spurious version in the room of the Peshito, that sole surviving monument of the first ages of the Gospel in Syria! Nay, more, that this wretched forgery has deceived Orientalists profound as Michaelis\* and Lowth, has passed without suspicion through the ordeal of searching criticism to which every branch of Sacred literature has been subjected during the last half century! We will require solid reasons, indeed, before we surrender ourselves to an hypothesis as novel as it appears violently improbable" (pp. xiv. xv.). Mr. Scrivener's warmth of declamation might have been spared: no one calls the Peshito "a spurious version," "wretched forgery," &c., it is not suggested that the Syrian Churches agreed in some strange substitution: all that is suggested is, that at the time of the transition Greek text, before the disruption of the Syrian Churches, the then existing Syriac version was revised and modernized in a way analogous to that in which the Latin was treated in Cod. Brixianus. On part of Mr. Scrivener's statements the Rev. F. J. A. Hort has well remarked:—"The text may have been altered and corrupted between the first or second, and fifth centuries. This is all that Dr. Tregelles has supposed, though Mr. Scrivener assails him with unseemly violence, as if he had represented the vulgar text as 'a wretched forgery.' Mr. Scrivener's rashness is no less remarkable in calling this a 'novel hypothesis,' when in fact it is at least as old as Griesbach . . . There is neither evidence nor internal probability against the supposition that the Old Syriac version was revised into its present form . . . in the 4th or even 3rd century, to make it accord with Greek MSS. then current at Antioch,

\* Even Michaelis did not think it needful to assume that the Peshito had been transmitted without any change. "In using the Syriac version, we must never forget that our present editions are very imperfect, and not conclude that every reading of the Syriac printed

Edessa, or Nisibis: and without some such supposition the Syriac text must remain an inexplicable phenomenon, unless we bring the Greek and Latin texts into conformity with it by contradicting the full and clear evidence which we do possess respecting them. All that we have now said might have been alleged before the Curetonian Syriac was discovered: the case is surely strengthened in a high degree by the appearance (in a MS. assigned to the 5th century) of a Syriac version of the Gospels, bearing clear marks of the highest antiquity in its manifest errors as well as in its choicest readings. The appropriation of the name 'Peshito,' appears to us wholly unimportant, except for rhetorical purposes."†

These remarks of Mr. Hort will suffice in rescuing the opinion stated by Tregelles from the charge of novelty or rashness: indeed, the supposition as stated by Griesbach, is a simple solution of various difficulties; for if this be not the fact, then every other most ancient document or monument of the New Test. must have been strangely altered in its text. The number of difficulties (otherwise inexplicable) thus solved, is about a demonstration of its truth. Mr. Scrivener, however, seems incapable of apprehending that the revision of the Peshito is an opinion long ago held: he says since, "I know no other cause for suspecting the Peshito, than that its readings do not suit Dr. Tregelles, and if this fact be enough to convict it of corruption, I am quite unable to vindicate it."‡ Why, then, do not the readings "suit" Dr. Tregelles? Because, if they were considered genuine, we should have (to use Mr. Hort's words) to "bring the Greek and Latin texts into conformity with it, by contradicting the full and clear evidence which we do possess respecting them."

Whether the whole of this version proceeded from the same translator has been questioned. It appears to the present writer probable that the New Test. of the Peshito is not from the same hand as the Old. Not only may Michaelis be right in supposing a peculiar translator of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but also other parts may be from different hands; this opinion will become more general the more the version is studied. The revisions to which the version was subjected may have succeeded in part, but not wholly, in effacing the indications of a plurality of translators. The Acts and Epistles seem to be either more recent than the Gospels: though far less revised; or else, if coeval, far more corrected by later Greek MSS.

There is no sufficient reason for supposing that this version ever contained the four Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse, now absent from it, not only in the printed editions but also in the MSS.

Some variations in copies of the Peshito have been regarded as if they might be styled Monophysite and Nestorian recensions: but the designation would be far too definite; for the differences are not sufficient to warrant the classification.

The MSS. of the *Karkaphensian* recension (as it has been termed) of the Peshito Old Test. contain also the New with a similar character of text.

*The Curetonian Syriac Gospels.*—"Comparative

text was the reading of the Greek MS. of the first century." Marsh's *Michaelis*, ii. 46.

† *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology* (Cambridge), Feb. 1860. 378-9.

‡ "Plain Introduction, I. 424, foot-note.

"criticism" shows the true character of every document, whether previously known or newly brought to light, which professes to contain the early text of the New Test. By comparative criticism is not meant such a mode of examining authorities as that to which Mr. Scrivener has applied this term, but such a use of combined evidence as was intended and defined by the critic by whom the expression was (for convenience sake) introduced: that is, the ascertainment that readings are in ancient documents, or rest on ancient evidence (whether early citations, versions, or MSS.), and then the examination of what documents contain such readings, and thus within what limits the inquiry for the ancient text may be bounded. Thus a document, in itself modern, may be proved to be ancient in testimony: a version, previously unknown, may be shown to uphold a very early text. For purposes of comparative criticism early readings, known to be false, have often as definite a value in the chain of proof as those which are true. In the process of comparative criticism nothing is assumed, but point after point is established by independent testimony; and thus the character of the text of MSS., of ancient versions, and of patristic citations, is upheld by their accord with facts attested by other witnesses, of known age and certain transmission.

It was reasonable to suppose with Griesbach that the Syriac version must at one time have existed in a form different from that in the common printed text: it was felt by Biblical scholars to be a mere assumption that the name *Peshito* carried with it some hallowed prestige; it was established that it was a groundless imagination that this version, as edited, had been known from the earliest ages as the original monument of Syrian Christianity. Hence if it could be shown that an earlier version (or earlier basis of the same version) had existed, there was not only no *à priori* objection, but even a demonstrated probability (almost certainty) that this had been the case. When it is remembered how little we know historically of the Syriac versions, it must be felt as an assumption that the form of text common from the fifth century and onward was the original version. In 1848 Tregelles (see Davidson's *Introduction to the New Test.* vol. i. p. 429) suggested that "the Nitrian MSS. when collated may exhibit perhaps an earlier text." This was written without any notion that it was an ascertained fact that such a MS. of the Gospels existed, and that the full attention of a thorough Syriac scholar had been devoted to its illustration and publication.

Among the MSS. brought from the Nitrian monasteries in 1842, Dr. Cureton noticed a copy of the Gospels, differing greatly from the common text: and this is the form of text to which the name of

Curetonian Syriac has been rightly applied. Every criterion which proves the common *Peshito* not to exhibit a text of extreme antiquity, equally proves the early origin of this. The discovery is in fact that of the object which was wanted, the want of which had been previously ascertained. Dr. Cureton considers that the MS. of the Gospels is of the fifth century, a point in which all competent judges are probably agreed. Some persons indeed have sought to depreciate the text, to point out its differences from the *Peshito*, to regard all such variations as corruptions, and thus to stigmatise the Curetonian Syriac as a corrupt revision of the *Peshito*, barbarous in language and false in readings.\* This peremptory judgment is as reasonable as if the old Latin in the Codex Vercellensis were called an ignorant revision of the version of Jerome. The judgment that the Curetonian Syriac is older than the *Peshito* is not the peculiar opinion of Cureton, Alford,† Tregelles, or Biblical scholars of the school of ancient evidence in this country, but it is also that of continental scholars, such as Ewald, and apparently of the late Prof. Bleek.‡

The MS. contains Matt. i.-viii. 22, x. 31-xxii. 25. Mark, the four last verses only. John i. 1-42, iii. 6-vii. 37, xiv. 11-29; Luke ii. 48-iii. 16, vii. 33-xv. 21, xvii. 24-xxiv. 41. It would have been a thing of much value if a perfect copy of this version had come down to us; but as it is, we have reason greatly to value the discovery of Dr. Cureton, which shows how truly those critics have argued who concluded that such a version must have existed; and who regarded this as a *proved fact*, even when not only no portion of the version was known to be extant, but also when even the record of its existence was unnoticed. For there is a record showing an acquaintance with this version, to which, as well as to the version itself, attention has been directed by Dr. Cureton. Bar Salibi, bishop of Amida in the 12th century, in a passage translated by Dr. C. (in discussing the omission of three kings in the genealogy in St. Matthew) says:—"There is found occasionally a Syriac copy, made out of the Hebrew, which inserts these three kings in the genealogy; but that afterwards it speaks of *fourteen* and not of *seventeen* generations, because fourteen generations has been substituted for seventeen by the Hebrews on account of their holding to the septenary number," &c.¶

It shows then that Bar Salibi knew of a Syriac text of the Gospels in which Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah were inserted in Matt. i. 8; there is the same reading in the Curetonian Syriac: but this might have been a coincidence. But in ver. 17 the Curetonian text has, in contradiction to ver. 8, *fourteen* generations and not *seventeen*: and so had the copy mentioned by Bar Salibi: the former point might be a mere coincidence; the

more fault with it and with its translator. The last fourteen chapters of the Book of Acts, as they have come down to us in the *Peshito*, present far more grounds for comment than an equal portion of the Curetonian. The *Peshito* is a very valuable version, although overpraised by some injudicious admirers, who (even if they have read it) have never closely and verbally examined it. Many have evidently never looked farther than the Gospels, even though aided by Schaaf's Latin interpretation.

‡ "Perhaps the earliest and most important of all the versions." Alford's *Gr. Test.* Proleg. vol. i. 114, ed. 4.

\* See Bleek's *Einleitung in das N. Test.* p. 723, foot-note.

¶ For the Syriac of this part of the passage from Bar Salibi, see Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, ii. 160.



latter, however, shows such a kind of union in contradiction as proves the identity very convincingly. Thus, though this version was unknown in Europe prior to its discovery by Dr. Cureton, it must in the 12th century have been known as a text sometimes found, and as mentioned by the Monophysite Bishop, it might be more in use amongst his co-religionists than amongst others. Perhaps, as its existence and use is thus recorded in the 12th century, some further discovery of Syriac MSS. may furnish us with another copy so as to supply the defects of the one happily recovered.

In examining the Curetonian text with the common printed Peshito, we often find such identity of phrase and rendering as to show that they are not wholly independent translations: then, again, we meet with such variety in the forms of words, &c. as seems to indicate that in the Peshito the phraseology had been revised and refined.<sup>b</sup> But the great (it might be said characteristic) difference between the Curetonian and the Peshito Gospels is in their readings; for while the latter cannot in its present state be deemed an unchanged production of the second century, the former bears all the marks of extreme antiquity, even though in places it may have suffered from the introduction of readings current in very early times.

The following are a few of the very many cases in which the ancient reading is found in the Curetonian, and the later or transition reading in the Peshito. For the general authorities on the subject of each passage, reference must be made to the notes in critical editions of the Greek New Test.

Matt. xix. 17, *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*; the ancient reading, as we find in the best authorities, and as we know from Origen; so the Curetonian: *τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν*; the common text with the Peshito. Matt. xx. 22, the clause of the common text, *καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι* (and the corresponding part of the following verse) are in the Peshito; while we know from Origen that they were in his day a peculiarity of St. Mark: omitted in the Curetonian with the other best authorities. In fact, except the Peshito and some revised Latin copies, there is no evidence at all extant for these words prior to the fifth century. Matt. v. 4, 5: here the ancient order of the beatitudes, as supported by Origen, Tertullian, the canons of Eusebius, and Hilary, is that of placing *μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, κ. τ. λ. before μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, κ. τ. λ.*; here the Curetonian agrees with the distinct testimonies for this order against the Peshito. In Matt. i. 18, we know from Irenaeus that the name "Jesus" was not read; and this is confirmed by the Curetonian: in fact, the common reading, however widely supported, could not have originated until *Ἰησοῦς χριστός* was treated as a combined proper name, otherwise the meaning of *τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ ἡ γένεσις* would not be "the birth of Jesus Christ," but "the birth of Jesus as the Christ." Here the Curetonian reading is in full accordance with what we know of the second century in opposition to the Peshito. In Matt. vi. 4 the Curetonian omits *αὐτός*; in the same ver. and in ver. 6 it omits *ἐν τῷ φανερό*: in each case with the best authorities, but against the Peshito. Matt. v. 44, has been amplified by copyists in an extraordinary manner: the words in

brackets show the amplifications, and the place from which each was taken: *ἐγὼ δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, Ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν* [εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς, Luke vi. 28, καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς, Ibid. 27], καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν [ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς καὶ, Ibid. 35] διωκόντων ὑμᾶς. The briefer form is attested by Irenaeus, Clement, Origen, Cyprian, Eusebius, etc.; and though the inserted words and clauses are found in almost all Greek MSS. (except Codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus), and in many versions including the Peshito, they are not in the Curetonian Syriac. Of a similar kind are Matt. xviii. 35, *τὰ παράπτωματα αὐτῶν*; Luke viii. 54, *ἐκβαλὼν ἔξω πάντας καὶ*; Luke ix. 7, *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*; ix. 54, *ὡς καὶ Ἡλίας ἐποίησεν*: xi. 2, *γεννηθήτω τὸ θέλημα σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*: xi. 29, *τοῦ προφήτου*: xi. 44, *γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί*: John iv. 43, *καὶ ἀπῆλθεν*; v. 16, *καὶ ἐζήτησαν αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι*: vi. 51, *ἦν ἐγὼ δώσω*: vi. 69, *τοῦ ζῶντος*.

These are but a few samples of the variations which exist between the Curetonian Syriac and the Peshito as to the kind of text: the instances of this might be increased almost indefinitely. Those acquainted with critical results will know that some of those here specified are crucial texts in points of Comparative Criticism. Such a comparison not only shows the antiquity of the text of the Curetonian Syriac, but it also affords abundant proof that the Peshito must have been modernized and revised.

The antiquity of the Curetonian text is also shown by the occurrence of readings which were, as we know, early current, even though rightly repudiated as erroneous: several of these are in the Curetonian Syriac; it may suffice to refer to the long addition after Matt. xx. 28.

The Curetonian Syriac presents such a text as we might have concluded would be current in the second century: the Peshito has many features which could not belong to that age; unless, indeed, we are ready to reject established facts, and those of a very numerous kind: probably, at least, two thousand.

It is not needful for very great attention to be paid to the phraseology of the Curetonian Syriac in order to see that the Gospel of St. Matthew differs in mode of expression and various other particulars from what we find in the rest. This may lead us again to look at the testimony of Bar Salibi; he tells us, when speaking of this version of St. Matthew, "there is found occasionally a Syriac copy made out of the Hebrew:" we thus know that the opinion of the Syrians themselves in the 12th century was that this translation of St. Matthew was not made from the Greek, but from the Hebrew original of the Evangelist: such, too, is the judgment of Dr. Cureton: "this Gospel of St. Matthew appears at least to be built upon the original Aramaic text, which was the work of the Apostle himself." (*Preface to Syriac Gospels*, p. vi.)

Dr. Cureton rightly draws attention to the peculiar title prefixed to the Gospel by St. Matthew, *ܡܬܘܟܘܠܝܢ*. Now what ever be the meaning of the word *dampfarsho*

<sup>b</sup> A collation of an ancient Syriac MS. of the Gospels (Rich. 7,167 in the British Museum) showed that the Syrians were in the habit of reforming their copies in

some respects. The grammatical forms, &c., of this MS. are much more ancient than those of the text of Widmanstadt, who has been followed by successive editors.

here brought in—whether it signifies “the distinct Gospel of Matthew,” as rendered by Cureton, or “the Gospel of Matthew set forth” [i. e. for lessons throughout the ecclesiastical year], as Bernstein advances, supporting his opinion by a passage in Assemani (which can hardly here apply, as this copy is not so “set forth”), or if it means (as some have objected), “the Gospel of Matthew explained”—still there must be some reason why the first Gospel should be thus designated, and not the others. But the use of the cognate Hebrew verb in the Old Test. may afford us some aid as to what kind of explanation is meant, if indeed that is the meaning of the term here used. In the description of the reading of the law in Neh. viii. 8, we are told, “So they read in the book of the law distinctly (מִפְרָשׁ), and gave the sense, and caused the people to understand the reading.” The word here used has been regarded by able scholars as implying an interpretation from the ancient Hebrew into the form of Aramaean then current. Such a *Mephorash*, when written, would be the germ of the Targum of after ages. (See below, p. 1638a.) The same word may be used in the heading of St. Matthew’s Gospel in the same sense—as being an explanation from one Shemitic tongue or dialect into another, just as St. Matthew’s Gospel turned from one form of Hebrew into pure Syriac would be.

But it may be asked, if St. Matthew’s Hebrew (or Chaldaic) Gospel was before the translator, why should he have done more than copy into Syriac letters? Why *translate* at all? It is sufficient, in reply, to refer to the Chaldaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, and to the Syriac version made from them. In varying dialects it sometimes happens that the vocabulary in use differs more than the grammatical forms. The verbal identity may often be striking, even though accompanied with frequent variation of terms.

We know from Jerome that the Hebrew St. Matthew had מוֹחַר where the Greek has ἐπιούσιον. We do not find that word here, but we read for both ἐπιούσιον and σήμερον at the end of the verse, ܘܥܫܘܢܝܘܢ ܘܫܝܡܝܘܢ, “constant of the day.”

This might have sprung from the interpretation, “morrow by morrow,” given to מוֹחַר; and it may be illustrated by Old Test. passages, e. g. Num. iv.

7, where לְחֵם הַתַּמִּיד is rendered by ܠܚܡܐܢܝܘܢ.

Those who think that if this Syriac version had been made from St. Matthew’s Hebrew, we ought to find מוֹחַר here, forget that a translation is not a verbal transfusion.

We know from Eusebius that Hegesippus cited from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and from the Syriac. Now in a fragment of Hegesippus (Routh, i. 219), there is the quotation, μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ὑμῶν οἱ βλέποντες καὶ τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν τὰ ἀκούοντα, words which might be a Greek rendering from Matt. xiii. 16, as it stands in this Syriac Gospel as we have it, or probably also in the Hebrew work of the Apostle himself. Every notice of the kind is important; and Dr. Cureton, in pointing it out, has furnished students with one of the varied data through which a right conclusion may be reached.

Every successive investigation, on the part of competent scholars, aids in the proof that the Curetonian Gospels are an older form than those in

the Peshito; that the Peshito is a revision replete with readings unknown in the 2nd century (and often long after); and that the Curetonian text possesses the highest critical as well as historical value.

The more the evidence, direct and indirect, is weighed, the more established it appears will be the judgment that the Curetonian Syriac of St. Matthew’s Gospel was translated from the Apostle’s Hebrew (Syro-Chaldaic) original, although injured since by copyists or revisers.

B. *The Philoxenian Syriac Version, and its revision by Thomas of Harkel.*—Philoxenus, or Xenaias, Bp. of Hierapolis or Mabug at the beginning of the 6th century (who was one of those Monophysites who subscribed the *Henoticon* of the Emperor Zeno), caused Polycarp, his *Chorepiscopus*, to make a new translation of the New Test. into Syriac. This was executed in A.D. 508, and it is generally termed Philoxenian from its promoter.<sup>c</sup>

This version has not been transmitted to us in the form in which it was first made; we only possess a revision of it, executed by Thomas of Harkel in the following century (The Gospels, A.D. 616). Pococke, in 1630,<sup>d</sup> gives an extract from Bar Salibi, in which the version of Thomas of Harkel is mentioned; and though Pococke did not know what version Thomas had made, he speaks of a Syriac translation of the Gospels communicated to him by some learned man whom he does not name, which from its servile adherence to the Greek was no doubt the Harklean text. In the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* of Assemani there were further notices of the work of Thomas; and in 1730 Samuel Palmer sent from the ancient Amida (now Diarbekr) Syriac MSS. to Dr. Gloucester Ridley, in which the version is contained. Thus he had two copies of the Gospels, and one of all the rest of the New Test., except the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse. No other MSS. appear to have yet come to light which contain any of this version beyond the Gospels. From the subscriptions we learn that the text was revised by Thomas with three (some copies say two) Greek MSS. One Greek copy is similarly mentioned at the close of the Catholic Epistles.

Ridley published, in 1761, an account of the MSS. in his possession, and a notice of this version. He had intended to have edited the text: this was however done by White, at different times from 1778 to 1803. After the publication of the Gospels, the researches of Adler brought more copies into notice of that part of the Harklean text. From one of the MSS. in the Vatican, St. John’s Gospel was edited by Bernstein in 1851. It will be noticed that this version differs from the Peshito, in containing all the seven Catholic Epistles.

In describing this version as it has come down to us, the *text* is the first thing to be considered. This is characterized by extreme literality: the Syriac idiom is constantly bent to suit the Greek, and everything is in some manner expressed in the Greek phrase and order. It is difficult to imagine that it could have been intended for ecclesiastical reading. It is not independent of the Peshito, the words, &c., of which are often employed. As to the kind of Greek text that it represents it is just what might have been expected in the 6th century. The work of Thomas in the text itself is

<sup>c</sup> See Moses Agheiaeus in Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 83.

<sup>d</sup> Preface to the Syriac edition of 2 Pet. &c.

seen in the introduction of *obeli*, by which passages which he rejected were condemned; and of *asterisks*, with which his insertions were distinguished. His model in all this was the Hexaplar Greek text. The MSS. which were used by Thomas were of a different kind from those employed in making the version; they represented in general a much older and purer text. The margin of the Harklean recension contains (like the Hexaplar text of the LXX.) readings, mostly apparently from the Greek MSS. used. It has been questioned whether these readings are not a comparison with the Peshito; if any of them are so, they have probably been introduced since the time of Thomas. It is probable that the Philoxenian version was very literal, but that the slavish adaptation to the Greek is the work of Thomas; and that his *text* thus bore about the same relation to that of Philoxenus as the Latin Bible of Arias Montanus does to that of his predecessor Pagninus. For textual criticism this version is a good authority as to the text of its own time, at least where it does not merely follow the Peshito. The amplifications in the margin of the Book of Acts bring a MS. used by Thomas into close comparison with the Codex Bezae. One of the MSS. of the Gospels sent to Ridley contains the Harklean text, with some revision by Bar Salibi.

C. *Syriac Versions of portions wanting in the Peshito.*—I. The second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, and that of Jude. The fact has been already noticed, that the Old Syriac Version did not contain these Epistles. They were published by Pococke in 1630, from a MS. in the Bodleian. The version of these Epistles so often agrees with what we have in the Harklean recension, that the one is at least dependent on the other. The suggestion of Dr. Davidson (*Biblical Criticism*, ii. 196), that the text of Pococke is that of Philoxenus before it was revised by Thomas, seems most probable. But if it is objected, that the translation does not show as great a knowledge of Greek as might have been expected in the translation of the rest of the Philoxenian, it must be remembered that here he had not the Peshito to aid him. In the Paris Polyglott these Epistles were added to the Peshito, with which they have since been commonly printed, although they have not the slightest relation to that version.

II. *The Apocalypse.*—In 1627 De Dieu edited a Syriac version of the Apocalypse, from a MS. in the Leyden Library, written by one "Caspar from the land of the Indians," who lived in the latter part of the 16th century. A MS. at Florence, also written by this Caspar, has a subscription stating that it was copied in 1582 from a MS. in the writing of Thomas of Harkel, in A.D. 622. If this is correct it shows that Thomas by himself would have been but a poor translator of the N. T. But the subscription seems to be of doubtful authority; and until the Rev. B. Harris Cowper drew attention

\* The Rev. B. Harris Cowper has courteously communicated the following notice relative to the Syriac Apocalypse in MSS. in the British Museum: "The MS. No. 7185 of the 14th century does not contain the actual text of the Apocalypse, but a brief commentary upon it—upon paper, and not quite perfect; the text seeming to be that of our printed books. The text of the Apocalypse is apparently all found in No. 17,127, a commentary upon the book of the 11th century. This also seems to be of the same text as the printed edition."

† De Dieu says that this Syriac MS. contained "omnia T. Syriaci, quae in prioribus deerant editionibus."

to a more ancient copy of the version, we might well be somewhat uncertain if this were really an ancient work.\* It is of small critical value, and the MS. from which it was edited is incorrectly written. It was in the MS. which Abp. Ussher sent as a present to De Dieu in 1631, in which the whole of the Syriac N. T. is said to have been contained (of what version is unknown), that having been the only complete MS. of the kind described;† and of this MS., in comparison with the text of the Apocalypse printed by De Dieu, Ussher says, "the Syriac lately set out at Leyden may be amended by my MS. copy" (Todd's *Walton*, i. 196, note). This book, from the Paris Polyglott and onward, has been added to the Peshito in this translation. Some have erroneously called this Syriac Apocalypse the *Philoxenian*, a name to which it has no title: the error seems to have originated from a verbal mistake in an old advertisement of Greenfield's edition (for which he was not responsible), which said "the *Apocalypse* and the *Epistles* not found in the Peshito, are given from the Philoxenian version."

III. *The Syriac Version of John viii. 1-11.*—From the MS. sent by Abp. Ussher to De Dieu, the latter published this section in 1631. From De Dieu it was inserted in the London Polyglott, with a reference to Ussher's MS., and hence it has passed with the other editions of the Peshito, where it is a mere interpolation.

A copy of the same version (essentially) is found in Ridley's *Codex Barsalibaei*, where it is attributed to Maras, A.D. 622: Adler found it also in a Paris MS. ascribed to Abbas Mar Paul.

Bar Salibi cites a different version, out of Maras, Bp. of Amida, through the chronicle of Zacharias of Melitina. See Assemani (*Biblioth. Orient.* ii. 53 and 170), who gives the introductory words. Probably the version edited is that of Paul (as stated in the Paris MS.), and that of Maras the one cited by Bar Salibi; while in Ridley's MS. the two are confounded. The Paul mentioned is apparently Paul of Tela, the translator of the Hexaplar Greek text into Syriac.

D. *THE JERUSALEM SYRIAC LECTIONARY.*—The MS. in the Vatican containing this version was pretty fully described by S. E. Assemani in 1756, in the Catalogue of the MSS. belonging to that Library; but so few copies of that work escaped destruction by fire, that it was virtually unpublished, and its contents almost unknown. Adler, who at Copenhagen had the advantage of studying one of the few copies of this Catalogue, drew public attention to this peculiar document in his *Kurze Uebersicht seiner biblischkritischen Reise nach Rom*, pp. 118-127 (Altona, 1783), and still further, in 1789, in his valuable examination of the Syriac versions. The MS. was written in A.D. 1031, in peculiar Syriac writing; the portions are of course those for the different festivals, some parts

Does this mean that it merely contained what was previously wanting, or the whole, including such parts? It seems strange if this section of St. John stood in it alone. This makes it seem as if the interpretation given above were the true one. Ussher's own description is this:—"I have received the parcels of the N. Test. [in Syriac] which hitherto we have wanted in that language, viz., the history of the adulterous woman, the 2nd Epistle of Peter, the 2nd and 3rd Epistles of St. John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Revelation; as also a small tractate of Ephrem Syrus in his own language." Abp. Ussher to Dr. Samuel Ward June 23, 1626 (Todd's *Life & Walton*, i. 194).

of the Gospel, not being there at all. The dialect is not common Syriac; it was termed the *Jerusalem Syriac*, from its being supposed to resemble the Jerusalem Talmud in language and other points. The grammar is peculiar; the forms almost Chaldee rather than Syriac; two characters are used for expressing F and P.

For critical purposes this Lectionary has a far higher value than it has for any other: its readings often coincide with the oldest and best authorities. It is not yet known as to its entire text; for except a small specimen, no part has been printed; Adler, however, selected large numbers of readings, which have been commonly used by critics from that time and onward. In Adler's opinion its date as a version would be from the 4th to the 6th century; but it can hardly be supposed that it is of so early an age, or that any Syrians then could have used so corrupt a dialect. It may rather be supposed to be a translation made from a Greek Lectionary, never having existed as a substantive translation: to what age its execution should be assigned seems wholly uncertain. (A further account of the MS. of this version, drawn up from a comparison of Assemani's description in the Vatican Catalogue, and that of Adler, with the MS. itself in the Vatican Library, made by the present writer, is given in Horne's *Introd.* iv. 284-287, where, however, "Jerusalem Targum" twice stands for *Talmud*.)

It appears, from the statement of Dr. Ceriani of Milan, that Count Marescalchi has met with a MS. of this Lectionary, and that he has long had the intention of publishing it.

On the Syriac Versions.—Adler, *N. T. Versiones Syriacae, Simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana denuo examinatae*, 1789; Wiseman, *Horae Syriacae*, 1827; Ridley, *De Syriacarum N. Foederis versionum indole atque usu*, &c., 1761; Winer, *Commentatio de versionis N. T. Syriacae usu critico caute instituendo*, 1823; Wichelhaus, *De Novi Test. versione Syriaca antiqua quam Peschitho vocant*, 1850; Bernstein, *De Charklensi N. T. translatione Syriaca commentatio*, 1857; Cureton, *Antient Recension of the Syriac Gospels* (Preface, &c.), 1858. [S. P. T.]

TARGUM (תַּרְגּוּם, from תַּרְגַּם; Arab. ترجم, to translate, explain); a Chaldee word of uncertain origin, variously derived from the roots רָקַם, רָגַם (comp. Arab. رَقْم, رَقِن, &c.), and even identified with the Greek τράγμα, dessert (Fr. dragées), (trop. τραγήματα τῶν λόγων, Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* 10, 18), which occurs often in the Talmud as מִיָּנִי טַרְגִּימָא, or תַּרְגִּימָא ("such as dates, almonds, nuts," &c. Pes. 119b):—the general term for the CHALDEE, or, more accurately ARAMAIC VERSIONS of the Old Testament.

The injunction to "read the Book of the Law before all Israel . . . the men, and women, and children, and the strangers," on the Feast of Tabernacles of every Sabbatical year, as a means of solemn instruction and edification, is first found in Deut. xxxi. 10-13. How far the ordinance was observed in early times we have no means of judging. It would appear, however, that such readings did

take place in the days of Jeremiah. Certain it is that among the first acts undertaken by Ezra towards the restoration of the primitive religion and public worship is reported his reading "before the congregation, both of men and women" of the returned exiles, "in the Book in the Law of God" (Neh. viii. 2, 8). Aided by those men of learning and eminence with whom, according to tradition, he founded that most important religious and political body called the Great Synagogue, or Men of the Great Assembly (אֲנָשֵׁי כְנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה, 536-167), he appears to have succeeded in so firmly establishing regular and frequent public readings in the Sacred Records, that later authorities almost unanimously trace this hallowed custom to times immemorial—nay to the time of Moses himself. Such is the statement of Josephus (*c. Ap.* ii. 17); and we read in the Acts, xv. 21, "For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogue every sabbath-day." So also Jer. Meg. i. 1: "Ezra has instituted for Israel that the maledictions in the Pentateuch should also be read in public," &c. Further, Meg. 31 b, "Ezra instituted ten things, viz., that there should be readings in the Law also in the afternoon service of Sabbath, on the Monday, and on the Thursday, &c. . . . But was not this instituted before in the desert, as we find 'they went for three days and found no water' (water meaning the Law, as Is. lv. 1 is fancifully explained by the Haggada), until the 'prophets among them' arranged the three weekly readings? But Ezra only reinstated them," comp. also B. Kama, 82 a, &c. To these ancient readings in the Pentateuch were added, in the course of time, readings in the Prophets (in some Babylonian cities even in the Hagiographa), which were called הַפְּטָרוֹת, *Haftaroth*; but when and how these were introduced is still matter of speculation. Former investigators (Abudraham, Elias Levita, Vitranga, &c.) almost unanimously trace their origin to the Syrian persecutions, during which all attention to the Law was strictly prohibited, and even all the copies of it that were found were ruthlessly destroyed; so that, as a substitute for the Pentateuchical Parasha, a somewhat corresponding portion of the Prophets was read in the synagogue, and the custom, once introduced, remained fixed. Recent scholars, on the other hand, without much show of reason, as it would appear, variously hold the *Haftarah* to have sprung from the sermon or homiletic exercise which accompanied the reading in the Pentateuch, and took its *exordium* (as *Haftarah*, by an extraordinary linguistic stretch, is explained by Frankel) from a prophetic passage, adapted in a manner to the Mosaic text under consideration; or, again, they imagine the *Haftarah* to have taken its rise spontaneously during the exile itself, and that Ezra retained and enforced it in Palestine.

If, however, the primitive religion was re-established, together with the second Temple, in more than its former vigour, thus enabling the small number of the returned exiles—and these, according to tradition, the lowest of the low, the poor in wealth, in knowledge, and in ancestry,<sup>a</sup> the very outcasts and refuse of the nation as it were<sup>b</sup>—to found

menials of the Temple); שְׂתוּקֵי ("about whose lineage there is silence,"—of unknown fathers); and אֲסוּמֵי ("foundlings, of unknown father and mother" (Kidd. 4, 1).

<sup>b</sup> "Ezra, on leaving Babylon, made it like unto pure flour" כְּסוּלַת נְקִיָּה (ib.).

<sup>a</sup> "Ten kinds of families went up from Babylon: Priests, Levites, Israelites, profaned (חֲלִילֵי), those whose fathers are priests, but whose mothers are not fit for priestly marriage); proselytes, freedmen, bastards (or rather those born in illegal wedlock); Nethinim (lowest

upon the ruins of Zion one of the most important and lasting spiritual commonwealths that has ever been known, there was yet one thing which neither authority nor piety, neither academy nor synagogue, could restore to its original power and glory—the Hebrew language. Ere long it was found necessary to translate the national books, in order that the nation from whose midst they had sprung might be able to understand them. And if for the Alexandrine, or rather the whole body of Hellenistic Jews, Greek translations had to be composed, those who dwelt on the hallowed soil of their forefathers had to receive the sacred word through an Aramaic medium. The word מפורש, *Mephorash*, “explanatory,” “clearly,” or, as the A. V. has it, “distinctly,” used in the above-quoted passage of Neh. viii. 8, is in the Talmud explained by “Targum.”<sup>c</sup> Thus to Ezra himself is traced the custom of adding translations in the then popular idiom—the Aramaic—to the periodical readings (Jer. Meg. 28 b; J. Ned. iv., Bab. Ned. i.; Maim. Hilch. Teph. xii. §10, &c.), for which he is also reported to have fixed the Sabbaths, the Mondays and Thursdays—the two latter the market and law-days, when the villagers came to town—of every week (Jer. Meg. i. 1; Baba Kama, 82 a). The gradual decay of the pure Hebrew vernacular, among the multitude at least, may be accounted for in many ways. The Midrash very strikingly points out, among the characteristics of the long sojourn of Israel in Egypt, that they neither changed their language, nor their names, nor the shape of their garments, during all that time. The bulk of their community—shut up, as it were, in the small province of Goshen, almost exclusively reduced to intercourse with their own race and tribes, devoted only to the pasture of their flocks, and perhaps to the tilling of their soil—were in a condition infinitely more favourable for the retention of all the signs and tokens of their nationality than were the Babylonian captives. The latter scattered up and down the vast empire, seem to have enjoyed everywhere full liberty of intercommunication with the natives—very similar in many respects to themselves—to have been utterly unrestrained in the exercise of every profession and trade, and even to have risen to the highest offices of state; and thus, during the comparatively short space, they struck root so firmly in the land of their exile, that when opportunity served, they were, on the whole, loth to return to the Land of Promise. What more natural than that the immigrants under Zerubbabel, and still more those who came with Ezra—several generations of whose ancestors had been settled in Babel—should have brought back with them the Aramaic, if not as their vernacular, at all events as an idiom with which they were perfectly familiar, and which they

may partly have continued to use as their colloquial language in Palestine, as, in fact, they had had to use it in Babylon? Continuous later immigrations from the “Captivity” did not fail to reinforce and further to spread the use of the same tongue. All the decrees and official communications addressed to the Jews by their Persian masters were in Aramaic (Ezr. Neh. *passim*), Judaea being considered only as part of the Syrian satrapy. Nor must it be forgotten that the old colonists in Palestine (2 K. xvii. 24) were Samaritans, who had come from “Aram and Babel,” and who spoke Chaldee; that intermarriages with women from Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab had been common (Neh. xiii. 23); that Phoenicia, whose merchants (Tyrians, Neh. xiii. 16) appear to have settled in Palestine, and to have established commercial relations with Judaea and Galilee, contains large elements of Chaldee in its own idiom. Thus it came to pass that we find in the Book of Daniel, for instance, a somewhat forced Hebrew, from which, as it would seem, the author gladly lapses into the more familiar Aramaic (comp. ii. 4, &c.); that oracles were received by the High-priests Johanan<sup>d</sup> and Simon the Just<sup>e</sup> in the Holy of Holies (during the Syrian wars) in Aramaic (Sotah, 33, a.); and that, in short, some time before the Hasmonean period, this was the language in which were couched not only popular sayings, proverbs, and the like (משל הדיוט. Beresh. R. 107 d; Tanch. 17 a; Midr. Tehill. 23 d; 51 f, &c. &c.), but official and legal documents (Mishna Ketub. 4, 8; Toseftah Sabb. c. 8; Edujoth, 8, 4,—c. 130 B.C.), even certain prayers<sup>f</sup>—of Babylonian origin probably—and in which books destined for the great mass of the people were written.<sup>g</sup> That, indeed, the Hebrew Language—the “language of Kanaan” (Is. xix. 18), or “Jehudith” (2 K. xviii. 26, 28; Is. xxxvi. 11) or the Bible—became more and more the language of the few, the learned, the *Holy Language*, לשון הקודש, or, still more exactly, לשון בית קודשא, “Language of the Temple,” set aside almost exclusively for the holy service of religion: be it the Divine Law and the works in which this was contained (like the Mishna, the Boraithot, Mechilta, Sifri, Sifra, the older Midrashim, and very many portions of the Talmud), or the correspondence between the different academies (witness the Hebrew letter sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria about 100 B.C., Chag. Jer. ii. 2), or be it the sacred worship itself in temple and synagogue, which was almost entirely carried on in pure Hebrew.

If the common people thus gradually had lost all knowledge of the tongue in which were written the

<sup>c</sup> “And they read in the book of the Law of God clearly (מפורש), and gave the understanding, so that they understood the reading:—‘in the book of the Law’—this is Mikra, the original reading in the Pentateuch; ‘מפורש, clearly’—this is Targum” (Meg. 3 a; Ned. 37 b). To this tradition also might be referred the otherwise rather enigmatical passage (Sanh. 21 b): “Originally,” says Mar Sutra, “the Law was given to Israel in Ibri writing and the holy (Hebrew) language. It was again given to them in the days of Ezra in the Ashurith writing and the Aramaic language,” &c.

<sup>d</sup> “The youths who went to combat at Antiochia have been victorious.”

<sup>e</sup> “Perished has the army which the enemy thought to lead against the Temple.”

<sup>f</sup> Introduction to the Haggadah for the Pesach (סדר לחמא): “Such was the bread of misery which our fathers ate in the land of Mizrajim. Whoever is needy, he come and eat with us; whoever is in want, he come and celebrate the Pesach. This year here, next year in the land of Israel; this year slaves, next year free men.” The *Kaddish*, to which afterwards a certain signification as a prayer for the dead was given, and which begins as follows: “Let there be magnified and sanctified the Great Name in the world which He has created according to His will, and which He rules as His kingdom, during your life and your days, and the life of the whole house of Israel, speedily and in a near time, and say ye, ‘Amen: Be the Great Name praised for ever and evermore.’” &c.

<sup>g</sup> Megillath Taanith. &c.

books to be read to them, i. naturally followed (in order "that they might understand them") that recourse must be had to a translation into the idiom with which they were familiar—the Aramaic. That further, since a bare translation could not in all cases suffice, it was necessary to add to the translation an explanation, more particularly of the more difficult and obscure passages. Both translation and explanation were designated by the term *Targum*. In the course of time there sprang up a guild, whose special office it was to act as *interpreters* in both senses (*Meturgeman*<sup>b</sup>), while formerly the learned alone volunteered their services. These interpreters were subjected to certain bonds and regulations as to the form and substance of their renderings. Thus (comp. Mishna Meg. *passim*; Mass. Sofer. xi. 1; Maimon. Hilch. l'ephull. 12, §11 ff; Orach Chaj. 145, 1, 2), "neither the reader nor the interpreter are to raise their voices one above the other;" "they have to wait for each other until each have finished his verse;" "the Meturgeman is not to lean against a pillar or a beam, but to stand with fear and with reverence;" "he is not to use a written *Targum*, but he is to deliver his translation *viva voce*"—lest it might appear that he was reading out of the Torah itself, and thus the Scriptures be held responsible for what are *his own dicta*; "no more than one verse in the Pentateuch, and three in the Prophets [a greater licence is given for the Book of Esther] shall be read and translated at a time;" "that there should be not more than one reader and one interpreter for the Law, while for the Prophets one reader and one interpreter, or two interpreters, are allowed," &c. (comp. Cor. xiv. 21 ff; xii. 30; 27, 28). Again (Mishna Meg. and Tosiftah, *ad loc.*), certain passages liable to give offence to the multitude are specified, which may be read in the synagogue and translated; others, which may be read but not translated; others, again, which may neither be read nor translated. To the first class<sup>1</sup> belong the account of the Creation—a subject not to be discussed publicly, on account of its most vital bearing upon the relation between the Creator and the Kosmos, and the nature of both: the deed of Lot and his two daughters (Gen. xix. 31); of Judah and Tamar (Gen. xxxviii.); the first account of the making of the golden calf (Ex. xxxii.); all the curses in the Law; the deed of Amnon and Tamar (2 Sam. xiii.); of Absalom with his father's concubines (2 Sam. xvi. 22); the story of the woman of Gibeah (Judg. xix.). These are to be read and translated—being mostly deeds which carried their own punishments with them. To be read but not translated are<sup>k</sup> the deed of Reuben with his father's concubine (Gen. xxv. 22); the latter portion of the story of the golden calf (Ex. xxxii.); the benediction of the priests (on account of its awful nature). And neither to be read nor translated are the deed of David and Bathsheba (2 Sam. xi. and xii.), and according to one the story of Amnon and Tamar (2 Sam. xiii.). (Both the latter stories, however, are, in Mishna Meg. iv. 10, enumerated among those of the second class, which are to be read but not translated.)

Altogether these *Meturgemanim* do not seem to have been held generally in very high respect; one

of the reasons being probably that they were paid (two *Selaim* at one time, according to Midr. R. Gen. 98), and thus made (what P. Aboth especially inveighs against) the Torah "a spade to dig with it." "No sign of blessing," it was said, moreover, "could rest upon the profit they made by their calling, since it was money earned on the Sabbath" (Pes. 4 b). Persons unfit to be readers, as those whose clothes were so torn and ragged that their limbs became visible through the rents (פוחה), their appearance thus not corresponding to the reverence due to the sacred word itself, or blind men, were admitted to the office of a Meturgeman; and, apart from there not being the slightest authority attached to their interpretations, they were liable to be stopped and silenced, publicly and ignominiously, whenever they seemed to overstep the bounds of discretion. At what time the regulation that they should not be under fifty years of age (in odd reference to the "men of fifty," Is. iii. 3, mentioned in Juchas. 44, 2) came into use, we are not able to decide. The Mishna certainly speaks even of a minor (under thirteen years) as being allowed both to read and to act as a Meturgeman (comp. Mishna Meg. *passim*). Altogether they appear to have borne the character of empty-headed, bombastic fools. Thus Midr. Koh. has to Eccl. vii. 5: "It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise:"—these are the preachers (Darshanim)—"than for a man to hear the song of fools:"—these are the Meturgemanim, who raise their voices in sing-song, (בשיר, or with empty fancies):—"that the people may hear." And to ix. 17: "The words of wise men are heard in quiet"—these are the preachers (Darshanim)—"more than the cry of him that ruleth among fools"—these are the Meturgemanim who stand above the congregation." And though both passages may refer more especially to those Meturgemanim (Emoras, speakers, expounders) who at a later period stood by the side of the *Chacham*, or president of the Academy, the preacher *κατ' ἐξοχήν* (himself seated on a raised dais), and repeated with a loud voice, and enlarged upon what the latter had whispered into their ear in Hebrew (חכם לוחש לו לשון עברית, comp. Matt. x. 27, "What ye hear in the ear, that preach ye upon the housetops"), yet there is an abundance of instances to show that the Meturgeman at the side of the reader was exposed to rebukes of a nature, and is spoken of in a manner, not likely to be employed towards any but men low in the social scale.

A fair notion of what was considered a proper Targum may be gathered from the maxim preserved in the Talmud (Kidd. 49, a), "Whosoever translates [as Meturgeman] a verse in its closely exact form [without proper regard to its real meaning] is a liar, and whosoever adds to it is *impious and a blasphemer*, e. g., the literal rendering into Chaldee of the verse, 'They saw the God of Israel' (Ex. xxiv. 10), is as wrong a translation as 'They saw the angel of God'; the proper rendering being, 'They saw the glory of the God of Israel.'" [Comp. SAMAR. PENT. p. 1114 b]. Other instances are found in the Mishna (Meg. iv. 8); "Whosoever renders the text (Lev. xviii. 21) 'And thou shalt not let any of thy seed pass through the

<sup>b</sup> תורגמן. תורגמניא. תורגמן. מתורגמן. (Ar. ترجمان; Arm. Sargmaniël; Ital., Turcimanno; Fr. Truchement; Engl., Dragoman, &c.)

<sup>1</sup> Comprised in the mnemonic formula בְּלֹת עֲקֹן נִשְׁפָּה (Meg. 25 a).  
<sup>k</sup> רִבְדִּי, ib.

fire to Molech,' by 'Thou shalt not give thy seed to be carried over to heathenism (or to an Aramite woman)' [*i. e.* as the Gemara *ad loc.*; Jer. Sanh. 9, and Sifri on Deut. xviii. 10, explain it, one who marries an Aramaic woman; for although she may become a proselyte, she is yet sure to bear enemies to him and to God, since the mother will in the end carry his children over to idolatrous worship;] as also he who enlarges upon (or figuratively explains) the sections relative to incest (Lev. xviii.)—he shall forthwith be silenced and publicly rebuked." Again (comp. Jer. Ber. v. 1; Meg. iv. 10), "Those who translate 'O my people, children of Israel, as I am merciful in heaven, so shall ye be merciful on earth:'—'Cow or ewe, it and her young ye shall not kill in one day' (Lev. xxii. 28)—they do not well, for they represent the Laws of God [whose reasons no man dare try to fathom] as mere axioms of mercy;" and, it is added, "the short-sighted and the frivolous will say, 'Lo! to a bird's-nest He extends His mercy, but not to yonder miserable man . . .'"

The same causes which, in the course of time, led to the writing down—after many centuries of oral transmission—of the whole body of the Traditional Law, the very name of which (תורה שבעל פה, "oral law," in contradistinction to תורה שבכתב, or "written law") seemed to imply that it should never become a fixed, immutable code, engendered also, and about the same period, as it would appear, written Targums: for certain portions of the Bible, at least.<sup>m</sup>

The fear of the adulterations and mutilations which the Divine Word—amid the troubles within and without the Commonwealth—must undergo at the hands of incompetent or impious exponents, broke through the rule, that the Targum should only be *oral*, lest it might acquire undue authority (comp. Mishna Meg. iv. 5, 10; Tosifta, *ib.* 3; Jer. Meg. 4, 1; Bab. Meg. 24a; Sota, 39b). Thus, if a Targum of Job is mentioned (Sab. 115a; Tr. Soferim, 5, 15; Tosifta Sab. c. 14; Jer. Sabb. 16, 1) as having been highly disapproved by Gamaliel the Elder (middle of first century, A. D.), who caused it to be hidden and buried out of sight:—we find, on the other hand, at the end of the second century, the practice of reading the Targum generally commended, and somewhat later Jehoshua ben Levi enjoins it as a special duty upon his sons. The Mishna even contains regulations about the manner (Jad. iv. 5) in which the Targum is to be written. But even in their written, and, as we may presume, authoritatively approved form, the Targums were of comparatively small weight, and of no canonical value whatsoever. The Sabbath was not to be broken for their sake as it was lawful to do for the Scripture in the original Hebrew (Sab. 115a). The Targum does not defile the hands (for the purpose of touching consecrated food) as do the Chaldee portions of Ezra and Nehemiah (Yad. iv. 5).

The gradual growth of the Code of the written Targum, such as now embraces almost the whole of the O. T., and contains, we may presume, but

<sup>m</sup> As, according to Frankel, the LXX. was only a partial translation at first. Witness the confusion in the last chapters of Exodus, which, as mere repetitions (of chaps. xxv. and xxix.), were originally left untranslated. Saadia in a similar manner uses the formulas *כדלך* or *מלך דלך* in repetitions

few snatches of the primitive Targums, is shrouded in deep obscurity. We shall not fail to indicate the opinions arrived at as to the date and authorship of the individual versions in their due places; but we must warn the reader beforehand, that no positive results have been attained as yet, save that nearly all the names and dates hitherto commonly attached to them must be rejected. And we fear that, as long at least as the Targum shares the fate of the LXX., the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Midrash, the Talmud, &c.:—viz. that a really critical edition remains a thing occasionally dreamt of, but never attempted;—so long must we abandon the hope of getting any nearer a final solution of this and many other still more important questions. The utter corruption, moreover, of the Targum, bitterly complained of already by Elias Levita—(an author, be it observed, of very moderate attainments, but absurdly overrated by certain of his contemporaries, and by those who copied his usually shallow dicta without previous examination)—debars us from more than half its use. And yet how fertile its study could be made; what light it might be made capable of throwing upon the Bible itself, upon the history of the earliest development of Biblical studies, versions, and upon the Midrash—both the Halachah and Haggadah—snatches of which, in their, as it were, liquid stages, lie embedded in the Targums:—all this we need not urge here at length.

Before, however, entering into a more detailed account, we must first dwell for a short time on the *Midrash*<sup>n</sup> itself, of which the Targum forms part.

The centre of all mental activity and religious action among the Jewish community, after the return from Babylon, was the Scriptural Canon collected by the Soferim, or Men of the Great Synagogue. These formed the chief authority on the civil and religious law, and their authority was the Pentateuch. Their office as expounders and commentators of the Sacred Records was twofold. They had, firstly, to explain the exact meaning of such prohibitions and ordinances contained in the Mosaic Books as seemed not explicit enough for the multitude, and the precise application of which in former days, had been forgotten during the Captivity. Thus, *e. g.*, general terms, like the "work" forbidden on the Sabbath, were by them specified and particularized; not indeed according to their own arbitrary and individual views, but according to tradition traced back to Sinai itself. Secondly, laws neither specially contained nor even indicated in the Pentateuch were inaugurated by them according to the new wants of the times and the ever-shifting necessities of the growing Commonwealth (*Geseroth, Tekonoth*). Nor were the latter in all cases given on the sole authority of the Synod; but they were in most cases traditional, and certain special letters or signs in the Scriptures, seemingly superfluous or out of place where they stood, were, according to fixed hermeneutical rules, understood to indicate the inhibitions and prohibitions (*Gedarim, "Fences"*), newly issued and fixed. But Scripture, which had

<sup>n</sup> *מדרש* (Arab. *مدرس*), first used in 2 Chr. xlii 22, xxiv. 27; "Commentary," in the sense of Caesar's "Commentaries," enlargement, embellishment, complement, &c. (*A. V. story!*). The compilers of Chronicles seem to have used such promiscuous works treating of biblical personages and events, provided they contained aught that served the tendency of the book.

for this purpose to be studied most minutely and unremittingly—the most careful and scrutinizing attention being paid even to its outward form and semblance—was also used, and more especially in its non-legal, prophetic parts, for homiletic purposes, as a wide field of themes for lectures, sermons, and religious discourses, both in and out of the Synagogue:—at every solemnity in public and private life. This juridical and homiletical expounding and interpreting of Scripture—the germs of both of which are found still closely intertwined and bound up with each other in the Targum—is called *darash*, and the avalanche of Jewish literature which began silently to gather from the time of the return from the exile and went on rolling uninterruptedly—however dread the events which befel the nation—until about a thousand years after the destruction of the second Temple, may be comprised under the general name *Midrash*—“expounding.” The two chief branches indicated are, *Halachah* (הלכה, “to go”), the rule by which to go, = binding, authoritative law; and *Haggadah* (הגדה, “to say”) = saying legend, — flights of fancy, darting up from the Divine word. The *Halachah*, treating more especially the Pentateuch as the legal part of the O. T., bears towards this book the relation of an amplified and annotated Code; these amplifications and annotations, be it well understood, not being new laws, formerly unheard of, deduced in an arbitrary and fanciful manner from Scripture, but supposed to be simultaneous oral revelations *hinted at* in the Scripture: in any case representing not the human but the Divine interpretation, *handed down through a named authority* (*Kabbala*, *Shemata*—“something received, heard”). The *Haggadah*, on the other hand, held especial sway over the wide field of ethical, poetical, prophetic, and historical elements of the O. T., but was free even to interpret its legal and historical passages fancifully and allegorically. The whole Bible, with all its tones and colours, belonged to the *Haggadah*, and this whole Bible she transformed into an endless series of themes for her most wonderful and capricious variations. “Prophetess of the Exile,” she took up the hallowed verse, word or letter, and, as the *Halachah* pointed out in it a special ordinance, she, by a most ingenious exegetical process of her own, showed to the wonder-struck multitude how the woeful events under which they then groaned were hinted at in it, and how in a manner it predicted even their future issue. The aim of the *Haggadah* being the purely momentary one of elevating, comforting, edifying its audience for the time being, it *did not pretend to possess the slightest authority*. As its method was capricious and arbitrary, so its cultivation was open to every one whose heart prompted him. It is saga, tale, gnome, parable, allegory,—poetry, in short, of its own most strange kind, springing up from the sacred soil of Scripture, wild, luxuriant, and tangled, like a primeval tropical forest. If the *Halachah* used the Scriptural word as a last and most awful resort, against which there was no further appeal, the *Haggadah* used it as the golden nail on which to hang its gorgeous tapestry: as introduction, refrain, text, or fundamental stanza for a gloss; and

if the former was the iron bulwark around the nationality of Israel, which every one was ready at every moment to defend to his last breath, the latter was a maze of flowery walks within those fortress-walls. That gradually the *Haggadah* preponderated and became the *Midrash* *κατ' ἐξοχήν* of the people, is not surprising. We shall notice how each successive Targum became more and more impregnated with its essence, and from a version became a succession of short homiletics. This difference between the two branches of Midrash is strikingly pointed in the following Talmudical story: “R. Chia b. Abba, a Halachist, and R. Abbahu, a Haggadist, once came together into a city and preached. The people flocked to the latter, while the former's discourses remained without a hearer. Thereupon the Haggadist comforted the Halachist with a parable. Two merchants come into a city and spread their wares,—the one rare pearls and precious stones; the other a ribbon, a ring, glittering trinkets: around whom will the multitude throng? . . . Formerly, when life was not yet bitter labour, the people had leisure for the deep word of the Law; now it stands in need of comfortings and blessings.”

The first collections of the *Halachah*—embracing the whole field of juridico-political, religious, and practical life, both of the individual and of the nation: the human and Divine law to its most minute and insignificant details—were instituted by Hillel, Akiba, and Simon B. Gamaliel; but the final redaction of the general code, *Mishna*,<sup>o</sup> to which the later Toseftahs and Boraitas form supplements, is due to Jehudah Hannassi in 220 A. D. Of an earlier date with respect to the contents, but committed to writing in later times, are the three books: *Sifra*, or *Torath Kohanim* (an amplification of Leviticus), *Sifri* (of Numbers and Deuteronomy), and *Mechiltha* (of a portion of Exodus). The masters of the Mishnaic period, after the Soferim, are the Tannaim, who were followed by the Amoraim. The discussions and further amplifications of the Mishna by the latter, form the *Gemara* (Complement), a work extant in two redactions, viz. that of Palestine or Jerusalem (middle of 4th century), and of Babylon (5th century A. D.), which, together with the Mishna, are comprised under the name Talmud. Here, however, though the work is ostensibly devoted to *Halachah*, an almost equal share is allowed to *Haggadah*. The Haggadistic mode of treatment was threefold: either the simple understanding of words and things (*Peshat*), or the homiletic application, holding up the mirror of Scripture to the present (*Derash*), or a mystic interpretation (*Sod*), the second of which chiefly found its way into the Targum. On its minute division into special and general, ethical, historical, esoteric, &c., *Haggadah*, we cannot enter here. Suffice it to add that the most extensive collections of it which have survived are *Midrash Rabbah* (commenced about 700, concluded about 1100 A. D.), comprising the Pentateuch and the five Megilloth, and the *Pesikta* (about 700 A. D.), which contains the most complete cycle of Pericopes, but the very existence of which had until lately been forgotten, surprisingly enough, through the very extracts made from it (*Jalkut*, *Pesikta Rabbathi*, *Sutarta*, &c.).

<sup>o</sup> *Mishna*, from *shana*, “to learn,” “learning,” not as erroneously translated of old, and repeated ever since, *Διπλοσις*, “repetition;” but corresponding exactly

with Talmud, (from *lamad*, “to learn”), and *Torah* (from *horah*), “to teach:” all three terms meaning “the study,” by way of eminence.



From this indispensable digression we return to the subject of Targum. The Targums now extant are as follows:—

I. Targum on the Pentateuch, known as that of Onkelos.

II. Targum on the first and last prophets, known as that of Jonathan Ben-Uzziel.

III. Targum on the Pentateuch, likewise known as that of Jonathan Ben-Uzziel.

IV. Targum on portions of the Pentateuch, known as Targum Jerushalmi.

V. Targums on the Hagiographa, ascribed to Joseph the Blind, viz.:—

1. Targum on Psalms, Job, Proverbs.

2. Targum on the five Megilloth (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, Ecclesiastes).

3. Two (not three, as commonly stated) other Targums to Esther: a smaller and a larger, the latter known as Targum Sheni, or Second Targum.

VI. Targum to Chronicles.

VII. Targum to Daniel, known from an unpublished Persian extract, and hitherto not received among the number.

VIII. Targum on the Apocryphal pieces of Esther.

We have hinted before that neither any of the names under which the Targums hitherto went, nor any of the dates handed down with them, have stood the test of recent scrutiny. Let it, however, not for a moment be supposed that a sceptic Wolfian school has been at work, and with hypercritical and wanton malice has tried to annihilate the hallowed names of Onkelos, Jonathan, and Joseph the Blind. It will be seen from what follows that most of these names have or may have a true historical foundation and meaning; but uncritical ages and ignorant scribes have perverted this meaning, and a succession of most extraordinary misreadings and strangest *ὑστερα πρότερα*—some even of a very modern date—have produced rare confusion, and a chain of assertions which dissolve before the first steady gaze. That, notwithstanding all this, the implicit belief in the old names and dates still reigns supreme will surprise no one who has been accustomed to see the most striking and undeniable results of investigation and criticism quietly ignored by contemporaries, and forgotten by generations which followed, so that the same work had to be done very many times over again before a certain fact was allowed to be such.

We shall follow the order indicated above:—

#### I. THE TARGUM OF ONKELOS.

It will be necessary, before we discuss this work itself, to speak of the person of its reputed author as far as it concerns us here. There are few more contested questions in the whole province of Biblical, nay general literature, than those raised on this head. Did an Onkelos ever exist? Was there more than one Onkelos? Was Onkelos the real form of his name? Did he translate the Bible at all, or part of it? And is this Targum the translation he made? Do the dates of his life and this Targum tally? &c. &c. The ancient accounts of Onkelos are avowedly of the most corrupted and confused kind: so much so that both ancient and modern investigators have failed to reconcile and amend them so as to gain general satisfaction, and opinions remain widely divergent. This being the case, we think it our duty to lay the whole—not very voluminous—evidence, collected both from the body of Talmudical and post-Tal-

mudical (so-called Rabbinical) and patristic writings before the reader, in order that he may judge for himself how far the conclusions to which we shall point may be right.

The first mention of "Onkelos"—a name variously derived from Nicolaus (Geiger), *Ὀνομα καλός* [sic] (Renan), Homunculus, Avunculus, &c.—more fully "Onkelos the Proselyte," is found in the Tosiftah, a work drawn up shortly after the Mishna. Here we learn (1.) that "Onkelos the Proselyte" was so serious in his adherence to the newly-adopted (Jewish) faith, that he threw his share in his paternal inheritance into the Dead Sea (Tos. Demai, vi. 9). (2.) At the funeral of Gamaliel the Elder (1st century A.D.) he burnt more than 70 minae worth of spices in his honour (Tos. Shabb. 8). (3.) This same story is repeated, with variations (Tos. Semach. 8). (4.) He is finally mentioned, by way of corroboration to different Halachas, in connexion with Gamaliel, in three more places, which complete our references from the Tosiftah (Tos. Mikv. 6, 1; Kelim, iii. 2, 2; Chag. 3, 1). The Babylonian Talmud, the source to which we turn our attention next, mentions the name Onkelos four times: (1.) As "Onkelos the Proselyte, the son of Kalonikos" (Calonicus? Cleonicus?), the son of Titus' sister, who, intending to become a convert, conjured up the ghosts of Titus, Balaam, and Christ [the latter name is doubtful], in order to ask them what nation was considered the first in the other world. Their answer that Israel was the favoured one decided him (Gitt. 56). (2.) As "Onkelos the son of Kalonymus" (Cleonymus?) (Aboda Sar. 11 a.). It is there related of him that the emperor (*Kaisar*) sent three Roman cohorts to capture him, and that he converted them all. (3.) In Baba Bathra 99 a (Boraitha), "Onkelos the Proselyte" is quoted as an authority on the question of the form of the Cherubim. And (4.) The most important passage—because on it and it alone, in the wide realm of ancient literature, has been founded the general belief that Onkelos is the author of the Targum now current under this name—is found in Meg. 3 a. It reads as follows:—"R. Jeremiah, and, according to others, R. Chia bar Abba, said: The Targum to the Pentateuch was made by the 'Proselyte Onkelos,' from the mouth of R. Eliezer and R. Jehoshua; the Targum to the Prophets was made by Jonathan ben Uzziel from the mouth of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. . . . But have we not been taught that the Targum existed from the time of Ezra? . . . Only that it was forgotten, and Onkelos restored it." No mention whatever is to be found of Onkelos either in the Jerusalem Talmud, redacted about a hundred years before the Babylonian, nor in the Church fathers—an item of negative evidence to which we shall presently draw further attention. In a Midrash collection, completed about the middle of the 12th century, we find again "Onkelos the Proselyte" asking an old man, "Whether that was all the love God bore towards a proselyte, that he promised to give him bread and a garment? Whereupon the old man replied that this was all for which the Patriarch Jacob prayed (Gen. xxviii. 20)." The Book Zohar, of late and very uncertain date, makes "Onkelos" a disciple of Hillel and Shammai. Finally, a MS., also of a very late and uncertain date, in the library of the Leipzig Senate (B. H. 17), relates of "Onkelos, the nephew of Titus," that he asked the emperor's advice as to what merchandize he thought it was profitable to trade in. The em-