

to a well known Maltese one. To these he adds in a note (*ibid.*):—*Dactylis memphitica*, *Gagea reticulata*, *Rumex vesicarius*, *Artemisia Judaica*, *Leysera discoidea*, *Santolina fragrantissima*, *Seriola*, *Lindenbergia Sinaica*, *Lamium amplexicaule*,<sup>c</sup> *Stachys affinis*, *Sisymbrium iris*, *Anchusa Milleri*, *Asperugo procumbens*, *Omphalodes intermedia*, *Daemia cordata*, *Reseda canescens*, and *pruinosa*, *Reaumuria vermiculata*, *Fumaria parviflora*, *Hypocoum pendulum*, *Cleome trinervis*, *Aerua tomentosa*, *Malva Honbezey*, *Fagonia*,<sup>c</sup> *Zygophyllum coccineum*,<sup>d</sup> *Astragalus Fresenii*, *Genista monosperma*.<sup>e</sup> Schubert (ii. 357) also mentions, as found near *Abu Suweir*, N.E. of Sinai, a kind of sage, and of what is probably goat's-rue, also (note, *ibid.*) a fine variety of *Astragalus*, together with *Linaria*, *Lotus*, *Cynosurus echinatus*, *Bromus tectorum*, and (365) two varieties of *Pergularia*, the *procera* and the *tomentosa*.

In the S.W. region of the Dead Sea grows the singular tree of the apples of Sodom, the *Asclepias gigantea*<sup>f</sup> of botanists. Dr. Robinson, who gives a full description of it (i. 522-3), says it might be taken for a gigantic species of the milk-weed or silkweed found in the northern regions of the U. S. He condemns the notion of Hasselquist (285, 287-8) as an error, that the fruit of the *Solanum melongela* when punctured by a tentredo, resulted in the Sodom apple, retaining the skin uninjured, but wholly changed to dust within (*ib.* 524). It is the 'Osher of the Arabs. Robinson also mentions willows, hollyhocks, and hawthorns in the Sinaitic region, from the first of which the *Râs Süfsâfeh*, "willow-head," takes its name (i. 106, 109; Stanley, *S. & P.* 17). He saw hyssop (*Jâdeh*) in abundance, and thyme (*Zâter*), and in the *Wady Feirân* the colocynth, the *Kirdhy* or *Kirdee*,<sup>g</sup> a green thorny plant with a yellow flower; and in or near the 'Arabah, the juniper ('*Arar*), the oleander (*Difleh*), and another shrub like it, the *Zak-nâm*, as also the plant *el-Ghûdah*, resembling the *Retem*, but larger (i. 110, 83; ii. 124, 126, 119, and note). He also describes the *Ghûrhûd*, which has been suggested as possibly the "tree" cast by Moses into the waters of Marah (Ex. xv. 25). It grows in saline regions of intense heat, bearing a small red berry, very juicy, and slightly acidulous. Being constantly found amongst brackish pools, the "bane and antidote" would thus, on the above supposition, be side by side, but as the fruit ripens in June, it could not have been ready for its supposed use in the early days of the Exodus (Robinson, i. 66-69). He adds in a note that Forskål gives it (*Flor. Aeg. Arab.* p. lxvi.), as the *Peganum retusum*, but that it is more correctly the *Nitraria tridentata* of

<sup>c</sup> Both these are found in cultivated grounds only.

<sup>d</sup> Shown in Forskål's *Icones Rer. Natur.* tab. xi., where several kinds of *zygophyllum* are delineated.

<sup>e</sup> Probably the same as the *retem* mentioned above.

<sup>f</sup> Many varieties of *Asclepias*, especially the *Cordata*, are given by Forskål (*Descr. Plant.* cent. ii. 49-51). A writer in the *English Cyclopaed. of Nat. Hist.* supports the view of Hasselquist, which Dr. Robinson condemns, calling this tree a *Solanum*, and ascribing to a tentredo the phenomenon which occurs in its fruit.

<sup>g</sup> قرصي, arboris rarae nomen in deserto crescentis

cujus flores flaviores sunt quam plantae ورس (*wars*, *menzylon tinctorium*) appellatae" (Freytag). For this and most of the notes on the Arabic names of plants

*Dicentrales* (*Flora Atlant.* i. 372). The mountain *Um Shaumer* takes its name from the fennel found upon it, as perhaps may *Serbâl* from the *Ser*, myrrh, which "creeps over its ledges up to the very summit,"—a plant noticed by Dr. Stanley as "thickly covering" with its "shrubs" the "natural basin" which surmounts *ed-Deir*, and as seen in the *Wady Seyâl*, N.E. from Sinai (*S. & P.* 17, 78-80). Dr. Stanley also notices the wild thorn, from which the *Wady Sidri* takes its name, the fig-tree which entitles another Wady the "Father of Fig-trees" (*Abû Hamad*), and in the *Wady Seyâl*, "a yellow flowering shrub called *Abethiran*, and a blue thorny plant called *Silleh*." Again, north-eastwards in *Wady el-'Ain* were seen "rushes, the large-leaved plant called *Esher*," and further down the "*Lasaf*, or caper plant, springing from the clefts." Seetzen's *mesembryanthemum*, described above, page 1755, note *g*, is noticed by Forskål, who adds that no herb is more common in sandy desert localities than the second, the *nodiflorum*, called in Arabic the *ghasûl* (غاسول). Has-

selquist speaks of a *mesemb*, which he calls the "fig-marigold," as found in the ruins of Alexandria; its agreeable saltish-aromatic flavour, and its use by the Egyptians in salads, accord closely with Seetzen's description. Seetzen gives also Arabic names of two plants, one called *Ichedum* by the guides, described as of the size of heath with blue flowers; the other named *Subh-el-dich*, found to the north of *Wady el-'Ain*, which had a club-shaped sappy root, ranged a foot high above the earth, having scales instead of leaves, and covered, when he saw it, with large, golden flowers clinging close together, till it seemed like a little ninepin (Kegel). Somewhat to the south of this he observed the "rose of Jericho" growing in the dreariest and most desolate solitude, and which appears always to be dead (*Reisen*, iii. 46, 54). In the region about Madara he also found what he calls "Christ's-thorn," Arab. *el-Aussitch*, and an anonymous plant with leaves broader than a tulip, perhaps the *Esher* mentioned above. The following list of plants between Hebron and Madara is also given by Seetzen, having probably been written down by him from hearing them pronounced by his Bedouin guides, and some accordingly it has not been possible to identify with any known names,—*el-Khürdy*, mentioned in the previous column, note *g*; *el-Bureid*, a hyacinth, whose small pear-shaped bulb is eaten raw by the Bedouins, *el-Arta*,<sup>h</sup> *el-Dscherra*, *el-Sphâra* (or *Zafra* ?),<sup>i</sup> *el-Erbân*, *el-Gdime*, *Schekera* (or *Shakooreyeh*),<sup>k</sup> *el-Metnân*, described as a small shrub, *el-Hmim*, *el-Schilluch*, possibly the

and animals, the present writer is indebted to Mr. E. S. Poole.

ارطى, nomen arboris crescentis in arenis, flore saligneo, fructu ziziphino amaro, radicibus ramulisque rubris, cujus recentiore fructu vescuntur cameli, cortice autem coria concinnantur" (Freyt.). It grows to a man's height, with a flower like the *salix aegyptiaca*, but smaller, with a fruit like the jujube, and the root red.

ذفراء, *ruta sylvestris* (Freyt.).

شكورية, *cichorium*; *intybus* (Forskål, *Flor Aegypt.* ap. Freyt.). Succory or endive. *Codrilia* (MS notes).

same as that called *Silleh*, as above, by Dr. Stanley, *el-Khala* (or *Khal*), *el-Handegúk* (or *Handakook*), *el-Lidemma*, *el-Haddád*, *Kali*, *Addan el-Hammár* (or *Adán el-Himár*).<sup>a</sup> Some more rare plants, precious on account of their products, are the following: *Balsamum Aaronis*, or *nux behen*, called by the Arabs *Festuck el-Ban*, from which an oil is extracted having no perfume of its own, but scented at pleasure with jessamine or other odoriferous leaf, &c. to make a choice unguent. It is found in Mount Sinai and Upper Egypt:—*Cucurbita Lágenaria*, Arab. *Charrah*, found in Egypt and the deserts of Arabia, wherever the mountains are covered with rich soil. The tree producing the famous balsam called “of Mecca,” is found many days’ journey from that place in Arabia Petraea. Linnaeus, after some hesitation, decided that it was a species of *Amiris*. The *olibanum frankincense* is mentioned by Hasselquist as a product of the desert; but the producing tree appears to be the same as that which yields the gum arabic, viz., the *Mimosa nilotica*, mentioned above. The same writer mentions the *Schoenanthus officinalis*, “camel’s hay,” as growing plentifully in the deserts of both the Arabias, and regards it as undoubtedly one of the precious, aromatic, and sweet plants, which the Queen of Sheba gave to Solomon (Hasselquist, 288, 255, 296-7; comp. 250-1, 300). Fuller details on the facts of natural history of the region will be found in the writers referred to, and some additional authorities may be found in Sprengel, *Historia rei Herb.* vol. ii.

Besides these, the cultivation of the ground by the Sinaitic monks has enriched their domain with the choicest fruit trees, and with a variety of other trees. The produce of the former is famed in the markets of Cairo. The cypresses of the Convent are visible far away among the mountains, and there is a single conspicuous one near the “cave of Elias” on *Jebel Músa*. Besides, they have the silver and the common poplar, with other trees, for timber or ornament. The apricot, apple, pear, quince, almond, walnut, pomegranate, olive, vine, citron, orange, cornelian cherry, and two fruits named in the Arabic *Schellúk* and *Bargúk*, have been successfully naturalized there (Robinson, i. 94; Seetzen, iii. 70 &c.; Hasselquist, 425; S. & P. 52). Dr. Stanley views these as mostly introduced from Europe; Hasselquist on the contrary views them as being the originals whence the finest varieties we have in Europe were first brought. Certainly nearly all the above trees are common enough in the gardens of Palestine and Damascus.

[The present writer wishes to acknowledge the kindness of the Rev. R. S. Tyrwhitt of Oxford, in allowing him a sight of a valuable MS. read by that traveller before the Alpine Club. It is expected to be published in the Journal of that body, but was not in print when this paper went to press. The references to Mr. Tyrwhitt in the preceding article, either relate to that MS., or to his own remarks upon the article itself, which he inspected whilst in the proof sheet.] [H. H.]

نخاله nomen plantae regionis Nedjid peculiaris col. est nos; caulis exiguus; Laser; Ruta (Freyt.).

حندقوق Lotus-plant (Freyt.). Distinct, it

WILLOWS (עֲרָבִים, 'arábim, only in pl. *ιτέα*; (with *לחל*) ἄγνου κλάδους ἐκ χε:μάβρον, κλῶνες ἄγνου: *salices*), undoubtedly the correct rendering of the above Hebrew term, as is proved by the old versions and the kindred

5 - - Arabic *gharab* (غرب). Willows are mentioned in Lev. xxiii. 40, among the trees whose branches were to be used in the construction of booths at the Feast of Tabernacles; in Job xl. 22, as a tree which gave shade to Behemoth (“the hippopotamus”); in Is. xlv. 4, where it is said that Israel’s offspring should spring up “as willows by the watercourses;” in the Psalm (cxxxvii. 2) which so beautifully represents Israel’s sorrow during the time of the Captivity in Babylon—“we hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.” With respect to the tree upon which the captive Israelites hung their harps, there can be no doubt that the weeping willow (*Salix Babylonica*) is intended. This tree grows abundantly on the banks of the Euphrates, in other parts of Asia as in Palestine (Strand’s *Flora Palaest.* No. 556), and also in North Africa. Bochart has endeavoured to show (*Phaleg*, i. cap. viii.) that country is spoken of, in Is. xv. 7, as “the Valley of Willows.” This however is very doubtful. Sprengel (*Hist. Rei Herb.* i. 18, 270) seems to restrict the 'aráb to the *Salix Babylonica*; but there can scarcely be a doubt that the term is generic, and includes other species of the large family of *Salices*, which is probably well represented in Palestine and the Bible lands, such as the *Salix alba*, *S. viminalis* (osier), *S. Aegyptiaca*, which latter plant Sprengel

5 - 0 - identifies with the *safsáf* (صيف) of Abul’fadli, cited by Celsius (*Hierob.* ii. 108), which word is probably the same as the *Tsaphtsápháh* (צפצפה) of Ezekiel (xvii. 5), a name in Arabic for “a willow.” Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 644), mentions a fountain called 'Ain *Safsáf* (عين صيف), “the Willow Fountain” (*Catálogo, Arabic Dictionary*, p. 1051). Rauwolf (quoted in *Bib. Bot.* p. 274) thus speaks of the *safsáf*:—“These trees are of various sizes; the stems, branches, and twigs are long, thin, soft, and of a pale yellow, and have some resemblance to those of the birch; the leaves are like those of the common willow; on the boughs grow here and there shoots of a span long, as on the wild fig-trees of Cyprus, and these put forth in spring tender downy blossoms like those of the poplar; the blossoms are pale coloured, and of a delicious fragrance; the natives pull them in great quantities, and distil from them a cordial which is much esteemed.” Hasselquist (*Trav.* p. 449), under the name of *calaf*, apparently speaks of the same tree; and Forskål (*Descript. Plant.* p. lxxvi.) identifies it with the *Salix Aegyptiaca*, while he considers the *safsáf* to be the *S. Babylonica*.

should seem, from the lote-tree, or *nábik* (a species of the bird’s-foot trefoil?). Mellitt MS. notes).

<sup>a</sup> Comfrey (MS. notes).

From these discrepancies it seems that the Arabic words are used indefinitely for willows of different kinds.

"The children of Israel," says Lady Callcott (*Scripture Herbal*, p. 533), "still present willows annually in their synagogues, bound up with palm and myrtle, and accompanied with a citron." In this country, as is well known, sprigs of willow-blossoms, under the name of "palms," are often carried in the hand, or borne on some part of the dress, by men and boys on Palm Sunday.

Before the Babylonish Captivity the willow was always associated with feelings of joyful prosperity. "It is remarkable," as Mr. Johns (*The Forest Trees of Britain*, ii. p. 240) truly says, "for having been in different ages emblematical of two directly opposite feelings, at one time being associated with the palm, at another with the cypress." After the Captivity, however, this tree became the emblem of sorrow, and is frequently thus alluded to in the poetry of our own country; and "there can be no doubt," as Mr. Johns continues, "that the dedication of the tree to sorrow is to be traced to the pathetic passage in the Psalms."

Various uses were no doubt made of willows by the ancient Hebrews, although there does not appear to be any definite allusion to them. The Egyptians used "flat baskets of wickerwork, similar to those made in Cairo at the present day" (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, i. p. 43). Herodotus (i. 194) speaks of boats at Babylon whose framework was of willow; such coracle-shaped boats are represented in the Nineveh sculptures (see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 268). [W. H.]

#### WILLOWS, THE BROOK OF THE (נַחַל)

הַעֲרָבִים: ἡ φάραγξ Ἀραβας: *torrens salicum*).

A wady mentioned by Isaiah (xv. 7) in his dirge over Moab. His language implies that it was one of the boundaries of the country—probably, as Gesenius (*Jesaia*, i. 532) observes, the southern one. It is possibly identical with a wady mentioned by Amos (vi. 14) as the then recognized southern limit of the northern<sup>a</sup> kingdom (Fürst, *Handwb.*; Ewald, *Propheten*) This latter appears in the A. V. as "the river of the wilderness" (הַעֲרָבָה) נַ: δ χείμαρρος τῶν δυσμῶν: *torrens deserti*). Widely as they differ in the A. V., it will be observed that the names are all but identical in the original, the only difference being that it is plural in Isaiah and singular in Amos. In the latter it is *ha-Arabah*, the same name which is elsewhere almost exclusively used for the Valley of the Jordan, the *Ghór* of modern Arabs. If the two are regarded as identical, and the latter as the accurate form of the name, then it is probable that the *Wady el-Ahsy* is intended, which breaks down through the southern part of the mountains of Moab into the so-called *Ghor es-Safieh*, at the lower end of the lake, and appears (though our in-

<sup>a</sup> Amos is speaking of the northern kingdom only, not of the whole nation, which excludes the interpretation of the LXX., i. e., probably the *Wady el-Arish*, and also (if it were not precluded by other reasons) that of Gesenius, the Kidron.

<sup>b</sup> It is surely incautious (to say the least) to speak of a mere conjecture, such as this, in terms as positive and unhesitating as if it were a certain and indisputable identification—"Amos is the only sacred writer who mentions the *Wady el-Jeib*; which he defines as the southern limit of Palestine . . . The minute accuracy of

formation as to that locality is very scanty) to form a natural barrier between the districts of *Kerak* and *Jebal* (Burckhardt, *Syria*, Aug. 7). This is not improbably also the brook ZERED (*nachal-Zered*) of the earlier history.

Should, however, the *Nachal ha-Arabim* be rendered "the Willow-torrent"—which has the support of Gesenius (*Jesaia*) and Pusey (*Comm. on Amos*, vi. 14)—then it is worthy of remark that the name *Wady Sufsaf*, "Willow Wady," is still attached to a part of the main branch of the ravine which descends from *Kerak* to the north end of the peninsula of the Dead Sea (Irby, May 9). Either of these positions would agree with the requirements of either passage.

The Targum Pseudojonathan translates the name Zered by "osiers," or "baskets."

The Rev. Mr. Wilton in his work on *The Negeb, or South Country of Scripture*, endeavours to identify the *Nachal ha-Arabah* of Amos with the *Wady el-Jeib*, which forms the main drain by which the waters of the present *Wady Arabah* (the great tract between *Jebel Sherah* and the mountains of *et-Tih*) are discharged into the *Ghor es-Safieh* at the southern end of the Dead Sea. (This important wady was first described by Dr. Robinson, and an account of it will be found in this work under the head of ARABAH, vol. i. p. 89 b.) This is certainly ingenious, but cannot be accepted as more than a mere conjecture, without a single consideration in its favour beyond the magnitude of the *Wady el-Jeib*, and the consequent probability that it would be mentioned by the Prophet.<sup>b</sup>

Over this name Jerome takes a singular flight in his Commentary on Is. xv. 7, connecting it with the *Orebim* (A. V. "ravens") who fed Elijah during his seclusion:—"Pro salicibus in Hebraeo legimus *Arabim* quod potest et Arabes intelligi et legi Orbim; id est villa in finibus eorum sita cujus a plerisque accolae in Monte Oreb Eliae praeuisse alimenta dicuntur. . . ." The whole passage is a curious mixture of topographical confusion and what would now be denounced as rationalism. [G.]

**WILLS.** The subject of testamentary disposition is of course intimately connected with that of inheritance, and little need be added here to what will be found above. [HEIR, vol. i. p. 779.] Under a system of close inheritance like that of the Jews, the scope for bequest in respect of land was limited by the right of redemption and general re-entry in the Jubilee year. [JUBILEE, VOWS.] But the Law does not forbid bequests by will of such limited interest in land as was consistent with those rights. The case of houses in walled towns was different, and there can be no doubt that they must, in fact, have frequently been bequeathed by will (Lev. xxv. 30). Two instances are recorded in the O. T. under the Law, of testamentary disposition, (1) effected in the case of Ahithophel (2 Sam. xvii. 23), (2) recommended in the case of Hezekiah (2 K. xx.

the Prophet in speaking of it as the 'nachal of the Arabah'" (*Negeb*, &c., 34, 35). It has not even the support that it was in the Prophet's native district. Amos was no "prophet of the Negeb." He belonged to the pasture-grounds of Tekoa, not ten miles from Jerusalem, and all his work seems to have lain in Bethel and the northern kingdom. There is not one tittle of evidence that he ever set foot in the Negeb, or knew anything of it. Such statements as these are calculated only to damage and retard the too-faltering progress of Scripture topography.

1; Is. xxxviii. 1); and it may be remarked in both, that the word "set" in order," marg. "give charge concerning," agrees with the Arabic word "command," which also means "make a will" (Michaelis, *Law of Moses*, art. 80, vol. i. p. 430, ed. Smith. Various directions concerning wills will be found in the Mishna, which imply disposition of land, *Baba Bathr.* viii. 6, 7). [H. W. P.]

**WIMPLE** (מִטְפָּחֶת). An old English word for hood or veil, representing the Hebrew *mitpachath* in Is. iii. 22. The same Hebrew word is translated "veil" in Ruth iii. 15, but it signifies rather a kind of shawl or mantle (Schroeder, *De Vestitu Mulier.* Hebr. c. 16). [DRESS, p. 456.] [W. L. B.]

**WINDOW** (חַלּוֹן; Chal. כּוֹ : θυρίς). The window of an Oriental house consists generally of an aperture (as the word *challón* implies) closed in with lattice-work, named in Hebrew by the terms *arubbáh* <sup>b</sup> (Eccl. xii. 3, A. V. "window;" Hos. xiii. 3, A. V. "chimney"), *chárakkím* <sup>c</sup> (Cant. ii. 9), and *eshnáb* <sup>d</sup> (Judg. v. 28; Prov. vii. 6, A. V. "casement"), the two former signifying the interlaced work of the lattice, and the third the coolness produced by the free current of air through it. Glass has been introduced into Egypt in modern times as a protection against the cold of winter, but lattice-work is still the usual, and with the poor the only, contrivance for closing the window (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. 29). When the lattice-work was open, there appears to have been nothing in early times to prevent a person from falling through the aperture (Acts xx. 9). The windows generally look into the inner court of the house, but in every house one or more look into the street, and hence it is possible for a person to observe the approach of another without being himself observed (Judg. v. 28; 2 Sam. vi. 16; Prov. vii. 6; Cant. ii. 9). In Egypt these outer windows generally project over the doorway (Lane, i. 27; *Carne's Letters*, i. 94). When houses abut on the town-wall it is not unusual for them to have projecting windows surmounting the wall and looking into the country, as represented in Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, i. 124. Through such a window the spies escaped from Jericho (Josh. ii. 15), and St. Paul from Damascus (2 Cor. xi. 33). [W. L. B.]

**WINDS** (רוּחַ). That the Hebrews recognised the existence of four prevailing winds as issuing, broadly speaking, from the four cardinal points, north, south, east, and west, may be inferred from their custom of using the expression "four winds" as equivalent to the "four quarters" of the hemisphere (Ez. xxxvii. 9; Dan. viii. 8; Zech. ii. 6; Matt. xxiv. 31). The correspondence of the two ideas is expressly stated in Jer. xlix. 36. The North wind, or, as it was usually called "the north,"<sup>e</sup> was naturally the coldest of the four (Ecclus. xliii. 20), and its presence is hence invoked as favourable to vegetation in Cant. iv. 16. It is further described in Prov. xxv. 23, as bringing rain; in this case we must understand the north-west wind, which may bring rain, but was

certainly not regarded as decidedly rainy. The difficulty connected with this passage has led to the proposal of a wholly different sense for the term *tzáphón*, viz. *hidden place*. The north-west wind prevails from the autumnal equinox to the beginning of November, and the north wind from June to the equinox (v. Raumer's *Paläst.* p. 79). The East wind<sup>f</sup> crosses the sandy wastes of Arabia Deserta before reaching Palestine, and was hence termed "the wind of the wilderness" (Job i. 19; Jer. xiii. 24). It is remarkably dry and penetrating, and has all the effects of the *sirocco* on vegetation (Ez. xvii. 10, xix. 12; Hos. xiii. 15; Jon. iv. 8). It also blows with violence, and is hence supposed to be used generally for any violent wind (Job xxvii. 21, xxxviii. 24; Ps. xlvi. 7; Is. xxvii. 8; Ez. xxvii. 26). It is probably in this sense that it is used in Ex. xiv. 21, though the east, or at all events the north-east wind would be the one adapted to effect the phenomenon described, viz. the partition of the waters towards the north and south, so that they stood as a wall on the right hand and on the left (Robinson, *Res.* i. 57). In this as in many other passages, the LXX. gives the "south" wind (*νότος*), as the equivalent for the Greek *kádím*. Nor is this wholly incorrect, for in Egypt, where the LXX. was composed, the south wind has the same characteristics that the east has in Palestine. The Greek translators appear to have felt the difficulty of rendering *kádím* in Gen. xli. 6, 23, 27, because the *parching* effects of the east wind, with which the inhabitants of Palestine are familiar, are not attributable to that wind in Egypt, but either to the south wind, called in that country the *khamáseen*, or to that known as the *samoom*, which comes from the south-east or south-south-east (Lane's *Mod. Eg.* i. 22, 23). It is certainly possible that in Lower Egypt the east wind may be more parching than elsewhere in that country, but there is no more difficulty in assigning to the term *kádím* the secondary sense of *parching*, in this passage, than that of *violent* in the others before quoted. As such at all events the LXX. treated the term both here and in several other passages, where it is rendered *kausón* (*καύσων*, lit. the *burner*). In James i. 11, the A. V. erroneously understands this expression of the burning heat of the sun. In Palestine the east wind prevails from February to June (v. Raumer, 79). The South wind,<sup>g</sup> which traverses the Arabian peninsula before reaching Palestine, must necessarily be extremely hot (Job xxxvii. 17; Luke xii. 55); but the rarity of the notices leads to the inference that it seldom blew from that quarter (Ps. lxxviii. 26; Cant. iv. 16; Ecclus. xliii. 16): and even when it does blow, it does not carry the *samoom* into Palestine itself,<sup>h</sup> although Robinson experienced the effects of this scourge not far south of Beersheba (*Res.* i. 196). In Egypt the south wind (*khamáseen*) prevails in the spring, a portion of which in the months of April and May is termed *el-khamáseen* from that circumstance (Lane i. 22). The West and south-west winds reach Palestine loaded with moisture gathered from the Mediterranean (Robinson, i. 429), and are hence expressively termed by

<sup>a</sup> צָוָה; ἐπιτέλλομαι; dispono. צוּוָה in Rabb. a will. Ges. p. 1155.

<sup>b</sup> אַרְבַּע חַרְפִּים <sup>c</sup> אֲשַׁנֵּב <sup>d</sup> תִּימֹן; דָּרוֹם <sup>e</sup> קָדִים <sup>f</sup> צָפוֹן

<sup>h</sup> The term *zilápháh* (זִלְעָפָה) in Ps. xl. 6 (A. V. "horrible") has been occasionally understood as referring to the *samoom* (Olshausen, *in loc.* *Wesen. Thes.* p. 418); but it may equally well be rendered *wrat! zai* "or avenging" (Hengstenberg, *in loc.*).

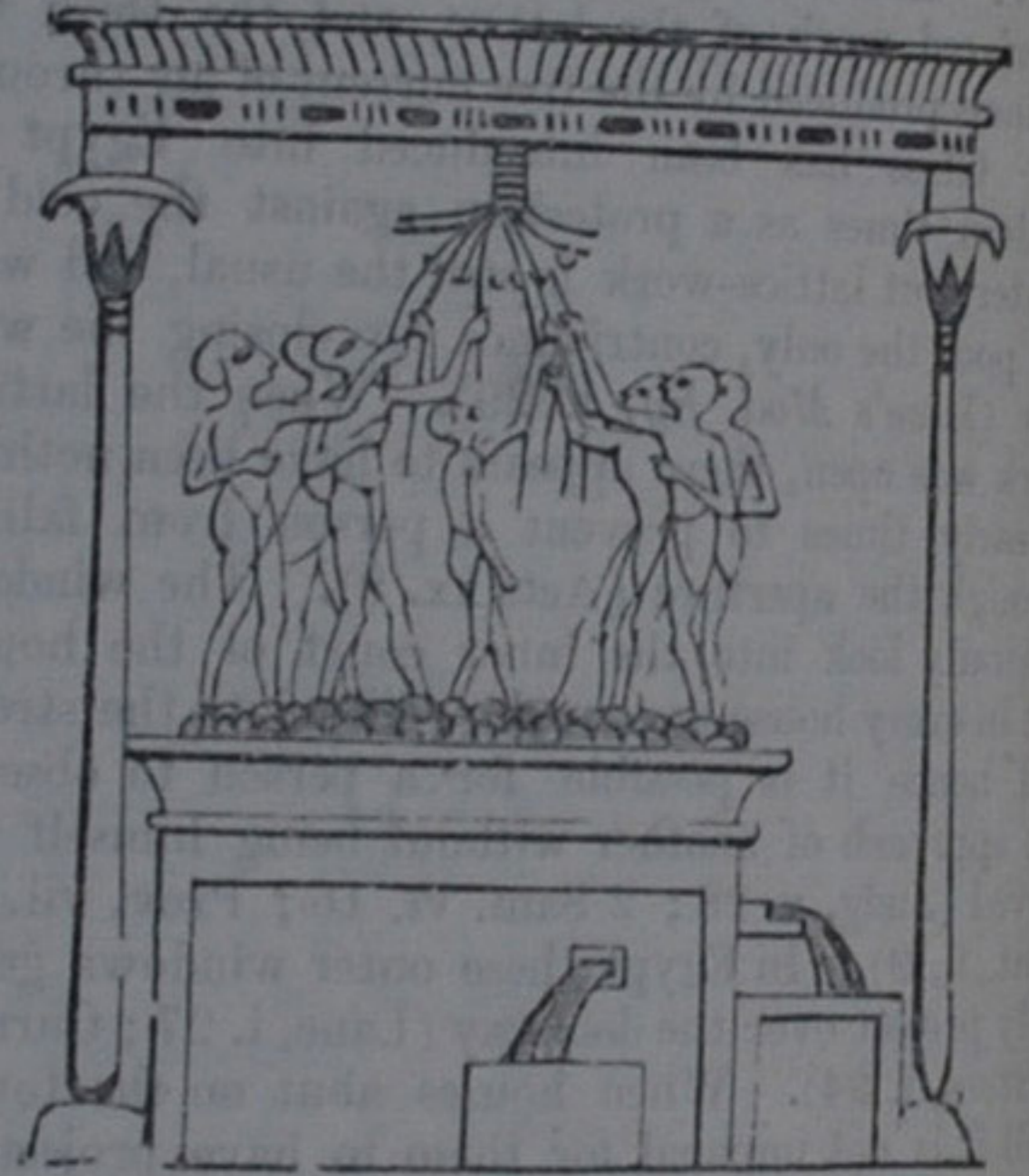
the Arabs "the fathers of the rain" (v. ΡΑΥΡΕΙ, 79). The little cloud "like a man's hand" that rose out of the west, was recognised by Elijah as a presage of the coming downfall (1 K. xviii. 44), and the same token is adduced by our Lord as one of the ordinary signs of the weather (Luke xii. 54). Westerly winds prevail in Palestine from November to February.

In addition to the four regular winds, we have notice in the Bible of the local squalls (λαίλαψ; Mark iv. 37; Luke viii. 23), to which the Sea of Gennesareth was liable in consequence of its proximity to high ground, and which were sufficiently violent to endanger boats (Matt. viii. 24; John vi. 18). The gales which occasionally visit Palestine are noticed under the head of WHIRLWIND. In the narrative of St. Paul's voyage we meet with the Greek term *lips* (λίψ) to describe the south-west wind; the Latin *Carus* or *Caurus* (χωρος), the north-west wind (Acts xxvii. 12); and *εὐροκλύδων* (a term of uncertain origin, perhaps a corruption of *εὐρακίλων*, which appears in some MSS.), a wind of a very violent character (*τυφωνικός*) coming from E.N.E. (Acts xxvii. 14; Conyb. and Hows. *St. Paul*, ii. 402). [EUROCLYDON.]

The metaphorical allusions to the winds are very numerous; the east wind, in particular, was regarded as the symbol of nothingness (Job xv. 2; Hos. xii. 1), and of the wasting destruction of war (Jer. xviii. 17), and, still more, of the effects of Divine vengeance (Is. xxvii. 8), in which sense, however, general references to violent wind are also employed (Ps. ciii. 16; Is. lxiv. 6; Jer. iv. 11). Wind is further used as an image of speed (Ps. civ. 4, "He maketh His angels winds;" Heb. i. 7), and of transitoriness (Job vii. 7; Ps. lxxviii. 39). Lastly, the wind is frequently adduced as a witness of the Creator's power (Job xxviii. 25; Ps. cxxxv. 7; Eccl. xi. 5; Jer. x. 13; Prov. xxx. 4; Am. iv. 13), and as representing the operations of the Holy Spirit (John iii. 8; Acts ii. 2), whose name (*πνεῦμα*) represents a gentle wind. [W. L. B.]

**WINE.** The manufacture of wine is carried back in the Bible to the age of Noah (Gen. ix. 20, 21), to whom the discovery of the process is apparently, though not explicitly, attributed. The natural history and culture of the vine is described under a separate head. [VINE.] The only other plant whose fruit is noticed as having been converted into wine was the pomegranate (Cant. viii. 2). In Palestine the vintage takes place in September, and is celebrated with great rejoicings (Robinson, *Res.* i. 431, ii. 81). The ripe fruit was gathered in baskets (Jer. vi. 9), as represented in Egyptian paintings (Wilkinson, i. 41-45), and was carried to the wine-press. It was then placed in the upper one of the two vats or receptacles of which the wine-press was formed [WINE-PRESS], and was subjected to the process of "treading," which has prevailed in all ages in Oriental and South-European countries (Neh. xiii. 15; Job xxiv. 11; Is. xvi. 10; Jer. xxv. 30, xlvi. 33; Am. ix. 13; Rev. xix. 15). A certain amount of juice exuded from the ripe fruit from its own pressure before the treading commenced. This appears to have been kept separate from the rest of the juice, and to have formed the *gleukos* or "sweet wine" noticed in Acts ii. 13. The first drops of juice that reached the lower vat were termed the *dema*, or "tear," and formed the first-fruits of the vintage (*ἀπαρχὰς ληνοῦ*, LXX.) which were to be presented to Jehovah (Ex. xxii.

29). The "treading" was effected by one or more men according to the size of the vat, and, if the Jews adopted the same arrangements as the Egyptians, the treaders were assisted in the operation by ropes fixed to the roof of the wine-press, as represented in Wilkinson's *Anc. Eg.* i. 46. They encouraged one another by shouts and cries (Is. xvi. 9, 10; Jer. xxv. 30, xlvi. 33). Their legs and garments were dyed red with the juice (Gen. xlix. 11, Is. lxiii. 2, 3). The expressed juice escaped by an aperture into the lower vat, or was at once collected in vessels. A hand-press was occasionally used in Egypt (Wilkinson, i. 45), but we have no notice of such an instrument in the Bible. As to the subsequent treatment of the wine, we have but little information. Sometimes it was preserved in its unfermented state, and drunk as must, but more generally it was bottled off after fermentation, and, if it were designed to be kept for some time, a certain amount of lees was added to give it body (Is. xxv. 6). The wine consequently required to be "refined" or strained previously to being brought to table (Is. xxv. 6).



Egyptian Wine-press, from Wilkinson.

The produce of the wine-press was described in the Hebrew language by a variety of terms, indicative either of the quality or of the use of the liquid. These terms have of late years been subjected to a rigorous examination with a view to show that Scripture disapproves, or, at all events, does not speak with approval, of the use of fermented liquor. In order to establish this position it has been found necessary, in all cases where the substance is coupled with terms of commendation, to explain them as meaning either unfermented wine or fruit, and to restrict the notices of fermented wine to passages of a condemnatory character. We question whether the critics who have adopted these views have not driven their arguments beyond their fair conclusions. It may at once be conceded that the Hebrew terms translated "wine" refer occasionally to an unfermented liquor; but inasmuch as there are frequent allusions to intoxication in the Bible, it is clear that fermented liquors were also in common use. It may also be conceded that the Bible occasionally speaks in terms of strong condemnation of the effects of wine; but it is an open question whether in these cases the condemnation is not rather directed against intoxication and excess, than against the substance which is the occasion of the excess. The term of chief importance in connexion with

this subject is *tirôsh*, which is undoubtedly spoken of with approval, inasmuch as it is frequently classed with *dâgân* and *shemen*, in the triplet "corn, wine, and oil," as the special gifts of Providence. This has been made the subject of a special discussion in a pamphlet entitled *Tirosh lo Yayin* by Dr. Lees, the object being to prove that it means not wine but fruit. An examination of the Hebrew terms is therefore unavoidable, but we desire to carry it out simply as a matter of Biblical criticism, and without reference to the topic which has called forth the discussion.

The most general term for wine is *yayin*,<sup>a</sup> which is undoubtedly connected with the Greek *oînos*, the Latin *vinum*, and our "wine." It has hitherto been the current opinion that the Indo-European languages borrowed the term from the Hebrews. The reverse, however, appears to be the case (Renan, *Lang. Sém.* i. 207): the word belongs to the Indo-European languages, and may be referred either to the root *wé*, "to weave," whence come *viere*, *rimen*, *vitis*, *vitta* (Pott, *Etym. Forsch.* i. 120, 230), or to the root *wan*, "to love" (Kuhn, *Zeits. f. Vergl. Sprachf.* i. 191, 192). The word being a borrowed one, no conclusion can be drawn from etymological considerations as to its use in the Hebrew language. *Tirôsh*<sup>b</sup> is referred to the root *yârash*, "to get possession of," and is applied, according to Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 633), to wine on account of its inebriating qualities, whereby it gets possession of the brain; but, according to Bythner, as quoted by Lees (*Tirosh*, p. 52), to the vine as being a possession (*κατ' ἐξοχήν*) in the eyes of the Hebrews. Neither of these explanations is wholly satisfactory, but the second is less so than the first, inasmuch as it would be difficult to prove that the Hebrews attached such pre-eminent value to the vine as to place it on a par with landed property, which is designated by the cognate terms *yerushshâh* and *môrâshâh*. Nor do we see that any valuable conclusion could be drawn from this latter derivation; for, assuming its correctness, the question would still arise whether it was on account of the natural or the manufactured product that such store was set on the vine. *Âsis*<sup>c</sup> is derived from a word signifying "to tread," and therefore refers to the method by which the juice was expressed from the fruit. It would very properly refer to *new* wine as being recently trodden out, but not necessarily to unfermented wine. It occurs but five times in the Bible (Cant. viii. 2; Is. xlix. 26; Joel i. 5, iii. 18; Am. ix. 13). *Sôbe*<sup>d</sup> is derived from a root signifying to "soak" or "drink to excess." The cognate verb and participle are constantly used in the latter sense (Deut. xxi. 20; Prov. xxiii. 20, 21; Is. lvi. 12; Nah. i. 10). The connexion between *sôbe* and the Latin *sapa*, applied to a decoction of must (Kitto's *Cycl.* s. v. Wine), appears doubtful: the latter was regarded as a true Latin word by Pliny (xiv. 11). *Sôbe* occurs but thrice (Is. i. 22; Hos. iv. 18; Nah. i. 10). *Chemér*<sup>e</sup> (Deut. xxxii. 14), in the Chaldee *chamar* (Ezr. vi. 9, vii. 22) and *chamrá* (Dan. v. 1 ff.), conveys the notion of *foaming* or *ebullition*, and may equally well apply to the process of fermentation or to the frothing of liquid freshly poured out, in which latter case it might be used of an unfermented liquid. *Mesec*<sup>f</sup>

(Ps. lxxv. 8), *mezeg*<sup>g</sup> (Cant. vii. 2), and *mimsâc*<sup>h</sup> (Prov. xxiii. 30; Is. lxxv. 11), are connected etymologically with *misceo* and "mix," and imply a mixture of wine with some other substance: no conclusion can be drawn from the word itself as to the quality of the wine, whether fermented or unfermented, or as to the nature of the substance introduced, whether spices or water. We may further notice *shécâr*,<sup>i</sup> a generic term applied to all fermented liquors except wine [DRINK, STRONG]; *chômetz*,<sup>j</sup> a weak sour wine, ordinarily termed vinegar [VINEGAR]; *âshishâh*,<sup>k</sup> rendered "flagon of wine" in the A. V. (2 Sam. xvi. 1; 1 Chr. xvi. 3; Cant. ii. 5; Hos. iii. 1), but really meaning a cake of pressed raisins; and *shémârim*,<sup>l</sup> properly meaning the "lees" or dregs of wine, but in Is. xxv. 6 transferred to wine that had been kept on the lees for the purpose of increasing its body. In the New Testament we meet with the following terms: *oînos*,<sup>m</sup> answering to *yayin* as the general designation of wine; *gleukos*,<sup>n</sup> properly *sweet* wine (Acts ii. 13); *sikera*,<sup>o</sup> a Grecised form of the Hebrew *shécâr*; and *oxos*,<sup>p</sup> vinegar. In Rev. xiv. 10 we meet with a singular expression,<sup>q</sup> literally meaning *mixed unmixed*, evidently referring to the custom of mingling wine: the two terms cannot be used together in their literal sense, and hence the former has been explained as meaning "poured out" (De Wette in *l. c.*).

From the terms themselves we pass on to an examination of such passages as seem to elucidate their meaning. Both *yayin* and *tirôsh* are occasionally connected with expressions that would apply properly to a fruit; the former, for instance, with verbs significant of *gathering* (Jer. xl. 10, 12), and *growing* (Ps. civ. 14, 15); the latter with *gathering* (Is. lxii. 9, A. V. "brought it together"), *treading* (Mic. vi. 15), and *withering* (Is. xxiv. 7; Joel i. 10). So again the former is used in Num. vi. 4 to define the particular kind of tree whose products were forbidden to the Nazarite, viz. the "pendulous shoot of the vine;" and the latter in Judg. ix. 13, to denote the product of the vine. It should be observed, however, that in most, if not all, the passages where these and similar expressions occur, there is something to denote that the fruit is regarded not simply as fruit, but as the raw material out of which wine is manufactured. Thus, for instance, in Ps. civ. 15 and Judg. ix. 13 the *cheering* effects of the product are noticed, and that these are more suitable to the idea of wine than of fruit seems self-evident: in one passage indeed the A. V. connects the expression "make cheerful" with bread (Zech. ix. 17), but this is a mere mistranslation, the true sense of the expression there used being to *nourish* or *make to grow*. So, again, the *treading* of the grape in Mic. vi. 15 is in itself conclusive as to the pregnant sense in which the term *tirôsh* is used, even if it were not subsequently implied that the effect of the treading was in the ordinary course of things to produce the *yayin* which was to be drunk. In Is. lxii. 9 the object of the *gathering* is clearly conveyed by the notice of *drinking*. In Is. xxiv. 7 the *tirôsh*, which withers, is paralleled with *yayin* in the two following verses. And lastly, in Is. lxxv. 8 the nature of the *tirôsh*, which is said to be found in the cluster

אין	תירוש	עסים
סבא	חמר	מסך
מוג	ממסך	שכר

חמץ	אשׁישה	שמרים
<sup>m</sup> oînos.	<sup>n</sup> γλεῦκος.	<sup>o</sup> σίκερα
<sup>p</sup> ὄξος.	<sup>q</sup> κεκρασμένος ἄκροτος.	

of the grapes, is not obscurely indicated by the subsequent eulogium, "a blessing is in it." That the terms "vine" and "wine" should be thus interchanged in poetical language calls for no explanation. We can no more infer from such instances that the Hebrew terms mean *grapes as fruit*, than we could infer the same of the Latin *vinum* because in some two or three passages (Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 4, 125; Varr. *de L. L.* iv. 17; Cato, *R. R.* c. 147) the term is transferred to the grape out of which wine is made.

The question whether either of the above terms ordinarily signified a solid substance, would be at once settled by a reference to the manner in which they were consumed. With regard to *yayin* we are not aware of a single passage which couples it with the act of *eating*.<sup>7</sup> With regard to *tirósh* the case is somewhat different, inasmuch as that term generally follows "corn," in the triplet "corn, wine, and oil," and hence the term applied to the consumption of corn is carried on, in accordance with the grammatical figure *zeugma*, to the other members of the clause, as in Deut. xii. 17. In the only passage where the act of consuming *tirósh* alone is noticed (Is. lxii. 8, 9), the verb is *shátháh*,<sup>8</sup> which constantly indicates the act of *drinking* (e. g. Gen. ix. 21, xxiv. 22; Ex. vii. 21; Ruth ii. 9), and is the general term combined with *ácal* in the joint act of "eating and drinking" (e. g. 1 Sam. xxx. 16; Job i. 4; Eccl. ii. 24). We can find no confirmation for the sense of *sucking* assigned to the term by Dr. Lees (*Tirosh*, p. 61): the passage quoted in support of that sense (Ps. lxxv. 8) implies at all events a kind of sucking allied to drinking rather than to eating, if indeed the sense of drinking be not the more correct rendering of the term. An argument has been drawn against the usual sense assigned to *tirósh*, from the circumstance that it is generally connected with "corn," and therefore implies an edible rather than a drinkable substance. The very opposite conclusion may, however, be drawn from this circumstance; for it may be reasonably urged that in any enumeration of the materials needed for man's support, "meat and drink" would be specified, rather than several kinds of the former and none of the latter.

There are, moreover, passages which seem to imply the actual manufacture of *tirósh* by the same process by which wine was ordinarily made. For, not to insist on the probability that the "bringing together," noticed in Is. lxii. 9, would not appropriately apply to the collecting of the fruit in the wine-vat, we have notice of the "treading" in connexion with *tirósh* in Mic. vi. 15, and again of the "overflowing" and the "bursting out" of the *tirósh* in the vessels or lower vat (*yekeb*; ὑπολήμιον), which received the must from the proper press (Prov. iii. 10; Joel ii. 24).

Lastly, we have intimations of the effect produced by an excessive use of *yayin* and *tirósh*. To the former are attributed the "darkly flashing eye" (Gen. xlix. 12; A. V. "red," but see Gesen. *Thes.* Append. p. 89), the unbridled tongue (Prov. xx. 1; Is. xxviii. 7), the excitement of the spirit (Prov. xxxi. 6; Is. v. 11; Zech. ix. 15, x. 7), the enchained affections of its votaries (Hos. iv. 11), the perverted judgment (Prov. xxxi. 5; Is. xxviii. 7), the indecent exposure (Hab. ii. 15, 16), and the sickness resulting

<sup>7</sup> An apparent instance occurs in Is. lv. 1, where the "buy and eat" has been supposed to refer to the "buy wine and milk" which follows (*Tirosh*, p. 94). But the

from the *heat* (*chemáh*, A. V. "bottles") of wine (Hos. vii. 5). The allusions to the effects of *tirósh* are confined to a single passage, but this a most decisive one, viz., Hos. iv. 11, "Whoredom and wine (*yayin*), and new wine (*tirósh*) take away the heart," where *tirósh* appears as the climax of en-grossing influences, in immediate connexion with *yayin*.

The impression produced on the mind by a general review of the above notices is, that both *yayin* and *tirósh* in their ordinary and popular acceptation referred to fermented, intoxicating wine. In the condemnatory passages no exception is made in favour of any other kind of liquid passing under the same name, but not invested with the same dangerous qualities. Nor again in these passages is there any decisive condemnation of the substance itself, which would enforce the conclusion that elsewhere an unfermented liquid must be understood. The condemnation must be understood of *excessive use* in any case: for even where this is not expressed, it is implied: and therefore the instances of wine being drunk without any reproof of the act, may with as great a probability imply the moderate use of an intoxicating beverage, as the use of an un-intoxicating one.

The notices of fermentation are not very decisive. A certain amount of fermentation is implied in the distension of the leather bottles when new wine was placed in them, and which was liable to burst old bottles. It has been suggested that the object of placing the wine in bottles was to prevent fermentation, but that in "the case of old bottles fermentation might ensue from their being impregnated with the fermenting substance" (*Tirosh*, p. 65). This is not inconsistent with the statement in Matt. ix. 17, but it detracts from the spirit of the comparison which implies the presence of a strong, expansive, penetrating principle. It is, however, inconsistent with Job xxxii. 19, where the distension is described as occurring even in *new* bottles. It is very likely that new wine was preserved in the state of must by placing it in jars or bottles, and then burying it in the earth. But we should be inclined to understand the passages above quoted as referring to wine drawn off before the fermentation was complete, either for immediate use, or for the purpose of forming it into sweet wine after the manner described by the Geoponic writers (vii. 19) [*Dict. of Ant.* "Vinum"]. The presence of the gas-bubble, or as the Hebrews termed it, "the eye" that sparkled in the cup (Prov. xxiii. 31), was one of the tokens of fermentation having taken place, and the same effect was very possibly implied in the name *khemer*.

The remaining terms call for but few remarks. There can be no question that *asis* means wine, and in this case it is observable that it forms part of a Divine promise (Joel iii. 18; Am. ix. 13) very much as *tirósh* occurs elsewhere, though other notices imply that it was the occasion of excess (Is. xlix. 26; Joel i. 5). Two out of the three passages in which *sóbe* occurs (Is. i. 22; Nah. i. 10) imply a liquor that would be spoiled or wounded (the expression in Is. i. 22, *máhúl*, A. V. "mixed," is supposed to convey the same idea as the Latin *castrare* applied to wine in Plin. xix. 19) by the application of water; we think the passages quoted

term rendered "buy" properly means "to buy *grais*" and hence expresses in itself the substance to be eaten

favour the idea of *strength* rather than *sweetness* being the characteristic of *sôbe*. The term occurs in Hos. iv. 18, in the sense of a debauch, and the verb accompanying it has no connexion with the notion of acidity, but would more properly be rendered "is past." The *mingling* implied in the term *meseh* may have been designed either to increase, or to diminish the strength of the wine, according as spices or water formed the ingredient that was added. The notices chiefly favour the former view; for mingled liquor was prepared for high festivals (Prov. ix. 2, 5), and occasions of excess (Prov. xxiii. 30; Is. v. 22). A cup "full mixed," was emblematic of severe punishment (Ps. lxxv. 8). At the same time strength was not the sole object sought: the wine "mingled with myrrh" given to Jesus, was designed to deaden pain (Mark xv. 23), and the spiced pomegranate wine prepared by the bride (Cant. viii. 2) may well have been of a mild character. Both the Greeks and Romans were in the habit of flavouring their wines with spices, and such preparations were described by the former as wine ἐξ ἀρωμάτων κατασκευαζόμενος (Athen. i. p. 31 e), and by the latter as *aromatites* (Plin. xiv. 19, §5). The authority of the Mishna may be cited in favour both of water and of spices, the former being noticed in *Berach.* 7, §5; *Pesach.* 7, §13, and the latter in *Schen.* 2, §1. In the New Testament the character of the "sweet wine," noticed in Acts ii. 13, calls for some little remark. It could not be *new* wine in the proper sense of the term, inasmuch as about eight months must have elapsed between the vintage and the feast of Pentecost. It might have been applied, just as *mustum* was by the Romans, to wine that had been preserved for about a year in an unfermented state (Cato, *R. R.* c. 120). But the explanations of the ancient lexicographers rather lead us to infer that its luscious qualities were due, not to its being recently made, but to its being produced from the very purest juice of the grape; for both in Hesychius and the Etymologicum Magnum the term γλεῦκος is explained to be the juice that flowed spontaneously from the grape before the treading commenced. The name itself, therefore, is not conclusive as to its being an unfermented liquor, while the context implies the reverse: for St. Peter would hardly have offered a serious defence to an accusation that was not seriously made; and yet if the sweet wine in question were not intoxicating, the accusation could only have been ironical.

As considerable stress is laid upon the quality of sweetness, as distinguished from strength, supposed to be implied in the Hebrew terms *meseh* and *sôbe*, we may observe that the usual term for the inspissated juice of the grape, which was characterized more especially by sweetness, was *debash*, rendered in the A. V. "honey" (Gen. xliii. 11; Ez. xxvii. 17). This was prepared by boiling it down either to a third of its original bulk, in which case it was termed *sapa* by the Latins, and ἔψημα or σίραιον by the Greeks, or else to half its bulk, in which case it was termed *defrutum* (Plin. xiv. 11). Both the substance and the name, under the form of *dibs*, are in common use in Syria at the present day. We may further notice a less artificial mode of producing a sweet liquor from the grape, namely, by pressing the juice directly into the cup, as described in Gen. xi. 11. And, lastly, there appears to have been a

beverage, also of a sweet character, produced by macerating grapes, and hence termed the "liquor" of grapes (Num. vi. 3). These later preparations are allowed in the Koran (xvi. 69) as substitutes for wine.

There can be little doubt that the wines of Palestine varied in quality, and were named after the localities in which they were made. We have no notices, however, to this effect. The only wines of which we have special notice, belonged to Syria: these were the wine of Helbon, a valley near Damascus, which in ancient times was prized at Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 18) and by the Persian monarchs (Strab. xv. p. 735), as it still is by the residents of Damascus (Porter, *Damascus*, i. 333); and the wine of Lebanon, famed for its aroma (Hos. xiv. 7).

With regard to the uses of wine in private life there is little to remark. It was produced on occasions of ordinary hospitality (Gen. xiv. 18), and at festivals, such as marriages (John ii. 3). The monuments of ancient Egypt furnish abundant evidence that the people of that country, both male and female, indulged liberally in the use of wine (Wilkinson, i. 52, 53). It has been inferred from a passage in Plutarch (*de Isid.* 6) that no wine was drunk in Egypt before the reign of Psammetichus, and this passage has been quoted in illustration of Gen. xl. 11. The meaning of the author seems rather to be that the kings subsequently to Psammetichus did not restrict themselves to the quantity of wine prescribed to them by reason of their sacerdotal office (Diod. i. 70). The cultivation of the vine was incompatible with the conditions of a nomad life, and it was probably on this account that Jonadab, wishing to perpetuate that kind of life among his posterity, prohibited the use of wine to them (Jer. xxxv. 6). The case is exactly parallel to that of the Nabathaeans, who abstained from wine on purely political grounds (Diod. xix. 94).

Under the Mosaic law wine formed the usual drink-offering that accompanied the daily sacrifice (Ex. xxix. 40), the presentation of the first-fruits (Lev. xxiii. 13), and other offerings (Num. xv. 5). It appears from Num. xxviii. 7 that strong drink might be substituted for it on these occasions. Tithe was to be paid of wine (*tirôsh*) as of other products, and this was to be consumed "before the Lord," meaning within the precincts of the Temple, or perhaps, as may be inferred from Lev. vii. 16, at the place where the Temple was situated (Deut. xii. 17, 18). The priest was also to receive first-fruits of wine (*tirôsh*), as of other articles (Deut. xviii. 4; comp. Ex. xxii. 29): and a promise of plenty was attached to the faithful payment of these dues (Prov. iii. 9, 10). The priests were prohibited from the use of wine and strong drink before performing the services of the Temple (Lev. x. 9), and the place which this prohibition holds in the narrative favours the presumption that the offence of Nadab and Abihu was committed under the influence of liquor. Ezekiel repeats the prohibition as far as wine is concerned (Ez. xlv. 21). The Nazarite was prohibited from the use of wine, or strong drink, or even the juice of grapes during the continuance of his vow (Num. vi. 3); but the adoption of that vow was a voluntary act. The use of wine at the paschal feast was not enjoined by the Law; but had become an established custom, at all events in the post-Babylonian period. The cup was handed round four times according to the ritual prescribed in the Mishna (*Pesach.* 10, §1), the third cup being designated the "cup of blessing" (1 Cor. x. 16), because



grace was then said (*Pesach*. 10, §7). [PASSOVER]. The contents of the cup are specifically described by our Lord as "the fruit" (*γέννημα*) of the vine (Matt. xxvi. 29; Mark xiv. 25; Luke xxii. 18), and in the Mishna simply as wine. The wine was mixed with warm water on these occasions, as implied in the notice of the warming kettle (*Pesach*. 7, §13). Hence in the early Christian Church it was usual to mix the sacramental wine with water, a custom as old, at all events, as Justin Martyr's time (*Apol.* i. 65). The Pastoral Epistles contain directions as to the moderate use of wine on the part of all holding office in the Church; as that they should not be *πάροινοι* (1 Tim. iii. 3; A. V. "given to wine"), meaning insolent and violent under the influence of wine; "not given to much wine" (1 Tim. iii. 8); "not enslaved to much wine" (Tit. ii. 3). The term *νηφάλειος* in 1 Tim. iii. 2 (A. V. "sober"), expresses general vigilance and circumspection (Schleusner, *Lex. s. v.*; Alford, *in loc.*). St. Paul advises Timothy himself to be no longer a habitual water-drinker, but to take a little wine for his health's sake (1 Tim. v. 23). No very satisfactory reason can be assigned for the place which this injunction holds, in the Epistle, unless it were intended to correct any possible misapprehension as to the preceding words, "Keep thyself pure." The precepts above quoted, as well as others to the same effect addressed to the disciples generally (Rom. xiii. 13; Gal. v. 21; 1 Pet. iv. 3), show the extent to which intemperance prevailed in ancient times, and the extreme danger to which the Church was subjected from this quarter. [W. L. B.]

**WINE-PRESS** (*תַּבַּי*; *יֶקֶב*; *פַּרְהָ*). From the scanty notices contained in the Bible we gather that the wine-presses of the Jews consisted of two receptacles or vats placed at different elevations, in the upper one of which the grapes were trodden, while the lower one received the expressed juice. The two vats are mentioned together only in Joel iii. 13:—"The press (*gath*) is full: the fats (*yekebin*) overflow"—the upper vat being full of fruit, the lower one overflowing with the must. *Yekeb* is similarly applied in Joel ii. 24, and probably in Prov. iii. 10, where the verb rendered "burst out" in the A. V. may bear the more general sense of "abound" (Gesen. *Thes.* p. 1130). *Gath* is also strictly applied to the upper vat in Neh. xiii. 15, Lam. i. 15, and Is. lxiii. 2, with *pûrâh* in a parallel sense in the following verse. Elsewhere *yekeb* is not strictly applied; for in Job xxiv. 11, and Jer. xlvi. 33, it refers to the upper vat, just as in Matt. xxi. 33, *ὑπολήνιον* (properly the vat under the press) is substituted for *ληνός*, as given in Mark xii. 1. It would, moreover, appear natural to describe the whole arrangement by the term *gath*, as denoting the most important portion of it; but, with the exception of proper names in which the word appears, such as *Gath*, *Gath-rimmon*, *Gath-hepher*, and *Gittaim*, the term *yekeb* is applied to it (Judg. vii. 25; Zech. xiv. 10). The same term is also applied to the produce of the wine-press (Num. xviii. 27, 30; Deut. xv. 14; 2 K. vi. 27; Hos. ix. 2). The term *pûrâh*, as used in Hagg. ii. 16, probably refers to the contents of a wine-vat,\* rather than to the press or vat itself. The two vats were usually dug or hewn out of the solid rock (Is. v. 2, margin;

\* The LXX. renders the term by *μετρητής*, the Greek measure equivalent to the Hebrew bath.

Matt. xxi. 33). Ancient wine-presses, so constructed, are still to be seen in Palestine, one of which is thus described by Robinson:—"Advantage had been taken of a ledge of rock; on the upper side a shallow vat had been dug out, eight feet square, and fifteen inches deep. Two feet lower down another smaller vat was excavated, four feet square by three feet deep. The grapes were trodden in the shallow upper vat, and the juice drawn off by a hole at the bottom (still remaining) into the lower vat" (*B. R.* iii. 137, 603). The wine-presses were thus permanent, and were sufficiently well known to serve as indications of certain localities (Judg. vii. 25; Zech. xiv. 10). The upper receptacle (*gath*) was large enough to admit of threshing being carried on in (not "by," as in A. V.) it, as was done by Gideon for the sake of concealment (Judg. vi. 11). [FAT.] [W. L. B.]

WINNOWER. [AGRICULTURE.]

WISDOM OF JESUS, SON OF SIRACH. [ECCLESIASTICUS.]

WISDOM, THE, OF SOLOMON. *Σοφία Σαλωμών*; *Σοφία Σολομώντος*; later, *ἡ Σοφία*; *Liber Sapientiae*; *Sapientia Salomonis*; *Sophia Salomonis*. The title *Σοφία* was also applied to the Book of Proverbs, as by Melito *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 26 (*Παροιμίαι ἢ καὶ ἡ Σοφία*; see Vales. or Routh *ad loc.*), and also to Ecclesiasticus, as Epiphanius (*adv. haer.* lxxvi. p. 941, *ἐν ταῖς Σοφίαις, Σολομώντος τέ φημι καὶ υἱοῦ Σιράχ*), from which considerable confusion has arisen.

1. *Text.*—The Book of Wisdom is preserved in Greek and Latin texts, and in subsidiary translations into Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian. Of these latter, the Armenian is said to be the most important; the Syriac and Arabic Versions being paraphrastic and inaccurate (Grimm, *Einl.* §10). The Greek text, which, as will appear afterwards, is undoubtedly the original, offers no remarkable features. The variations in the MSS. are confined within narrow limits, and are not such as to suggest the idea of distinct early recensions; nor is there any appearance of serious corruptions anterior to existing Greek authorities. The Old Latin Version, which was left untouched by Jerome (*Praef. in Libr. Sal.*, *In eo libro qui a plerisque Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur . . . calamo temperavi; tantummodo canonicas Scripturas emendare desiderans, et studium meum certis magis quam dubiis commendare*), is in the main a close and faithful rendering of the Greek, though it contains some additions to the original text, such as are characteristic of the old version generally. Examples of these additions are found—i. 15, *Injustitia autem mortis est acquisitio*; ii. 8, *Nullum pratum sit quod non pertransit luxuria nostra*; ii. 17, *et sciemus quae erunt novissima illius*; vi. 1, *Melior est sapientia quam vires, et vir prudens quam fortis*. And the construction of the parallelism in the two first cases suggests the belief that there, at least, the Latin reading may be correct. But other additions point to a different conclusion: vi. 23, *diligite lumen sapientiae omnes qui praecestis populis*; viii. 11, *et facies principum mirabuntur me*; ix. 19, *quicunque placuerunt tibi domine a principio*; xi. 5, *a defectione potus sui, et in eis cum abundarent filii Israel laetati sunt*.

The chief Greek MSS. in which the book is contained are the *Codex Sinaiticus* (S), the *Cod. Alexandrinus* (A), the *Cod. Vaticanus* (B), and the *Cod. Ephraemi rescr.* (C). The entire text is pre-

served in the three former; in the latter, only considerable fragments: viii. 5-xi. 10; xiv. 19-xvii. 18; xviii. 24-xix. 22.

Sabatier used four Latin MSS. of the higher class for his edition: "Corbeienses duos, unum S. Germanensem, et alium S. Theodorici ad Remos," of which he professes to give almost a complete (but certainly not a literal) collation. The variations are not generally important; but patristic quotations show that in early times very considerable differences of text existed. An important MS. of the book in the Brit. Mus. Egerton, 1046, Saec. viii. has not yet been examined.

2. *Contents.*—The book has been variously divided but it seems to fall most naturally into two great divisions: (1) i.-ix.; (2) x.-xix. The first contains the doctrine of Wisdom in its moral and intellectual aspects; the second, the doctrine of Wisdom as shown in history. Each of these parts is again capable of subdivision. The first part contains the praise of Wisdom as the source of immortality in contrast with the teaching of sensualists (i.-v.); and next the praise of Wisdom as the guide of practical and intellectual life, the stay of princes, and the interpreter of the universe (vi.-ix). The second part, again, follows the action of Wisdom summarily, as preserving God's servants from Adam to Moses (x. 1.-xi. 4), and more particularly in the punishment of the Egyptians and Canaanites (xi. 5-16; xi. 17-xii.). This punishment is traced to its origin in idolatry, which, in its rise and progress, presents the false substitute for Revelation (xiii., xiv.). And in the last section (xv.-xix.) the history of the Exodus is used to illustrate in detail the contrasted fortunes of the people of God and idolaters. The whole argument may be presented in a tabular form in the following shape.

I.—Ch. i.-ix. *The doctrine of Wisdom in its spiritual, intellectual, and moral aspects.*

(a). i.-v. Wisdom the giver of happiness and immortality.

The conditions of wisdom (i. 1-11).

Uprightness of thought (1-5).

Uprightness of word (6-11).

The origin of death (i. 12-ii. 24).

Sin (in fact) by man's free will (i. 12-16).

The reasoning of the sensualist (ii. 1-20).

Sin (in source) by the envy of the devil (21-24).

The godly and wicked in life (as mortal), (iii. 1-iv.).

In chastisements (iii. 1-10).

In the results of life (iii. 11-iv. 6).

In length of life (7-20).

The godly and wicked after death (v.).

The judgment of conscience (1-14).

The judgment of God—

On the godly (15-16).

On the wicked (17-23).

(b). vi.-ix. Wisdom the guide of life.

Wisdom the guide of princes (vi. 1-21).

The responsibility of power (1-11).

Wisdom soon found (12-16).

Wisdom the source of true sovereignty (17-21).

The character and realm of wisdom

Open to all (vi. 22-vii. 7).

Pervading all creation (vii. 8-viii. 1).

Swaying all life (viii. 2-17).

Wisdom the gift of God (viii. 17-ix.).

Prayer for wisdom (ix.).

II.—Ch. x.-xix. *The doctrine of Wisdom in its historical aspects.*

(a). Wisdom a power to save and chastise.

Wisdom seen in the guidance of God's people from Adam to Moses (x.-xi. 4).

Wisdom seen in the punishment of God's enemies (xi. 5-xii.).

The Egyptians (xi. 5-xii. 1).

The Canaanites (xii. 2-18).

The lesson of mercy and judgment (19-27).

(b). The growth of idolatry the opposite to wisdom.

The worship of nature (xiii. 1-9).

The worship of images (xiii. 10-xiv. 13).

The worship of deified men (xiv. 14-21).

The moral effects of idolatry (xiv. 22-31).

(c). The contrast between true worshippers and idolaters (xv.-xix.).

The general contrast (xv. 1-17).

The special contrast at the Exodus—

The action of beasts (xv. 18-xvi. 13).

The action of the forces of nature—water fire (xvi. 14-29).

The symbolic darkness (xvii.-xviii. 4).

The action of death (xviii. 5-25).

The powers of nature changed in their working to save and destroy (xix. 1-21).

Conclusion (xix. 21).

The subdivisions are by no means sharply defined, though it is not difficult to trace the main current of thought. Each section contains the preparation for that which follows, just as in the classic trilogy the close of one play shadowed forth the subject of the next. Thus in ii. 24b, iv. 20, ix. 18. &c., the fresh idea is enunciated, which is subsequently developed at length. In this way the whole book is intimately bound together, and the clauses which appear at first sight to be idle repetitions of thought really spring from the elaborateness of its structure.

3. *Unity and integrity.*—It follows from what has been said that the book forms a complete and harmonious whole. But the distinct treatment of the subject, theoretically and historically, in two parts, has given occasion from time to time for maintaining that it is the work of two or more authors. C. F. Houbigant (*Prolegg. ad Sap. et Eccles.* 1777) supposed that the first nine chapters were the work of Solomon, and that the translator of the Hebrew original (probably) added the later chapters. Eichhorn (*Einkl. in d. Apoc.* 1795), rightly feeling that some historical illustrations of the action of wisdom were required by the close of ch. ix., fixed the end of the original book at ch. xi. 1. Nachtigal (*Das Buch Weish.* 1799) devised a far more artificial theory, and imagined that he could trace in the book the records of (so to speak) an antiphonic "Praise of Wisdom," delivered in three sittings of the sacred schools by two companies of doctors. Bretschneider (1804-5), following out the simpler hypothesis, found three different writings in the book, of which he attributed the first part (i. 1-vi. 8) to a Palestinian Jew of the time of Antiochus Epiph., the second (vi. 9-x.) to a philosophic Alexandrine Jew of the time of our Lord, and the

third (xii.-xix.) to a contemporary, but uneducated Jew, who wrote under the influence of the rudest national prejudices. The eleventh chapter was, as he supposed, added by the compiler who brought the three chief parts together. Bertholdt (*Einleitung*, 1815) fell back upon a modification of the earliest division. He included chap. i.-xii. in the original book, which he regarded as essentially philosophical, while the later addition (xiii.-xix.) is, in his judgment, predominantly theological. It is needless to enter in detail into the arguments by which these various opinions were maintained, but when taken together, they furnish an instructive example of the course of subjective criticism. The true refutation of the one hypothesis which they have in common—the divided authorship of the book—is found in the substantial harmony and connexion of its parts, in the presence of the same general tone and manner of thought throughout it, and yet more in the essential uniformity of style and language which it presents, though both are necessarily modified in some degree by the subject matter of the different sections. (For a detailed examination of the arguments of the "Separatists," see Grimm, *Exeg. Handb.* §4; and Bauermeister, *Comm. in lib. Sap.* 3 ff.)

Some, however, admitting the unity of the book, have questioned its integrity. Eichhorn imagined that it was left imperfect by its author (*Einl.* p. 148); Grotius, apparently, that it was mutilated by some accident of time (*Videtur hic liber esse κόλουρος*); and others have been found, in later times, to support each opinion. Yet it is obvious that the scope of the argument is fully satisfied by the investigation of the providential history of the Jews up to the time of the occupation of Canaan, and the last verse furnishes a complete epilogue to the treatise, which Grimm compares, not inaptly, with the last words of 3 Macc.

The idea that the book has been interpolated by a Christian hand (Grotius, Gratz) is as little worthy of consideration as the idea that it is incomplete. The passages which have been brought forward in support of this opinion (ii. 12-20, 24, iii. 13, 14, xiv. 7; comp. *Homilies*, p. 174, ed. 1850) lose all their force, if fairly interpreted.

4. *Style and Language.*—The literary character of the book is most remarkable and interesting. In the richness and freedom of its vocabulary it most closely resembles the fourth Book of Maccabees, but it is superior to that fine declamation, both in power and variety of diction. No existing work represents perhaps more completely the style of composition which would be produced by the sophistic schools of rhetoric; and in the artificial balancing of words, and the frequent niceties of arrangement and rhythm, it is impossible not to be reminded of the exquisite story of Prodicus (*Xen. Memorab.* ii. 1, 21), and of the subtle refinements of Protagoras in the dialogue which bears his name. It follows as a necessary consequence that the effect of different parts of the book is very unequal. The florid redundancy and restless straining after effect, which may be not unsuited to vivid intellectual pictures, is wholly alien from the philosophic contemplation of history. Thus the forced contrasts and fantastic exaggerations in the description of the Egyptian plagues cannot but displease, while it is equally impossible not to admire the lyrical force of the language of the sensualist (ii. 1, ff.), and of the picture of future judgment (v. 15, ff.). The magnificent description of Wisdom (vii. 22-viii. 1) must

rank among the noblest passages of human eloquence, and it would be perhaps impossible to point out any piece of equal length in the remains of classical antiquity more pregnant with noble thought, or more rich in expressive phraseology. It may be placed beside the Hymn of Cleanthes or the visions of Plato, and it will not lose its power to charm and move. Examples of strange or new words may be found almost on every page. Such are ἀναποδισμός, πρωτόπλαστος, εἰδέχθεια, ἀγερωχία, ἐτάζειν, ἀκηλίδωτος, ρεμβασμός, ξενιτεία; others belong characteristically to later Greek, as διαβούλιον, ἀντανακλᾶσθαι, ἀδιάπτωτος, ἐδράζειν, ἔξαλλος, ἀπερίσπαστος, &c.; others, again, to the language of philosophy, ὁμοιοπαθής, ζωτικός, προῦφεστάναι, &c.; and others to the LXX., χερσῶν, δλοκαύτωμα, &c. No class of writings and no mode of combination appear to be unfamiliar to the writer. Some of the phrases which he adopts are singularly happy, as κατάχρεος ἀμαρτίας (i. 4), ἀλαζονεύεσθαι πατέρα θεόν (ii. 16), ἐλπίς ἀθανασίας πληρῆς (iii. 4), &c.; and not less so some of the short and weighty sentences in which he gathers up the truth on which he is dwelling: vi. 19, ἀφθαρσία ἐγγύς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ; xi. 26, φεῖδῃ δὲ πάντων ὅτι σὰ ἐστι, δέσποτα φιλόψυχε. The numerous artificial resources with which the book abounds are a less pleasing mark of labour bestowed upon its composition. Thus, in i. 1, we have ἀγαπήσατε . . . φρονήσατε . . . ἐν ἀγαθότητι καὶ ἐν ἀπλότητι, . . . ζητήσατε; v. 23, ποταμοὶ . . . ἀποτόμως; xiii. 11, περιέξυσεν εὐμαθῶς . . . καὶ τεχνησάμενος εὐπρεπῶς; xix. 20, τηκτὸν εἴτηκτον. The arrangement of the words is equally artificial, but generally more effective, and often very subtle and forcible; vii. 29, ἔστι γὰρ αὕτη (ἡ σοφία) εὐπρεπεστέρα ἡλίου καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἄστρον θέσιν. φωτὶ συγκρινομένη εὐρίσκεται προτέρα. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ διαδέχεται νύξ, σοφίας δὲ οὐκ ἀντισχῶει κακία.

The language of the Old Latin translation is also itself full of interest. It presents, in great profusion, the characteristic provincialisms which elsewhere mark the earliest African version of the Scriptures. [Comp. VULGATE, §43.] Such are the substantives *exterminium*, *refrigerium*; *praeclaritas*, *medietas*, *nimietas*, *nativitas*, *supervacuitas*; *subitatio*; *assistrix*, *doctrix*, *electrix*; *immemoratio* (ἀμνησία); *incolatus*; the adjectives *contemptibilis*, *ineffugibilis*, *odibilis*; *incoquinatus*, *inauxiliatus*, *indisciplinatus*, *insensatus*, *insimulatus* (ἀνυπόκριτος); *fumigabundus*; the verbs *angustiare*, *mansuetare*, *improperare*; and the phrases *impossibilis immittere*, *partibus* (=partim), *innumerabilis honestas*, *providentiae* (pl.).

5. *Original Language.*—The characteristics of the language, which have been just noticed, are so marked that no doubt could ever have been raised as to the originality of the Greek text, if it had not been that the book was once supposed to be the work of Solomon. It was assumed (so far rightly) that if the traditional title were correct, the book must have been written in Hebrew; and the belief which was thus based upon a false opinion as to the authorship, survived, at least partially, for some time after that opinion was abandoned. Yet as it must be obvious, even on a superficial examination, that the style and language of the book show conclusively that it could not have been the work of Solomon, so it appears with equal certainty that the freedom of the Greek diction

checked by no Aramaic text. This was well stated by Jerome, who says, "Fertur et πανάρετος Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius ψευδεπίγραφος qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur . . . Secundus apud Hebraeos nusquam est, quia et ipse stylus Graecam eloquentiam redolet" (*Praef. in Libr. Salom.*); and it seems superfluous to add any further argument to those which must spring from the reading of any one chapter. It is, however, interesting on other grounds to observe that the book contains unequivocal traces of the use of the LXX. where it differs from the Hebrew: ii. 11, ἐνεδρεύσωμεν τὸν δίκαιον ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῶν ἴστί (Is. iii. 10); xv. 10, σποδὸς ἡ καρδία αὐτῶν (Is. xlv. 20); and this not in direct quotations, where it is conceivable that a Greek translator might have felt justified in adopting the rendering of the version with which he was familiar, but where the words of the LXX. are inwrought into the text itself. But while the original language of the book may be regarded as certainly determined by internal evidence, great doubt hangs over the date and place of its composition; and it will be necessary to examine some of the doctrinal peculiarities which it presents before any attempt is made to determine these points with approximate accuracy.

6. *Doctrinal character.*—The theological teaching of the book offers, in many respects, the nearest approach to the language and doctrines of Greek philosophy which is found in any Jewish writing up to the time of Philo. There is much in the views which it gives of the world, of man, and of the Divine Nature, which springs rather from the combination or conflict of Hebrew and Greek thought than from the independent development of Hebrew thought alone. Thus, in speaking of the almighty power of God, the writer describes Him as "having created the universe out of matter without form" (κτίσασα τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ἀμόρφου ἕλης, xi. 17), adopting the very phrase of the Platonists, which is found also in Philo (*De Vict. Offer.* §13), to describe the pre-existing matter out of which the world was made, and (like Philo, *De Mund. Op.* §5) evidently implying that this indeterminate matter was itself uncreated. Whatever attempts may be made to bring this statement into harmony with the doctrine of an absolute primal creation, it is evident that it derives its form from Greece. Scarcely less distinctly heathen is the conception which is presented of the body as a mere weight and clog to the soul (ix. 15; contrast 2 Cor. v. 1-4); and we must refer to some extra-Judaic source for the remarkable doctrine of the pre-existence of souls, which finds unmistakable expression in viii. 20. The form, indeed, in which this doctrine is enunciated differs alike from that given by Plato and by Philo, but it is no less foreign to the pure Hebrew mode of thought. It is more in accordance with the language of the O. T. that the writer represents the Spirit of God as filling (i. 7) and inspiring all things (xii. 1),

<sup>a</sup> The famous passage, ii. 12-20, has been very frequently regarded, both in early and modern times, as a prophecy of the Passion of Christ, "the child of God." It is quoted in this sense by Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* iii. 22), Cyprian (*Testim.* ii. 14), Hippolytus (*Dem. adv. Jud.* 9), Origen (*Hom. vi. in Ez.* 1.), and many later Fathers, and Romish interpreters have generally followed their opinion. It seems obvious, however, that the passage contains no individual reference; and the coincidences which exist between the language and details in the

but even here the idea of "a soul of the world" seems to influence his thoughts; and the same remark applies to the doctrine of the Divine Providence (πρόνοια, xiv. 3, xvii. 2; comp. Grimm, *ad loc.*), and of the four cardinal virtues (viii. 7, σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία), which, in form at least, show the effect of Stoic teaching. There is, on the other hand, no trace of the characteristic Christian doctrine of a resurrection of the body; and the future triumph of the good is entirely unconnected with any revelation of a personal Messiah<sup>a</sup> (iii. 7, 8, v. 16; comp. Grimm on i. 12, iii. 7, for a good view of the eschatology of the book). The identification of the tempter (Gen. iii.), directly or indirectly, with the devil, as the bringer "of death into the world" (ii. 23, 24), is the most remarkable development of Biblical doctrine which the book contains; and this pregnant passage, when combined with the earlier declaration as to the action of man's free will in the taking of evil to himself (i. 12-16), is a noble example of the living power of the Divine teaching of the O. T. in the face of other influences. It is also in this point that the Pseudo-Solomon differs most widely from Philo, who recognizes no such evil power in the world, though the doctrine must have been well known at Alexandria (comp. Gfrörer, *Philo*, &c. ii. 238).<sup>b</sup> The subsequent deliverance of Adam from his transgression (ἐξείλατο αὐτὸν ἐκ παραπτώματος ἰδίου) is attributed to Wisdom; and it appears that we must understand by this, not the scheme of Divine Providence, but that wisdom, given by God to man, which is immortality (viii. 17). Generally, too, it may be observed that, as in the cognate books, Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, there are few traces of the recognition of the sinfulness even of the wise man in his wisdom, which forms, in the Psalms and the Prophets, the basis of the Christian doctrine of the atonement (yet comp. xv. 2). With regard to the interpretation of the O. T., it is worthy of notice that a typical significance is assumed to underlie the historic details (xvi. 1, xviii. 4, 5, &c.); and in one most remarkable passage (xviii. 24) the high-priestly dress is expressly described as presenting an image of the Divine glory in creation and in the patriarchal covenant—an explanation which is found, in the main, both in Philo (*De Vita Mos.* §12) and Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7, §7), as well as in later writers (comp. also xvi. 6, §7). In connexion with the O. T. Scriptures, the book, as a whole, may be regarded as carrying on one step further the great problem of life contained in Ecclesiastes and Job; while it differs from both *formally* by the admixture of Greek elements, and *doctrinally* by the supreme prominence given to the idea of immortality as the vindication of Divine justice (comp. below, §9).

7. *The doctrine of Wisdom.*—It would be impossible to trace here in detail the progressive development of the doctrine of Wisdom, as a Divine Power standing in some sense between the Creator

Gospels are due partly to the O. T. passages on which it is based, and partly to the concurrence of each typical form of reproach and suffering in the Lord's Passion.

<sup>b</sup> There is also considerable difference between the sketch of the rise of idolatry in Philo, *De Monarch.* §1-3, and that given in *Wisd.* xiii. xiv. Other differences are pointed out by Eichhorn, *Einkl.* 172 ff. A trace of the cabalistic use of numbers is pointed out by Ewald in the *twenty one* attributes of Wisdom (vii. 23, 23).

and creation, yet without some idea of this history no correct opinion can be formed on the position which the Book of the Pseudo-Solomon occupies in Jewish literature. The foundation of the doctrine is to be found in the Book of Proverbs, where (viii.) Wisdom (*Khokmah*) is represented as present with God before (viii. 22) and during the creation of the world. So far it appears only as a principle regulating the action of the Creator, though even in this way it establishes a close connexion between the world, as the outward expression of Wisdom, and God. Moreover, by the personification of Wisdom, and the relation of Wisdom to men (viii. 31), a preparation is made for the extension of the doctrine. This appears, after a long interval, in Ecclesiasticus. In the great description of Wisdom given in that book (xxiv.), Wisdom is represented as a creation of God (xxiv. 9), penetrating the whole universe (4-6), and taking up her special abode with the chosen people (8-12). Her personal existence and providential function are thus distinctly brought out. In the Book of Wisdom the conception gains yet further completeness. In this, Wisdom is identified with the Spirit of God (ix. 17)—an identification half implied in Ecclus. xxiv. 3—which brooded over the elements of the unformed world (ix. 9), and inspired the prophets (vii. 7, 27). She is the power which unites (i. 7) and directs all things (viii. 1). By her, in especial, men have fellowship with God (xii. 1); and her action is not confined to any period, for “in all ages entering into holy souls, she maketh them friends of God and prophets” (vii. 27). So also her working, in the providential history of God’s people, is traced at length (x.); and her power is declared to reach beyond the world of man into that of spirits (vii. 23).

The conception of Wisdom, however boldly personified, yet leaves a wide chasm between the world and the Creator. Wisdom answers to the idea of a spirit vivifying and uniting all things in all time, as distinguished from any special outward revelation of the Divine Person. Thus at the same time that the doctrine of Wisdom was gradually constructed, the correlative doctrine of the Divine Word was also reduced to a definite shape. The Word (*Memra*), the Divine expression, as it was understood in Palestine, furnished the exact complement to Wisdom, the Divine thought; but the ambiguity of the Greek *Logos* (*sermo, ratio*) introduced considerable confusion into the later treatment of the two ideas. Broadly, however, it may be said that the *Word* properly represented the mediative element in the action of God, *Wisdom* the mediative element of His omnipresence. Thus, according to the later distinction of Philo, *Wisdom* corresponds to the *immanent* Word (*Λόγος ἐνδιάθετος*), while the *Word*, strictly speaking, was defined as *conciative* (*Λόγος προφορικός*). Both ideas are included in the language of the prophets, and both found a natural development in Palestine and Egypt. The one prepared men for the revelation of the Son of God, the other for the revelation of the Holy Spirit.

The Book of the Pseudo-Solomon, which gives the most complete view of Divine wisdom, contains only two passages in which the Word is invested with the attributes of personal action (xvi. 12, xviii. 15; ix. 1 is of different character). These, however, are sufficient to indicate that the two powers were distinguished by the writer; and it has been commonly argued that the superior prominence

given in the book to the conception of Wisdom is an indication of a date anterior to Philo. Nor is this conclusion unreasonable, if it is probably established on independent grounds that the book is of Alexandrine origin. But it is no less important to observe that the doctrine of Wisdom in itself is no proof of this. There is nothing in the direct teaching on this subject, which might not have arisen in Palestine, and it is necessary that we should recur to the more special traits of Alexandrine thought in the book which have been noticed before (§6) for the primary evidence of its Alexandrine origin; and starting from this there appears to be, as far as can be judged from the imperfect materials at our command, a greater affinity in the *form* of the doctrine on wisdom to the teaching of Alexandria than to that of Palestine (comp. Ewald, *Gesch.* iv. 548 ff.; Welte, *Einkl.* 161 ff., has some good criticisms on many supposed traces of Alexandrine doctrine in the book, but errs in denying all).

The doctrine of the Divine wisdom passes by a transition, often imperceptible, to that of human wisdom, which is derived from it. This embraces not only the whole range of moral and spiritual virtues, but also the various branches of physical knowledge. [Comp. PHILOSOPHY.] In this aspect the enumeration of the great forms of natural science in vii. 17-20 (viii. 8), offers a most instructive subject of comparison with the corresponding passages in 1 K. iv. 32-34. In addition to the subjects on which Solomon wrote (Songs, Proverbs: Plants, Beasts, Fowls, Creeping Things, Fishes), Cosmology, Meteorology, Astronomy, Psychology, and even the elements of the philosophy of history (viii. 8), are included among the gifts of Wisdom. So far then the thoughtful Jew had already at the Christian era penetrated into the domain of speculation and inquiry, into each province, it would seem, which was then recognized, without abandoning the simple faith of his nation. The fact itself is most significant; and the whole book may be quoted as furnishing an important corrective to the later Roman descriptions of the Jews, which were drawn from the people when they had been almost uncivilized by the excitement of the last desperate struggle for national existence. (For detailed references to the chief authorities on the history of the Jewish doctrine of Wisdom, see PHILOSOPHY; adding Bruch, *Die Weisheitslehre der Hebräer*, 1851.)

8. *Place and date of writing.*—Without claiming for the internal indications of the origin of the book a decisive force, it seems most reasonable to believe on these grounds that it was composed at Alexandria some time before the time of Philo (cir. 120-80 B.C.). This opinion in the main, though the conjectural date varies from 150-50 B.C., or even beyond these limits, is held by Heydenreich, Gfrörer, Bauermeister, Ewald, Bruch, and Grimm; and other features in the book go far to confirm it. Without entering into the question of the extent of the Hellenistic element at Jerusalem in the last century B.C., it may be safely affirmed that there is not the slightest evidence for the existence there of so wide an acquaintance with Greek modes of thought, and so complete a command of the resources of the Greek language, as is shown in the Book of Wisdom. Alexandria was the only place where Judaism and philosophy, both of the east and west, came into natural and close connexion. It appears further that the mode in which Egyptian idolatry is spoken of, must be due in some degree to the influence of

present and living antagonism, and not to the contemplation of past history. This is particularly evident in the great force laid upon the details of the Egyptian animal worship (xv. 18, &c.); and the description of the condition of the Jewish settlers in Egypt (xix. 14-16) applies better to colonists fixed at Alexandria on the conditions of equality by the first Ptolemies, than to the immediate descendants of Jacob. It may, indeed, be said justly, that the local colouring of the latter part of the book is conclusive as to the place of its composition. But all the guesses which have been made as to its authorship are absolutely valueless. The earliest was that mentioned by Jerome, which assigned it to Philo (*Praef. in Lib. Sal.* Nonnulli scriptorum veterum hunc esse Judaei Philonis affirmant). There can be no doubt that the later and famous Philo was intended by this designation, though Jerome in his account of him makes no reference to the belief (*De vir. illustr.* xi.). Many later writers, including Luther and Gerhard, adopted this view; but the variations in teaching, which have been already noticed, effectually prove that it is unfounded. Others, therefore, have imagined that the name was correct, but that the elder Philo was intended by it (G. Wernsdorff, and in a modified form Huet and Bellarmin). But of this elder Jewish Philo it is simply known that he wrote a poem on Jerusalem.<sup>c</sup> Lutterbeck suggested Aristobulus. [ARISTOBULUS.] Elchhorn, Zeller, Jost, and several others supposed that the author was one of the Therapeutae, but here the positive evidence against the conjecture is stronger, for the book contains no trace of the ascetic discipline which was of the essence of the Therapeutic teaching. The opinion of some later critics that the book is of Christian origin (Kirschbaum, C. H. Weisse), or even definitely the work of Apollonius (Noack), is still more perverse; for not only does it not contain the slightest trace of the three cardinal truths of Christianity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, the Resurrection of the body, but it even leaves no room for them by the general tenor of its teaching.<sup>d</sup>

9. *History.*—The history of the book is extremely obscure. There is no trace of the use of it before the Christian era, but this could not be otherwise if the view which has been given of its date be correct. It is perhaps more surprising that Philo does not (as it seems) show any knowledge of it, and it is not unlikely that if his writings are carefully examined with this object, some allusions to it may be found which have hitherto escaped observation. On the other hand, it can scarcely be doubted that St. Paul, if not other of the Apostolic writers, was familiar with its language, though he makes no definite quotation from it (the supposed reference in Luke xi. 49 to Wisd. ii. 12-14, is wholly unfounded). Thus we have striking parallels in Rom. ix. 21 to Wisd. xv. 7; in Rom. ix. 22 to Wisd. xii. 20; in Eph. vi. 13-17 to Wisd. v. 17-19 (the heavenly armour), &c. The coincidences in thought or language which occur in other books of the N. T., if they stood alone, would be insufficient to establish a direct connexion between them and the

Book of Wisdom; and even in the case of St. Paul, it may be questioned whether his acquaintance with the book may not have been gained rather orally than by direct study. The same remark applies to a coincidence of language in the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians pointed out by Grimm (*Ad Cor.* i. 27; Wisd. xi. 22, xii. 12); so that the first clear references to the book occur not earlier than the close of the second century. According to Eusebius (*H. E.* v. 26), Irenaeus made use of it (and of the Ep. to the Hebrews) in a lost work, and in a passage of his great work (*adv. Haer.* iv. 38, 3) Irenaeus silently adopts a characteristic clause from it (Wisd. vi. 19, ἀφθαρσία δὲ ἐγγύς εἶναι ποιεῖ θεοῦ). From the time of Clement of Alexandria the book is constantly quoted as an inspired work of Solomon, or as "Scripture," even by those Fathers who denied its assumed authorship, and it gained a place in the Canon (together with the other Apocryphal books) at the Council of Carthage, cir. 397 A. D. (for detailed references see CANON, vol. i. pp. 256, 258). From this time its history is the same as that of the other Apocryphal books up to the period of the Reformation. In the controversies which arose then its intrinsic excellence commanded the admiration of those who refused it a place among the canonical books (so Luther *ap.* Grimm, §2). Pellican directly affirmed its inspiration (Grimm, *l. c.*); and it is quoted as Scripture in both the Books of Homilies (pp. 98-9; 174, ed. 1850). In later times the various estimates which have been formed of the book have been influenced by controversial prejudices. In England, like the rest of the Apocrypha, it has been most strangely neglected, though it furnishes several lessons for Church Festivals. It seems, indeed, impossible to study the book dispassionately, and not feel that it forms one of the last links in the chain of providential connexion between the Old and New Covenants. How far it falls short of Christian truth, or rather how completely silent it is on the essential doctrines of Christianity, has been already seen; and yet Christianity offers the only complete solution to the problems which it raises in its teaching on the immortality of man, on future judgment, on the catholicity of the divine Church, and the speciality of Revelation. It would not be easy to find elsewhere any pre-Christian view of religion equally wide, sustained, and definite. The writer seems to have looked to the east and west, to the philosophy of Persia and Greece, and to have gathered from both what they contained of Divine truth, and yet to have clung with no less zeal than his fathers to that central revelation which God made first to Moses, and then carried on by the O. T. prophets. Thus in some sense the book becomes a landmark by which we may partially fix the natural limits of the development of Jewish doctrine when brought into contact with heathen doctrine, and measure the aspirations which were thus raised before their great fulfilment. The teaching of the book upon immortality has left ineffaceable traces upon the language of Christendom. The noble phrase which speaks of a "hope full of immortality" (Wisd. iii. 4), can never be lost;

<sup>c</sup> The conjecture of J. Faber, that the book was written by Zerubbabel, who rightly assumed the character of a second Solomon, is only worth mentioning as a specimen of misplaced ingenuity (comp. Welte, *Einl.* 191 ff.). Augustine himself corrected the mistake by which he attributed it to Jesus the son of Sirach.

<sup>d</sup> Dr. Fregelles has given a new turn to this opinion by supposing that the book may have been written by a

Christian (otherwise unknown) named Philo. In support of this he suggests an ingenious conjectural emendation of a corrupt passage of the Muratorian Canon. Where the Latin text reads *et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta*, he imagines the original Greek may have read, καὶ ἡ Σοφία Σολομῶντος ὑπὸ Φίλωνος (for ὑπὸ φίλων). . . . Or again, that Jerome so misread the passage (*Journal of Intellig.* 1855, 37 ff.).

and in mediæval art few symbols are more striking than that which represents in outward form that "the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God" (Wisd. iii. 1). Other passages less familiar are scarcely less beautiful when seen in the light of Christianity, as xv. 3, "To know Thee (O God) is perfect righteousness; yea, to know Thy power is the root of immortality" (comp. viii. 13, 17; St. John xvii. 3), or xi. 26, "Thou sparest all: for they are thine, O Lord, thou lover of souls" (comp. xii. 16); and many detached expressions anticipate the language of the Apostles (iii. 9, *χάρις καὶ ἔλεος*; iii. 14, *τῆς πίστεως χάρις ἐκλεκτῆ*; xi. 24, *παρορᾶς ἀμαρτήματα ἀνθρώπων εἰς μετάνοιαν*; xvi. 7, *διὰ σὲ τὸν πάντων σωτῆρα*).

10. *Commentaries*.—The earliest commentary which remains is that of Rabanus Maurus (†856), who undertook the work, as he says in his preface, because he was not acquainted with any complete exposition of the book. It is uncertain from his language whether the homilies of Augustine and Ambrose existed in his time: at least they have now been long lost. Of the Roman Catholic commentaries the most important are those of Lorinus (†1634), Corn. a Lapide (†1637), Maldonatus (†1583), Calmet (†1757), J. A. Schmid (1858). Of other commentaries, the chief are those by Grotius (†1645), Heydenreich, Bauermeister (1828), and Grimm (1837). The last mentioned scholar has also published a new and admirable commentary in the *Kurzgef. Exeg. Handb. zu d. Apok.* 1860, which contains ample references to earlier writers, and only errs by excess of fulness. The English commentary of R. Arnald (†1756) is extremely diffuse, but includes much illustrative matter, and shows a regard for the variations of MSS. and Versions which was most unusual at the time. A good English edition, however, is still to be desired. [B. F. W.]

#### WITCH, WITCHCRAFTS. [MAGIC.]

**WITNESS.\*** Among people with whom writing is not common, the evidence of a transaction is given by some tangible memorial or significant ceremony. Abraham gave seven ewe-lambs to Abimelech as an evidence of his property in the well of Beer-sheba. Jacob raised a heap of stones, "the heap of witness," as a boundary-mark between himself and Laban (Gen. xxi. 30, xxxi. 47, 52). The tribes of Reuben and Gad raised an "altar," designed expressly not for sacrifice, but as a witness to the covenant between themselves and the rest of the nation; Joshua set up a stone as an evidence of the allegiance promised by Israel to God; "for," he said, "it hath heard all the words of the Lord" (Josh. xxii. 10, 26, 34, xxiv. 26, 27). So also a pillar is mentioned by Isaiah as "a witness to the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt" (Is. xix. 19, 20). Thus also the sacred ark and its contents are called "the Testimony" (Ex. xvi. 33, 34, xxv. 16, xxxviii. 21; Num. i. 50, 53, ix. 15, x. 11, xvii. 7, 8, xviii. 2; Heb. ix. 4).

Thus also symbolical usages, in ratification of contracts or completed arrangements, as the ceremony of shoe-loosing (Deut. xxv. 9, 10; Ruth iv. 7, 8), the ordeal prescribed in the case of a suspected wife, with which may be compared the ordeal of the Styx (Num. v. 17-31; *Class. Mus.* vi. 386). The Bedouin Arabs practise a fiery ordeal in certain cases by way of compurgation (Burck-

\* עֵד, הָעֵדָה f.; *uáorvs*; *testis*: used both of persons and things.

hardt, *Notes*, i. 121; Layard, *Nin. and Ebal*, p. 305). The ceremony also appointed at the oblation of first-fruits may be mentioned as partaking of the same character (Deut. xxvi. 4). [FIRST-FRUIITS.]

But written evidence was by no means unknown to the Jews. Divorce was to be proved by a written document (Deut. xxiv. 1, 3), whereas among Bedouins and Mussulmans in general a spoken sentence is sufficient (Burckhardt, *Notes*, i. 110; Sale, *Koran*, c. 33, p. 348; Lane, *Mod. Eg.* i. 136, 236). In civil contracts, at least in later times, documentary evidence was required and carefully preserved (Is. viii. 16; Jer. xxxii. 10-16).

On the whole the Law was very careful to provide and enforce evidence for all its infractions and all transactions bearing on them: *e. g.* the memorial stones of Jordan and of Ebal (Deut. xxvii. 2-4; Josh. iv. 9, viii. 30); the fringes on garments (Num. xv. 39, 40); the boundary-stones of property (Deut. xix. 14, xxvii. 17; Prov. xxii. 28); the "broad plates" made from the censers of the Korahites (Num. xvi. 38); above all, the Ark of Testimony itself:—all these are instances of the care taken by the Legislator to perpetuate evidence of the facts on which the legislation was founded, and by which it was supported (Deut. vi. 20-25). Appeal to the same principle is also repeatedly made in the case of prophecies as a test of their authenticity (Deut. xviii. 22; Jer. xxviii. 9, 16, 17; John iii. 11, v. 36, x. 38, xiv. 11; Luke xxiv. 48; Acts i. 3, ii. 32, iii. 15, &c.).

Among special provisions of the Law with respect to evidence are the following:—

1. Two witnesses at least are required to establish any charge (Num. xxxv. 30; Deut. xvii. 6, xix. 15; 1 K. xxi. 13; John viii. 17; 2 Cor. xiii. 1; Heb. x. 28); and a like principle is laid down by St. Paul as a rule of procedure in certain cases in the Christian Church (1 Tim. v. 19).

2. In the case of the suspected wife, evidence besides the husband's was desired, though not demanded (Num. v. 13).

3. The witness who withheld the truth was censured (Lev. v. 1).

4. False witness was punished with the punishment due to the offence which it sought to establish. [OATHS.]

5. Slanderous reports and officious witness are discouraged (Ex. xx. 16, xxiii. 1; Lev. xix. 16, 18; Deut. xix. 16-21; Prov. xxiv. 28).

6. The witnesses were the first executioners (Deut. xiii. 9, xvi. 7; Acts vii. 58).

7. In case of an animal left in charge and torn by wild beasts, the keeper was to bring the carcass in proof of the fact and disproof of his own criminality (Ex. xxii. 13).

8. According to Josephus, women and slaves were not admitted to bear testimony (*Ant.* iv. 8, §15). To these exceptions the Mishna adds idiots, deaf, blind, and dumb persons, persons of infamous character, and some others, ten in all (Selden, *de Synedr.* ii. 13, 11; Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 653). The high-priest was not bound to give evidence in any case except one affecting the king (*ib.*). Various refinements on the quality of evidence and the manner of taking it are given in the Mishna (*Sanhedr.* iv. 5, v. 2, 3; *Maccoth*, i. 1, 9; *Sheb.* iii. 10, iv. 1, v. 1). In criminal cases evidence was required to be oral; in pecuniary, written evidence was allowed (Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* 653).

In the N. T. the original notion of a witness is exhibited in the special form of one who attests his

belief in the Gospel by personal suffering. So St. Stephen is styled by St. Paul (Acts xxii. 20), and the "faithful Antipas" (Rev. ii. 13). St. John also speaks of himself and of others as witnesses in this sense (Rev. i. 9, vi. 9, xi. 3, xx. 4). See also Heb. xi. and xii. 1, in which passage a number of persons are mentioned, belonging both to O. T. and N. T., who bore witness to the truth by personal endurance; and to this passage may be added, as bearing on the same view of the term "witness," Dan. iii. 21, vi. 16; 1 Macc. i. 60, 63; 2 Macc. vi. 18, 19. Hence it is that the use of the ecclesiastical term "Martyr" has arisen, of which copious illustration may be seen in Suicer, *Thes.* vol. ii. p. 310, &c. [H. W. P.]

## WIZARD. [MAGIC.]

**WOLF** (זָבֵב, *zēeb*: λύκος: *lupus*). There can be little doubt that the wolf of Palestine is the common *Canis lupus*, and that this is the animal so frequently mentioned in the Bible, though it is true that we lack precise information with regard to the *Canidae* of Palestine. Hemprich and Ehrenberg have described a few species, as, for instance, the *Canis Syriacus* and the *C. (Vulpes) Niloticus* (see figures in art. FOX, App. A); and Col. Hamilton Smith mentions, under the name of *derboun*, a species of black wolf, as occurring in Arabia and Southern Syria; but nothing definite seems to be known of this animal. Wolves were doubtless far more common in Biblical times than they are now, though they are occasionally seen by modern travellers (see Kitto's *Physical History of Palestine*, p. 364, and Russell's *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, ii. 184): "the wolf seldom ventures so near the city as the fox, but is sometimes seen at a distance by the sportsmen among the hilly grounds in the neighbourhood; and the villages, as well as the herds, often suffer from them. It is called *Deeb* in Arabic, and is common all over Syria."

The following are the Scriptural allusions to the wolf:—Its ferocity is mentioned in Gen. xlix. 27; Ez. xxii. 27; Hab. i. 8; Matt. vii. 15: its nocturnal habits, in Jer. v. 6; Zeph. iii. 3; Hab. i. 8: its attacking sheep and lambs, John x. 12; Matt. x. 16; Luke x. 3. Isaiah (xi. 6, lxxv. 25) foretells the peaceful reign of the Messiah under the metaphor of a wolf dwelling with a lamb; cruel persecutors are compared with wolves (Matt. x. 16; Acts xx. 29).

Wolves, like many other animals, are subject to variation in colour; the common colour is grey with a tinting of fawn and long black hairs; the variety most frequent in Southern Europe and the Pyrenees is black; the wolf of Asia Minor is more tawny than those of the common colour.

The people of Nubia and Egypt apply the term *Dieb* to the *Canis anthus*, Fr. Cuv. (see Rüppell's *Atlas zu der Reise im Nördlichen Africa*, p. 46); this, however, is a jackal, and seems to be the *Lupus Syriacus*, which Hemp and Ehrenb. noticed in Syria, and identical with the "Egyptian wolf" figured by Ham. Smith in Kitto's *Cycl.* [W. H.]

**WOMEN.** The position of women in the Hebrew commonwealth contrasts favourably with that which in the present day is assigned to them generally in Eastern countries. The social equality of the two sexes is most fully implied in the history of the original creation of the woman, as well as in the name assigned to her by the man, which differed from his own only in its feminine termination

(Gen. ii. 18-23). This narrative is hence effectively appealed to as supplying an argument for enforcing the duties of the husband towards the wife (Eph. v. 28-31). Many usages of early times interfered with the preservation of this theoretical equality: we may instance the existence of polygamy, the autocratic powers vested in the head of the family under the patriarchal system, and the treatment of captives. Nevertheless a high tone was maintained generally on this subject by the Mosaic law, and, as far as we have the means of judging, by the force of public opinion.

The most salient point of contrast in the usages of ancient as compared with modern Oriental society was the large amount of liberty enjoyed by women. Instead of being immured in a harem, or appearing in public with the face covered, the wives and maidens of ancient times mingled freely and openly with the other sex in the duties and amenities of ordinary life. Rebekah travelled on a camel with her face unveiled, until she came into the presence of her affianced (Gen. xxiv. 64, 5). Jacob saluted Rachel with a kiss in the presence of the shepherds (Gen. xxix. 11). Each of these maidens was engaged in active employment, the former in fetching water from the well, the latter in tending her flock. Sarah wore no veil in Egypt, and yet this formed no ground for supposing her to be married (Gen. xii. 14-19). An outrage on a maiden in the open field was visited with the severest punishment (Deut. xxii. 25-27), proving that it was not deemed improper for her to go about unprotected. Further than this, women played no inconsiderable part in public celebrations: Miriam headed a band of women who commemorated with song and dance the overthrow of the Egyptians (Ex. xv. 20, 21); Jephthah's daughter gave her father a triumphal reception (Judg. xi. 34); the maidens of Shiloh danced publicly in the vineyards at the yearly feast (Judg. xxi. 21); and the women fêted Saul and David, on their return from the defeat of the Philistines, with singing and dancing (1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7). The odes of Deborah (Judg. v.) and of Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1, &c.) exhibit a degree of intellectual cultivation which is in itself a proof of the position of the sex in that period. Women also occasionally held public offices, particularly that of prophetess or inspired teacher, as instanced in Miriam (Ex. xv. 20), Huldah (2 K. xxii. 14), Noadiah (Neh. vi. 14), Anna (Luke ii. 36), and above all Deborah, who applied her prophetic gift to the administration of public affairs, and was so entitled to be styled a "judge" (Judg. iv. 4). The active part taken by Jezebel in the government of Israel (1 K. xviii. 13, xxi. 25), and the usurpation of the throne of Judah by Athaliah (2 K. xi. 3), further attest the latitude allowed to women in public life.

The management of household affairs devolved mainly on the women. They brought the water from the well (Gen. xxiv. 15; 1 Sam. ix. 11) attended to the flocks (Gen. xxix. 6, &c.; Ex. ii. 16), prepared the meals (Gen. xviii. 6; 2 Sam. xiii. 8), and occupied their leisure hours in spinning (Ex. xxxv. 26; Prov. xxxi. 19) and making clothes, either for the use of the family (1 Sam. ii. 19; Prov. xxxi. 21), for sale (Prov. xxxi. 14, 24), or for charity (Acts ix. 39). The value of a virtuous and active housewife forms a frequent topic in the Book of Proverbs (xi. 16, xii. 4, xiv. 1, xxxi. 10, &c.). Her influence was of course proportionably great; and, where there was no second wife, she controlled the arrangements of the house, to the



extent of inviting or receiving guests in her own motion (Judg. iv. 18; 1 Sam. xxv. 18, &c.; 2 K. v. 8, &c.). The effect of polygamy was to transfer female influence from the wives to the mother, as is incidentally shown in the application of the term *gebirah* (literally meaning *powerful*) to the queen mother (1 K. ii. 19, xv. 13; 2 K. x. 13, xxiv. 12; Jer. xiii. 18, xxix. 2). Polygamy also necessitated a separate establishment for the wives collectively, or for each individually. Thus in the palace of the Persian monarch there was a "house of the women" (Esth. ii. 9), which was guarded by eunuchs (ii. 3); in Solomon's palace the harem was connected with, but separate from, the rest of the building (1 K. vii. 8); and on journeys each wife had her separate tent (Gen. xxxi. 33). In such cases it is probable that the females took their meals apart from the males (Esth. i. 9); but we have no reason to conclude that the separate system prevailed generally among the Jews. The women were present at festivals, either as attendants on the guests (John xii. 2), or as themselves guests (Job i. 4; John ii. 3); and hence there is good ground for concluding that on ordinary occasions also they joined the males at meals, though there is no positive testimony to that effect.

Further information on the subject of this article is given under the heads DEACONESS, DRESS, HAIR, MARRIAGE, SLAVE, VEIL, and WIDOW. [W. L. B.]

#### WOOD. [FOREST.]

**WOOL** (צֶמֶר; יָז). Wool was an article of the highest value among the Jews, as the staple material for the manufacture of clothing (Lev. xiii. 47; Deut. xxii. 11; Job xxxi. 20; Prov. xxxi. 13; Ez. xxxiv. 3; Hos. ii. 5). Both the Hebrew terms, *tsemer* and *yéz*, imply the act of shearing, the distinction between them being that the latter refers to the "fleece" (Deut. xviii. 4; Job xxxi. 20), as proved by the use of the cognate *gizzah*, in Judg. vi. 37-40, in conjunction with *tsemer*, in the sense of "a fleece of wool." The importance of wool is incidentally shown by the notice that Mesha's tribute was paid in a certain number of rams "with the wool" (2 K. iii. 4), as well as by its being specified among the firstfruits to be offered to the priests (Deut. xviii. 4). The wool of Damascus was highly prized in the mart of Tyre (Ez. xxvii. 18); and is compared in the LXX. to the wool of Miletus (ἔρια ἐκ Μιλήτου), the fame of which was widely spread in the ancient world (Plin. viii. 73; Virg. *Georg.* iii. 306, iv. 334). Wool is occasionally cited as an image of purity and brilliancy (Is. i. 18; Dan. vii. 9; Rev. i. 14), and the flakes of snow are appropriately likened to it (Ps. cxlvii. 16). The art of dyeing it was understood by the Jews (Mishna, *Shab.* 1, § 6). [W. L. B.]

**WOOLLEN (LINEN and).** Among the laws against unnatural mixtures is found one to this effect: "A garment of mixtures [צֶמֶר וְלֵבָנִים; *shaatnéz*] shall not come upon thee" (Lev. xix. 19); or, as it is expressed in Deut. xxii. 11, "thou shalt not wear *shaatnéz*, wool and flax together." Our version, by the help of the latter passage, has rendered the strange word *shaatnéz* in the former, "of linen and woollen;" while in Deut. it is translated "a garment of divers sorts." In the Vulgate the difficulty is avoided; and κίβδηλος, "spurious" or "counterfeit," the rendering of the LXX., is wanting in precision. In the Targum of Onkelos the same word remains with a slight modification to

adapt it to the Chaldee; but in the Peshito-Syriac of Lev. it is rendered by an adjective, "motley," and in Deut. a "motley garment," corresponding in some degree to the Samaritan version, "corresponding to be certain about *shaatnéz*—that it is a foreign word, and that its origin has not at present been traced. Its signification is sufficiently defined in Deut. xxii. 11. The derivation given in the Mishna (*Cilaim*, ix. 8), which makes it a compound of three words, signifying "carded, spun, and twisted," is in keeping with Rabbinical etymologies generally. Other etymologies are proposed by Bochart (*Hieroz.* pt. i. b. 2, c. 45), Simonis (*Lex. Heb.*), and Pfeiffer (*Dub. Vex.* cent. 2, loc. xi.). The last mentioned writer defended the Egyptian origin of the word, but his knowledge of Coptic, according to Jablonski, extended not much beyond the letters, and little value, therefore, is to be attached to the solution which he proposed for the difficulty. Jablonski himself favours the suggestion of Forster, that a garment of linen and woollen was called by the Egyptians *shontnes*, and that this word was borrowed by the Hebrews, and written by them in the form *shaatnéz* (*Opusc.* i. 294).

The reason given by Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8, § 11) for the law which prohibited the wearing a garment woven of linen and woollen is, that such were worn by the priests alone (see Mishna, *Cilaim*, ix. 1). Of this kind were the girdle (of which Josephus says the warp was entirely linen, *Ant.* iii. 7, § 2), ephod, and breastplate (Braunius, *de Vest. Sac. Hebr.* pp. 110, 111) of the High Priest, and the girdle of the common priests (Maimonides, *Célé Hammikdash*, cviii.). Spencer conjectured that the use of woollen and linen inwoven in the same garment prevailed amongst the ancient Zab. and was associated with their idolatrous ceremonies (*De leg. Heb.* ii. 33, § 3); but that it was permitted to the Hebrew priests, because with them it could give rise to no suspicion of idolatry. Maimonides found in the books of the Zabii that "the priests of the idolaters clothed themselves with robes of linen and woollen mixed together" (Townley, *Reasons of the Laws of Moses*, p. 207). By "wool" the Talmudists understood the wool of sheep (Mishna, *Cilaim*, ix. 1). It is evident from Zeph. i. 8, that the adoption of a particular dress was an indication of idolatrous tendencies, and there may be therefore some truth in the explanation of Maimonides. [W. A. W.]

**WORM**, the representative in the A. V. of the Hebrew words *Sás*, *Rimmáh*, and *Tólé'áh*, *Tólá'*, or *Tólaath*, occurs in numerous passages in the Bible. The first-named term, *Sás* (סָס, *sás*, *tinea*) occurs only in Isa. li. 8, "For the 'ásh (אֵשׁ) shall eat them up like a garment, and the *Sás* shall eat them like wool." The word probably denotes some particular species of moth, whose larva is injurious to wool, while perhaps the former name is the more general one for any of the destructive *Tinea* or "Clothes Moths." For further information on the subject the reader is referred to MOTHS.

2. *Rimmáh* (רִמָּה; σκώληξ, *sḥḥis*, *scapola*; *vermis*, *putredo*, *tinea*). The manna that the disobedient Israelites kept till the morning of a week-day "bred worms" (רִמָּה), and stank (Ex. xvi. 20); while of that kept over the Sabbath and gathered the night before, it is said that "it did

not stink, neither was there any worm (חַרְמָל) therein." The Hebrew word is connected with the root חַרַם "to be putrid" (see Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v.), and points evidently to various kinds of maggots, and the larvae of insects which feed on putrefying animal matter rather than to earthworms; the words in the original are clearly used indiscriminately to denote either true *annelida*, or the larval condition of various insects. Thus, as may be seen above, *Rimmâh* and *Tolêah* are both used to express the maggot or caterpillar, whatever it might have been that consumed the bad manna in the wilderness of Sin. Job, under his heavy affliction, exclaims, "My flesh is clothed with *rimmâh*" (vii. 5; see also xvii. 14); there is no reason to doubt that the expression is to be understood literally; a person in Job's condition would very probably suffer from *entozoa* of some kind. In Job xxi. 26, xxiv. 20, there is an allusion to worms (insect larvae) feeding on the dead bodies of the buried; our translators in the well-known passage (xix. 26)—"And though after my skin worms destroy this body"—have rather over-interpreted the words of the original, "My skin shall have been consumed."

The patriarch uses both *Rimmâh* and *Tôlé'âh* (תּוֹלַעַת), in ch. xxv. 6, where he compares the estate of man to a *rimmâh*, and the son of man to a *tôlé'âh*. This latter word, in one or other of its forms (see above), is applied in Deut. xxviii. 39 to some kinds of larvae destructive to the vines: "Thou shalt plant vineyards . . . but shalt not gather the grapes, for the *tôlaath* shall eat them." Various kinds of insects attack the vine, amongst which one of the most destructive is the *Tortrix vitisana*, the little caterpillar of which eats off the inner parts of the blossoms, the clusters of which it binds together by spinning a web around them. The "worm" which is said to have destroyed Jonah's gourd was a *tôlaath* (Jonah iv. 7). Michaelis (*Suppl.* p. 2189) quotes Rumphius as asserting that there is a kind of black caterpillar, which, during sultry rainy weather, does actually strip the plant of its leaves in a single night. In Is. lxvi. 24 allusion is made to maggots feeding on the dead bodies of the slain in battle. The words of the prophet are applied by our Lord (Mark ix. 44, 46, 48) metaphorically to the stings of a guilty conscience in the world of departed spirits.

The death of Herod Agrippa I. was caused by worms (σκαληκόβρωτος, Acts xii. 23); according to Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8), his death took place five days after his departure from the theatre. It is curious that the Jewish historian makes no mention of worms in the case of Agrippa, though he expressly notes it in that of Herod the Great (*Ant.* xvii. 6, §5). A similar death was that of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. ix. 9; see also Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.* viii. 16; and Lucian, *Pseudomant.* i. p. 904; compare Wetstein on Acts xii. 23). Whether the worms were the cause or the result of the disease is an immaterial question. The "Angel of the Lord struck Herod" with some disease, the issue of which was fatal, and the loathsome spectacle of which could not fail to have had a marked humiliating effect on his proud heart. [W. H.]

**WORMWOOD** (חַרְמָל, *laānâh*: πικρία, χολή, δόνη, and ἀνάγκη: *amaritudo, absinthium*). The

correct translation of the Heb. word, occurs frequently in the Bible, and generally in a metaphorical sense, as in Deut. xxix. 18; where of the idolatrous Israelites it is said, "Lest there be among you a root that beareth wormwood" (see also Prov. v. 4). In Jer. ix. 15, xxiii. 13; Lam. iii. 15, 19, wormwood is symbolical of bitter calamity and sorrow; unrighteous judges are said to "turn judgment to wormwood" (Am. v. 7). The orientals typified sorrows, cruelties, and calamities of any kind by plants of a poisonous or bitter nature. [GALL, App. A.] The name of the star which, at the sound of the third angel's trumpet fell upon the rivers, was called Wormwood (Ἄψινθος; Rev. viii. 11). Kitto (*Phys. Hist. of Palestine*, p. 215) enumerates four kinds of wormwood as found in Palestine—*Artemisia nilotica*, *A. Judaica*, *A. fruticosa*, and *A. cinerea*. Rauwolf speaks of some kind of wormwood under the name of *Absinthium santonicum Judaicum*, and says it is very common in Palestine; this is perhaps the *Artemisia Judaica*. The Hebrew *Laānâh* is doubtless generic, and denotes several species of *Artemisia* (Celsius, *Hierob.* i. p. 480; Rosenmüller, *Bib. Bot.* p. 116). [W. H.]

**WORSHIPPER.** A translation of the Greek word νεωκόρος, used once only, Acts xix. 35; in the margin "Temple-keeper." The *neocoros* was originally an attendant in a temple, probably entrusted with its charge (Eurip. *Ion*, 115, 121, ed. Dind.; Plato, *Leg.* vi. 7, Bekk.; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 14, 16; Pollux, i. 14; Philo, *De Prov. Sac.* 6, ii. 237; Hesychius explains it by ὁ τὸν ναὸν κοσμῶν, κορεῖν γὰρ τὸ σαίρειν, Suidas, κοσμῶν καὶ εὐτρεπίζων, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ σαρῶν, ed. Gaisf. p. 2579). The divine honours paid in later Greek times to eminent persons even in their lifetime, were imitated and exaggerated by the Romans under the empire, especially in Asia (Plut. *Lys.* 23; Appian, *Mithr.* 76; Dion Cass. xxxi. 6). The term *neocoros* became thus applied to cities or communities which undertook the worship of particular emperors even in their lifetime; but there is no trace of the special title being applied to any city before the time of Augustus. The first occurrence of the term in connexion with Ephesus is on coins of the age of Nero (A.D. 54-68), a time which would sufficiently agree with its use in the account of the riot there, probably in 55 or 56. In later times the title appears with the numerical adjuncts δὶς, τρίς, and even τετράκις. A coin of Nero's time bears on one side Ἐφεσίων νεωκόρων, and on the reverse a figure of the temple of Artemis (Mionnet, *Inscr.* iii. 93; Eckhel, *Doctr. Vet. Num.* ii. 520). The ancient veneration of Artemis and her temple on the part of the οὐρανίου of Ephesus, which procured for it the title of νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, is too well known to need illustration; but in later times it seems probable that with the term νεωκόρος the practice of Neocorism became reserved almost exclusively for the veneration paid to Roman emperors, towards whom many other cities also of Asia Minor are mentioned as Neocorists, e. g. Nicomedia, Perinthus, Sardis, Smyrna, Magnesia (Herod. i. 26; Strabo, xiv. 640; Aristid. *Or.* xlii. 775, ed. Dind.; Mionnet, *Inscr.* iii. 97, Nos. 281, 285; Eckhel, *De Num.* ii. 520, 521; Boeckh, *Inscr.* 2617, 2618, 2622, 2954, 2957, 2990, 2992, 2993; Krause, *De Civ. Neocoris*; Hoffmann, *Lex.* 'Neocoros'). [H. W. P.]

Davidson renders it, "Yea, after my skin, when *tsâ* (body) is destroyed" (*Introd. O. T.* ii. p. 227).

\* The Hebrew is, וְאַחַר עוֹרִי נִקְפְּוּ יָמָי, i. e., "And after that they shall have consumed this my skin," or, a-

## WRESTLING. [GAMES.]

**WRITING.** It is proposed in the present article to treat, not of writing in general, its origin, the people by whom and the manner in which it was discovered, but simply with reference to the Hebrew race to give such indications of their acquaintance with the art as are to be derived from their books, to discuss the origin and formation of their alphabet and the subsequent development of the present square character, and to combine with this discussion an account, so far as can be ascertained, of the material appliances which they made use of in writing, and the extent to which the practice prevailed among the people.

It is a remarkable fact that although, with respect to other arts, as for instance those of music and metal working, the Hebrews have assigned the honour of their discovery to the heroes of a remote antiquity, there is no trace or tradition whatever of the origin of letters, a discovery many times more remarkable and important than either of these. Throughout the Book of Genesis there is not a single allusion, direct or indirect, either to the practice or to the existence of writing. The word כָּתַב, *cáthab*, "to write," does not once occur; none of its derivatives are used; and סֵפֶר, *sépher*, "a book," is found only in a single passage (Gen. v. 1), and there not in a connexion which involves the supposition that the art of writing was known at the time to which it refers. The signet of Judah (Gen. xxxviii. 18, 25) which had probably some device engraven upon it, and Pharaoh's ring (Gen. xli. 42) with which Joseph was invested, have been appealed to as indicating a knowledge quite consistent with the existence of writing. But as there is nothing to show that the devices upon these rings, supposing them to exist, were written characters, or in fact any thing more than emblematical figures, they cannot be considered as throwing much light upon the question. That the Egyptians in the time of Joseph were acquainted with writing of a certain kind there is other evidence to prove, but there is nothing to show that up to this period the knowledge extended to the Hebrew family. At the same time there is no evidence against it. The instance brought forward by Hengstenberg to prove that "signets commonly bore alphabetic writings," is by no means so decisive as he would have it appear. It is Ex. xxxix. 30: "And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and wrote upon it a writing of the engravings of a signet, 'Holiness to the Lord.'" That is, this inscription was engraved upon the plate as the device is engraved upon a signet, in intaglio; and the expression has reference to the manner of engraving, and not to the figures engraved, and therefore cannot be appealed to as proving the existence of alphabetic characters upon Judah's signet or Pharaoh's ring. Writing is first distinctly mentioned in Ex. xvii. 14, and the connexion clearly implies that it was not then employed for the first time, but was so familiar as to be used for historic records. Moses is commanded to preserve the memory of Amalek's onslaught in the desert by committing it to writing. "And Jehovah said unto Moses, Write this for a memorial in the book (not 'a book,' as in the A. V.), and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua." It is clear that some special book is here referred to, perhaps, as Aben Ezra suggests, the book of the wars of Jehovah, or the book of Jashar, or one of the many documents

of the ancient Hebrews which have long since perished. Or it may have been the book in which Moses wrote the words of Jehovah (Ex. xxiv. 4), that is the laws contained in chapters xx.-xxiii. The tables of the testimony are said to be "written by the finger of God" (Ex. xxxi. 18) on both sides, and "the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables" (Ex. xxxii. 15). It is not clear whether the passage in Ex. xxxiv. 28 implies that the second tables were written by Moses or by God himself. The engraving of the gems of the high-priest's breastplate with the names of the children of Israel (Ex. xxviii. 11), and the inscription upon the mitre (Ex. xxxix. 30) have to do more with the art of the engraver than of the writer, but both imply the existence of alphabetic characters. The next allusion is not so clear. The Israelites were forbidden, in imitation of the idolatrous nations, to put any "brand" (lit. "writing of burning") upon themselves. The figures thus branded upon the skin might have been alphabetical characters, but they were more probably emblematical devices, symbolizing some object of worship, for the root כָּתַב, *cáthab* (to write), is applied to picture-drawing (Judg. viii. 14), to mapping out a country (Josh. xviii. 8), and to plan-drawing (1 Chr. xxviii. 19). The curses against the adulteress were written by the priest "in the book," as before; and blotted out with water (Num. v. 23). This proceeding, though principally distinguished by its symbolical character, involves the use of some kind of ink, and of a material on which the curses were written which would not be destroyed by water. The writing on door-posts and gates, alluded to in Deut. vi. 9, xi. 20, though perhaps to be taken figuratively rather than literally, implies certainly an acquaintance with the art and the use of alphabetic characters. Hitherto, however, nothing has been said of the application of writing to the purposes of ordinary life, or of the knowledge of the art among the common people. Up to this point such knowledge is only attributed to Moses and the priests. From Deut. xxiv. 1, 3, however, it would appear that it was extended to others. A man who wished to be separated from his wife for her infidelity, could relieve himself by a summary process. "Let him write her a bill (סֵפֶר, *sépher*, "a book") of divorcement, and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house." It is not absolutely necessary to infer from this that the art of writing was an accomplishment possessed by every Hebrew citizen, though there is no mention of a third party; and it is more than probable that these "bills of divorcement," though apparently so informal, were the work of professional scribes. It was enjoined as one of the duties of the king (Deut. xvii. 18), that he should transcribe the book of the law for his own private study, and we shall find hereafter in the history that distinct allusions to writing occur in the case of several kings. The remaining instances in the Pentateuch are the writing of laws upon stone covered with plaster, upon which while soft the inscription was cut (Deut. xxvii. 3, 8), the writing of the song of Moses (Deut. xxxi. 22), and of the law in a book which was placed in the side of the ark (Deut. xxxi. 24). One of the first acts of Joshua on entering the Promised Land was to inscribe a copy of the Law on the stones of the Altar on Mount Ebal (Josh. viii. 32). The survey of the country was drawn out in a book (Josh. xviii. 8). In the time of the Judges

we first meet with the professional scribe (סֹפֵר, *sopher*), in his important capacity as marshal of the host of warriors (Judg. v. 14), with his staff (A. V. "pen") of office. Ewald (*Poet. Büch.* i. 129) regards *sopher* in this passage as equivalent to שֹׁפֵט, *shophet*, "judge," and certainly the context implies the high rank which the art of writing conferred upon its possessor. Later on in the history we read of Samuel writing in "the book" the manner of the kingdom (1 Sam. x. 25); but it is not till the reign of David that we hear for the first time of writing being used for the purposes of ordinary communication. The letter (lit. "book") which contained Uriah's death-warrant was written by David, and must have been intended for the eye of Joab alone; who was therefore able to read writing, and probably to write himself, though his message to the king, conveying the intelligence of Uriah's death, was a verbal one (2 Sam. xi. 14, 15). If we examine the instances in which writing is mentioned in connexion with individuals, we shall find that in all cases the writers were men of superior position. In the Pentateuch the knowledge of the art is attributed to Moses, Joshua, and the priest alone. Samuel, who was educated by the high-priest, is mentioned as one of the earliest historians (1 Chr. xxix. 29), as well as Nathan the prophet (2 Chr. ix. 29), Shemaiah the prophet, Iddo the seer (2 Chr. xii. 15, xiii. 22), and Jehu the son of Hanani (2 Chr. xx. 34). Letters were written by Jezebel in the name of Ahab and sealed with his seal (1 K. xxi. 8, 9, 11); by Jehu (2 K. xi. 6); by Hezekiah (2 Chr. xxix. 1); by Rabshakeh the Assyrian general (2 Chr. xxxii. 17); by the Persian satraps (Ezr. iv. 6, 7, 8); by Sanballat (Neh. vi. 5), Tobiah (Neh. vi. 19), Haman (Esth. viii. 5), Mordecai and Esther (Esth. ix. 29). The prophet Elijah wrote to Ahab (2 Chr. xxi. 2); Isaiah wrote some of the history of his time (2 Chr. xxvi. 22); Jeremiah committed his prophecies to writing (Jer. li. 60), sometimes by the help of Baruch the scribe (Jer. xxxvi. 4, 32); and the false prophet, Shemaiah the Nehelamite, endeavoured to undermine Jeremiah's influence by the letters which he wrote to the high-priest (Jer. xxix. 25). In Is. xxix. 11, 12, there is clearly a distinction drawn between the man who was able to read, and the man who was not, and it seems a natural inference from what has been said that the accomplishments of reading and writing were not widely spread among the people, when we find that they are universally attributed to those of high rank or education, kings, priests, prophets, and professional scribes.

In addition to these instances in which writing is directly mentioned, an indirect allusion to its early existence is supposed to be found in the name of certain officers of the Hebrews in Egypt, שֹׁטְרִים, *shotrim*, LXX. γραμματεῖς (Ex. v. 6, A. V. "officers"). The root of this word has been sought in the Arabic سَطَرَ, *satara*, "to write," and its original meaning is believed to be "writers," or "scribes;" an explanation adopted by Gesenius in his *Lexicon Hebraicum* and *Thesaurus*, though he rejected it in his *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*. In the name Kirjath-Sepher (Booktown, Josh. xv. 15) the indication of a knowledge of writing among the Phoenicians is more distinct. Hitzig conjectures that the town may have derived its name from the discovery of the art, for the Hittites, a Canaanitish race, inhabited that

region, and the term Hittite may possibly have its

root in the Arabic حَتَّ, *chatta*, "to write."

The Hebrews, then, a branch of the great Shemitic family, being in possession of the art of writing, according to their own historical records, at a very early period, the further questions arise, what character they made use of, and whence they obtained it. It is scarcely possible in the present day to believe that, two centuries since, learned men of sober judgment seriously maintained, almost as an article of faith, that the square character, as it is known to us, with the vowel points and accents, was a direct revelation from heaven, and that the commandments were written by the finger of God upon the tables of stone in that character. Such, however, was really the case. But recent investigations have shown that, so far from the square character having any claim to such a remote antiquity and such an august parentage, it is of comparatively modern date, and has been formed from a more ancient type by a gradual process of development, the steps of which will be indicated hereafter, so far as they can be safely ascertained. What then was this ancient type? Most probably the Phoenician. To the Phoenicians, the daring seamen, and adventurous colonizers of the ancient world, tradition assigned the honour of the invention of letters (Plin. v. 12). This tradition may be of no value as direct evidence, but as it probably originated with the Greeks, it shows that, to them at least, the Phoenicians were the inventors of letters, and that these were introduced into Europe by means of that intercourse with Phoenicia which is implied in the legend of Cadmus, the man of the East. The Phoenician companions of this hero, according to Herodotus (v. 58), taught the Greeks many accomplishments, and among others the use of letters which hitherto they had not possessed. So Lucan, *Phars.* iii. 220:

"Phoenices primi, famae si credimus, ausi  
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris."

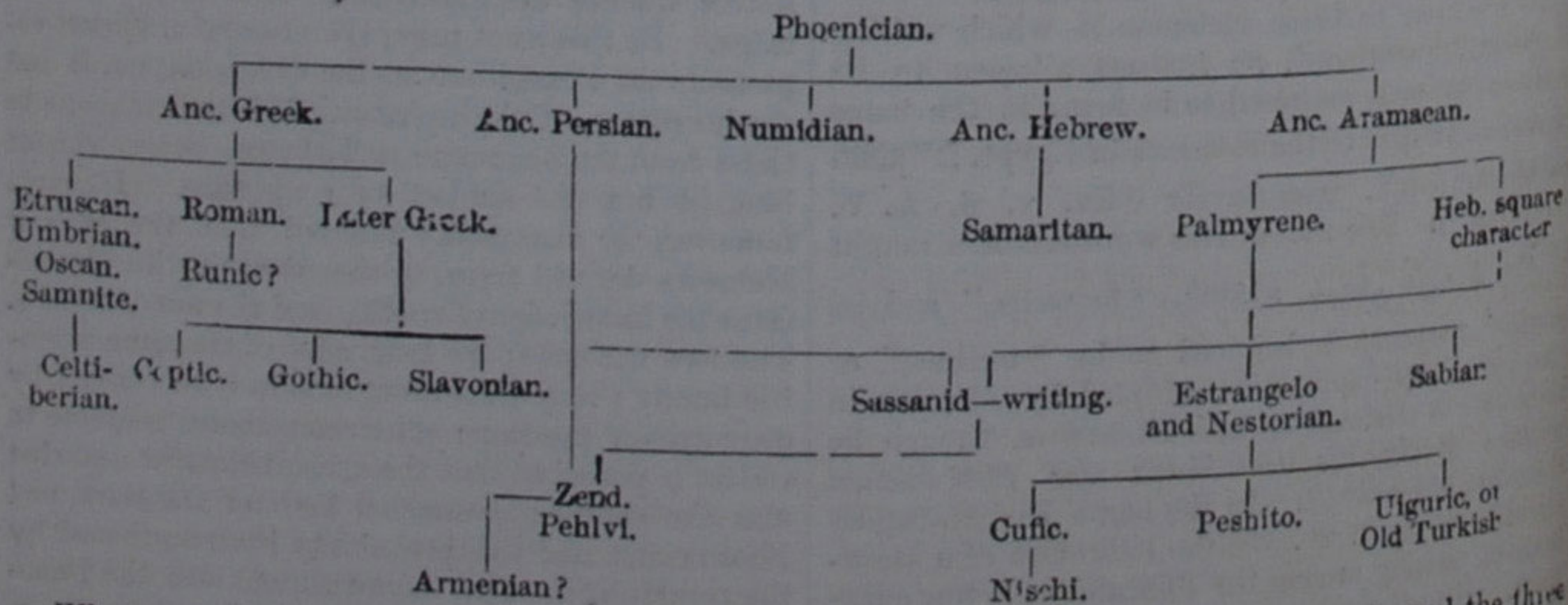
Pliny (vii. 56) was of opinion that letters were of Assyrian origin, but he mentions as a belief held by others that they were discovered among the Egyptians by Mercury, or that the Syrians had the honour of the invention. The last-mentioned theory is that given by Diodorus Siculus (v. 74), who says that the Syrians invented letters, and from them the Phoenicians having learnt them, transferred them to the Greeks. On the other hand, according to Tacitus (*Ann.* xi. 14), Egypt was believed to be the source whence the Phoenicians derived their knowledge. Be this as it may, the voice of tradition represents the Phoenicians as the disseminators, if not the inventors, of the alphabet. Whether it came to them from an Aramaean or Egyptian source can at best be but the subject of conjecture. It may, however, be reasonably inferred that the ancient Hebrews derived from, or shared with, the Phoenicians the knowledge of writing and the use of letters. The two nations spoke languages of the same Shemitic family; they were brought into close contact by geographical position; all circumstances combine to render it probable that the ancient Hebrew alphabet was the common possession both of Hebrews and Phoenicians: and this probability is strengthened by the results of modern investigation into the Phoenician inscriptions which have of late years been brought to light. The names of the Hebrew letters indicate that they must have been the invention of

a Shemitic people, and that they were moreover a pastoral people may be inferred from the same evidence. Such names as Aleph (an ox), Gimel (a camel), Lamed (an ox-goad), are most naturally explained by this hypothesis, which necessarily excludes the seafaring Phoenicians from any claim to their invention. If, as has been conjectured, they took the first idea of writing from the Egyptians, they would at least have given to the signs which they invented the names of objects with which they themselves were familiar. So far from this being the case the letters of the Hebrew alphabet contain no trace whatever of ships or seafaring matters: on the contrary, they point distinctly to an inland and pastoral people. The Shemitic and Egyptian alphabets have this principle in common, that the object whose name is given to a letter was taken originally to indicate the letter which begins the name; but this fact alone is insufficient to show that the Shemitic races borrowed their alphabet from Egypt, or that the principle thus held in common may not have been the possession of other nations of a still earlier date than the Egyptians. "The phonetic use of hieroglyphics," says Mr. Kenrick, "would naturally suggest to a practical people, such as the Phoenicians were, a simplification of the cumbrous system of the Egyptians, by dispensing altogether with the pictorial and symbolical use, and assigning one character to each sound, instead of the multitude of homophones which made the reading of the hieroglyphics so difficult; the residence of the

Phoenician shepherds, the Hyksos, in Egypt might afford an opportunity for this adaptation, or it might be brought about by commercial intercourse. We cannot, however, trace such a resemblance between the earliest Phoenician alphabet known to us, and the phonetic characters of Egypt, as to give any certainty to this conclusion" (*Phoenicia*, pp. 164, 165).

Perhaps all that can be inferred from the tradition that letters came to the Greeks from the Phoenicians, but that they were the invention of the Egyptians, is that the Egyptians possessed an alphabet before the Phoenicians. Wahl, De Wette, and Kopp are inclined to a Babylonian origin, understanding the *Σύροι* of Diodorus and the *Syri* of Pliny of the Babylonians. But Gesenius has shown this to be untenable, because (1) Pliny distinctly mentions both *Syri* and *Assyrii*, and by no means confounds them; and (2) because the inscription on the seal-stone, on which Kopp based his theory, is nothing more than Phoenician, and that not of the oldest form, but inclining to the somewhat later

Aramaic character. This seal-stone or ink contained, besides a cuneiform inscription, some Shemitic characters which were deciphered by Kopp, and were placed by him at the head of his most ancient alphabets (*Bilder und Schriften*, ii. p. 154). Gesenius, however, read them with a very different result. He himself argues for a Phoenician origin of the alphabet, in opposition to a Babylonian or Aramaean, on the following grounds:—1. That the names of the letters are found alike in the Hebrew and Aramaic dialects; as for instance, *beth*, *gimel*, *zain*, *nun*, *ain*, *resh*, *shin*, but others are not found in Syriac at all, at least not in the same sense. *Aleph* in Syriac signifies "a thousand," not "an ox;" *daleth* is not "a door," and for this, as well as for *vau*, *yod*, *mem*, *pe*, *koph*, and *tau*, different words are used. The Greek forms of the names of the letters are somewhat in favour of an Aramaic origin, but there is no proof that they came in this shape from the East, and that they were not so modified by the Greeks themselves. 2. It is not probable that the Aramaic dialect was the language of the inventors; for the letters ' י ם ן, which to them were certainly consonants, had become so weak in the Aramaic that they could scarcely any longer appear as such, and could not have been expressed by signs by an inventor who spoke a dialect of this kind. 3. If the Phoenician letters are pictorial, as there seems reason to believe, there is no model, among the old Babylonian discoverers of writing, after which they could have been formed; while, on the other hand, it is extremely probable that the Phoenicians, from their extended commerce, especially with Egypt, adopted an imitation of the Egyptian phonetic hieroglyphics, though they took neither the figures nor the names from this source. The names of some of the letters lead us to a nomade pastoral people, rich in herds: *aleph* (an ox), *gimel* (a camel), *lamed* (an ox-goad), *beth* (a tent), *daleth* (a tent-door), *vau* (a tent-peg), *cheth* (a hurdle or pen). It is a little remarkable that Gesenius did not see that this very fact militates strongly against the Phoenician origin of the letters, and points, as has been observed above, rather to a pastoral than a seafaring people as their inventors. But whether or not the Phoenicians were the inventors of the Shemitic alphabet, there can be no doubt of their just claim to being its chief disseminators; and with this understanding we may accept the genealogy of alphabets as given by Gesenius, and exhibited in the accompanying table.



Whatever minor differences may exist between the ancient and more modern Shemitic alphabets, they have two chief characteristics in common,—

1. That they contain only consonants and the three principal long vowels, א, י, ו; the other vowels being represented by signs above, below, or in the

middle of letters, or being omitted altogether. 2. That they are written from right to left. The Ethiopic, being perhaps a non-Shemitic alphabet, is an exception to this rule, as is the cuneiform character in which some Shemitic inscriptions are found. The same peculiarity of Egyptian writing was remarked by Herodotus. No instance of what is called *boustrophedon* writing—that is in a direction from right to left, and from left to right, in alternate lines—is found in Shemitic monuments.

The old Shemitic alphabets may be divided into two principal classes: 1. The Phoenician, as it exists (a) in the inscriptions in Cyprus, Malta, Carthage, and the coins of Phoenicia and her colonies. It is distinguished by an absence of vowels, and by sometimes having the words divided and sometimes not. (b). In the inscriptions on Jewish coins. (c). In the Phoenicio-Egyptian writing, with three vowel signs, deciphered by Caylus on the mummy bandages. From (a) are derived (d), the Samaritan character, and (e), the Greek. 2. The Hebrew-Chaldee character; to which belong (a), the Hebrew square character; (b), the Palmyrene, which has some traces of a cursive hand; (c), the Estrangelo, or ancient Syriac; and (d), the ancient Arabic or Cufic. The oldest Arabic writing (the Himyaritic) was perhaps the same as the ancient Hebrew or Phoenician.

It remains now to consider which of all these was the alphabet originally used by the ancient Hebrews. In considering this question it will on many accounts be more convenient to begin with the common square character, which is more familiar, and which from this familiarity is more constantly associated with the Hebrew language and writing. In the Talmud (*Sanh.* fol. 21, 2) this character is called **בְּתַב אֲשׁוּרִית**, “square writing,” or **בְּתַב מִרְבַּע**, “Assyrian writing;” the latter appellation being given because, according to the tradition, it came up with the Israelites from Assyria. Under the term Assyria are included Chaldea and Babylonia in the wider sense; for it is clear that in ancient writers the names *Assyrian* and *Chaldean* are applied indifferently to the same characters. The letters of the inscription on the tomb of Sardanapalus are called Chaldean (*Athen.* xii. p. 529) and Assyrian (*Athen.* xii. p. 469; *Arrian, Exp. Alex.* ii. 5, §4). Again, the *Assyrian* writing on the pillars erected by Darius at the Bosphoros (*Her.* iv. 87), is called by Strabo *Persian* (xv. p. 502). Another derivation for the epithet **אֲשׁוּרִית**, *ashshûrith*, as applied to this writing, has been suggested by Rabbi Judah the Holy, who derives it from **מְאֻשֶּׁרֶת**, *mēushshereth*, “blessed;” the term being applied to it because it was employed in writing the sacred books. Another etymology (from **אֲשָׁר**, *âshar*, to be straight), given by the Hebrew grammarian Abraham de Balmis, describes it as the straight, perpendicular writing, so making the epithet equivalent to that which we apply to it in calling it the square character. Hupfeld, starting from the same root, explains the Talmudic designation as merely a technical term used to denote the more modern writing, and as opposed to **רַעִין**, *raats*, “broken,” by which the ancient character is described. According to him it signifies that which is firm, strong, protected and supported as with sorts and walls, referring perhaps to the horizontal strokes on which the letters rest as on a foundation. In this view he compares it with the Ethiopic cha-

acter, which is called in Arabic *Simso* “supported.” It must be confessed that none of these explanations are so satisfactory as to be unhesitatingly accepted. The only fact to be derived from the word **אֲשׁוּרִית** is that it is the source of the whole Talmudic tradition of the Babylonian origin of the square character. This tradition is embodied in the following passages from the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmuds:—“It is a tradition: R. Jose says Ezra was fit to have the law given by his hand, but that the age of Moses prevented it; yet though it was not given by his hand, the writing and the language were; the writing was written in the Syriac tongue, and interpreted in the Syriac tongue (*Ezr.* iv. 7), and they could not read the writing (*Dan.* v. 8); from hence it is learnt that it was given on the same day. R. Nathan says the law was given in broken characters (**רַעִין**, *raats*), and agrees with R. Jose; but Rab (*i. e.* R. Judah the Holy) says that the law was given in the Assyrian (*i. e.* the square) character, and when they sinned it was turned into the broken character, and when they were worthy, in the days of Ezra, it was turned to them again in the Assyrian character, according to *Zech.* ix. 12. It is a tradition: R. Simeon ben Eleazar says, on the account of R. Eleazar ben Parta, who also says, on the account of Eliezer Hammodai, the law was written in the Assyrian character” (*Talm. Jerus. Megillah*, fol. 71, 2, 3). But the story, as best known, is told in the Babylonian Talmud:—“Mar Zutra, or as others Mar Ukba, says, at first the law was given to Israel in the Hebrew (**עִבְרִית**, *i. e.* the Samaritan) writing and the holy tongue; and again it was given to them, in the days of Ezra, in the Assyrian writing and the Syrian tongue. They chose for the Israelites the Assyrian writing and the holy tongue, and left to the *Idiotæ* the Hebrew writing and the Syrian tongue. Who are the *Idiotæ*? R. Chasda says, the Cutheans (or Samaritans). What is the Hebrew writing? R. Chasda says, the Libonaah writing” (*Sanhed.* fol. 21, 2; 22, 1). The Libonaah writing is explained by R. Solomon to mean the large characters in which the Jews wrote their amulets and *mezuzoth*. The broken character mentioned above can only apply to the Samaritan alphabet, or one very similar to it. In this character are written, not only manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch, varying in age from the 13th to the 16th century, but also other works in Samaritan and Arabic. The Samaritans themselves call it *Hebrew writing*, in contradistinction to the square character, which they call the writing of Ezra. It has no vowel points, but a diacritical mark called *Marhetono* is employed, and words and sentences are divided. A form of character more ancient than the Samaritan, though closely resembling it, is found on the coins struck under Simon Maccabaeus, circ. B.C. 142. Of this writing Gesenius remarks (*art. Palaeographie* in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædie*) that it was most probably employed, even in manuscripts, during the whole lifetime of the Hebrew language, and was gradually displaced by the square character about the birth of Christ. An examination of the characters on the Maccabaean coins shows that they bear an extremely close resemblance to those of the Phoenician inscriptions, and in many cases are all but identical with them. The figures of three characters (**ז. ט. ד**) do not occur, and that of **ד** is doubtful.

In order to explain the Talmudic story above

given, and the relation between the square character and that of the coins, different theories have been constructed. Some held that the square character was sacred, and used by the priests, while the character on the coins was for the purposes of ordinary life. The younger Buxtorf (*De Lit. Hebr. Gen. Ant.*) maintained that the square alphabet was the oldest and the original alphabet of the Hebrews, and that before the Captivity the Samaritan character had existed side by side with it; that during the Captivity the priests and more learned part of the people cultivated the square or sacred character, while those who were left in Palestine adhered to the common writing. Ezra brought the former back with him, and it was hence called Assyrian or Chaldean. The other was used principally by the Samaritans, though occasionally by the Jews themselves, as is shown by the characters on the Maccabean coins. This opinion found many supporters, and a singular turn was given to it by Morinus (*De Lingua Primaeva*, p. 271) and Loescher (*De Causis Ling. Hebr.* pp. 207, 208), who maintained that the characters on the coins were a kind of tachygraphic writing formed from the square character. Hartmann (*Ling. Einl.* p. 28, &c.) also upheld the existence of a twofold character, the sacred and profane. The favourers of this hypothesis of a double alphabet had some analogies to which they could appeal for support. The Egyptians had a twofold, or even a threefold character. The cuneiform writing of the ancient Persians and Medes was perhaps a sacred character for monuments, the Zend being used for ordinary life. The Arabs, Persians, and Turks employ different characters according as they require them for letters, poems, or historical writings. But analogy is not proof, and therefore the passage in Is. viii. 1 has been appealed to as containing a direct allusion to the ordinary writing as opposed to the sacred character. But it is evident, upon examination, that the writing there referred to is that of a perfectly legible character, such as an ordinary unskilled man might read. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haeres.* ii. 24), indeed, speaks of sacerdotal letters, but his information is not to be relied on. In fact the sole ground for the hypothesis lies in the fact that the only specimens of the Hebrew writing of common life are not in the usual character of the manuscripts. If this supposition of the coexistence of a twofold alphabet be abandoned as untenable, we must either substitute for it a second hypothesis, that the square character was the exclusive possession of the kingdom of Judah, and that the Samaritan was used in the northern kingdom, or that the two alphabets were successive and not contemporary. Against the former hypothesis stands the fact that the coins on which the so-called Samaritan character occurs were struck at Jerusalem, and the names *Hebrew* and *Assyrian*, as applied to the two alphabets, would still be unaccounted for. There remains then the hypothesis that the square character and the writing of the coins succeeded each other in point of time, and that the one gradually took the place of the other, just as in Arabic the Nischi writing has displaced the older Cufic character, and in Syriac the Estrangelo has given place to that at present in use. But did the square character precede the character on the coins, or was the reverse the case? According to some of the doctors of the Talmud (*Sanh.* fol. 21, 2; 22, 1), in the passage above quoted, the Law was given to the Israelites in the Hebrew character and the holy tongue. It was given again

in the days of Ezra in the Assyrian character and the Aramaean tongue. By the "Hebrew" character is to be understood what is elsewhere called the "broken" writing, which is what is commonly called Samaritan; and by the Assyrian writing is to be understood the square character. But Rabbi Judah the Holy, who adopted a different etymology for the word אֲשׁוּרִית (Assyrian), says that the Law was first given in this square character, but that afterwards, when the people sinned, it was changed into the broken writing, which again, upon their repentance in the days of Ezra, was converted into the square character. In both these cases it is evident that the tradition is entirely built upon the etymology of the word *ashshurith*, and varies according to the different conceptions formed of its meaning: consequently it is of but slight value as direct testimony. The varying character of the tradition shows moreover that it was framed after the true meaning of the name had become lost. Origen (on Ez. ix. 4) says that in the ancient alphabet the *Tau* had the form of a cross, and (*Hexapla*, i. 86, Montfaucon) that in some MSS. of the LXX. the word יהוה was written in ancient Hebrew characters, not with those in use in his day, "for they say that Ezra used other [letters] after the Captivity." Jerome, following Origen, gives out as certain what his predecessor only mentioned as a report, and the tradition in his hands assumes a different aspect. "It is certain," he says, "that Ezra the scribe and doctor of the law, after the taking of Jerusalem and the restoration of the Temple under Zerubbabel, discovered other letters which we now use: whereas up to that time the characters of the Samaritans and Hebrews were the same. . . . And the tetragrammaton name of the Lord we find in the present day written in ancient letters in certain Greek rolls" (*Prolog. Gal. in Libr. Reg.*). The testimony of Origen with regard to the form of *Tau* undergoes a similar modification. "In the ancient Hebrew letters, which the Samaritans use to this day, the last letter, *tau*, has the form of a cross." Again, in another passage (*Ep. 136 ad Marcell.* ii. 704, *Ep. 14*, ed. Martianay) Jerome remarks that the ineffable name יהוה, being misunderstood by the Greeks when they met with it in their books, was read by them *pipi*, i. e. ΠΙΠΙ. It has been inferred from this that the ancient characters, to which both Jerome and Origen refer in the first-quoted passages, were the square characters, because in them alone, and not in the Samaritan, does any resemblance between יהוה and ΠΙΠΙ exist. There is nothing, however, to show that Jerome contemplated the same case in the two passages. In the one he expressly mentions the "ancient characters," and evidently as an exceptional instance, for they were only found in "certain rolls;" in the other he appears to speak of an occurrence by no means uncommon. Again, it is Jerome, and not Origen, who is responsible for the assertion that in the Samaritan alphabet the *Tau* has the form of a cross. Origen merely says this is the case in the ancient or original (ἀρχαίους) Hebrew characters, and his assertion is true of the writing on the Maccabean coins, and of the ancient and even the more modern Phoenician, but not of the alphabet known to us as the Samaritan. It seems clear, therefore, that Jerome's language on this point cannot be regarded as strictly accurate.

There are many arguments which go to show that the Samaritan character is older than the square Hebrew. One of these is derived from the

existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which, according to some writers, must date at least from the time of the separation of the two kingdoms, the northern kingdom retaining the ancient writing which was once common to both. But there is no evidence for the existence of the Samaritan Pentateuch before the Captivity, and the opinion which now most commonly prevails is that the Samaritans received it first in the Maccabean period, and with it the Jewish writing (Hävernick, *Eint.* i. 290). The question is still far from being decided, and while it remains in this condition the arguments derived from the Samaritan Pentateuch cannot be allowed to have much weight. Hupfeld (*Stud. und Krit.* 1830, ii. 279, &c.) contends that the common theory, that the Samaritans received their writing from the ancient Israelitish times, but maintained it more faithfully than the Jews, is improbable, because the Samaritans were a mixed race, entirely different from the ancient Israelites, and had, like their language, a preponderating Aramaic element: consequently, if they had had a character peculiar to themselves, independently of their sacred book, it would rather have been Aramaic. He argues that the Samaritans received their present writing with their Pentateuch from the Jews, because the Samaritan character differs in several important particulars from that on the Phoenician monuments, but coincides in all characteristic deviations with the ancient Hebrew on the Maccabean coins. These deviations are—(1) the horizontal strokes in *Beth*, *Mem*, and *Nun*, which have no parallel on the Phoenician monuments: (2) the angular heads of *Beth*, *Daleth*, and especially *Ain*, which last never occurs in an angular form in Phoenician: (3) the entirely different forms of *Tsade* and *Vau*, as well as of *Zain* and *Samech*, which are not found on the Maccabean coins. In the Samaritan letters *Aleph*, *Cheth*, *Lamed*, *Shin*, there is a closer relationship with the forms of the old Hebrew: the only marked deviation is in the form of *Tau*. To these considerations Hupfeld adds the traditions of Origen and Jerome and the Talmud already given, and the fact that the Samaritans have preserved their letters unchanged, a circumstance which is intelligible on the supposition that these letters were regarded by them with superstitious reverence as a sacred character which had come to them from without, and which, in the absence of any earlier indigenous tradition of writing, necessarily became a lifeless permanent type.

The names of the letters, and the correspondence of their forms to their names in the Phoenician and Phoenicio-Samaritan alphabets, supply another argument for the superior antiquity of this to the Hebrew square character: e. g. *Ain* (an eye), which on the coins and Phoenician monuments has the form *o*; *Resh* (a head), *q*. On the other hand, the names *Vau* (a nail or peg), *Zain* (a weapon), *Caph* (the hollow hand), correspond to their forms better in the square character: this, however, at most, would only prove that both are derived from the same original alphabet in which the correspondence between the shape and name of each letter was more complete. Again, we trace the Phoenician alphabet much further back than the square character. The famous inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, found at Sidon in 1855, is referred by the Duc de Luynes to the sixth century B.C. The date of the inscription at Marseilles is more uncertain. Some would place it before the foundation of the Greek colony there, B.C. 600.

There is reason to believe, however, that it is much more recent. Besides these we have the inscriptions at Sigaeum and Amyclae in the ancient Greek character, which is akin to the Phoenician. On the other hand, the Hebraeo-Chaldee character is not found on historic monuments before the birth of Christ. A consideration of the various readings which have arisen from the interchange of similar characters in the present text leads, as might naturally be expected, to results which are rather favourable to the square character, for in this alone are the manuscripts written which have come down to us. The following examples are given, with one exception, by Gesenius:—

(a) In the square alphabet are confounded—

- ב and כ. שבניה, Neh. xii. 14 = שכניה, Neh. xii. 3; זכרי, 1 Chr. ix. 15 = זכרי, Neh. xi. 17.
- ו and י. ועקן, Gen. xlvi. 27 = יעקן, 1 Chr. i. 42.
- כ and ס. כירות, 1 K. vii. 40 = סירות, 2 Chr. iv. 11.
- כ and ר. חשכת, Ps. xviii. 12 = חשרת, 2 Sam. xxii. 12.
- ז and ן. מעון, Ps. xxxi. 3 = מעון, Ps. lxxi. 3.

(b) In both alphabets are confounded—

- ד and ר. דיפת, 1 Chr. i. 6 = ריפת, Gen. x. 3; דרנים, 1 Chr. i. 7 = ררנים, Gen. x. 4; דאה, Lev. xi. 14 = ראה, Deut. xiv. 13; וידא, Ps. xviii. 11 = וירא, 2 Sam. xxii. 11.

(c) In the Phoenician alone—

- ב and ד. חלב, 2 Sam. xxiii. 29 = חלד, 1 Chr. xi. 30.
- י and ש, whence probably עין, Josh. xxi. 16 = עשן, 1 Chr. vi. 44.
- נ and פ. נערי, 1 Chr. xi. 37 = פערי, 2 Sam. xxiii. 35;

(d) In neither—

- נ and ר. נחום, Neh. vii. 7 = רחום, Ezr. ii. 2.
- נ and ת. תחן, Num. xxvi. 35 = תחת, 1 Chr. vi. 20.
- חמון, 1 Chr. vi. 76 [61] = חמות, Josh. xxi. 32.

The third class of these readings seems to point to a period when the Hebrews used the Phoenician character, and a comparison of the Phoenician alphabet and the Hebrew coin-writing shows that the examples of which Gesenius makes a fourth class, might really be included under the third: for in these some forms of נ and ר, as well as of ן and ת, are by no means unlike. This circumstance takes away some of the importance which the above results otherwise give to the square character. Indeed, after writing his *Hebräische Sprache und Schrift*, Gesenius himself appears to have modified some of the conclusions at which he arrived in that work, and instead of maintaining that the square character, or one essentially similar to it, was in use in the time of the LXX., and that the Maccabees retained the old character for their coins, as the Arabs retained the Cufic some centuries after the introduction of the Nischi, he concludes as most probable, in his article *Paläographie* (in Ersch and Gruber's *Encycl.*), that the ancient Hebrew was first changed for the square character about the birth of Christ. A comparison of the Phoenician with the square alphabet shows that the latter could not be the immediate development of the former, and that it could not have been formed gradually from it at some period subsequent to the time of the Maccabees. The essential difference of some characters, and the similarity of others, render it probable that the two alphabets are both descended from one more ancient than either, of which each has retained some peculiarities. This more



ancient form, Hupfeld (*Hebräische Grammatik*, §7) maintains, is the original alphabet invented by the Babylonians, and extended by the Phoenicians. From this the square character was developed by three stages.

1. In its oldest form it appears on Phoenician monuments, stones, and coins. The number of the inscriptions containing Phoenician writing was 77, greater and smaller, in the time of Gesenius, but it has since been increased by the discovery of the famous sarcophagus of Eshmunazar king of Sidon, and the excavations which have still more recently been made in the neighbourhood of Carthage have brought to light many others which are now in the British Museum. Those described by Gesenius were found at Athens (three bilingual), at Malta (four, one of which is bilingual), in Cyprus among the ruins of Kitium (thirty-three), in Sicily, in the ruins of Carthage (twelve), and in the regions of Carthage and Numidia. They belong for the most part to the period between Alexander and the age of Augustus. A Punic inscription on the arch of Septimius Severus brings down the Phoenician character as late as the beginning of the third century after Christ. Besides these inscriptions on stone, there are a number of coins bearing Phoenician characters, of which those found in Cilicia are the most ancient, and belong to the times of the Persian domination. The character on all these is essentially the same. In its best form it is found on the Sicilian, Maltese, Cyprian, and Carthaginian inscriptions. On the Cilician coins it is perhaps most original, degenerating on the later coins of Phoenicia, Spain, and the neighbouring islands, and becoming almost a cursive character in the monuments of Numidia and the African provinces. There are no final letters and no divisions of words. The characteristics of the Phoenician alphabet as it is thus discovered are, that it is purely consonantal; that it consists of twenty-two letters written from right to left, and is distinguished by strong perpendicular strokes and the closed heads of the letters; that the names and order of the letters were the same as in the Hebrew alphabet, as may be inferred from the names of the Greek letters which came immediately from Phoenicia; and that originally the alphabet was pictorial, the letters representing figures. This last position has been strongly opposed by Wuttke (*Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.* xi. 75, &c.), who maintains that the ancient Phoenician alphabet contains no traces of a pictorial character, and that the letters are simply combinations of strokes. It is impossible here to give his arguments, and the reader is referred for further information to his article. This ancient Phoenician character in its earliest form was probably, says Hupfeld, adopted by the Hebrews from the Canaanites, and used by them during the whole period of the living language till shortly before the birth of Christ. Closely allied with it are the characters on the Maccabaean coins, and the Samaritan alphabet.

2. While the old writing remained so almost unchanged among the Phoenicians and Samaritans, it was undergoing a gradual transformation among its original inventors, the Aramaeans, especially those of the West. This transformation was effected by opening the heads of the letters, and by bending the perpendicular stroke into a horizontal one, which in the cursive character served for a connecting stroke, and in the inscriptions on stone for a basis or foundation for the letters. The character in this form is found in the earliest stage on the stone of

Carpentras, where the letters  $\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\eta$ , have open heads; and later in the inscriptions on the ruins of Palmyra, where the characters are distinguished by the open heads degenerating sometimes to a point, and by horizontal connecting strokes. Besides the stone of Carpentras, the older form of the unmodified Aramaean character is found on some fragments of papyrus found in Egypt, and preserved in the Library at Turin, and in the Museum of the Duke of Blacas. Plates of these are given in Gesenius' *Monumenta Phoenicia* (tab. 28-33). They belong to the time of the later Ptolemies, and are written in an Aramaic dialect. The inscription on the Carpentras stone was the work of heathen scribes, probably, as Dr. Levy suggests (*Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.* xi. 67), the Babylonian colonists of Egypt; the writing of the papyri he attributes to Jews. The inscription on the vase of the Serapeum at Memphis is placed by the Duc de Luynes and M. Mariette in the 4th century B.C. In the Blacas fragments the heads of the letters  $\delta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\eta$ , have fallen away altogether. In the forms of  $\theta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$  we see the origin of the figures of the square character. The final forms of *Caph* and *Nun* occur for the first time. The Palmyrene writing represents a later stage, and belongs principally to the second and third centuries after Christ, the time of the greatest prosperity of Palmyra. The oldest inscription belongs to the year 396 of the Greeks (A.D. 84), and the latest to the year 569 (A.D. 257). The writing was not confined to Palmyra, for an inscription in the same character was found at Abilene. The Palmyrene inscriptions are fifteen in number: ten bilingual, in Syriac and Greek, and Syriac and Latin. Two are preserved at Rome, four at Oxford. Those at Rome differ from the rest, in having lost the heads of the letters  $\delta$ ,  $\zeta$ ,  $\eta$ ,  $\gamma$ , while the forms of the  $\theta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$  are like the Phoenician. Of the cursive Assyrian writing, which appears to be allied to the Aramaean, Mr. Layard remarks, "On monuments and remains purely Syrian, or such as cannot be traced to a foreign people, only one form of character has been discovered, and it so closely resembles the cursive of Assyria, that there can be little doubt as to the identity of the origin of the two. If, therefore, the inhabitants of Syria, whether Phoenicians or others, were the inventors of letters, and those letters were such as exist upon the earliest monuments of that country, the cursive character of the Assyrians may have been as ancient as the cuneiform. However that may be, this hieratic character has not yet been found in Assyria on remains of a very early epoch, and it would seem probable that simple perpendicular and horizontal lines preceded rounded forms, being better suited to letters carved on stone tablets or rocks. At Nimroud the cursive writing was found on part of an alabaster vase, and on fragments of pottery, taken out of the rubbish covering the ruins. On the alabaster vase it accompanied an inscription in the cuneiform character, containing the name of the Khoisabad king, to whose reign it is evident, from several circumstances, the vase must be attributed. It has also been found on Babylonian bricks of the time of Nebuchadnezzar" (*Nin.* ii. pp. 165, 166). M. Fresnel discovered at Kasr some fifty fragments of pottery covered with this cursive character in ink. These, too, are said to be of the age of Nebuchadnezzar (*Journ. Asiat.* July 1853, p. 77). Dr. Levy (*Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.* ix. 465) maintains, in accordance with the Talmudic tradition, that the Jews acquired this cursive writing in Babylon, and brought it back with them after the Captivity

together with the Chaldee languages, and that it gradually displaced the older alphabet, of which fragments remain in the forms of the final letters.

3. While this modification was taking place in the Aramaic letters, a similar process of change was going on in the old character among the Jews. We already find indications of this in the Maccabean coins, where the straight strokes of some letters are broken. The Aramaic character, too, had apparently an influence upon the Hebrew, proportioned to the influence exercised by the Aramaic dialect upon the Hebrew language. The heads of the letters still left in the Palmyrene character are removed, the position and length of several oblique strokes are altered (as in ת. ה. ג. ט). It lost the character of a cursive hand by the separation of the several letters, and the stiff ornaments which they received at the hands of calligraphers, and thus became an angular, uniform, broken character, from which it receives its name *square* (פְּתוּחַ מְרֻבֵּעַ).

In the letters א. ב. ג. ד. ה. ו. ז. ח. ט. י. ק. ל. מ. נ. ס. ע. פ. צ. ת, the Aegyptio-Aramaic appears the older, and the Palmyrene most resembles the square character. In others, on the contrary, as ה. ט. ק. ר, the square character is closely allied to the forms in the Blacas fragments; and in some, as ד. ה. ו. ז. ח. ט. י. ק. ל. מ. נ. ס. ע. פ. צ. ת, both the older alphabets agree with the square character. So far as regards the development of the square character from the Aramaean, as it appears on the stone of Carpentras and the ruins of Palmyra, Hupfeld and Gesenius are substantially agreed, but they differ widely on another and very important point. Gesenius is disposed to allow some weight to the tradition as preserved in the Talmud, Origen, and Jerome, that the Hebrews at some period adopted a character different from their own. The Chaldee square alphabet he considers as originally of Aramaic origin, but transferred to the Hebrew language. To this conclusion he appears to be drawn by the name *Assyrian* applied in the Talmud to the square character, which he infers was probably the ancient character of Assyria. If this were the case, it is remarkable that no trace of it should be found on the Assyrian monuments; and, in the absence of other evidence, it is unsafe to build a theory upon a name, the interpretation of which is uncertain. The change of alphabet from the Phoenician to the Aramaean, and the development of the Syriac from the Aramaean, Gesenius regards as two distinct circumstances, which took place at different times, and were separated by a considerable interval. The formation of the square character he maintains cannot be put earlier than the second century after Christ. Hupfeld, on the other hand, with more show of reason, rejects altogether the theory of an abrupt change of character, because he doubts whether any instance can be shown of a simple exchange of alphabets in the case of a people who have already a tradition of writing. The ancient letters were in use in the time of the Maccabees, and from that period writing did not cease, but was rather more practised in the transcription of the sacred books. Besides, on comparing the Palmyrene with the square character, it is clear that the former has been altered and developed, a result which would have been impossible in the case of a communication from without which overwhelmed all tradition and spontaneity. The case of the Samaritans, on the other hand, is that of a people who received an alphabet entire, which they regarded as sacred in consequence of its association

with their sacred book, and which they therefore retained unaltered with superstitious fidelity. Moreover, in the old Hebrew writing on the coins we see already a tendency to several important alterations, as, for example, in the open heads of ב and ג, and the base lines of ב. ד. מ. נ; and many letters, as ה, are derived rather from the coin-character than from the Palmyrene, while ו and ק are entirely Phoenician. Finally, Hupfeld adds, "It is in the highest degree improbable—nay, almost inconceivable—that the Jews, in the fervour of their then enthusiasm for their sacred books, should, consciously and without apparent reason, have adopted a foreign character and abandoned the ancient writing of their fathers."

Assuming, then, as approximately true, that the square character of the Hebrews was the natural result of a gradual process of development, and that it was not adopted in its present shape from without, but became what it is by an internal organic change, we have further to consider at what time it acquired its present form. Kopp (*Bilder und Schriften*, ii. p. 177) places it as late as the 4th century after Christ; but he appears to be guided to his conclusion chiefly by the fact that the Palmyrene character, to which it is most nearly allied, extended into the 3rd century. It is evident, however, from several considerations, that in the 4th century the square character was substantially the same as it is to this day, and had for some time been so. The descriptions of the forms of the letters in the Talmud and Jerome coincide most exactly with the present; for both are acquainted with *final* letters, and describe as similar those letters which resemble each other in the modern alphabet, as, for instance, ב and כ, ד and ה, ו and ה, ז and י, י and י, ט and ס. The calligraphic ornaments which were employed in the writing of the synagogue rolls, as the *Taggin* on the letters ש. ע. ט. ז. נ. ג. י, the point in the broken headline of פ (פֿ), and many other prescriptions for the orthography of the Torah are found in the Talmud, and show that Hebrew calligraphy, under the powerful protection of minute laws observed with superstitious reverence, had long received its full development, and was become a fixed unalterable type, as it has remained ever since. The change of character, moreover, not only in the time of Jerome and the Talmud, but even as early as Origen, was an event already long past, and so old and involved in the darkness of fable as to be attributed in the common legend to Ezra, or by most of the Talmudists to God Himself. The very obscurity which surrounds the meaning of the terms רֵעִין and אֲשׁוּרִית as applied to the old and new writing respectively, is another proof that in the time of the Talmudists the square character had become permanent, and that the history of the changes through which it had passed had been lost. In the Mishna (*Shabb.* xii. 5) the case is mentioned of two *Zains* (ז) being written for *Cheth* (ח), which could only be true of the square character. The often-quoted passage, Matt. v. 18, which is generally brought forward as a proof that the square character must have been in existence in the time of Christ, who mentions *lōra*, or *yod*, as the smallest letter of the alphabet, proves at least that the old Hebrew or Phoenician character was no longer in use, but that the Palmyrene character, or one very much like it, had been introduced. From these circumstances we may infer, with Hupfeld (*Stud. und Krit.* 1830, ii. 288), that Whiston's conjecture is

approximately true; namely, that about the first or second century after Christ the square character assumed its present form; though in a question involved in so much uncertainty, it is impossible to pronounce with great positiveness.\*

Next to the scattered hints as to the shape of the Hebrew letters which we find in the writings of Jerome, the most direct evidence on this point is supplied by the so-called *Alphabetum Jesuitarum*, which is found in a MS. (Codex Marchalianus, now lost) of the LXX. of Lam. ii. It is the work of a Greek scribe, imperfectly acquainted with, or more probably entirely ignorant of Hebrew, who copied slavishly the letters which were before him. In this alphabet ה is written Π; ך and ך are of nearly equal length, the latter being distinguished by two dots; ם is made like ρ, and ן like Η. The letters on the two Abraxas gems in his possession were thought by Montfaucon (*Praelim. ad Hex. Orig.* i. 22, 23) to have been Hebrew; but as they have not been fairly deciphered, nothing can be inferred from them. Other instances of the occurrence of the Hebrew alphabet written by ignorant scribes are found in a Codex of the New Testament, of which an account is given by Treschow (*Tent. descr. Cod. Vet. aliquot Gr. N. T.*), and three have been edited from Greek and Latin MSS. in the *Nouveau Traité Diplomatique* published by the Benedictines. To these, as to the *Alphabetum Jesuitarum*, Kennicott justly attributes no value (*Dissert. Gen.* p. 69 note). The same may be said of the Hebrew writing of a monk, taken from the work of Rabanus Maurus, *De inventione linguarum*. The Jews themselves recognize a double character in the writing of their synagogue rolls. The earlier of these is called the *Tam* writing (תם כתב), as some suppose, from Tam, the grandson of Rashi, who flourished in the 12th century, and is thought to be the inventor; or, according to others, from the perfect form of the letters, the epithet *Tam* being then taken as a significant epithet of the square character, in which sense the expression כתיבה תמה, *céthibáh thammáh* occurs in the Talmud (*Shabbath*, fol. 103 b). Phylacteries written in this character were hence called *Tam tephillin*. The letters have fine pointed corners and perpendicular *taggin* (תנין), or little strokes attached to the seven letters שעטנזניץ. The *Tam* writing is chiefly found in German synagogue rolls, and probably also in those of the Polish Jews. The *Welsh* writing (וולש כתב), to which the Jews assign a later date than to the other, usually occurs in the synagogue rolls and other manuscripts of the Spanish and Eastern Jews. The figures of the letters are rounder than in the *Tam* writing, and the *taggin*, or crown-like ornaments, terminate in a thick point. But besides these two forms of writing, which are not essentially distinct, there are minor differences observable in the manuscripts of different countries. The Spanish character is the most regular and simple, and is for the most part large and bold, forming a true square character. The German is more sloping and compressed, with pointed corners; but finer than the Spanish. Between these the French and Italian character is intermediate, and is hence called by Kennicott (*Diss. Gen.* p. 71) cha-

\* Another link between the Palmyrene and the square character is supplied by the writing on some of the Babylonian bowls, described by Mr. Layard (*Nin. and*

racter intermedius. It is for the most part rather smaller than the others, and the forms of the letters are rounder (Eichhorn, *Einl.* ii. 37-41; Tychsen, *Tentamen de var. cod. Hebr. V. T. MSS. generibus*, p. 264; Bellermann, *De usu paleog. Hebr.* p. 43).

*The Alphabet.*—The oldest evidence on the subject of the Hebrew alphabet is derived from the alphabetical Psalms and poems; Pss. xxv., xxxiv., xxxvii., cxii., cxix., cxlv.; Prov. xxxi. 10-31; Lam. i.-iv. From these we ascertain that the number of the letters was twenty-two, as at present. The Arabic alphabet originally consisted of the same number. Irenaeus (*Adv. Haer.* ii. 24) says that the ancient sacred letters were ten in number. It has been argued by many that the alphabet of the Phoenicians at first consisted only of sixteen letters, or according to Hug of fifteen, א, ט, כ, ד, ז, ש, being omitted. The legend as told by Pliny (vii. 56) is as follows. Cadmus brought with him into Greece sixteen letters; at the time of the Trojan war Palamedes added four others, Θ, Ξ, Φ, Χ, and Simonides of Melos four more, Ζ, Η, Ψ, Ω. Aristotle recognized eighteen letters of the original alphabet, Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Τ Φ, to which Θ and Χ were added by Epicharmus (comp. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 14). By Isidore of Seville (*Orig.* i. 3) it is said there were seventeen. But in the oldest story of Cadmus, as told by Herodotus (v. 58) and Diodorus (v. 24), nothing is said of the number of the letters. Recent investigations, however, have rendered it probable that at first the Shemitic alphabet consisted of but sixteen letters. It is true that no extant monuments illustrate the period when the alphabet was thus curtailed, but as the theory is based upon an organic arrangement first proposed by Lepsius, it may be briefly noticed. Dr. Donaldson (*New Cratylus*, p. 171, 3rd ed.) says, "Besides the mutes and breathings, the Hebrew alphabet, as it now stands, has four sibilants, א, ס, צ, ש. Now it is quite clear that all these four sibilants could not have existed in the oldest state of the alphabet. Indeed we have positive evidence that the Ephraimites could not pronounce ש, but substituted for it the simpler articulation ד (Judges xii. 6). We consider it quite certain, that at the first there was only one sibilant, namely this ד, or samech. Finally, to reduce the Semitic alphabet to its oldest form, we must omit caph, which is only a softened form of koph, the liquid resh, and the semivowel jod, which are of more recent introduction. . . The remaining 16 letters appear in the following order: א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, ט, י, כ, ל, מ, נ, ס, ע, פ, ק, ר, ש, ת. If we examine this order more minutely, we shall see that it is not arbitrary or accidental, but strictly organic according to the Semitic articulation. We have four classes, each consisting of 4 letters: the first and second classes consist each of 3 mutes preceded by a breathing, the third of the 3 liquids and the sibilant, which perhaps closed the oldest alphabet of all, and the fourth contains the three supernumerary mutes preceded by a breathing." The original 16 letters of the Greek alphabet, corresponding to those of the Shemitic, are thus given by Dr. Donaldson (*ibid.* p. 175).

א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	ק	ר	ש	ת
'A	B	Γ	Δ	'E	F	H	Θ	Λ	M	N	Σ	Ο	Π	Φ	Ψ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Ω	

Bab. 509), which Dr. Levy (*Zeitsch. d. D. M. G.*) assigns to the 7th century A.D.

"In the Greek alphabet, as it is now given in the grammars, F and Q are omitted, and 10 other characters added to these." The Shemitic *tsade* (צ) became zeta (ζ), *caph* (כ) became kappa (κ), and *gud* (ג) became iota (ι). *Resh* (ר) was adopted and called rho (ρ), and Σάν, which was used by the Dorians for Σίγμα (Her. i. 139), is only another form of zain (ז). *Shin* (ש) or *Sin* (שׁ), is the original of ξι, which from some cause or other has changed places with σίγμα, the Shemitic *samech*, just as *sheta* has been transferred from its position. In like manner *mem* became μν, and *nun* became ν. With the remaining Greek letters we have nothing to do, as they do not appear to have been Shemitic in origin, and will therefore proceed to consider the Hebrew alphabet as known to us.

With regard to the arrangement of the letters, our chief sources of information are as before the alphabetical acrostics in the Psalms and Lamentations. In these poems some irregularities in the arrangement of the alphabet are observable. For instance, in Lam. ii., iii., iv., ד stands before ז: in Ps. xxxvii. ז stands before ד, and ז is wanting: in Ps. xxv., xxxiv. י is omitted, and in both there is a final verse after ת beginning with ד. Hence ד has been compared with the Greek φ, and the transposition of ז and ז has been explained from the interchange of these letters in Aramaic. But as there are other irregularities in the alphabetical Psalms, no stress can be laid upon these points. We find for example, in Ps. xxv. two verses beginning with כ, while ב is omitted; in Ps. xxxiv. two begin with ג, and so on.

The names of the letters are given in the LXX. of the Lamentations as found in the Vatican MS. as printed by Mai, and in the Codex Friderico-Augustanus, published by Tischendorf. Both these ancient witnesses prove, if proof were wanting, that in the 4th century after Christ the Hebrew letters were known by the same names as at the present day. These names all denote sensible objects which had a resemblance to the original form of the letters, preserved partly in the square alphabet, partly in the Phoenician, and partly perhaps in the Alphabet from which both were derived.

The following are the letters of the Hebrew alphabet in their present shape, with their names and the meanings of these names, so far as they can be ascertained with any degree of probability.

- א, *Aleph*. אָלֶף = אֶלֶף, an ox (comp. Plut. *Symp. Quaest.* ix. 2, §3). In the old Phoenician forms of this letter can still be traced some resemblance to an ox-head, אָ אָ. Gr. ἄλφα.
- ב, *Beth*. בַּיִת = בֵּית, a house. The figure in the square character corresponds more to its name, while the Ethiopic ቤ has greater resemblance to a tent. Gr. βῆτα (B).
- ג, *Gimel*. גִּמְלָה = גִּמְלָה, a camel. The ancient form is supposed to represent the head and neck of this animal. In Phoenician it is ג, and in Ethiopic ג, which when turned round became the Greek γάμμα (= γάμλα), Γ. Gesenius holds that the earliest form ג represented the camel's hump.
- ד, *Daleth*. דַּלְתָּהּ = דַּלְתָּהּ, a door. The significance of the name is seen in the older form ד, whence the Greek δέλτα, Δ, a tent-door.
- ה, *He*. הֵה, without any probable derivation;

- perhaps corrupted, or merely a technical term. Ewald says it is the same as the Arabic هوة, a hole, fissure. Hupfeld connects it with the interjection אֵי, "lo!" The corresponding Greek letter is E, which is the Phoenician א turned from left to right.
- ו, *Vau*. וָ, a hook or tent-peg; the same as the old Greek βαυ (F), the form of which resembles the Phoenician א.
- ז, *Zain*. זָ, probably = זָ, zaino, a weapon, sword (Ps. xlv. 7): omitting the final letter, it was called also זָ, zai (Mish. *Shabb.* xii. 5). It appears to be the same as the ancient Greek Σάν.
- ח, *Cheth*. חָ, a fence, enclosure (= Arab. حايط, from حاب, Syr. ܚܘܘܬܐ, to surround). Compare the Phoen. ח. *Cheth* is the Greek ἦτα (H).
- ט, *Tet*. טָ, a snake, or טָ, a basket. The Greek θῆτα.
- י, *Yod*. יָ, a hand. The form of the letter was perhaps originally longer, as in the Greek Ι (ἰῶτα). The Phoenician (𐤎) and Samaritan (𐤎) figures have a kind of distant resemblance to three fingers. In Ethiopic the name of the letter is yaman, the right hand.
- כ, *Caph*. כָּ, the hollow of the hand. The Greek κάππα (κ) is the old Phoenician form (𐤑) reversed.
- ל, *Lamed*. לָ, a cudgel or ox-goad (comp. Judg. iii. 31). The Greek λάμβδα (Λ); Phoenician, 𐤌, 𐤍.
- מ, *Mem*. מָ, water, as it is commonly explained, with reference to the Samaritan מ. In the old alphabets it is מ, in which Gesenius sees the figure of a trident, and so possibly the symbol of the sea. The Greek μν corresponds to the old word מו, "water," Job ix. 30.
- נ, *Nun*. נָ, a fish, in Chaldee, Arabic, and Syriac. In almost all Phoenician alphabets the figure is נ. On the Maltese inscriptions it is nearly straight, and corresponds to its name. The Greek νν is derived from it.
- ס, *Samech*. סָ, a prop, from סָ, to support; perhaps, says Gesenius, the same as the Syriac ܣܡܥܐ, s'moco, a triclinium. But this interpretation is solely founded on the rounded form of the letter in the square alphabet; and he has in another place (*Mon. Phoen.* p. 83) shewn how this has come from the old Phoenician, which has no likeness to a triclinium, or to anything else save a flash of lightning striking a church spire. The Greek σίγμα is undoubtedly derived from *Samech*, as its form is from the Phoenician character, although its place in the Greek alphabet is occupied by ξι.
- ע, *Ain*. עָ, an eye; in the Phoenician and Greek

alphabets O. Originally it has two powers, as in Arabic, and was represented in the LXX. by Γ, or a simple breathing.

פ, *Pe*. פֿ = פֿה, a mouth. The Greek π is from פֿה, the construct form of פֿה.

צ, *Tsade*. צֿ or צֿי, a fish-hook or prong, for spearing the larger fish. Others explain it as a nose, or an owl. One of the Phoenician forms is 𐤏. From *tsade* is derived the Greek ζήτα.

ק, *Koph*. קֿ, perhaps the same as the Arabic ق, the back of the head. Gesenius originally explained it as equivalent to the Chaldee קֿה, the eye of a needle, or the hole for the handle of an axe. Hitzig rendered it "ear," and others "a pole." The old Hebrew form (P), inverted 𐤑, became the Greek κόππα (Q); and the form (Q), which occurs on the ancient Syracusan coins, suggests the origin of the Roman Q.

ר, *Resh*. רֿ, a head (comp. Aram. רֿאשׁ = רֿאשׁ). The Phoenician 𐤓 when turned round became the Greek Ρ, the name of which, ρῶ, is corrupted from *Resh*.

ש, *Shin*. שֿ } Compare שֿ, a tooth, sometimes  
& & } used for a jagged promontory.

ש, *Sin*. שֿ } The letters שֿ and שֿ were probably  
at first one letter, and afterwards became distinguished by the diacritic point, which was known to Jerome, and called by him *accentus* (*Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.* ii. 23; *Am.* viii. 12). In Ps. cxix. 161-168, and Lam. iii. 61-63, they are used promiscuously, and in Lam. iv. 21 שֿ is put for שֿ. The narrative in Judg. xii. 6 points to a difference of dialect, marked by the difference in sound of these two letters. The Greek ξ is derived from *Shin*, as ν from *Nun*.

ת, *Tau*. תֿ, a mark or sign (Ez. ix. 4); probably a sign in the shape of a cross, such as cattle were marked with. This signification corresponds to the shapes of the old Hebrew letter on coins †, ‡, from the former of which comes the Greek ταυ (T).

In the mystical interpretation of the alphabet given by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* x. 5) it is evident that *Tsade* was called *Tsedek*, and *Koph* was called *Kol*. The Polish Jews still call the former *Tsadek*.

*Divisions of words.*—Hebrew was originally written, like most ancient languages, without any divisions between the words. In most Greek inscriptions there are no such divisions, though in several of the oldest, as the Eugubine Tables and the Sigaeian inscription, there are one or two, while others have as many as three points which serve this purpose. The same is the case with the Phoenician inscriptions. Most have no divisions of words at all, but others have a point, except where the words are closely connected. The cuneiform character has the same point, as well as the Samaritan, and in Cufic the words are separated by spaces, as in the Aramaeo-Egyptian writing. The various readings in the LXX. show that, at the time this version was made, in the Hebrew MSS. which the translators used the words were written in a continuous series. The modern synagogue rolls and

the MSS. of the Samaritan Pentateuch have no vowel-points, but the words are divided, and the Samaritan in this respect differs but little from the Hebrew.

*Final letters, &c.*—In addition to the letters above described, we find in all Hebrew MSS. and printed books the forms ך, ם, ן, ף, ץ, which are the shapes assumed by the letters כ, ם, ן, ף, צ, when they occur at the end of words. Their invention was clearly due to an endeavour to render reading more easy by distinguishing one word from another, but they are of comparatively modern date. The various readings of the LXX. show, as has been already said, that that version was made at a time when the divisions of words were not marked, and consequently at this time there could be no final letters. Gesenius at first maintained that on the Palmyrene inscriptions there were neither final letters nor divisions of words, but he afterwards admitted, though with a little exhibition of temper, that the final *nun* was found there, after his error had been pointed out by Kopp (*Bild. u. Schr.* ii. 132; *Ges. Mon. Phoen.* p. 82). In the Aramaeo-Egyptian writing both final *caph* and final *nun* occur, as may be seen in the Blacas fragments given by Gesenius. The five final letters "are mentioned in Bereshith Rabba (parash. i. fol. 1, 4), and in both Talmuds; in the one (T. Bab. *Sabbat.* fol. 104, 1) they are said to be used by the seers or prophets, and in the other (T. Hieros. *Megillah.* fol. 71, 4) to be an *Halacah* or tradition of Moses from Sinai; yea, by an ancient writer (Pirke Elisher, c. 48) they are said to be known by Abraham" (Gill, *Dissertation concerning the Antiquity of the Heb. Language, &c.*, p. 69). The final *mem* in the middle of the word לִמְרֹכָה (Is. ix. 6) is mentioned in both Talmuds (Talm. Bab. *Sanhedrin.* fol. 94, 1; Talm. Jer. *Sanh.* fol. 27, 4), and by Jerome (*in loc.*). In another passage Jerome (*Prolog. ad Libr. Reg.*) speaks of the final letters as if of equal antiquity with the rest of the alphabet. The similarity of shape between final *mem* (ם) and *samech* (ס) is indicated by the dictum of Rab Chasda, as given in the Babylonian Talmud (*Megillah.* c. 1; *Shabbath.* fol. 104, 1), that "*mem* and *samech*, which were on the Tables (of the Law) stood by a miracle." It was a tradition among the Jews that the letters on the tables of stone given to Moses were cut through the stone, so as to be legible on both sides; hence the miracle by which *mem* and *samech* kept their place. The final letters were also known to Epiphanius (*De Mens. et Ponderibus.* §4). In our present copies of the Hebrew Bible there are instances in which final letters occur in the middle of words (see Is. ix. 6, as above), and, on the contrary, at the end of words the ordinary forms of the letters are employed (Neh. ii. 5; Job xxxviii. 1); but these are only to be regarded as clerical errors, which in some MSS. are corrected. On the ancient Phoenician inscriptions, just as in the Greek uncial MSS., the letters of a word were divided at the end of a line without any indication being given of such division, but in Hebrew MSS. a twofold course has been adopted in this case. If at the end of a line the scribe found that he had not space for the complete word, he either wrote as many letters as he could of this word, but left them unpointed, and put the complete word in the next line, or he made use of what are called extended letters, *literae dilatabiles* (as ך, ם, ן, and the like), in order to fill up the superabundant

space. In the former case, in order to indicate that the word at the end of the line was incomplete, the last of the unpointed letters was left unfinished, or a sign was placed after them, resembling sometimes an inverted **נ**, and sometimes like **ת**, **ע**, or **מ**. If the space left at the end of the line is inconsiderable it is either filled up by the first letter of the next word, or by any letter whatever, or by an arbitrary mark. In some cases, where the space is too small for one or two consonants, the scribe wrote the excluded letters in a smaller form on the margin above the line (Eichhorn, *Einkl.* ii. 57-59). That abbreviations were employed in the ancient Hebrew writing is shown by the inscriptions on the Maccabæan coins. In MSS. the frequently recurring words are represented by writing some of their letters only, as 'שר' or 'שרא' for ישראל, and a frequently recurring phrase by the first letters of its words with the mark of abbreviation; as 'ל'ח' for ל'ח' חסדו, 'י' or 'י' for יהוה, which is also written 'י' or 'י'. The greater and smaller letters which occur in the middle of words (comp. Ps. lxxx. 16; Gen. ii. 4), the suspended letters (Judg. xviii. 30; Ps. lxxx. 14), and the inverted letters (Num. x. 35), are transferred from the MSS. of the Masoretes, and have all received at the hands of the Jews an allegorical explanation. In Judg. xviii. 30 the suspended nun in the word "Manasseh," without which the name is "Moses," is said to be inserted in order to conceal the disgrace which the idolatry of his grandson conferred upon the great lawgiver. Similarly the small **נ** in the word לִבְכַתָּהּ, "to weep for her" (Gen. xxiii. 2), is explained by Baal Hatturim as indicating that Abraham wept little, because Sarah was an old woman.

Numbers were indicated either by letters or figures. The latter are found on Phœnician coins, on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, on the Palmyrene inscriptions, and probably also in the Aramaeo-Egyptian writing. On the other hand, letters are found used as numerals on the Maccabæan coins, and among the Arabs, and their early adoption for the same purpose among the Greeks may have been due to the Phœnicians. It is not too much to conjecture from these analogies that figures and letters representing numbers may have been employed by the ancient Hebrews. It is even possible that many discrepancies in numbers may be explained in this way. For instance, in 1 Sam. vi. 19, for 50,070 the Syriac has 5070; in 1 K. iv. 26 [v. 6] Solomon had 40,000 horses, while in the parallel passage of 2 Chr. ix. 25 he has only 4000; according to 2 Sam. x. 18 David destroyed 700 chariots of the Syrians, while in 1 Chr. xix. 18 the number is increased to 7000. If figures were in use such discrepancies are easily intelligible. On the other hand, the seven years of famine in 2 Sam. xiv. 13 may be reconciled with the three of 1 Chr. xxi. 12 and the LXX. by supposing that a scribe, writing the square character, mistook **ג** (= 3) for **ז** (= 7). Again, in 2 Chr. xxi. 20, Jehoram dies at the age of 40, leaving a son, Ahaziah, who was 42 (2 Chr. xxii. 2). In the parallel passage of 2 K. viii. 26 Ahaziah is only 22, so that the scribe probably read **מב** instead of **כב**. On the whole, Gesenius concludes, the preponderance would be in favour of the letters, but he deprecates any attempt to explain by this means the enormous numbers we

meet with in the descriptions of armies and wealth, and the variations of the Samaritan and LXX. from the Hebrew text in Gen. v.

*Vowel-points and diacritical marks.*—It is impossible here to discuss fully the origin and antiquity of the vowel-points and other marks which are found in the writing of Hebrew MSS. The most that can be done will be to give a summary of results, and to refer the reader to the sources of fuller information. Almost all the learned Jews of the middle ages maintained the equal antiquity of the vowels and consonants, or at least the introduction of the former by Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue. The only exceptions to this uniformity of opinion are some few hints of Aben Ezra, and a doubtful passage of the book Cozri. The same view was adopted by the Christian writers Raymund Martini (cir. 1278), Perez de Valentin (cir. 1450), and Nicholas de Lyra, and these are followed by Luther, Calvin, and Pellicanus. The modern date of the vowel-points was first argued by Elias Levita, followed on the same side by Cappellus, who was opposed by the younger Buxtorf. Later defenders of their antiquity have been Gill, James Robertson, and Tychsen. Others, like Hottinger, Prideaux, Schultens, J. D. Michaelis, and Eichhorn, have adopted an intermediate view, that the Hebrews had some few ancient vowel-points which they attached to ambiguous words. "The dispute about the antiquity and origin of the Hebrew vowels commenced at a very early date; for while Mar-Natronai II., Gaon in Sura (859-869), prohibited to provide the copies of the Law with vowels, because these signs had not been communicated on Mount Sinai, but had only been introduced by the sages to assist the reader; the Karaites allowed no scroll of the Pentateuch to be used in the synagogue, unless it was furnished with vowels and accents, because they considered them as a divine revelation, which, like the language and the letter, was already given to Adam, or certainly to Moses" (Dr. Kalisch, *Heb. Gr.* ii. 65). No vowel-points are to be found on any of the Jewish coins, or in the Palmyrene inscriptions, and they are wanting in all the relics of Phœnician writing. Some of the Maltese inscriptions were once thought by Gesenius to have marks of this kind (*Gesch. der Hebr. Spr.* p. 184), but subsequent examination led him to the conclusion that the Phœnician monuments have not a vestige of vowel-points. The same was the case originally in the Estrangelo and Cufic alphabets. A single example of a diacritical mark occurs for the first time on one of the Carthaginian inscriptions (*Gesen. Mon. Phœn.* pp. 56, 179). It appears to correspond to the diacritical mark which we meet with in Syriac writing, and which is no doubt first alluded to by Ephraem Syrus (on Gen. xxxvi. 24, *Opp.* i. 184). The age of this mark in Syriac is uncertain, but it is most nearly connected with the *marhetono* of the Samaritans, which is used to distinguish words which have the same consonants, but a different pronunciation and meaning. The first certain indication of vowel-points in a Shemitic language is in the Arabic. Three were introduced by Ali, son of Abou-Thalleb, who died A.H. 40. The Sabian writing also has three vowel-points, but its age is uncertain. Five vowel-points and several reading marks were introduced into the Syriac writing by Theophilus and Jacob of Edessa. The present Arabic system of punctuation originated with the introduction of the Nischi character by Ebn Mok'ka, who died A.D.

939. On the whole, taking into consideration the nature and analogies of the kindred Shemitic languages, and the Jewish tradition that the vowels were only transmitted orally by Moses, and were afterwards reduced to signs and fixed by Ezra and the Great Synagogue, the preponderance of evidence goes to show that Hebrew was written without vowels or diacritical marks all the time that it was a living language. The fact that the synagogue rolls are written without points, and that a strong traditional prescription against their being pointed exists, is in favour of the later origin of the vowel marks. The following passages from the Old Testament, quoted by Gesenius, tend to the same conclusion. In Gen. xix. 37, the name Moab (מוֹאָב), is explained as if it were מֵאָב, "from a father," in which case all trace not only of vocalization, but of the quiescent letter has disappeared. In Gen. xxxi. 47, גִּלְעָד, Gilead is made to take its name from גִּלְעָד, "heap of witness," and Gen. i. 11, אֲבֵל מִצְרַיִם = אֲבֵל מִצְרַיִם. So also in 2 K. xxii. 9, וַיִּבֶן שָׁפָן הַסֵּפֶר, appears in the parallel narrative of 2 Chr. xxxiv. 16 as וַיִּבֶן שָׁפָן אֶת הַסֵּפֶר, which could not have happened if the chronicler had had a pointed text before him. Upon examining the version of the LXX. it is equally clear that the translators must have written from an unpointed text. It is objected to this that the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα are correctly explained, and that they also distinguish between words which have the same consonants but different vowel-points, and even between those which are written and pronounced alike. On the other hand they frequently confuse words which have the same consonants but different vowels. The passages which Gesenius quotes (*Gesch. d. Heb. Spr.* §50) would necessarily be explained from the context, and we must besides this take into consideration that in the ambiguous cases there were in all probability traditional interpretations. The proper names afford a more accurate test. On examining these, we find that they sometimes have entirely different vowels, and sometimes are pointed according to an entirely different system, analogous to the Arabic and Syriac, but varying from the Masoretic. Examples of an entirely different vocalization are, אַמְתִּי Ἀμαθι, יִקְטָן Ἰεκταν, יַרְדֵּן Ἰορδανης, מִשְׁשָׁה Μοσσοχ, מַרְדֳּכַי Μαρδοχαιος, רְמַלְיָה Ρομελιας, צַפְנְיָה Σοφονιας, סַבְבִּי Σοβοχαι, &c. That the punctuation followed by the LXX. was essentially distinct from that of the Masoretes is evident from the following examples. Moving *sheva* at the beginning of words is generally represented by α; as in Σαμουηλ, Σαβαωθ, Ζαβουλων; seldom by ε, as in Βελιαλ, Χερουβιμ; before ך or ך by ο or υ, as Σοδομα, Σολομων, Γομορρα, Ζοροβαβελ, φυλιστιειμ, &c. *Pathach* is represented by ε; as Μελαχισεδεχ, Νεφθαλειμ, Ελισαβεθ. *Pathach furtivum* = ε; e. g. Ωσηε, Γελβουε, Θεκωε, Ζανωε. Other examples might be multiplied. We find instances to the same effect in the fragments of the other Greek versions, and in Josephus. The agreement of the Targums with the present punctuation might be supposed to supply an argument in favour of the antiquity of the latter, but it might equally be appealed to to show that the translation of the Targums embodied the radi-

tional pronunciation which was fixed in writing by the punctuators. The Talmud has likewise been appealed to in support of the antiquity of the modern points; but its utterances on this subject are extremely dark and difficult to understand. They have respect on the one hand to those passages in which the sense of a text is disputed, in so far as it depends upon a different pronounciation; for instance, whether in Cant. i. 2, we should read דּוֹרֵיךְ or דּוֹרֵיךְ; in Ex. xxi. 8, בְּנֵרוֹ or בְּנֵרוֹ; in Lev. x. 25, שְׁבַעִים or שְׁבַעִים; in Is. liv. 13, בַּמָּה or פַּמָּה. A Rabbinic legend makes Joab kill his teacher, because in Ex. xvii. 14 he had taught him to read זָכָר for זָכָר. The last passage shows at least, that the Talmudists thought the text in David's time was unpointed, and the others prove that the punctuation could not have been fixed as it must have been if the vowel-points had been written. But in addition to these instances, which are supposed to involve the existence of vowel-points, there are certain terms mentioned in the Talmud, which are interpreted as referring directly to the vowel signs and accents themselves. Thus in the treatise *Berachoth* (fol. 62, 3) we find the phrase טַעְמֵי תוֹרָה, *ta'amé thóráh*, which is thought to denote not only the distinctive accents and those which mark the tone, but also the vowel-points. Hupfeld, however, has shown that in all probability the term טַעַם, *ta'am*, denotes nothing more than a logical sentence, and that consequently פִּסּוּק טַעְמִים, *pisúk té'amím* (*Nedarim*, fol. 37, 1), is simply a division of a sentence, and has nothing whatever to do either with the tone or the vowels (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1830, ii. p. 567). The word סִמָּן, *simán* (Gr. σημεῖον) which occurs in the Talmud (*Nedarim*, fol. 53), and which is explained by Rashi to signify the same as נִקּוּד, *nikkúd*, "a point," has been also appealed to as an evidence of the existence of the vowel-points at the time the Talmud was composed, but its true meaning is rather that of a mnemonic sign made use of to retain the memory of what was handed down by oral tradition. The oldest Biblical critics, the collectors of the Keri and Cethib, have left no trace of vowel-points: all their notes have reference to the consonants. It is now admitted that Jerome knew nothing of the present vowel-points and their names. He expressly says that the Hebrews very rarely had vowels, by which he means the letters ע, י, ו, ה, א, in the middle of words; and that the consonants were pronounced differently according to the pleasure of the reader and the province in which he lived (*Epist. ad Evagr.* 125). The term *accentus*, which he there uses, appears to denote as well the pronounciation of the vowels as the nice distinctions of certain consonantal sounds, and has no connexion whatever with accents in the modern sense of the word. The remarks which Jerome makes as to the possibility of reading the same Hebrew consonants differently, according to the different vowels which were affixed to them, is an additional proof that in his day the vowel-points were not written (see his *Comm. in Hos.* xiii. 3; *Hab.* iii. 5). Hupfeld concludes that the present system of pronounciation had not commenced in the 6th century, that it belonged to a new epoch in Jewish literature, the Masoretic in opposition to the Talmudic, and that, taking into consideration that the Syrians and Arabs, among whom the Jews lived, had already made a beginning in punctuation, there is the highest probability that the Hebrew

system of points is not indigenous, but transmitted or suggested from without (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1830, ii. p. 589). On such a question it is impossible to pronounce with absolute certainty, but the above conclusion has been arrived at by one of the first Hebrew scholars of Europe, who has devoted especial attention to the subject, and to whose opinion all deference is due.

“According to a statement on a scroll of the Law, which may have been in Susa from the eighth century, Moses the Punctator (Hannakdan) was the first who, in order to facilitate the reading of the Scriptures for his pupils, added vowels to the consonants, a practice in which he was followed by his son Judah, the Corrector or Reviser (Hammagiah). These were the beginnings of a full system of Hebrew points, the completion of which has, by tradition, been associated with the name of the Karaite Acha of Irak, living in the first half of the sixth century, and which comprised the vowels and accents, dagesh and rapheh, kerī and kethiv. It was, from its local origin, called the Babylonian or Assyrian system. Almost simultaneously with these endeavours, the scholars of Palestine, especially of Tiberias, worked in the same direction, and here Rabbi Mocha, a disciple of Anan the Karaite, and his son Moses, fixed another system of vocalisation (about 570), distinguished as that of Tiberias, which marks still more minutely and accurately the various shades and niceties of tone and pronunciation, and which was ultimately adopted by all the Jews. For though the Karaites, with their characteristic tenacity, and their antagonism to the Rabbanites, clung for some time to the older signs, because they had used them before their secession from the Talmudical sects, they were, at last, in 957, induced to abandon them in favour of those adopted in Palestine. Now the Babylonian signs, besides differing from those of Tiberias in shape, are chiefly remarkable by being almost uniformly placed above the letters. There still exist some manuscripts which exhibit them, and many more would probably have been preserved had not, in later times, the habit prevailed of substituting in old codices the signs of Tiberias for those of Babylon” (Dr. Kalisch, *Hebr. Gram.* ii. 63, 64).<sup>b</sup> From the sixth century downwards the traces of punctuation become more and more distinct. The Masorah mentions by name two vowels, *kamets* and *pathach* (Kalisch, p. 66). The collation of the Palestinian and Babylonian readings (8th cent.) refers at least in two passages to the *mappik* in *He* (Eichhorn, *Einl.* i. 274); but the collation set on foot by Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali (cir. A.D. 1034) has to do exclusively with vowels and reading-marks, and their existence is presupposed in the Arabic of Saadias and the Veneto-Greek version, and by all the Jewish grammarians from the 11th century onwards.

It now remains to say a few words on the accents. Their especial properties and the laws by which they are regulated properly belong to the department of Hebrew grammar, and full information on these points will be found in the works of Gesenius, Hupfeld, Ewald, and Kalisch. The object of the accents is twofold. 1. They serve to mark the tone syllable, and at the same time to show the

relation of each word to the sentence: hence they are called טעמים, as marking the sense. 2. They indicate the modulation of the tone according to which the Old Testament was recited in the synagogues, and were hence called נְיִנוּת. “The manner of recitation was different for the Pentateuch, the prophets, and the metrical books (Job, the Proverbs, and the Psalms): old modes of cantillation of the Pentateuch and the prophets (in the Haphtharoth) have been preserved in the German and Portuguese synagogues; both differ, indeed, considerably, yet manifestly show a common character, and are almost like the same composition sung in two different keys; while the chanting of the metrical books, not being employed in the public worship, has long been lost” (Kalisch, p. 84). Several modern investigators have decided that the use of the accents for guiding the public recitations is anterior to their use as marking the tone of words and syntactical construction of sentences. The great number of the accents is in favour of this hypothesis, since one sign alone would have been sufficient to mark the tone, and the logical relation of the different parts of a sentence could have been indicated by a much smaller number. Gesenius, on the other hand, is inclined to think that the accents at first served to mark the tone and the sense (*Gesch.* p. 221). The whole question is one of mere conjecture. The advocates for the antiquity of the accents would carry them back as far as the time of the ancient Temple service. The Gemara (*Nedarim*, fol. 37, 2; *Megillah*, c. i. fol. 3) makes the Levites recite according to the accents even in the days of Nehemiah.

*Writing materials, &c.*—The oldest documents which contain the writing of a Shemitic race are probably the bricks of Nineveh and Babylon on which are impressed the cuneiform Assyrian inscriptions. Inscribed bricks are mentioned by Pliny (vii. 56) as used for astronomical observations by the Babylonians. There is, however, no evidence that they were ever employed by the Hebrews,<sup>c</sup> who certainly at a very early period practised the more difficult but not more durable method of writing on stone (Ex. xxiv. 12, xxxi. 18, xxxii. 15, xxxiv. 1, 28; Deut. x. 1, xxvii. 1; Josh. viii. 32), on which inscriptions were cut with an iron graver (Job xix. 24; Jer. xvii. 1). They were moreover acquainted with the art of engraving upon metal (Ex. xxviii. 36) and gems (Ex. xxviii. 9). Wood was used upon some occasions (Num. xvii. 3; comp. Hom. *Il.* vii. 175), and writing tablets of box-wood are mentioned in 2 Esd. xiv. 24. The “lead,” to which allusion is made in Job xix. 24, is supposed to have been poured when melted into the cavities of the stone made by the letters of an inscription, in order to render it durable,<sup>d</sup> and does not appear ever to have been used by the Hebrews as a writing material, like the χαρται μολύβδινοι at Thebes, on which were written Hesiod’s *Works and Days* (Paus. ix. 31, §4; comp. Plin. xiii. 21). Inscriptions and documents which were intended to be permanent were written on tablets of brass (1 Macc. viii. 22, xiv. 27), but from the manner in which they are mentioned it is clear that their use was exceptional. It is most probable that the most

<sup>b</sup> For further information on the Babylonian system of punctuation, see Pinsker’s *Einleitung in die Babylonisch-Hebräisch-Punktationssystem*, just published at Vienna (1863).

<sup>c</sup> The case of Ezekiel (iv. 1) is evidently an exception.

<sup>d</sup> Copper was used for the same purpose. M. Botta found traces of it in letters on the pavement slabs of Khorsabad (Layard, *Nin.* iii. 188).



ancient as well as the most common material which the Hebrews used for writing was dressed skin in some form or other. We know that the dressing of skins was practised by the Hebrews (Ex. xxv. 5; Lev. xiii. 48), and they may have acquired the knowledge of the art from the Egyptians, among whom it had attained great perfection, the leather-cutters constituting one of the principal subdivisions of the third caste. The fineness of the leather, says Sir G. Wilkinson, "employed for making the straps placed across the bodies of mummies, discovered at Thebes, and the beauty of the figures stamped upon them, satisfactorily prove the skill of 'the leather-cutters,' and the antiquity of embossing: some of these bearing the names of kings who ruled Egypt about the period of the Exodus, or 3300 years ago" (*Anc. Eg.* iii. 155). Perhaps the Hebrews may have borrowed, among their other acquirements, the use of papyrus from the Egyptians, but of this we have no positive evidence. Papyri are found of the most remote Pharaonic age (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* iii. 148), so that Pliny is undoubtedly in error when he says that the papyrus was not used as a writing material before the time of Alexander the Great (xiii. 21). He probably intended to indicate that this was the date of its introduction to Europe. In the Bible the only allusions to the use of papyrus are in 2 John 12, where *χάρτης* occurs, which refers especially to papyrus paper, and 3 Macc. iv. 20, where *χαρτήρια* is found in the same sense. In Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 11, §6) the trial of adultery is made by writing the name of God on a *skin*, and the 70 men who were sent to Ptolemy from Jerusalem by the high-priest Eleazar, to translate the Law into Greek, took with them the *skins* on which the Law was written in golden characters (*Ant.* xii. 2, §10). The oldest Persian annals were written on skins (Diod. Sic. ii. 32), and these appear to have been most frequently used by the Shemitic races if not peculiar to them.\* Of the byssus which was used in India before the time of Alexander (Strabo xv. p. 717), and the palm-leaves mentioned by Pliny (vii. 23) there is no trace among the Hebrews, although we know that the Arabs wrote their earliest copies of the Koran upon the roughest materials, as stones, the shoulder-bones of sheep, and palm-leaves (De Sacy, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*. l. p. 307). Herodotus, after telling us that the Ionians learnt the art of writing from the Phoenicians, adds that they called their books skins (*τὰς βίβλους διφθέρας*), because they made use of sheep-skins and goat-skins when short of paper (*βίβλος*). Among the Cyprians, a writing-master was called *διφθεράλοιφος*. Parchment was used for the MSS. of the Pentateuch in the time of Josephus, and the *μεμβράναι* of 2 Tim. iv. 13, were skins of parchment. It was one of the provisions in the Talmud that the Law should be written on the skins of clean animals, tame or wild, or even of clean birds. There are three kinds of skins distinguished, on which the roll of the Pentateuch may be written: 1. *קֶלֶפֶת*, *keleph* (*Meg.* ii. 2; *Shabb.* viii. 3); 2. *דִּיבְרֵי דִּיבְרֵי* = *διχαστός* or *δίξιστος*; and 3. *גֵּבִיל*, *gevil*. The last is made of the undivided skin, after the hair is removed and it has

\* The word for "book," *סֵפֶר*, *sépher*, is from a root, *סָפַר*, *sáphar*, "to scrape, shave," and indirectly points to the use of skin as a writing-material.

been properly dressed. For the other two the skin was split. The part with the hairy side was called *keleph*, and was used for the *tephillin* or phylacteries; and upon the other ("דִּבְרֵי" *tephillin*) the *mezuzoth* were written (Maimonides, *Hilc. Tephil.*). The skins when written upon were formed into rolls (*מְגִלּוֹת*, *mégillóth*; Ps. xl. 8; comp. Is. xxxiv. 4; Jer. xxxvi. 14; Ez. ii. 9; Zech. v. 1). They were rolled upon one or two sticks and fastened with a thread, the ends of which were sealed (Is. xxix. 11; Dan. xii. 4; Rev. v. 1, &c.). Hence the words *גָּלַל*, *gálal* (*εἰλίσσειν*), to roll up (Is. xxxiv. 4; Rev. vi. 14), and *פָּרַס*, *páras* (*ἀναπτύσσειν*), to unroll (2 K. xix. 14; Luke iv. 17), are used of the closing and opening of a book. The rolls were generally written on one side only, except in Ez. ii. 9; Rev. v. 1. They were divided into columns (*דְּלָתוֹת*, *déláthóth*, lit. "doors," A. V. "leaves," Jer. xxxvi. 23); the upper margin was to be not less than three fingers broad, the lower not less than four; and a space of two fingers' breadth was to be left between every two columns (Wahner, *Ant. Ebraeor.* vol. i. sect. 1, cap. xlv. §337). In the Herculaneum rolls the columns are two fingers broad, and in the MSS. in the library at Stuttgart there are three columns on each side, each three inches broad, with an inch space between the columns, and margins of three inches wide (Leyrer in Herzog's *Encycl.* "Schriftzeichen"). The case in which the rolls were kept was called *טֵיחוֹס* or *תְּיָחָה*, Talmudic *פְּרָק*, *cerec*, or *פְּרָקָא*, *carcá*. But besides skins, which were used for the more permanent kinds of writing, tablets of wood covered with wax (Luke i. 63, *πινακίδια*) served for the ordinary purposes of life. Several of these were fastened together and formed volumes (*טומוֹת* = *tomos*). They were written upon with a pointed style (*עֵט*, *'ét*, Job xix. 24), sometimes of iron (Ps. xlv. 2; Jer. viii. 8, xvii. 1). For harder materials a graver (*חֶרֶט*, *cheret*, Ex. xxxii. 4; Is. viii. 1) was employed: the hard point was called *צִפְרֵן*, *tsip-póren* (Jer. xvii. 1). For parchment or skins a reed was used (3 John 13; 3 Macc. iv. 20), and according to some the Law was to be written with nothing else (Wahner, §334). The ink, *דֵּי*, *déyó* (Jer. xxxvi. 18), literally "black," like the Greek *μέλαν* (2 Cor. iii. 3; 2 John 12; 3 John 13), was to be of lamp-black dissolved in gall juice, though sometimes a mixture of gall juice and vitriol was allowable (Wahner, §335). It was carried in an inkstand (*קֶסֶת הַסֵּפֶר*, *keseth hassópher*, which was suspended at the girdle (Ez. ix. 2, 3), as is done at the present day in the East. The modern scribes "have an apparatus consisting of a metal or ebony tube for their reed pens, with a cup or bulb of the same material, attached to the upper end, for the ink. This they thrust through the girdle, and carry with them at all times" (Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, p. 131). Such a case for holding pens, ink, and other materials for writing is called in the Mishna *קַלְמָרִין*, *kalmárin*, or *קַלְמָרְיוֹן*, *kalmáryón* (*calamarium*; Mishn. *Celim*, ii. 7; *Mikv.* x. 1), while *תְּרוֹנְתֵק*, *térónték* (Mishn. *Celim*, xvi. 8), is a case for carrying pens, pen-knife, style, and other implements of the writer's

art. To professional scribes there are allusions in Ps. xlv. 1 [2]; Ezr. vii. 6; 2 Esdr. xiv. 24. In the language of the Talmud these are called לְבָרִין, *lablārīn*, which is a modification of the Lat. *libellarii* (Talm. *Shabb.* fol. 16, 1).

For the literature of this subject, see especially Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, 1815; *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache*, 1817; *Monumenta Phoenicia*, 1837; Art. *Paläographie* in Ersch and Gruber's *Allg. Encycl.*; Hupfeld, *Ausführliche Hebräische Grammatik*, 1841, and his articles in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, Band 2: A. T. Hoffmann, *Grammatica Syriaca*, 1827: A. G. Hoffmann, Art. *Hebräische Schrift* in Ersch and Gruber: Fürst, *Lehrgebäude der Aramäischen Idiome*, 1835: Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*: Saalschütz, *Forschungen im Gebiete der Hebräisch-Aegyptischen Archäologie*, 1838; besides other works, which have been referred to in the course of this article. [W. A. W.]

## X

XANTHICUS. [MONTH, p. 417.]

## Y

YARN (מְקוּיָה; מְקוּיָה). The notice of yarn is contained in an extremely obscure passage in 1 K. x. 28 (2 Chr. i. 16): "Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn; the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price." The LXX. gives ἐκ Θεκουέ, implying an original reading of מְקוּיָה; the Vulg. has *de Coa*, which is merely a Latinized form of the original. The Hebrew Received Text is questionable, from the circumstance that the second *mikveh* has its final vowel lengthened as though it were in the *status constructus*. The probability is that the term does refer to some entrepôt of Egyptian commerce, but whether Tekoah, as in the LXX., or Coa, as in the Vulg., is doubtful. Gesenius (*Thes.* p. 1202) gives the sense of "number" as applying equally to the merchants and the horses:—"A band of the king's merchants bought a drove (of horses) at a price"; but the verbal arrangement in 2 Chr. is opposed to this rendering. Thenius (*Exeg. Hdb.* on 1 K. x. 28) combines this sense with the former, giving to the first *mikveh* the sense "from Tekoah," to the second the sense of "drove." Bertheau (*Exeg. Hdb.* on 2 Chr. i. 16) and Fürst (*Lex.* s. v.) side with the Vulgate, and suppose the place called *Coa* to have been on the Egyptian frontier:—"The king's merchants from Coa (i. e. stationed at Coa) took the horses from Coa at a price." The sense adopted in the A. V. is derived from Jewish interpreters. [W. L. B.]

YEAR (שָׁנָה; ἔτος: *annus*), the highest ordinary division of time. The Hebrew name is identical with the root שָׁנָה, "he or it repeated, did the second time;" with which are cognate the ordinal numeral שְׁנִי, "second," and the cardinal, שְׁנַיִם, "two." The meaning is therefore thought to be "an iteration," by Gesenius, who compares the Latin *annus*, properly a circle. Gesenius also

compares the Arabic حَوْل, which he says signifies "a circle, year." It signifies "a year," but not "a circle," though sometimes meaning "around:"

its root is حَالَ, "it became altered or changed, it shifted, passed, revolved and passed, or became complete" (on Mr. Lane's authority). The ancient Egyptian RENP, "a year," seems to resemble *annus*; for in Coptic one of the forms of its equivalent, ϩⲟⲩⲏⲛ, the Bashmuric ϩⲁⲩⲏⲛ, λⲁⲩⲏⲛ, is identical with the Sahidic ϩⲁⲩⲏⲛ, "a handle, ring," ϩⲁⲩⲏⲛⲉⲓ, "rings." The sense of the Hebrew might either be a recurring period, or a circle of seasons, or else a period circling through the seasons. The first sense is agreeable with any period of time; the second, with the Egyptian "primitive year," which, by the use of tropical seasons as divisions of the "Vague year," is shown to have been tropical in reality or intention; the third agrees with all "wandering years."

I. Years, properly so called.

Two years were known to, and apparently used by, the Hebrews.

1. A year of 360 days, containing twelve months of thirty days each, is indicated by certain passages in the prophetic Scriptures. The time, times, and a half, of Daniel (vii. 25, xii. 7), where "time" (Ch. עֵדָן, Heb. מוֹעֵד) means "year," evidently represent the same period as the 42 months (Rev. xi. 2) and 1260 days of the Revelation (xi. 3, xii. 6), for  $360 \times 3.5 = 1260$ , and  $30 \times 42 = 1260$ . This year perfectly corresponds to the Egyptian Vague year, without the five intercalary days. It appears to have been in use in Noah's time, or at least in the time of the writer of the narrative of the Flood, for in that narrative the interval from the 17th day of the 2nd month to the 17th day of the 7th of the same year appears to be stated to be a period of 150 days (Gen. vii. 11, 24, viii. 3, 4, comp. 13), and, as the 1st, 2nd, 7th, and 10th months of one year are mentioned (viii. 13, 14, vii. 11, viii. 4, 5), the 1st day of the 10th month of this year being separated from the 1st day of the 1st month of the next year by an interval of at least 54 days (viii. 5, 6, 10, 12, 13), we can only infer a year of 12 months. Ideler disputes the former inference, arguing that as the water first began to sink after 150 days (and then had been 15 cubits above all high mountains), it must have sunk for some days ere the Ark could have rested on Ararat, so that the second date must have been more than 150 days later than the first (*Handbuch*, i. 69, 70, 478, 479). This argument depends upon the meaning of the expression "high mountains," and upon the height of "the mountains of Ararat," upon which the Ark rested (Gen. viii. 4), and we are certainly justified by Shemitic usage, if we do not consider the usual inference of the great height attained by the Flood to be a necessary one (*Genesis of the Earth and of Man*, 2nd ed. pp. 97, 98). The exact correspondence of the interval mentioned to 5 months of 30 days each, and the use of a year of 360 days, or 12 such months, by the prophets, the latter fact overlooked by Ideler, favour the idea that such a year is here meant, unless indeed one identical with the Egyptian Vague Year, of 12 months of 30 days and 5 intercalary days. The settlement of this question de-

pends upon the nature and history of these years, and our information on the latter subject is not sufficiently certain to enable us to do more than hazard a conjecture.

A year of 360 days is the rudest known. It is formed of 12 spurious lunar months, and was probably the parent of the lunar year of 354 days, and the Vague Year of 365. That it should have continued any time in use would be surprising were it not for the convenient length of the months. The Hebrew year, from the time of the Exodus, as we shall see, was evidently lunar, though in some manner rendered virtually solar, and we may therefore infer that the lunar year is as old as the date of the Exodus. As the Hebrew year was not an Egyptian year, and as nothing is said of its being new, save in its time of commencement, it was perhaps earlier in use among the Israelites, and either brought into Egypt by them or borrowed from Shemite settlers.

The Vague Year was certainly in use in Egypt in as remote an age as the earlier part of the xiiith dynasty (B.C. cir. 2000), and there can be no reasonable doubt that it was there used at the time of the building of the Great Pyramid (B.C. cir. 2350). The intercalary days seem to be of Egyptian institution, for each of them was dedicated to one of the great gods, as though the innovation had been thus made permanent by the priests, and perhaps rendered popular as a series of days of feasting and rejoicing. The addition would, however, date from a very early period, that of the final settlement of the Egyptian religion.

As the lunar year and the Vague Year run up parallel to so early a period as that of the Exodus, and the former seems to have been then Shemite, the latter then, and for several centuries earlier, Egyptian, and probably of Egyptian origin, we may reasonably conjecture that the former originated from a year of 360 days in Asia, the latter from the same year in Africa, this primitive year having been used by the Noachians before their dispersion.

2. The year used by the Hebrews from the time of the Exodus may be said to have been then instituted, since a current month, Abib, on the 14th day of which the first Passover was kept, was then made the first month of the year. The essential characteristics of this year can be clearly determined, though we cannot fix those of any single year. It was essentially solar, for the offerings of productions of the earth, first-fruits, harvest-produce, and ingathered fruits, were fixed to certain days of the year, two of which were in the periods of great feasts, the third itself a feast reckoned from one of the former days. It seems evident that the year was made to depend upon these times, and it may be observed that such a calendar would tend to cause thankfulness for God's good gifts, and would put in the background the great luminaries which the heathen worshipped in Egypt and in Canaan. Though the year was thus essentially solar, it is certain that the months were lunar, each commencing with a new moon. There must therefore have been some method of adjustment. The first point to be decided is how the commencement of each year was fixed. On the 16th day of Abib ripe ears of corn were to be offered as first-fruits of the harvest (Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 10, 11): this was the day on which the sickle was begun to be put to the corn (Deut. xvi. 9), and no doubt Joseph is right in stating that until the offering of first-fruits had been made no harvest-work was

to be begun (*Ant.* iii. 10, §5). He also states that ears of barley were offered (*ibid.*). That this was the case, and that the ears were the earliest ripe, is evident from the following circumstances. The reaping of barley commenced the harvest (2 Sam. xxi. 9), that of wheat following, apparently without any considerable interval (Ruth ii. 23). On the day of Pentecost thanksgiving was offered for the harvest, and it was therefore called the "Feast of Harvest." It was reckoned from the commencement of the harvest, on the 16th day of the 1st month. The 50 days must include the whole time of the harvest of both wheat and barley throughout Palestine. According to the observations of modern travellers, barley is ripe, in the warmest parts of Palestine, in the first days of April. The barley-harvest therefore begins about half a month or less after the vernal equinox. Each year, if solar, would thus begin at about that equinox, when the earliest ears of barley must be ripe. As, however, the months were lunar, the commencement of the year must have been fixed by a new moon near this point of time. The new moon must have been that which fell about or next after the equinox, not more than a few days before, on account of the offering of first-fruits. Ideler, whose observations on this matter we have thus far followed, supposes that the new moon was chosen by observation of the forwardness of the barley-crops in the warmer parts of the country (*Handbuch*, i. 490). But such a method would have caused confusion on account of the different times of the harvest in different parts of Palestine; and in the period of the Judges there would often have been two separate commencements of the year in regions divided by hostile tribes, and in each of which the Israelite population led an existence almost independent of any other branch. It is more likely that the Hebrews would have determined their new year's day by the observation of heliacal or other star-risings or settings known to mark the right time of the solar year. By such a method the beginning of any year could have been fixed a year before, either to one day, or, supposing the month-commencements were fixed by actual observation, within a day or two. And we need not doubt that the Israelites were well acquainted with such means of marking the periods of a solar year. In the ancient Song of Deborah we read how "They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. The river of Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the river Kishon" (Judg. v. 20, 21). The stars that marked the times of rain are thus connected with the swelling of the river in which the fugitive Canaanites perished. So too we read how the LORD demanded of Job, "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Cimah, or loose the bands of Cesil?" (Job xxxviii. 31). "The best and most fertilizing of the rains," in Palestine and the neighbouring lands, save Egypt, "fall when the Pleiades set at dawn (not exactly heliacally), at the end of autumn; rain scarcely ever falling at the opposite season, when Scorpio sets at dawn." That Cimah signifies the Pleiades does not admit of reasonable doubt, and Cesil, as opposite to it, would be Scorpio, being identified with Cor Scorpionis by Aben Ezra. These explanations we take from the article FAMINE [vol. i. p. 610 b, and note]. Therefore it cannot be questioned that the Israelites, even during the troubled time of the Judges, were well acquainted with the method of determining the

seasons of the solar year by observing the stars. Not alone was this the practice of the civilized Egyptians, but, at all times of which we know their history, of the Arabs, and also of the Greeks in the time of Hesiod, while yet their material civilization and science were rudimentary. It has always been the custom of pastoral and scattered peoples, rather than of the dwellers in cities; and if the Egyptians be thought to form an exception, it must be recollected that they used it at a period not remote from that at which their civilization came from the plain of Shinar.

It follows, from the determination of the proper new moon of the first month, whether by observation of a stellar phenomenon, or of the forwardness of the crops, that the method of intercalation can only have been that in use after the Captivity, the addition of a thirteenth month whenever the twelfth ended too long before the equinox for the offering of the first-fruits to be made at the time fixed. This method is in accordance with the permission granted to postpone the celebration of the Passover for one month in the case of any one who was legally unclean, or journeying at a distance (Num. ix. 9-13); and there is a historical instance in the case of Hezekiah of such a postponement for both reasons, of the national celebration (2 Chr. xxx. 1-3, 15). Such a practice as that of an intercalation varying in occurrence is contrary to western usage; but the like prevails in all Muslim countries in a far more inconvenient form in the case of the commencement of every month. The day is determined by actual observation of the new moon, and thus a day is frequently unexpectedly added to or deducted from a month at one place, and months commence on different days at different towns in the same country. The Hebrew intercalation, if determined by stellar phenomena, would not be liable to a like uncertainty, though such may have been the case with the actual day of the new moon.

The later Jews had two commencements of the year, whence it is commonly but inaccurately said that they had two years, the sacred year and the civil. We prefer to speak of the sacred and civil reckonings. Ideler admits that these reckonings obtained at the time of the Second Temple. The sacred reckoning was that instituted at the Exodus, according to which the first month was Abib: by the civil reckoning the first month was the seventh. The interval between the two commencements was thus exactly half a year. It has been supposed that the institution at the time of the Exodus was a change of commencement, not the introduction of a new year, and that thenceforward the year had two beginnings, respectively at about the vernal and the autumnal equinoxes. The former supposition is a hypothesis, the latter may almost be proved. The strongest point of evidence as to two beginnings of the year from the time of the Exodus, strangely unnoticed in this relation by Ideler, is the circumstance that the sabbatical and jubilee years commenced in the 7th month, and no doubt on the 10th day of the 7th month, the Day of Atonement (Lev. xxv. 9, 10), and as this year immediately followed a sabbatical year, the latter must have begun in the same manner. Both were full years, and therefore must have commenced on the first day. The jubilee-year was proclaimed on the first day of the month, the Day of Atonement

standing in the same relation to its beginning, and perhaps to the civil beginning of the year, as did the Passover to the sacred beginning. This would be the most convenient, if not the necessary commencement of a year of total cessation from the labours of agriculture, as a year so commencing would comprise the whole round of such occupations in regular sequence from seed-time to harvest, and from harvest to vintage and gathering of fruit. The command as to both years, apart from the mention of the Day of Atonement, clearly shows this, unless we suppose, but this is surely unwarrantable, that the injunction in the two places in which it occurs follows the regular order of the seasons of agriculture (Ex. xxiii. 10, 11; Lev. xxv. 3, 4, 11), but that this was not intended to apply in the case of the observance. Two expressions, used with reference to the time of the Feast of Ingathering on the 15th day of the 7th month, must be here noticed. This feast is spoken of as *בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה*, "in the going out" or "end of the year" (Ex. xxiii. 16), and as *תְּקִיפַת הַשָּׁנָה*, "[at] the change of the year" (xxxiv. 22), the latter a vague expression, as far as we can understand it, but quite consistent with the other, whether indicating the turning-point of a natural year, or the half of the year by the sacred reckoning. The Rabbins use the term *תְּקִיפָה* to designate the commencement of each of the four seasons into which they divide the year (*Handbuch*, i. pp. 550, 551). Our view is confirmed by the similarity of the 1st and 7th months as to their observances, the one containing the Feast of Unleavened Bread from the 15th to the 21st inclusive; the other, that of Tabernacles, from the 15th to the 22nd. Evidence in the same direction is found in the special sanctification of the 1st day of the 7th month, which in the blowing of trumpets resembles the proclamation of the Jubilee year on the Day of Atonement. We therefore hold that from the time of the Exodus there were two beginnings of the year, with the 1st of the 1st and the 1st of the 7th month, the former being the sacred reckoning, the latter, used for the operations of agriculture, the civil reckoning. In Egypt, in the present day, the Muslims use the lunar year for their religious observances, and for ordinary affairs, except those of agriculture, which they regulate by the Coptic Julian year.

We must here notice the theories of the derivation of the Hebrew year from the Egyptian Vague year, as they are connected with the tropical point or points, and agricultural phenomena, by which the former was regulated. The Vague year was commonly used by the Egyptians; and from it only, if from an Egyptian year, is the Hebrew likely to have been derived. Two theories have been formed connecting the two years at the Exodus. (1.) Some hold that Abib, the first month of the Hebrew year by the sacred reckoning, was the Egyptian Epiphi, called in Coptic *ΕΠΗΠΙ*, and in Arabic, by the

modern Egyptians, *أبيب*, Abeebe, or Ebeebe, the 11th month of the Vague year. The similarity of sound is remarkable, but it must be remembered that the Egyptian name is derived from that of the goddess of the month, PEP-T or APAP-T (?)<sup>a</sup> whereas the

<sup>a</sup> Coptic forms. These forms are shown by the names of the divinities given in the sculptures of the ceiling of the

<sup>a</sup> The names of the Egyptian months, derived from their divinities, are alone known to us in Greek and

Hebrew name has the sense of "an ear of corn, a green ear," and is derived from the unused root אֶבֶב, traceable in אֶבֶב, "verdure," אֶבֶב, Chaldee, "fruit,"

أَب, "green fodder." Moreover, the Egyptian P is rarely, if ever, represented by the Hebrew ב, and the converse is not common. Still stronger evidence is afforded by the fact that we find in Egyptian the root AB, "a nosegay," which is evidently related to Abib and its cognates. Supposing, however, that the Hebrew calendar was formed by fixing the Egyptian Epiphi as the first month, what would be the chronological result? The latest date to which the Exodus is assigned is about B.C. 1320. In the Julian year B.C. 1320, the month Epiphi of the Egyptian Vague year commenced May 16, 44 days after the day of the vernal equinox, April 2, very near which the Hebrew year must have begun. Thus at the latest date of the Exodus, there is an interval of a month and a half between the beginning of the Hebrew year and Epiphi 1. This interval represents about 180 years, through which the Vague year would retrograde in the Julian until the commencement of Epiphi corresponded to the vernal equinox, and no method can reduce it below 100. It is possible to effect thus much by conjecturing that the month Abib began somewhat after this tropical point, though the precise details of the state of the crops at the time of the plagues, as compared with the phenomena of agriculture in Lower Egypt at the present day, make half a month an extreme extension. At the time of the plague of hail, the barley was in the ear and was smitten with the flax, but the wheat was not sufficiently forward to be destroyed (Ex. ix. 31, 32). In Lower Egypt, at the present day, this would be the case about the end of February and beginning of March. The Exodus cannot have taken place many days after the plague of hail, so that it must have occurred about or a little after the time of the vernal equinox, and thus Abib cannot possibly have begun much after that tropical point: half a month is therefore excessive. We have thus carefully examined the evidence as to the supposed derivation of Abib from Epiphi, because it has been carelessly taken for granted, and more carelessly alleged in support of the latest date of the Exodus.

(2.) We have founded an argument for the date of the Exodus upon another comparison of the Hebrew year and the Vague year. We have seen that the sacred commencement of the Hebrew year was at the new moon about or next after, but not much before, the vernal equinox: the civil commencement must usually have been at the new moon nearest the autumnal equinox. At the earliest date of the Exodus computed by modern chronologers, about the middle of the 17th century B.C., the Egyptian Vague year commenced at or about the latter time. The Hebrew year, reckoned from the civil commencement, and the Vague year,

Rameseum of El-Kurneh to be corrupt; but in several cases they are traceable. The following are certain:—

1. Θῶθ, ΘΩΘΥΤ, divinity TEET (Thoth), as well as a goddess.
  2. Παωφί, ΠΑΩΠΙ, PTEH, i. e. PATEH, belonging to Ptab.
  3. Ἀθύρ, ΔΘΩΡ, HATHAR.
  9. Παχών, ΠΑΧΩΠ, KHUNS, i. e. PAKHUNS.
  11. Επιφί, ΕΠΗΠΙ, PEP-T, or APAP-T.
- The names of months are therefore, in their corrupt

therefore, then nearly or exactly coincided. We have already seen that the Hebrews in Egypt, if they used a foreign year, must be supposed to have used the Vague year. It is worth while to inquire whether a Vague year of this time would further suit the characteristics of the first Hebrew year. It would be necessary that the 14th day of Abib, on which fell the full moon of the Passover of the Exodus, should correspond to the 14th of Phamenoth, in a Vague year commencing about the autumnal equinox. A full moon fell on the 14th of Phamenoth, or Thursday, April 21, B.C. 1652, of a Vague year commencing on the day of the autumnal equinox, Oct. 10, B.C. 1653. A full moon would not fall on the same day of the Vague year within a shorter interval than twenty-five years, and the triple near coincidence of new moon, Vague year, and autumnal equinox, would not recur in less than 1500 Vague years (*Enc. Brit.* 8th ed. *Egypt*, p. 458). This date of the Exodus, B.C. 1652, is only four years earlier than Hales's, B.C. 1648. In confirmation of this early date, it must be added that in a list of confederates defeated by Thothmes III. at Megiddo in the 23rd year of his reign, are certain names that we believe can only refer to Israelite tribes. The date of this king's accession cannot be later than about B.C. 1460, and his 23rd year cannot therefore be later than about B.C. 1440. Were the Israelites then settled in Palestine, no date of the Exodus but the longest would be tenable. [CHRONOLOGY.]

II. Divisions of the Year.—1. *Seasons.* Two seasons are mentioned in the Bible, קַיִץ, "summer," and חֹרֶף, "winter." The former properly means the time of cutting fruits, the latter, that of gathering fruits; they are therefore originally rather summer and autumn than summer and winter. But that they signify ordinarily the two grand divisions of the year, the warm and cold seasons, is evident from their use for the whole year in the expression קַיִץ וְחֹרֶף, "summer and winter" (Ps. lxxiv. 17; Zech. xiv. 8, perhaps Gen. viii. 22), and from the mention of "the winter house" (Jer. xxxvi. 22) and "the summer house" (Am. iii. 15, where both are mentioned together). Probably חֹרֶף, when used without reference to the year (as in Job xxix. 4), retains its original signification. In the promise to Noah, after the Flood, the following remarkable passage occurs: "While the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease" (Gen. viii. 22). Here "seed-time," זֶרַע, and "harvest," קָצִיר, are evidently the agricultural seasons. It seems unreasonable to suppose that they mean winter and summer, as the beginnings of the periods of sowing and of harvest are not separated by six months, and they do not last for six months each, or nearly so long a time. The phrase "cold and heat," קָר וְחֶם, probably

forms, either derived from the names of divinities, or the same as those names. The name of the goddess of Epiphi is written PT TEE, or PT, "twice." As T is the feminine termination, the root appears to be P, "twice," thus PEP-T or APAP-T, the latter being Lepsius's reading. (See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, abth. iii. bl. 170, 171, *Chron. d. Ägypt.* p. 141, and Poole, *Horae Aegyptiacae*, p. 7-9, 14, 15, 18.)  
 The writer's paper on this subject not having yet been published, he must refer to the abstract in the *Athenaeum* No. 1847, Mar. 21, 1863.

indicates the great alternations of temperature. The whole passage indeed speaks of the alternations of nature, whether of productions, temperature, the seasons, or light and darkness. As we have seen, the year was probably then a wandering one, and therefore the passage is not likely to refer to it, but to natural phenomena alone. [SEASONS; CHRONOLOGY.]

2. *Months.*—The Hebrew months, from the time of the Exodus, were lunar. The year appears ordinarily to have contained twelve, but, when intercalation was necessary, a thirteenth. The older year contained twelve months of thirty days each. [MONTH; CHRONOLOGY.]

3. *Weeks.*—The Hebrews, from the time of the institution of the Sabbath, whether at or before the Exodus, reckoned by weeks, but, as no lunar year could have contained a number of weeks without a fractional excess, this reckoning was virtually independent of the year as with the Muslims. [WEEK; SABBATH; CHRONOLOGY.]

4. *Festivals, holy days, and fasts.*—The Feast of the Passover was held on the 14th day of the 1st month. The Feast of Unleavened Bread lasted 7 days; from the 15th to the 21st, inclusive, of the same month. Its first and last days were kept as sabbaths. The Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, was celebrated on the day which ended seven weeks counted from the 16th of the 1st month, that day being excluded. It was called the "Feast of Harvest," and "Day of First-fruits." The Feast of Trumpets (lit. "of the sound of the trumpet") was kept as a sabbath on the 1st day of the 7th month. The Day of Atonement (lit. "of Atone-ments") was a fast, held the 10th day of the 7th month. The "Feast of Tabernacles," or "Feast of Gathering," was celebrated from the 15th to the 22nd day, inclusive, of the 7th month. Additions made long after the giving of the Law, and not known to be of higher than priestly authority, are the Feast of Purim, commemorating the defeat of Haman's plot; the Feast of the Dedication, recording the cleansing and re-dedication of the Temple by Judas Maccabaeus; and four fasts.

III. *Sacred Years.*—1. The Sabbatical year, שְׁנַת הַשְּׁמִטָּה, "the fallow year," or, possibly, "year of remission," or שְׁמִטָּה alone, kept every seventh year, was commanded to be observed as a year of rest from the labours of agriculture and of remission of debts. Two Sabbatical years are recorded, commencing and current, B.C. 164-3 and 136-5. [SABBATICAL YEAR; CHRONOLOGY.]

2. The Jubilee year, שְׁנַת הַיּוֹבֵל, "the year of the trumpet," or יוֹבֵל alone, a like year, which immediately followed every seventh Sabbatical year. It has been disputed whether the Jubilee year was every 49th or 50th: the former is more probable. [JUBILEE; CHRONOLOGY.] [R. S. P.]

YOKE. 1. A well-known implement of husbandry, described in the Hebrew language by the terms *môt*,<sup>a</sup> *môtâh*,<sup>b</sup> and *'ól*,<sup>c</sup> the two former specifically applying to the bows of wood out of which it was constructed, and the last to the application (binding) of the article to the neck of the ox. The expressions are combined in Lev. xxvi. 13 and Ez. xxiv. 27, with the meaning, "bands of the yoke." The term "yoke" is frequently used metaphorically

for *subjection* (e. g. 1 K. xii. 4, 9-11, Is. ix. 4; Jer. v. 5): hence an "iron yoke" represents an unusually galling bondage (Deut. xxviii. 48; Jer. xxviii. 13). 2. A pair of oxen, so termed as being yoked together (1 Sam. xi. 7; 1 K. xix. 19, 21). The Hebrew term, *tzemed*,<sup>d</sup> is also applied to asses (Judg. xix. 10) and mules (2 K. v. 17), and even to a couple of riders (Is. xxi. 7). 3. The term *tzemed* is also applied to a certain amount of land, equivalent to that which a couple of oxen could plough in a day (Is. v. 10; A. V. "acre"), corresponding to the Latin *jugum* (Varro, *R. R.* i. 10). The term stands in this sense in 1 Sam. xiv. 14 (A. V. "yoke"); but the text is doubtful, and the rendering of the LXX. suggests that the true reading would refer to the instruments (ἐκκόχλαξι) wherewith the slaughter was effected.

[W. L. B.]

Z

ZAAN'AIM, THE PLAIN OF (זַאנַיִם)

זַאנַיִם: δρῦς πλεονεκτούντων; Alex. δ. ἀναπαυόμενων: *Vallis quae vocabatur Sennim*); or, more accurately "the oak by Zaannaim," such being probably the meaning of the word *élon*. [PLAIN, 890 b.] A tree—probably a sacred tree—mentioned as marking the spot near which Heber the Kenite was encamped when Sisera took refuge in his tent (Judg. iv. 11). Its situation is defined as "near Kedesh," i. e. Kedesh-Naphtali, the name of which still lingers on the high ground, north of *Safed*, and west of the Lake of *el Huleh*, usually identified with the Waters of Merom. The Targum gives as the equivalent of the name, *mishor agganinya*, "the plain of the swamp," and in the well-known passage of the Talmud (*Megillah Jerush.* i.) which contains a list of several of the towns of Galilee with their then identifications, the equivalent for "Elon (or Aijalon) be-Zaannaim" is *Agniya hak-kodesh*. *Agne* appears to signify a swamp, and can hardly refer to anything but the marsh which borders the lake of *Huleh* on the north side, and which was probably more extensive in the time of Deborah than it now is [MEROM]. On the other hand, Professor Stanley has pointed out (*Jewish Church*, 324; *Localities*, 197) how appropriate a situation for this memorable tree is afforded by "a green plain . . . studded with massive terebinths," which adjoins on the south the plain containing the remains of Kedesh. The whole of this upland country is more or less rich in terebinths. One such, larger than usual, and bearing the name of *Sejar em-Messiah*, is marked on the map of Van de Velde as 6 miles N.W. of *Kedes*. These two suggestions—of the ancient Jewish and the modern Christian student—may be left side by side to await the result of future investigation. In favour of the former is the slight argument to be drawn from the early date of the interpretation, and the fact that the basin of the *Huleh* is still the favourite camping ground of Bedouins. In favour of the latter is the instinct of the observer and the abundance of trees in the neighbourhood.

No name answering to either Zaannaim or Agne has yet been encountered.

The *Keri*, or correction, of Judg. iv. 11, substitutes Zaannaim for Zaannaim, and the same form is found in Josh. xix. 33. This correction the lexicographers adopt as the more accurate form of the name. It appears to be derived (if a Hebrew word)

<sup>a</sup> מוֹט <sup>b</sup> מוֹטָה <sup>c</sup> עַל <sup>d</sup> צֶמֶד

from a root signifying to load beasts as nomads do when they change their places of residence (Gesen. *Thes.* 1177). Such a meaning agrees well with the habits of the Kenites. But nothing can be more uncertain than such explanations of topographical names—most to be distrusted when most plausible. [G.]

**ZAAN'AN** (זָאָנָן: *Ξεννάδ*: *in exitu*). A place named by Micah (i. 11) in his address to the towns of the Shei'elah. This sentence, like others of the same passage, contains a play of words founded on the meaning (or on a possible meaning) of the name Zaanan, as derived from *yatsah*, to go forth:—

“The inhabitress of Tsaanan came not forth.”

The division of the passage shown in the LXX. and A. V., by which Zaanan is connected with Beth-ezel—is now generally recognized as inaccurate. It is thus given by Dr. Pusey, in his *Commentary*—“The inhabitant of Zaanan came not forth. The mourning of Beth-ezel shall take from you its standing.” So also Ewald, De Wette, and Zunz.

Zaanan is doubtless identical with ZENAN. [G.]

**ZA'AVAN** (זָאָוָן: *Ζουκάμ*; Alex. *Ἰωακάν*, *Ἰωακάν*: *Zavan*). A Horite chief, son of Ezer the son of Seir (Gen. xxxvi. 27; 1 Chr. i. 42). The LXX. appear to have read זָאָוָן. In 1 Chr. the A. V. has ZAVAN.

**ZABAD** (זָבָד: *Zabéd*, *Σαβέτ*; Alex. *Zabár* in 1 Chr.: *Zabad*: short for זָבָדִי: see Zebadiah, Zabdi, Zabdiel, Zebedee, “*God hath given him*”).

1. Son of Nathan, son of Attai, son of Ahlai, Sheshan's daughter (1 Chr. ii. 31-37), and hence called son of Ahlai (1 Chr. xi. 41). He was one of David's mighty men, but none of his deeds have been recorded. The chief interest connected with him is his genealogy, which is of considerable importance in a chronological point of view, and as throwing incidental light upon the structure of the Book of Chronicles, and the historical value of the genealogies in it. Thus in 1 Chr. ii. 26-41, we have the following pedigree, the generations preceding Jerahmeel being prefixed:—

- |   |                |
|---|----------------|
| (1) Judah.  | (13) Nathan.   |
| (2) Pharez.   | (14) ZABAD.    |
| (3) Hezron.   | (15) Ephlail   |
| (4) Jerahmeel.  | (16) Obed.     |
| (5) Onam.   | (17) Jehu.     |
| (6) Shammai.  | (18) AZARIAH.  |
| (7) Nadab.  | (19) Helez.    |
| (8) Appaim.   | (20) Eleasah.  |
| (9) Ishi.   | (21) Sisamai.  |
| (10) Sheshan.   | (22) Shallum.  |
| (11) Ahlai, his } = Jarha the<br>daughter } Egyptian. | (23) Jekamiah. |
| (12) Attai.   | (24) Ellshama. |

Here, then, is a genealogy of twenty-four generations, commencing with the patriarch, and terminating we know not, at first sight, where; but as we happen to know, from the history, where Zabad the son of Ahlai lived, we are at least sure of this fact, that the *fourteenth* generation brings us to the time of David; and that this is about the correct number we are also sure, because out of seven other perfect genealogies, covering the same interval of time, four have the same number (*fourteen*), two have *fifteen*, and David's own has *eleven*. [GENEAL. OF JESUS CHRIST, p. 667.]

But it also happens that another person in the line is an historical personage, whom we know to have lived during the usurpation of Athaliah,

viz. Azariah the son (*i. e.* grandson) of Obed (2 Chr. xxiii. 1). [AZARIAH, 13.] He was *fourth* after Zabad, while Jehoram, Athaliah's husband, was *sixth* after David—a perfectly satisfactory correspondence when we take into account that Zabad may probably have been considerably younger than David, and that the early marriages of the kings have a constant tendency to increase the number of generations in the royal line. Again, the last name in the line is the sixth after Azariah; but Hezekiah was the sixth king after Athaliah, and we know that many of the genealogies were written out by “the men of Hezekiah,” and therefore of course came down to his time [BECHER, p. 176] (see 1 Chr. iv. 41; Prov. xxv. 1). So that we may conclude, with great probability, both that this genealogy ends in the time of Hezekiah, and that all its links are perfect.

One other point of importance remains to be noticed, viz. that Zabad is called, after his great-grandmother, the founder of his house, *son of Ahlai*. For that Ahlai was the name of Sheshan's daughter is certain from 1 Chr. ii. 31; and it is also certain, from vers. 35, 36, that from her marriage with Jarha descended, in the third generation, Zabad. It is therefore as certain as such matters can be, that Zabad the son of Ahlai, David's mighty man, was so called from Ahlai his female ancestor. The case is analogous to that of Joab, and Abishai, and Asahel, who are always called *sons of Zeruah*, Zeruah, like Ahlai, having married a foreigner. Or if any one thinks there is a difference between a man being called the son of his mother, and the son of his great-grandmother, a more exact parallel may be found in Gen. xxv. 4, xxxvi. 12, 13, 16, 17, where the descendants of Keturah, and of the wives of Esau, in the third and fourth generation, are called “the sons of Keturah,” “the sons of Adah” and “of Bashemath” respectively.

2. (*Zabád*; Alex. *Zabéd*). An Ephraimite, if the text of 1 Chr. vii. 21 is correct. [See SHUTHELAH.]

3. (*Zabéd*; Alex. *Zabéθ*). Son of Shimeath, an Ammonitess, an assassin who, with Jehozabad, slew king Joash, according to 2 Chr. xxiv. 26; but in 2 K. xii. 21, his name is written, probably more correctly, Jozachar [JOZACHAR]. He was one of the domestic servants of the palace, and apparently the agent of a powerful conspiracy (2 Chr. xxv. 3; 2 K. xiv. 5). Joash had become unpopular from his idolatries (2 Chr. xxiv. 18), his oppression (ib. 22), and, above all, his calamities (ib. 23-25). The explanation given in the article JOZACHAR is doubtless the true one, that the chronicler represents this violent death of the king, as well as the previous invasion of the Syrians, as a Divine judgment against him for the innocent blood of Zechariah shed by him: not that the assassins themselves were actuated by the desire to avenge the death of Zechariah. They were both put to death by Amaziah, but their children were spared in obedience to the law of Moses (Deut. xxiv. 16). The coincidence between the names *Zechariah* and *Jozachar* is remarkable. [A. C. H.]

4. (*Zabád*). A layman of Israel, of the sons of Zattu, who put away his foreign wife at Ezra's command (Ezr. x. 27). He is called SABATUS in 1 Esd. ix. 28.

5. (*Zadáb*; *Zabád*). One of the descendants of

\* He does not appear in the list in 2 Sam. xxiv., and may therefore be presumed to have been added in the latter part of David's reign.

Hashum, who had married a foreign wife *αἰεὶ τὴν* Captivity (Ezr. x. 33): called **BANNAIA** in 1 Esd. ix. 33.

6. (*Ζαβὰδ*; Alex. om.) One of the sons of Nebo, whose name is mentioned under the same circumstances as the two preceding (Ezr. x. 43). It is represented by **ZABADAIAS** in 1 Esd. ix. 35. [W. A. W.]

**ZABADAI'AS** (*Ζαβαδαίας*: *Sabatus*). **ZABAD** 6 (1 Esd. ix. 35; comp. Ezr. x. 43).

**ZABADEANS** (*Ζαβεδαῖοι*; Alex. *Ζαβαδέοι*: *Zabadaei*). An Arab tribe who were attacked and spoiled by Jonathan, on his way back to Damascus from his fruitless pursuit of the army of Demetrius (1 Macc. xii. 31). Josephus calls them Nabataeans (*Ant.* xiii. 5, §10), but he is evidently in error. Nothing certain is known of them. Ewald (*Gesch.* iv. 382) finds a trace of their name in that of the place *Zabda* given by Robinson in his lists; but this is too far south, between the *Yarmuk* and the *Zurka*. Michaelis suggests the Arab tribe *Zobeideh*; but they do not appear in the necessary locality. Jonathan had pursued the enemy's army as far as the river Eleutherus (*Nahr el Kebir*), and was on his march back to Damascus when he attacked and plundered the Zabadeans. We must look for them, therefore, somewhere to the north-west of Damascus. Accordingly, on the road from Damascus to Baalbek, at a distance of about 8½ hours (26 miles) from the former place, is the village *Zobdány*, standing at the upper end of a plain of the same name, which is the very centre of Antilibanus. The name *Zobdány* is possibly a relic of the ancient tribe of the Zabadeans. According to Burckhardt (*Syria*, p. 3), the plain "is about three quarters of an hour in breadth, and three hours in length; it is called *Ard Zebdeni*, or the district of *Zebdeni*; it is watered by the *Barrada*, one of whose sources is in the midst of it; and by the rivulet called *Moiet Zebdeni*, whose source is in the mountain behind the village of the same name." The plain is "limited on one side by the eastern part of the Antilibanus, called here *Djebel Zebdeni*." The village is of considerable size, containing nearly 3000 inhabitants, who breed cattle, and the silkworm, and have some dyeing-houses (*ibid.*). Not far from *Zobdány*, on the western slopes of Antilibanus, is another village called *Kefr Zebad*, which again seems to point to this as the district formerly occupied by the Zabadeans. [W. A. W.]

**ZABBA'I** (*זַבַּי*: *Zabou'*: *Zabba'i*). 1. One of the descendants of Bebai, who had married a foreign wife in the days of Ezra (Ezr. x. 28). He is called **JOSABAD** in 1 Esd. ix. 29.

2. (*Ζαβού*; FA. *Ζαβρου*: *Zachai'*.) Father of Baruch, who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the city wall (Neh. iii. 20).

**ZAB'BUD** (*זַבְּוּד*, *Keri זַבְּוּד*; *Ζαβούδ*: *Zachur*). One of the sons of Bigvai, who returned in the second caravan with Ezra (Ezr. viii. 14). In 1 Esd. viii. 40 his name is corrupted into **ISTALCURUS**.

**ZABDE'US** (*Ζαβδαῖος*: Vulg. om.). **ZEBADIAH** of the sons of Immer (1 Esd. ix. 21; comp. Ezr. x. 20).

**ZAB'DI** (*זַבְּדִי*: *Zabdi*; Alex. *Ζαβρί* in Josh. vii. 1: *Zabdi*). 1. Son of Zerach, the son of Judah, and ancestor of Achan (Josh. vii. 1, 17, 18).

2. (*Ζαβδῖ*.) A Benjamite, of the sons of Shizhi (1 Chr. viii. 19).

3. (*Zabdias*.) David's officer over the produce of the vineyards for the wine-cellars (1 Chr. xxvii.

27). He is called "the Shipmite," that is, in all probability, native of *Shephram*; but his native place has not been traced.

4. (Vat. and Alex. om.; FA. third hand *Ζεχρῖ*: *Zebedeüs*.) Son of Asaph the minstrel (Neh. xi. 17); called elsewhere **ZACCUR** (Neh. xii. 35) and **ZICHRI** (1 Chr. ix. 15).

**ZAB'DIEL** (*זַבְּדִיָּהוּ*: *Zabdiel*: *Zabdiel*).

1. Father of Jashobeam, the chief of David's guard (1 Chr. xxvii. 2).

2. (*Βαδιήλ*; Alex. *Ζοχρηήλ*.) A priest, son of the great men, or, as the margin gives it, "Haggadolim" (Neh. xi. 14). He had the oversight of 128 of his brethren after the return from Babylon.

3. (*Ζαβδιήλ*; Joseph. *Ζάβηλος*: *Zabdiel*.) An Arabian chieftain who put Alexander Balas to death (1 Macc. xi. 17; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 4, §8). According to Diodorus, Alex. Balas was murdered by two of the officers who accompanied him (Müller, *Fragm. Hist.* ii. 16).

**ZA'BUD** (*זַבְּוּד*: *Zabou'*; Alex. *Ζαββούθ*: *Zabud*).

The son of Nathan (1 K. iv. 5). He is described as a priest (A. V. "principal officer;" **PRIEST**, p. 915), and as holding at the court of Solomon the confidential post of "king's friend," which had been occupied by Hushai the Archite during the reign of David (2 Sam. xv. 37, xvi. 16; 1 Chr. xxvii. 33). This position, if it were an official one, was evidently distinct from that of counsellor, occupied by Ahithophel under David, and had more of the character of private friendship about it, for Absalom conversely calls David the "friend" of Hushai (2 Sam. xvi. 17). In the Vat. MS. of the LXX. the word "priest" is omitted, and in the Arabic of the London Polyglot it is referred to Nathan. The Peshito-Syriac and several Hebrew MSS. for "Zabud" read "Zaccur." The same occurs in the case of **ZABBUD**.

**ZABUL'ON** (*Ζαβουλών*: *Zabulon*). The Greek form of the name **ZEBULUN** (Matt. iv. 13, 15; Rev. vii. 8).

**ZACCA'I** (*זַכַּי*: *Zachou'*; Alex. *Ζακχαί* in Ezra: *Zachai'*). The sons of Zaccai, to the number of 760, returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 9; Neh. vii. 14). The name is the same which appears in the N. T. in the familiar form of **ZACCHAEUS**.

**ZACCHAEUS** (*Ζακχαῖος*: *Zacchaeus*). The name of a tax-collector near Jericho, who being short in stature climbed up into a sycamore-tree, in order to obtain a sight of Jesus as He passed through that place. Luke only has related the incident (xix. 1-10). Zacchaeus was a Jew, as may be inferred from his name and from the fact that the Saviour speaks of him expressly as "a son of Abraham" (*υἱὸς Ἀβραάμ*). So the latter expression should be understood, and not in a spiritual sense; for it was evidently meant to assert that he was one of the chosen race, notwithstanding the prejudice of some of his countrymen that his office under the Roman government made him an alien and outcast from the privileges of the Israelite. The term which designates this office (*ἀρχιτελώνης*) is unusual, but describes him no doubt as the superintendent of customs or tribute in the district of Jericho, where he lived, as one having a commission from his Roman principal (*manceps, publicanus*) to collect the imposts levied on the Jews by the Romans, and who in the execution of that trust employed sub-letterns (the ordinary *τελώναι*), who were



accountable to him, as he in turn was accountable to his superior, whether he resided at Rome, as was more commonly the case, or in the province itself (see Winer, *Realw.* ii. 711, and *Dict. of Ant.* p. 806). The office must have been a lucrative one in such a region, and it is not strange that Zacchaeus is mentioned by the Evangelist as a rich man (*οὗτος ἦν πλούσιος*). Josephus states (*Ant.* xv. 4, §2) that the palm-groves of Jericho and its gardens of balsam were given as a source of revenue by Antony to Cleopatra, and, on account of their value, were afterwards redeemed by Herod the Great for his own benefit. The sycamore-tree is no longer found in that neighbourhood (Robinson, *Bib. Res.* i. 559); but no one should be surprised at this, since "even the solitary relic of the palm-forest, seen as late as 1838"—which existed near Jericho, has now disappeared (Stanley, *S. & P.* p. 307). The eagerness of Zacchaeus to behold Jesus indicates a deeper interest than that of mere curiosity. He must have had some knowledge, by report at least, of the teachings of Christ, as well as of His wonder-working power, and could thus have been awakened to some just religious feeling, which would make him the more anxious to see the announcer of the good tidings, so important to men as sinners. The readiness of Christ to take up His abode with him, and His declaration that "salvation" had that day come to the house of his entertainer, prove sufficiently that "He who knows what is in man" perceived in him a religious susceptibility which fitted him to be the recipient of spiritual blessings. Reflection upon his conduct on the part of Zacchaeus himself appears to have revealed to him deficiencies which disturbed his conscience, and he was ready, on being instructed more fully in regard to the way of life, to engage to "restore fourfold" for the illegal exactions of which he would not venture to deny (*εἴ τι νόσ τι ἐσυκοφάντησα*) that he might have been guilty. At all events he had not lived in such a manner as to overcome the prejudice which the Jews entertained against individuals of his class, and their censure fell on him as well as on Christ when they declared that the latter had not scorned to avail Himself of the hospitality of "a man that was a sinner." The Saviour spent the night probably (*μεῖναι*, ver. 5, and *καταλύσαι*, ver. 7, are the terms used) in the house of Zacchaeus, and the next day pursued his journey to Jerusalem. He was in the caravan from Galilee, which was going up thither to keep the Passover. The entire scene is well illustrated by Oosterzee (*Lange's Bibelwerk*, iii. 285).

We read in the Rabbinic writings also of a Zacchaeus who lived at Jericho at this same period, well known on his own account, and especially as the father of the celebrated Rabbi Jochanan ben Zachai (see Sepp's *Leben Jesu*, iii. 166). This person may have been related to the Zacchaeus named in the sacred narrative. The family of the Zacchaei was an ancient one, as well as very numerous. They are mentioned in the Books of Ezra (ii. 9) and Nehemiah (vii. 14) as among those who returned from the Babylonian Captivity under Zerubbabel, when their number amounted to seven hundred and sixty. It should be noticed that the name is given as ZACCAI in the Authorised Version of the Old Testament.

**ZACCHEUS** (*Ζακχαῖος*: *Zaccchaeus*). An officer of Judas Maccabaeus (2 Macc. x. 19). Grotius, from a mistaken reference to 1 Macc. v. 56, wishes to read *καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ζαχαίου*.

[H. B. H.]

[B. F. W.]

**ZAC'CHUR** (*זַכְּחֻר*: *Zakchour*: *Zachur*). A Simeonite, of the family of Mishma (1 Chr. iv. 26). His descendants, through his son Shimei, became one of the most numerous branches of the tribe.

**ZAC'CUR** (*זַכְּחֻר*: *Zachour*; Alex. *Zachour*: *Zachur*). 1. A Reubenite, father of Shammua, the spy selected from his tribe (Num. xiii. 4).

2. (*Ζακχούρ*; Alex. *Ζακχούρ*: *Zachur*). A Merarite Levite, son of Jaaziah (1 Chr. xxiv. 27).

3. (*Ζακχούρ*, *Ζακχούρ*; Alex. *Ζακχούρ*: *Zachur*, *Zachur*). Son of Asaph, the singer, and chief of the third division of the Temple choir as arranged by David (1 Chr. xxv. 2, 10; Neh. xii. 35).

4. (*Ζακχούρ*; FA. *Zachour*: *Zachur*). The son of Imri, who assisted Nehemiah in rebuilding the city wall (Neh. iii. 2).

5. (*Ζακχώρ*). A Levite, or family of Levites, who signed the covenant with Nehemiah (Neh. x. 12).

6. (*Ζακχούρ*). A Levite, whose son or descendant Hanan was one of the treasurers over the treasures appointed by Nehemiah (Neh. xiii. 13).

**ZACHARIAH**, or properly **ZACHARIAH** (*זַכְּרְיָהוּ*, "remembered by Jehovah:" *Zacharias*: *Zacharias*), was son of Jeroboam II., 14th king of Israel, and the last of the house of Jehu. There is a difficulty about the date of his reign. We are told that Amaziah ascended the throne of Judah in the second year of Joash king of Israel, and reigned 29 years (2 K. xiv. 1, 2). He was succeeded by Uzziah or Azariah, in the 27th year of Jeroboam II., the successor of Joash (2 K. xv. 1), and Uzziah reigned 52 years. On the other hand, Joash king of Israel reigned 16 years (2 K. xiii. 10), was succeeded by Jeroboam, who reigned 41 (2 K. xiv. 23), and he by Zachariah, who came to the throne in the 38th year of Uzziah king of Judah (2 K. xv. 8). Thus we have (1) from the accession of Amaziah to the 38th of Uzziah,  $29 + 38 = 67$  years: but (2) from the second year of Joash to the accession of Zachariah (or at least to the death of Jeroboam) we have  $15 + 41 = 56$  years. Further, the accession of Uzziah, placed in the 27th year of Jeroboam, according to the above reckoning occurred in the 15th. And this latter synchronism is confirmed, and that with the 27th year of Jeroboam contradicted, by 2 K. xiv. 17 which tells us that Amaziah king of Judah survived Joash king of Israel by 15 years. Most chronologers assume an interregnum of 11 years between Jeroboam's death and Zachariah's accession, during which the kingdom was suffering from the anarchy of a disputed succession, but this seems unlikely after the reign of a resolute ruler like Jeroboam, and does not solve the difference between 2 K. xiv. 17 and xv. 1. We are reduced to suppose that our present MSS. have here incorrect numbers, to substitute 15 for 27 in 2 K. xv. 1, and to believe that Jeroboam II. reigned 52 or 53 years. Josephus (ix. 10, §3) places Uzziah's accession in the 14th year of Jeroboam, a variation of a year in these synchronisms being unavoidable, since the Hebrew annalists in giving their dates do not reckon fractions of years. [ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF, vol. i. p. 900.] But whether we assume an interregnum, or an error in the MSS., we must place Zachariah's accession B.C. 771-2. His reign lasted only six months. He was killed in a conspiracy, of which Shallum was the head, and by which the prophecy in 2 K. x. 30 was accomplished. We are told that during his brief term of power he did evil, and kept up the calf-worship inherited from the first Jeroboam

which his father had maintained in regal splendour at Bethel (Am. vii. 13). [SHALLUM.] [G. E. L. C.]

2. (Alex. Ζαρχαῖος.) The father of Abi, or Abijah, Hezekiah's mother (2 K. xviii. 2). In 2 Chr. xxix. 1 he is called ZECHARIAH.

ZACHARIAS (Ζαχαρίας: Vulg. om.). 1. Zachariah the priest in the reign of Josiah (1 Esd. i. 8).

2. In 1 Esd. i. 15 Zacharias occupies the place of Heman in 2 Chr. xxxv. 15.

3. (Zapalas; Alex. Ζαπέας: Areores.) = SERAIAH 6, and AZARIAH (1 Esd. v. 8; comp. Ezr. ii. 2; Neh. vii. 7). It is not clear from whence this rendering of the name is derived. Our translators follow the Geneva Version.

4. (Ζαχαρίας: Zacharias.) The prophet ZECHARIAH (1 Esd. vi. 1, vii. 3).

5. ZECHARIAH of the sons of Pharosh (1 Esd. viii. 30; comp. Ezr. viii. 3).

6. ZECHARIAH of the sons of Bebai (1 Esd. viii. 37; Ezr. viii. 11).

7. ZECHARIAH, one of "the principal men and learned," with whom Ezra consulted (1 Esd. viii. 44; comp. Ezr. viii. 16).

8. ZECHARIAH of the sons of Elam (1 Esd. ix. 27; comp. Ezr. x. 26).

9. Father of Joseph, a leader in the first campaign of the Maccabean war (1 Macc. v. 18, 56-62).

10. Father of John the Baptist (Luke, i. 5, &c.) [JOHN THE BAPTIST.]

11. Son of Barachias, who, our Lord says, was slain by the Jews between the altar and the temple (Matt. xxiii. 35; Luke, xi. 51). There has been much dispute who this Zacharias was. From the time of Origen, who relates that the father of John the Baptist was killed in the temple, many of the Greek Fathers have maintained that this is the person to whom our Lord alludes; but there can be little or no doubt that the allusion is to Zacharias, the son of Jehoiada (2 Chr. xxiv. 20, 21). As the Book of Chronicles—in which the murder of Zacharias, the son of Jehoiada, occurs—closes the Hebrew canon, this assassination was the last of the murders of righteous men recorded in the Bible, just as that of Abel was the first. (Comp. Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, p. 353.) The name of the father of Zacharias is not mentioned by St. Luke; and we may suppose that the name of Barachias crept into the text of St. Matthew from a marginal gloss, a confusion having been made between Zacharias, the son of Jehoiada, and Zacharias, the son of Barachias (Berechiah), the prophet. [Comp. ZECHARIAH, 6, p. 1832.]

ZACH'ARY (Zacharias). The prophet Zachariah (2 Esd. i. 40).

ZA'CHER (זָכֵר, in pause זֶכֶר: Ζακχούρ: Zacher). One of the sons of Jehiel, the father or founder of Gibeon, by his wife Maachah (1 Chr. viii. 31). In 1 Chr. ix. 37 he is called ZECHARIAH.

ZADOK (זָדוֹק: Σαδώκ: Sadok: "righteous").

1. Son of Ahitub, and one of the two chief priests in the time of David, Abiathar being the other. [ABIATHAR.] Zadok was of the house of Eleazar, the son of Aaron (1 Chr. xxiv. 3), and eleventh in descent from Aaron. The first mention of him is in 1 Chr. xii. 28, where we are told that he joined David at Hebron after Saul's death with 22 captains of his father's house, and, apparently, with 900 men (4600-3700, vers. 26, 27). Up to this time, it may be concluded, he had adhered to the

house of Saul. But henceforth his fidelity to David was inviolable. When Absalom revolted, and David fled from Jerusalem, Zadok and all the Levites bearing the Ark accompanied him, and it was only at the king's express command that they returned to Jerusalem, and became the medium of communication between the king and Hushai the Archite (2 Sam. xv., xvii.). When Absalom was dead, Zadok and Abiathar were the persons who persuaded the elders of Judah to invite David to return (2 Sam. xix. 11). When Adonijah, in David's old age, set up for king, and had persuaded Joab, and Abiathar the priest, to join his party, Zadok was unmoved, and was employed by David to anoint Solomon to be king in his room (1 K. i.). And for this fidelity he was rewarded by Solomon, who "thrust out Abiathar from being priest unto the Lord," and "put in Zadok the priest" in his room (1 K. ii. 27, 35). From this time, however, we hear little of him. It is said in general terms in the enumeration of Solomon's officers of state that Zadok was the priest (1 K. iv. 4; 1 Chr. xxix. 22), but no single act of his is mentioned. Even in the detailed account of the building and dedication of Solomon's Temple, his name does not occur, so that though Josephus says that "Sadoc the high-priest was the first high-priest of the Temple which Solomon built" (*Ant.* x. 8, §6), it is very doubtful whether he lived till the dedication of Solomon's Temple, and it seems far more likely that Azariah, his son or grandson, was high-priest at the dedication (comp. 1 K. iv. 2, and 1 Chr. vi. 10, and see AZARIAH 2). Had Zadok been present, it is scarcely possible that he should not have been named in so detailed an account as that in 1 K. viii. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 810.]

Several interesting questions arise in connexion with Zadok in regard to the high-priesthood. And first, as to the causes which led to the descendants of Ithamar occupying the high-priesthood to the prejudice of the house of Eleazar. There is, however, nothing to guide us to any certain conclusion. We only know that Phinehas the son of Eleazar was high-priest after his father, and that at a subsequent period Eli of the house of Ithamar was high-priest, and that the office continued in his house till the time of Zadok, who was first Abiathar's colleague, and afterwards superseded him. Zadok's descendants continued to be hereditary high-priests till the time of Antiochus Eupator, and perhaps till the extinction of the office. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 812.] But possibly some light may be thrown on this question by the next which arises, viz., what is the meaning of the double priesthood of Zadok and Abiathar (2 Sam. xv. 29; 1 Chr. xxiv. 6, 31). In later times we usually find two priests, the high-priest, and the second priest (2 K. xxv. 18), and there does not seem to have been any great difference in their dignity. So too Luke iii. 2. The expression "the chief priest of the house of Zadok" (2 Chr. xxxi. 10), seems also to indicate that there were two priests of nearly equal dignity. Zadok and Abiathar were of nearly equal dignity (2 Sam. xv. 35, 36, xix. 11). Hophni and Phinehas again, and Eleazar and Ithamar are coupled together, and seem to have been holders of the office as it were in commission. The duties of the office too were in the case of Zadok and Abiathar divided. Zadok ministered before the Tabernacle at Gibeon (1 Chr. xvi. 39), Abiathar had the care of the Ark at Jerusalem. Not, however, exclusively, as appears from 1 Chr. xv. 11

2 Sam. xv. 24, 25, 29. Hence, perhaps, it may be concluded that from the first there was a tendency to consider the office of the priesthood as somewhat of the nature of a corporate office, although some of its functions were necessarily confined to the chief member of that corporation; and if so, it is very easy to perceive how superior abilities on the one hand, and infancy or incapacity on the other, might operate to raise or depress the members of this corporation respectively. Just as in the Saxon royal families, considerable latitude was allowed as to the particular member who succeeded to the throne. When hereditary monarchy was established in Judaea, then the succession to the high-priesthood may have become more regular. Another circumstance which strengthens the conclusion that the origin of the double priesthood was anterior to Zadok, is that in 1 Chr. ix. 11; Neh. xi. 11, Ahitub the father of Zadok, seems to be described as "ruler of the House of God," an office usually held by the chief priest, though sometimes by the second priest. [HIGH-PRIEST, p. 808.] And if this is so, it implies that the house of Eleazar had maintained its footing side by side with the house of Ithamar, although for a time the chief dignity had fallen to the lot of Eli. What was Zadok's exact position when he first joined David, is impossible to determine. He there appears inferior to Jehoiada "the leader of the Aaronites."

2. According to the genealogy of the high-priests in 1 Chr. vi. 12, there was a second Zadok, son of a second Ahitub, son of Amariah; about the time of King Ahaziah. But it is highly improbable that the same sequence, Amariah, Ahitub, Zadok, should occur twice over; and no trace whatever remains in history of this second Ahitub, and second Zadok. It is probable, therefore, that no such person as this second Zadok ever existed; but that the insertion of the two names is a copyist's error. Moreover, these two names are quite insufficient to fill up the gap between Amariah in Jehoshaphat's reign, and Shallum in Amon's, an interval of much above 200 years.

3. Father of Jerushah, the wife of King Uzziah, and mother of King Jotham. He was probably of a priestly family.

4. Son of Baana, who repaired a portion of the wall in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 4). He is probably the same as is in the list of those that sealed the covenant in Neh. x. 21, as in both cases his name follows that of Meshezabeel. But if so, we know that he was not a priest, as his name would at first sight lead one to suppose, but one of "the chief of the people," or laity. With this agrees his patronymic Baana, which indicates that he was of the tribe of Judah; for Baanah, one of David's mighty men, was a Netophathite (2 Sam. xxiii. 29), *i. e.* of Netophah, a city of Judah. The men of Tekoah, another city of Judah, worked next to Zadok. Meshullam of the house of Meshezabeel, who preceded him in both lists (Neh. iii. 4, and x. 20, 21), was also of the tribe of Judah (Neh. xi. 24). Intermarriages of the priestly house with the tribe of Judah were more frequent

\* Compare the following pedigrees:—

1 Chr. vi. 6-14.	Ib. 52, 53.	Ezr. vii. 1-3.	Neh. xi. 11, & 1 Chr. ix. 11.
Meraioth.	Meraioth.	Meraioth.	Ahitub.
		Azariah.	
Amariah.	Amariah.	Amariah.	Meraioth.
Ahitub.	Ahitub.	Ahitub.	
Zadok.	Zadok.	Zadok.	Zadok.
Shallum.		Shallum.	Meshullam.
Hilkiah.		Hilkiah.	Hilkiah.
Azariah.		Azariah.	
Seraiah.		Seraiah.	Seraiah. Azariah

than with any other tribe. Hence probably the name of Sadoc (Matt. i. 14).

5. Son of Immer, a priest who repaired a portion of the wall over against his own house (Neh. iii. 29). He belonged to the 16th course (1 Chr. xxiv. 14), which was one of those which returned from Babylon (Ezr. ii. 37).

6. In Neh. xi. 11, and 1 Chr. ix. 11, mention is made in a genealogy of Zadok, the son of Meraioth, the son of Ahitub. But as such a sequence occurs nowhere else, Meraioth being always the grandfather of Ahitub (or great-grandfather, as in Ezr. vii. 2, 3),\* it can hardly be doubtful that Meraioth is inserted by the error of a copyist, and that Zadok the son of Ahitub is meant.

It is worth noticing that the N. T. name Justus (Acts i. 23, xviii. 7; Col. iv. 11) is the literal translation of Zadok. Zedekiah, Jehozadak, may be compared.

The name appears occasionally in the post-biblical history. The associate of Judah the Gaulonite, the well-known leader of the agitation against the census of Quirinus, was a certain Pharisee named Zadok (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1, §1), and the sect of the Sadducees is reputed to have derived both its name and origin from a person of the same name, a disciple of Antigonas of Socho. (See the citations of Lightfoot, *Hebr. and Talm. Exerc.* on Matt. iii. 8.) The personality of the last mentioned Sadok has been strongly impugned in the article SADDUCEES (p. 1084); but see, on the other hand, the remark of M. Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, 216). [A. C. H.]

**ZAHAM** (זָחָם: Ζαάμ; Alex. Ζαλάμ: Ζοομ). Son of Rehoboam by Abihail, the daughter of Eliab (2 Chr. xi. 19). As Eliab was the eldest of David's brothers, it is more probable that Abihail was his granddaughter.

**ZAIR** (צַיִר: Σειώρ; Alex. omits: Seira). A place named, in 2 K. viii. 21 only, in the account of Joram's expedition against the Edomites. He went over to Zair with all his chariots; there he and his force appear to have been surrounded,<sup>b</sup> and only to have escaped by cutting their way through in the night. The parallel account in Chronicles (2 Chr. xxi. 9) agrees with this, except that the words "to Zair" are omitted, and the words "with his princes" inserted. This is followed by Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 5, §1). The omitted and inserted words have a certain similarity both in sound and in their component letters, צַיִרָה and עַם־שָׂרָיו; and on this it has been conjectured that the latter were substituted for the former, either by the error of a copyist, or intentionally, because the name Zair was not elsewhere known (see Keil, *Comm.* on 2 K. viii. 21). Others again, as Movers (*Chronik*, 218) and Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. 524), suggest that Zair is identical with Zoar (צֹר or צוּר). Certainly in the middle ages the road by which an army passed from Judaea to the country formerly occupied by Edom lay through the place which was then believed to be Zoar, below Kerak, at the S.E. quarter of the Dead Sea (Fulcher, *Gesta Dei*, 405), and so far this is in favour of the identification; but there is no other support to it in the MS. readings either of the original or the Versions.

<sup>b</sup> This is not, however, the interpretation of the Jewish commentators, who take the word הַסָּבִיב to refer to the neighbouring parts of the country of Edom. See Rash on 2 Chr. xxi. 9.

The Zoar of Genesis (as will be seen under that head) was probably near the N.E. end of the lake, and the chief interest that exists in the identification of Zair and Zoar, resides in the fact that if it could be established it would show that by the time 2 K. viii. 21 was written, Zoar had been shifted from its original place, and had come to be located where it was in the days of Joseph, Jerome, and the Crusades. Possibly the previous existence there of a place called Zair, assisted the transfer.

A third conjecture grounded on the readings of the Vulgate (*Seira*) and the Arabic version (*Sa'ir*, *ساعير*) is, that Zair is an alteration for Seir (*שעיר*), the country itself of the Edomites (Theophrastus, *Kurzg. Ex. Handb.*). The objection to this is, that the name of Seir appears not to have been known to the author of the Book of Kings.<sup>a</sup> [G.]

**ZALAPH** (*זלפ*: *Σελέφ*; Alex. *Ἐλέφ*: *Seleph*). Father of Hanun, who assisted in rebuilding the city wall (Neh. iii. 30).

**ZALMON** (*זלמן*: *Ἐλλών*; Alex. *Σελλώμ*: *Selmon*). An Ahohite, one of David's guard (2 Sam. xxiii. 28). In 1 Chr. xi. 29 he is called *ILAI*, which Kennicott (*Diss.* p. 187) decides to be the true reading.

**ZALMON, MOUNT** (*הר-זלמן*: *ὄρος Ἐρμών*: *mons Selmon*). A wooded eminence in the immediate neighbourhood of Shechem, from which Abimelech and his people cut down the boughs with which he suffocated and burnt the Shechemites who had taken refuge in the citadel (Judg. ix. 48). It is evident from the narrative that it was close to the city. But beyond this there does not appear to be the smallest indication either in or out of the Bible of its position. The Rabbis mention a place of the same name, but evidently far from the necessary position (Schwarz, 137). The name *Suleimijeh* is attached to the S.E. portion of Mount Ebal (see the map of Dr. Rosen, *Zeitsch. der D. M. G.* xiv. 634); but without further evidence, it is hazardous even to conjecture that there is any connexion between this name and Tsalmon.

The reading of the LXX. is remarkable both in itself, and in the fact that the two great MSS. agree in a reading so much removed from the Hebrew; but it is impossible to suppose that Hermon (at any rate the well-known mountain of that name), is referred to in the narrative of Abimelech.

The possibility of a connexion between this mount and the place of the same name in Ps. lxxviii. 14 (A. V. Salmon), is discussed under the head of SALMON, pp. 1094, 5.

The name of Dalmanutha has been supposed to be a corruption of that of Tsalmon (Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* "Dalmanutha"). [G.]

**ZALMO'NAH** (*זלמנא*: *Σελμωνά*: *Salmona*). The name of a desert-station of the Israelites, which they reached between leaving Mount Her and camping at Punon, although they must have turned the southern point of Edomitish territory by the way (Num. xxxiii. 41). It lies on the east side of

<sup>a</sup> The variations of the MSS. of the LXX. (Holmes and Parsons) are very singular—*εκ Σιων*, *εκ Σηων*, *εις Ωρ*. But they do not point to any difference in the Hebrew text from that now existing.

<sup>b</sup> The unintelligibility of the names is in favour of their being correctly retained rather than the reverse. And it

Edom; but whether or not identical with *Maan*, a few miles E. of Petra, as Raumer thinks, is doubtful. More probably Zalmonah may be in the *Wady Ithm*, which runs into the Arabah close to where Elath anciently stood. [H. H.]

**ZAL'MUNNA** (*זלמנא*: *Σελμαιά*; Alex. *Σαλμανα*, and so also Josephus: *Salmana*). One of the two "kings" of Midian whose capture and death by the hands of Gideon himself formed the last act of his great conflict with Midian (Judg. viii. 5-21; Ps. lxxxiii. 11). No satisfactory explanation of the name of Zalmunna has been given. That of Gesenius and Fürst ("shelter is denied him")<sup>b</sup> can hardly be entertained.

The distinction between the "kings" (*מלכי*) and the "princes" (*שָׂרִי*) of the Midianites on this occasion is carefully maintained throughout the narrative<sup>c</sup> (viii. 5, 12, 26). "Kings" of Midian are also mentioned in Num. xxxi. 8. But when the same transaction is referred to in Josh. xiii. 21 they are designated by the title *Nēsié* (*נְשִׂיָּה*), A. V. "princes." Elsewhere (Num. xxii. 4, 7) the term *zekénim* is used, answering in signification, if not in etymology, to the Arabic *sheikh*. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to tell how far these distinctions are accurate, and how far they represent the imperfect acquaintance which the Hebrews must have had with the organization of a people with whom, except during the orgies of Shittim, they appear to have been always more or less at strife and warfare (1 Chr. v. 10, 19-22).

The vast horde which Gideon repelled must have included many tribes under the general designation of "Midianites, Amalekites, children of the East;" and nothing would be easier or more natural than for the Hebrew scribes who chronicled the events to confuse one tribe with another in so minute a point as the title of a chief.

In the great Bedouin tribes of the present day, who occupy the place of Midian and Amalek, there is no distinctive appellation answering to the *melec* and *sar* of the Hebrew narrative. Differences in rank and power there are, as between the great chief, the acknowledged head of the parent tribe, and the lesser chiefs who lead the sub-tribes into which it is divided, and who are to a great extent independent of him. But the one word *sheikh* is employed for all. The great chief is the *Sheikh el-kebir*, the others are *min el-masheikh*, "of the sheikhs," i. e. of sheikh rank. The writer begs to express his acknowledgments to Mr. Layard and Mr. Cyril Graham for information on this point. [G.]

**ZAM'BIS** (*Ζαμβί*; Alex. *Ζαμβρις*: *Zambris*). The same as AMARIAH (1 Esd. ix. 34; comp. Ezr. x. 42).

**ZAM BRI** (*Ζαμβρί*: *Zamri*). ZIMRI the Simeonite slain by Phinehas (1 Macc. ii. 26).

**ZAMOTH** (*Ζαμόθ*; Alex. *Ζαμόθ*: *Zathoim*) = ZATTU (1 Esd. ix. 28; comp. Ezr. x. 27).

**ZAM'ZUMMIMS** (*זמזומים*: *Ζοχομμειν*; Alex. *ομμειν*: *Zomzommim*). The Ammonite name for

should not be overlooked that they are not, like Oreb and Zeeb, attached also to localities, which always throws a doubt on the name when attributed to a person as well.

<sup>c</sup> Josephus inverts the distinction. He styles Oreb and Zeeb *βασιλεις*, and Zebah and Zalmunna *ἡγεμόνες* (Ant. v. 7, §6).

the people who by others (though who they were does not appear) were called REPHAIM (Deut. ii. 20 only). They are described as having originally been a powerful and numerous nation of giants:—"great, many, and tall,"—inhabiting the district which at the time of the Hebrew conquest was in the possession of the Ammonites, by whom the Zamzummim had a long time previously been destroyed. Where this district was, it is not perhaps possible exactly to define; but it probably lay in the neighbourhood of Rabbath-Ammon (*Ammân*), the only city of the Ammonites of which the name or situation is preserved to us, and therefore eastward of that rich undulating country from which Moab had been forced by the Amorites (the modern *Belka*), and of the numerous towns of that country, whose ruins and names are still encountered.

From a slight similarity between the two names, and from the mention of the Emim in connexion with each, it is usually assumed that the Zamzummim are identical with the ZUZIM (Gesenius, *Thes.* 410 a; Ewald, *Gesch.* i. 308 note; Knobel on Gen. xiv. 5). Ewald further supports this by identifying HAM, the capital city of the Zuzim (Gen. xiv. 5) with Ammon. But at best the identification is very conjectural.

Various attempts have been made to explain the name:—as by comparison with the Arabic **زصرم** "long-necked;" or **صصم**, "strong and big" (Simonis, *Onom.* 135); or as "obstinate," from **זמז** (Luther), or as "noisy," from **זמז** (Gesenius, *Thes.* 419), or as Onomatopoeic,<sup>a</sup> intended to imitate the unintelligible jabber of foreigners. Michaelis (*Suppl.* No. 629) playfully recalls the likeness of the name to that of the well Zem-zem at Mecca, and suggests thereupon that the tribe may have originally come from Southern Arabia. Notwithstanding this banter, however, he ends his article with the following discreet words, "Nihil historiae, nihil originis populi novimus: fas sit etymologiam aequè ignorare." [G.]

ZANO'AH (זָנוֹחַ: *Zamón* in both MSS.: *Zano*).

In the genealogical lists of the tribe of Judah in 1 Chron., Jekuthiel is said to have been the father of Zanoah (iv. 18); and, as far as the passage can be made out, some connexion appears to be intended with "Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh." Zanoah is the name of a town of Judah [ZANOAH 2], and this mention of Bithiah probably points to some colonization of the place by Egyptians or by Israelites directly from Egypt. In Seetzen's account of Sanûte (or more accurately *Za'nûtah*), which is possibly identical with Zanoah, there is a curious token of the influence which events in Egypt still exercised on the place (*Reisen*, iii. 29).

The Jewish interpreters considered the whole of this passage of 1 Chr. iv. to refer to Moses, and interpret each of the names which it contains as titles of him. "He was chief of Zanoach," says the Targum, "because for his sake G-d put away (זָנוֹחַ) the sins of Israel." [G.]

<sup>a</sup> In this sense the name was applied by controversialists of the 17th century as a nickname for fanatics who pretended to speak with tongues.

<sup>b</sup> This name, however (زأنوع), exhibits the 'ain, which

ZANO'AH (זָנוֹחַ). The name of two towns in the territory of Judah.

1. (Závω, *Zavō*; Alex. *Zavω*: *Zanoe* in the Shefelah (Josh. xv. 34), named in the same group with Zoreah and Jarmuth. It is possibly identical with *Zânû'a*,<sup>b</sup> a site which was pointed out to Dr. Robinson from *Beit Nettif* (*B. R.* ii. 16), and which in the maps of Van de Velde and of Tobler (*3tte Wanderung*) is located on the N. side of the *Wady Ismail*, 2 miles E. of *Zareah*, and 4 miles N. of *Yarmuk*. This position is sufficiently in accordance with the statement of Jerome (*Onomast.* "Zanohua"), that it was in the district of Eleutheropolis, on the road to Jerusalem, and called *Zanua*.

The name recurs in its old connexion in the lists of Nehemiah, both of the towns which were re-inhabited by the people of Judah after the Captivity (xi. 30<sup>c</sup>), and of those which assisted in repairing the wall of Jerusalem (iii. 13). It is an entirely distinct place from

2. (*Zakanaélμ*; Alex. *Zavωακειμ*: *Zanoe*.) A town in the highland district, the mountain proper (Josh. xv. 56). It is named in the same group with Maon, Carmel, Ziph, and other places known to lie south of Hebron. It is (as Van de Velde suggests, *Memoir*, 354) not improbably identical with *Sanûte*, which is mentioned by Seetzen (*Reisen*, iii. 29) as below *Senuia*, and appears to be about 10 miles S. of Hebron. At the time of his visit it was the last inhabited place to the south. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 204 note) gives the name differently,

زعنوطه, *Za'nûtah*; and it will be observed that like *Zanu'ah* just mentioned, it contains the 'Ain, which the Hebrew name does not, and which rather shakes the identification.

According to the statement of the genealogical lists of 1 Chr. Zanoah was founded or colonized by a person named Jekuthiel (iv. 18). Here it is also mentioned with Socho and Eshtemoa, both of which places are recognizable in the neighbourhood of *Za'nûtah*. [G.]

ZAPH'NATH-PAA'NEAH (זָפְנַת פְּנֵה: *Zaphnath-paneah*), a name given by Pharaoh to Joseph (Gen. xli. 45). Various forms of this name, all traceable to the Heb. or LXX. original, occur in the works of the early Jewish and Christian writers, chiefly Josephus, from different MSS. and editions of whose *Ant.* (ii. 6, §1) no less than eleven forms have been collected, following both originals, some variations being very corrupt; but from the translation given by Josephus it is probable that he transcribed the Hebrew. Philo (*De Nominum Mut.* p. 819 c ed. Col. 1613) and Theodoret (i. p. 106, ed. Schulz) follow the LXX., and Jerome, the Hebrew. The Coptic version nearly transcribes the LXX.,

ΨΟΠΘΑΞΕΦΑΝΗΧ.

In the Hebrew text the name is divided into two parts. Every such division of Egyptian words being in accordance with the Egyptian orthography; as No-Ammon, Pi-beseth, Poti-pherah; we cannot, if the name be Egyptian, reasonably propose any change in this case; if the name be Hebrew, the

is not present in the Hebrew name.

<sup>c</sup> Here the name is contracted to זָנוֹחַ.

<sup>d</sup> These curious words are produced by joining *Zanoah* to the name following it, Cain, or *hac-Cain*.

same is certain. There is no *primâ facie* reason for any change in the consonants.

The LXX. form seems to indicate the same division, as the latter part, *φανήχ*, is identical with the second part of the Hebrew, while what precedes is different. There is again no *primâ facie* reason for any change from the ordinary reading of the name. The cause of the difference from the Hebrew in the earlier part of the name must be discussed when we come to examine its meaning.

This name has been explained as Hebrew or Egyptian, and always as a proper name. It has not been supposed to be an official title, but this possibility has to be considered.

1. The Rabbins interpreted Zaphnath-paaneah as Hebrew, in the sense "revealer of a secret." This explanation is as old as Josephus (*κρυπτῶν εὐρετήν*, *Ant.* ii. 6, §1); and Theodoret also follows it (*τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐρμηνευτήν*, i. p. 106, Schulz). Philo offers an explanation, which, though seemingly different, may be the same (*ἐν ἀποκρίσει στόμα κρύνον*; but Mangey conjectures the true reading to be *ἐν ἀποκρύψει στόμα ἀποκρινόμενον*, *l. c.*). It must be remembered that Josephus perhaps, and Theodoret and Philo certainly, follow the LXX. form of the name.

2. Isidore, though mentioning the Hebrew interpretation, remarks that the name should be Egyptian, and offers an Egyptian etymology:—"Joseph . . . hunc Pharaon Zaphanath Phaanece appellavit, quod Hebraice absconditorum repertorem sonat . . . tamen quia hoc nomen ab Aegyptio ponitur, ipsius linguae debet habere rationem. Interpretatur ergo Zaphanath Phaanece Aegyptio sermone salvator mundi" (*Orig.* vii. c. 7, t. iii. p. 327, Arev.). Jerome adopts the same rendering.

3. Modern scholars have looked to Coptic for an explanation of this name, Jablonski and others proposing as the Coptic of the Egyptian original *πσωτ εϛ φεπερ*, or *πσωτ*, &c., "the preservation" or "preserver of the age." This is evidently the etymology intended by Isidore and Jerome.

We dismiss the Hebrew interpretation, as unsound in itself, and demanding the improbable concession that Pharaoh gave Joseph a Hebrew name.

It is impossible to arrive at a satisfactory result without first inquiring when this name was given, and what are the characteristics of Egyptian titles and names. These points having been discussed, we can show what ancient Egyptian sounds correspond to the Hebrew and LXX. forms of this name, and a comparison with ancient Egyptian will then be possible.

After the account of Joseph's appointment to be governor, of his receiving the insignia of authority, and Pharaoh's telling him that he held the second place in the kingdom, follow these words:—"And Pharaoh called Joseph's name Zaphnath-paaneah; and he gave him to wife Asenath the daughter of Poti-pherah priest of On." It is next stated, "And Joseph went out over [all] the land of Egypt" (*Gen.* xli. 45). As Joseph's two sons were born "before the years of famine came" (*ver.* 50), it seems evident that the order is here strictly chronological, at least that the events spoken of are of the time before the famine. It is scarcely to be supposed that Pharaoh would have named Joseph "the preserver of the age," or the like, when the calamity, from the worst effects of which his administration preserved Egypt, had not come. The

name, at first sight, seems to be a proper name, but, as occurring after the account of Joseph's appointment and honours, may be a title.

Ancient Egyptian titles of dignity are generally connected with the king or the gods, as SUTENSA, king's son, applied not only to royal princes, but to the governors of KEESH, or Cush. Titles of place are generally simply descriptive, as MERKETU, "superintendent of buildings" ("public works"?). Some few are tropical. Ancient Egyptian names are either simple or compound. Simple names are descriptive of occupation, as MA, "the shepherd," an early king's name, or are the names of natural objects, as PE-MAY (?), "the cat," &c.; more rarely they indicate qualities of character, as S-NUFRE, "doer of good." Compound names usually express devotion to the gods, as PET-AMEN-APT, "Belonging to Amen of Thebes;" some are composed with the name of the reigning king, as SHAFRA-SHA, "Shafra rules;" SESERTESEN-ANKH, "Sesertesen lives." Others occur which are more difficult of explanation, as AMEN-EM-HA, "Amen in the front," a war-cry? Double names, not merely of kings, but of private persons, are found, but are very rare, as SNUFRE ANKHEE, "Doer of good, living one." These double names are usually of the period before the xviiiith dynasty.

Before comparing Zaphnath-paaneah and Psonthomphanech with Egyptian names, we must ascertain the probable Egyptian equivalents of the letters of these forms. The Egyptian words occurring in Hebrew are few, and the forms of some of them evidently Shemiticized, or at least changed by their use by foreigners: a complete and systematic alphabet of Hebrew equivalents of Egyptian letters therefore cannot be drawn up. There are, on the other hand, numerous Shemitic words, either Hebrew or of a dialect very near it, the geographical names of places and tribes of Palestine, given, according to a system, in the Egyptian inscriptions and papyri, from which we can draw up, as M. de Rouge has done (*Revue Archéologique*, N. S. iii. 351-354), a complete alphabet, certain in nearly all its details, and approximatively true in the few that are not determined, of the Egyptian equivalents of the Hebrew alphabet. The two comparative alphabets do not greatly differ, but we cannot be sure that in the endeavour to ascertain what Egyptian sounds are intended by Hebrew letters, or their Greek equivalents, we are quite accurate in employing the latter. For instance, different Egyptian signs are used to represent the Hebrew *ך* and *כ*, but it is by no means certain that these signs in Egyptian represented any sound but R, except in the vulgar dialect.

It is important to observe that the Egyptians had a hard "t," the parent of the Coptic *Ϡ* and *Ϣ*, which we represent by an italic *T*; that they had an "a" corresponding to the Hebrew *א*, which we represent by an italic *A*; and that the Hebrew *פ* may be represented by the Egyptian P, also pronounced P'h, and by the F. The probable originals of the Egyptian name of Joseph may be thus stated:—

Ϡ	פ	נ	ת	פ	א	נ	ח
T	P	N	T	P	A	N	KH
	F						
ψ	ο	θ	ο	μ	φ	α	ν
PS	N	T	M		P	N	KH
					F		

The second part of the name in the Hebrew is the same as in the LXX., although in the latter it is not separate: we therefore examine it first. It is identical with the ancient Egyptian proper name P-ANKHEE, "the living," borne by a king who was an Ethiopian ruling after Tirhakah, and probably contemporary with the earlier part of the reign of Psammetichus I. The only doubtful point in the identification is that it is not certain that the "a" in P-ANKHEE is that which represents the Hebrew  $\aleph$ . It is a symbolic sign of the kind which serves as an initial, and at the same time determines the signification of the word it partly expresses and sometimes singly represents, and it is only used in the single sense "life," "to live." It may, however, be conjectured from its Coptic equivalents to have begun with either a long or a guttural "a" ( $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma$  B, S,  $\alpha\pi\bar{\alpha}$  B,  $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma$ ,  $\alpha\pi\alpha\gamma$  S,  $\alpha\pi\alpha$ ,  $\omega\pi\alpha$  M,  $\omega\pi\alpha\gamma$  B,  $\omega\pi\alpha\gamma$  S).

The second part of the name, thus explained, affords no clue to the meaning of the first part, being a separate name, as in the case of a double name already cited SNUFRE ANKHEE. The LXX. form of the first part is at once recognized in the ancient Egyptian words P-SENT-N, "the defender" or "preserver of," the Coptic  $\pi\omega\tau\epsilon$ , "the preserver of." It is to be remarked that the ancient Egyptian form of the principal word is that found in the LXX., but that the preposition N in hieroglyphics, however pronounced, is always written N, whereas in

Coptic  $\pi$  becomes  $\omega$  before  $\pi$ . The word SENT does not appear to be used except as a divine, and, under the Ptolemies, regal title, in the latter case for Soter. The Hebrew form seems to represent a compound name commencing with TETEF, or TEF, "he says," a not infrequent element in compound names (the root being found in the Coptic  $\chi\alpha$ ,  $\chi\alpha\tau$ : S  $\chi\alpha\alpha$ ,  $\chi\alpha\tau$ ), or TEF, "incense, delight" (?) the name of the sacred incense, also known to us in the Greek form  $\kappa\upsilon\phi\iota$  (Plutarch, *de Isid. et Osir.* c. 80, p. 383; Diosc. *M. m.* I. 24, Spr.) But, if the name commence with either of these words, the rest seems inexplicable. It is remarkable that the last two consonants are the same as in Asenath, the name of Joseph's wife. It has been supposed that in both cases this element is the name of the goddess Neith, Asenath having been conjectured to be AS-NEET; and Zaphnath, by Mr. Osburn, we believe, TEF-NEET, "the delight(?) of Neith." Neith, the goddess of Saïs, is not likely to have been revered at Heliopolis, the city of Asenath. It is also improbable that Pharaoh would have given Joseph a name connected with idolatry; for Joseph's position, unlike Daniel's, when he was first called Belteshazzar, would have enabled him effectually to protest against receiving such a name. The latter part of the name might suggest the possibility of the letters "aneah" corresponding to ANKH, and the whole preceding portion, Zaphnath and the initial of this part, forming the name of Joseph's Pharaoh; the form being that of SESER-TESEN-ANKH, "Sesertesen lives," already mentioned; but the occurrence of the letter P shows that the form is P-ANKHEE, and were this not sufficient proof, no name of a Pharaoh, or other proper name is known that can be compared with the supposed first portion. We have little doubt

that the monuments will unexpectedly supply us with the information we need, giving us the original Egyptian name, though probably not applied to Joseph, of whose period there are, we believe, but few Egyptian records. [R. S. P.]

**ZAPHON** ( $\text{זָפֹן}$ :  $\Sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ ; Alex.  $\Sigma\alpha\phi\omega\upsilon$ : *Saphon*). The name of a place mentioned in the enumeration of the allotment of the tribe of Gad (Josh. xiii. 27). It is one of the places in "the valley" which appear to have constituted the "remainder" ( $\text{רֵשֶׁת}$ ) of the kingdom of Sihon—apparently referring to the portion of the same kingdom previously allotted to Reuben (vers. 17-21). The enumeration appears to proceed from south to north, and from the mention of the Sea of Chinneroth it is natural to infer that Zaphon was near that lake. No name resembling it has yet been encountered.

In Judg. xii. 1, the word rendered "northward" (*tsâphônâh*) may with equal accuracy be rendered "to Zaphon." This rendering is supported by the Alex. LXX. ( $\kappa\epsilon\phi\epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha$ ) and a host of other MSS. and it has consistency on its side. [G.]

**ZARA** ( $\text{זָרָא}$ : *Zara*). ZARAH the son of Judah (Matt. i. 3).

**ZAR'ACES** ( $\text{זָרָאֲכֵס}$ : *Zaraceles*). Brother of Joacim, or Jehoiakim, king of Judah (1 Esd. i. 38). His name is apparently a corruption of Zedekiah.

**Z'RAH** ( $\text{זָרָה}$ : *Zara*). Properly ZERAH, the son of Judah by Tamar (Gen. xxxviii. 30, xlvi. 12).

**ZARAI'AS** (Vat. omits; Alex. *Zaraiás*: Vulg. omits). 1. ZERAHIAH, one of the ancestors of Ezra (1 Esd. viii. 2); called ARNA in 2 Esd. i. 2.

2. (*Zaraias*: *Zaraeus*.) ZERAHIAH, the father of Elihoenai (1 Esd. viii. 31).

3. (*Zaraias*: *Zarias*.) ZEBADIAH, the son of Michael (1 Esd. viii. 34).

**ZAREAH** ( $\text{זָרְעָה}$ : Vat. omits; Alex. *Saraias*: *Saraias*). The form in which our translators have once (Neh. xi. 29) represented the name, which they elsewhere present (less accurately) as ZORAH and ZOREAH. [G.]

**ZAREATHITES, THE** ( $\text{זָרְעָתִים}$ : *oi Sarathaitai*: *Saraitae*). The inhabitants of ZAREAH or ZORAH. The word occurs in this form only in 1 Chr. ii. 53. Elsewhere the same Hebrew word appears in the A. V. as THE ZORATHITES. [G.]

**ZARED, THE VALLEY OF** ( $\text{זָרֵד}$ :  $\text{זָרֵד}$ : *Zarét*; Alex.  $\phi$ . *Zare*: *torrens Zared*). The name is accurately ZERED; the change in the first syllable being due to its occurring at a pause. It is found in the A. V. in this form only in Num. xxi. 12; though in the Hebr. it occurs also Deut. ii. 13. [G.]

**ZAREPHATH** ( $\text{זָרְפָּת}$ , *i. e.* *Tsarfat*:  $\Sigma\alpha\text{ρεπτά}$ ; in Obad. plural: *Sarephtha*). A town which derives its claim to notice from having been the residence of the prophet Elijah during the latter part of the drought (1 K. xvii. 9, 10). Beyond stating that it was near to, or dependent on, Zidon ( $\text{צִידוֹן}$ ), the Bible gives no clue to its position.

<sup>a</sup> In 1 K. xvii. 9, the Alex. MS. has  $\Sigma\epsilon\phi\theta\alpha$ , but in the other two passages agrees with the Vat.

It is mentioned by Obadiah (ver. 20), but merely as a Canaanite (that is Phoenician) city. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 13, §2), however, states that it was "not far from Sidon and Tyre, for it lies between them." And to this Jerome adds (*Onom.* "Sarefta") that it "lay on the public road," that is the coast-road. Both these conditions are implied in the mention of it in the Itinerary of Paula by Jerome (*Epit. Paulae*, §8), and both are fulfilled in the situation of the modern village of *Sūrafend* (صرفند), a name which, except in its termination, is almost identical with the ancient Phoenician.

*Sūrafend* has been visited and described by Dr. Robinson (*B. R.* ii. 475) and Dr. Thomson (*Land and Book*, ch. xii.). It appears to have changed its place, at least since the 11th century, for it is now more than a mile from the coast, high up on the slope of a hill (Rob. 474), whereas, at the time of the Crusades, it was on the shore. Of the old town, considerable indications remain. One group of foundations is on a headland called *Ain el-Kentarah*; but the chief remains are south of this, and extend for a mile or more, with many fragments of columns, slabs, and other architectural features. The Roman road is said to be unusually perfect there (Beaumont, *Diary*, &c., ii. 186). The site of the chapel erected by the Crusaders on the spot then reputed to be the site of the widow's house, is probably still preserved. (See the citations of Robinson.) It is near the water's edge, and is now marked by a well and small khan dedicated to *el Khudr*, the well-known personage who unites, in the popular Moslem faith, Elijah and S. George.

In the N. T. Zarephath appears under the Greek form of *SAREPTA*. [G.]

**ZAR'ETAN** (צֶרֶתַן, *i. e.* Tsarthan: LXX. omits in both MSS.: *Sarthan*). An inaccurate representation of the name elsewhere more correctly given as *ZARTHAN*. It occurs only in Josh. iii. 16, in defining the position of Adam, the city by which the upper waters of the Jordan remained during the passage of the Israelites:—"The waters rushing down from above stood and rose up upon one heap very far off—by Adam, the city that is by the side of Zarthan." No trace of these names has been found, nor is anything known of the situation of Zarthan.

It is remarkable that the LXX. should exhibit no trace of the name. [G.]

**ZARETH-SHA'HAR** (צֶרֶת הַשָּׁחַר, *i. e.* Zareth has-shachar: Σεραδά και Σειών; Alex. Σαρθ και Σιων: *Sereth Assahar*). A place mentioned only in Josh. xiii. 19, in the catalogue of the towns allotted to Reuben. It is named between *SIBMAH* and *BETHPEOR*, and is particularly specified as "in Mount ha-Emek" (A. V. "in the Mount of the Valley"). From this, however, no clue can be gained to its position. Seetzen (*Reisen*, ii. 369) proposes, though with hesitation (see his note), to identify it with a spot called *Sarâ* at the mouth of the *Wady Zerka Main*, about a mile from the edge of the Dead Sea. A place *Shakûr* is marked on Van de Velde's map, about six miles south of *Salt*, at the head of the valley of the *Wady*

<sup>b</sup> The name is given as *Sarphand* by Ibn Edris; *Saryden* by Maundeville; and *Sarphan* by Maundrell.

<sup>c</sup> A grotto (as usual) at the foot of the hill on which the modern village stands is now shewn as the residence

*Seir*. But nothing can be said of either of these in the present state of our knowledge. [G.]

**ZAR'HITES, THE** (זֶרְחִי: *δ Zapat*; Alex. 'O *Zapael*, *Zapiel* in Josh.: *Zareitae*, *Zare*, stirps *Zarahi* and *Zarai*). A branch of the tribe of Judah: descended from Zerah the son of Judah (*Num.* xxvi. 13, 20; Josh. vii. 17; 1 *Chr.* xxvii. 11, 13). Achan was of this family, and it was represented in David's time by two distinguished warriors, Sibbechai the Hushathite and Maharai the Netophathite.

**ZART'ANAH** (צֶרְתָּנָה: Σεσαθάν; Alex. Εσλιανθαν: *Sarthana*). A place named in 1 K. iv. 12, to define the position of *BETHSHEAN*. It is possibly identical with *ZARTHAN*, but nothing positive can be said on the point, and the name has not been discovered in postbiblical times. [G.]

**ZAR'THAN** (צֶרְתָּן: Σειρά; Alex. Σιαραμ: *Sarthan*).

1. A place in the *ciccar* or circle of Jordan, mentioned in connexion with Succoth (1 K. vii. 46).

2. It is also named, in the account of the passage of the Jordan by the Israelites (Josh. iii. 16), as defining the position of the city Adam, which was beside (צֶרֶת) it. The difference which the translators of the A. V. have introduced into the name in this passage (*ZARETAN*) has no existence in the original.

3. A place with the similar name of *ZARTANAH* (which in the Hebrew differs from the two forms already named only in its termination) is mentioned in the list of Solomon's commissariat districts. It is there specified as "close to" (אֶצְלֵי) *Bethshean*, that is, in the upper part of the Jordan valley.

4. Further, in Chronicles, Zeredathah is substituted for Zarthan, and this again is not possibly identical with the Zererah, Zererath, or Zeredathah, of the story of Gideon. All these spots agree in proximity to the Jordan, but beyond this we are absolutely at fault as to their position. *ADAM* is unknown; *SUCCOTH* is, to say the least, uncertain; and no name approaching Zarthan has yet been encountered, except it be *Surtabeh* (صُرطبة), the name of a lofty and isolated hill which projects from the main highlands into the Jordan valley, about 17 miles north of Jericho (Van de Velde, *Memoir*, 354). But *Surtabeh*, if connected with any ancient name, would seem rather to represent some compound of the ancient Hebrew or Phoenician *Tsor*, which in Arabic is represented by *Sûr* (صور), as in the name of the modern Tyre. [G.]

**ZATH'OE** (Ζαθούη: *Zathues*). This name occurs in 1 Esd. viii. 32, for *ZATTU*, which appears to have been omitted in the Hebrew text of Ezr. viii. 5, which should read, "Of the sons of Zattu, Shechaniah the son of Jahaziel."

**ZATHU'I** (Ζαθούι: *Demu*). *ZATTU* (1 Esd. v. 12; comp. Ezr. ii. 8).

**ZAT'THU** (Ζαθούια: *Zathovia*; Alex. *Zaθθovia Zethu*). Elsewhere *ZATTU* (Neh. x. 14).

of Elijah (Van de Velde, *S. & P.* i. 102).

<sup>d</sup> This is not only the case in the two principal MSS. the edition of Holmes and Parsons shews it in one only and that a cursive MS. of the 13th cent.



**ZAT'TU** (זַטְתּוּ: *Zarθouá, Zathouá, Zathouía*; Alex. *Zarθouá, Zathouá*; FA. *Zathouia, Zathoueia: Zethua*). The sons of Zattu were a family of laymen of Israel who returned with Zerubbabel (Ezr. ii. 8; Neh. vii. 13). A second division accompanied Ezra, though in the Hebrew text of Ezr. viii. 5 the name has been omitted. [ZATHOE.] Several members of this family had married foreign wives (Ezr. x. 27).

**ZAVAN** = ZAAVAN (1 Chr. i. 42).

**ZAZA** (זָזָא: 'Oζάμ; Alex. 'Oζαζά: *Ziza*). One of the sons of Jonathan, a descendant of Jerahmeel (1 Chr. ii. 33).

**ZEBADI'AH** (זְבַדְיָהוּ: *Zαβαδία: Zabadia*).

1. A Benjamite of the sons of Beriah (1 Chr. viii. 15).

2. A Benjamite of the sons of Elpaal (1 Chr. viii. 17).

3. One of the sons of Jeroham of Gedor, a Benjamite who joined the fortunes of David in his retreat at Ziklag (1 Chr. xii. 7).

4. (*Zαβαδίας*; Alex. *Zαβδίας: Zabadias*.) Son of Asahel the brother of Joab (1 Chr. xxvii. 7).

5. (*Zebedia*.) Son of Michael of the sons of Shephatiah (Ezr. viii. 8). He returned with 80 of his clan in the second caravan with Ezra. In 1 Esdr. viii. 34 he is called ZARAIAS.

6. (*Zαβδία*; FA. *Zαβδία*.) A priest of the sons of Immer who had married a foreign wife after the return from Babylon (Ezr. x. 20). Called ZABDEUS in 1 Esdr. ix. 21.

7. (זְבַדְיָהוּ: *Zαβαδία*; Alex. *Zαβαδίας: Zabadias*.) Third son of Meshelemiah the Korhite (1 Chr. xxvi. 2).

8. (*Zαβδίας*.) A Levite in the reign of Jehoshaphat who was sent to teach the Law in the cities of Judah (2 Chr. xvii. 8).

9. The son of Ishmael and prince of the house of Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr. xix. 11). In conjunction with Amariah the chief priest, he was appointed to the superintendence of the Levites, priests and chief men who had to decide all causes, civil and ecclesiastical, which were brought before them. They possibly may have formed a kind of court of appeal, Zebadiah acting for the interests of the king, and Amariah being the supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters.

**ZE'BAH** (זְבָה: *Zεβεέ: Zeebe*). One of the two "kings" of Midian who appear to have commanded the great invasion of Palestine, and who finally fell by the hand of Gideon himself. He is always coupled with Zalmunna, and is mentioned in Judg. viii. 5-21; Ps. lxxxiii. 11.

It is a remarkable instance of the unconscious artlessness of the narrative contained in Judg. vi. 33-viii. 28, that no mention is made of any of the chiefs of the Midianites during the early part of the story, or indeed until Gideon actually comes into contact with them. We then discover (viii. 18) that while the Bedouins were ravaging the crops in the valley of Jezreel, before Gideon's attack, three or more of his brothers had been captured by the Arabs and put to death, by the hands of Zebah and Zalmunna themselves. But this material fact is only incidentally mentioned, and is of a piece with the later references by prophets and psalmists to

It is perhaps allowable to infer this from the use of the plural (not the dual) to the word brethren (ver. 19).

other events in the same struggle, the interest and value of which have been alluded to under OREB.

Ps. lxxxiii. 12, purports to have preserved the very words of the cry with which Zebah and Zalmunna rushed up at the head of their horses from the Jordan into the luxuriant growth of the great plain, "Seize these goodly<sup>b</sup> pastures"!

While Oreb and Zeeb, two of the inferior leaders of the incursion, had been slain, with a vast number of their people, by the Ephraimites, at the central fords of the Jordan (not improbably those near *Jisr Damieh*), the two kings had succeeded in making their escape by a passage further to the north (probably the ford near Bethshean), and thence by the *Wady Yabis*, through Gilead, to Karkor, a place which is not fixed, but which lay doubtless high up on the Hauran. Here they were reposing with 15,000 men, a mere remnant of their huge horde, when Gideon overtook them. Had they resisted there is little doubt that they might have easily overcome the little band of "fainting" heroes who had toiled after them up the tremendous passes of the mountains; but the name of Gideon was still full of terror, and the Bedouins were entirely unprepared for his attack—they fled in dismay, and the two kings were taken.

Such was the Third Act of the great Tragedy. Two more remain. First the return down the long defiles leading to the Jordan. We see the cavalcade of camels, jingling the golden chains and the crescent-shaped collars or trappings hung round their necks. High aloft rode the captive chiefs clad in their brilliant *kefiyehs* and embroidered *abbayehs*, and with their "collars" or "jewels" in nose and ear, on neck and arm. Gideon probably strode on foot by the side of his captives. They passed Penuel, where Jacob had seen the vision of the face of God; they passed Succoth; they crossed the rapid stream of the Jordan; they ascended the highlands west of the river, and at length reached Ophrah, the native village of their captor (Joseph. *Ant.* iv. 7, §5). Then at last the question which must have been on Gideon's tongue during the whole of the return found a vent. There is no appearance of its having been alluded to before, but it gives, as nothing else could, the key to the whole pursuit. It was the death of his brothers, "the children of his mother," that had supplied the personal motive for that steady perseverance, and had led Gideon on to his goal against hunger, faintness, and obstacles of all kinds. "What manner of men were they which ye slew at Tabor?" Up to this time the sheikh may have believed that they were reserved for ransom; but these words once spoken there can have been no doubt what their fate was to be. They met it like noble children of the Desert, without fear or weakness. One request alone they make—that they may die by the sure blow of the hero himself—"and Gideon arose and slew them;" and not till he had revenged his brothers did any thought of plunder enter his heart—then, and not till then, did he lay hands on the treasures which ornamented their camels. [G.]

**ZE'BAIM** (הַצְבַּיִם: *in Neh. הַצְבַּיִם: זֶבַע*; *Ἀσεβωέλν*; Alex. *Ἀσεβωειμ*; in Neh. vi. *Σαβαίμ: Asebaim, Sabaim*). The sons of Pochereth of Hat-tsebaim are mentioned in the catalogue of the families of "Solomon's slaves," who returned from

<sup>b</sup> Such is the meaning of "pastures of God" in the early idiom.

the Captivity with Zerubbabel (Ezra ii. 57; Neh. vii. 59). The name is in the original all but identical with that of ZEBOIM,<sup>c</sup> the fellow-city of Sodom; and as many of "Solomon's slaves" appear to have been of Canaanite<sup>d</sup> stock, it is possible that the family of Pochereth were descended from one of the people who escaped from Zeboim in the day of the great catastrophe in the Valley of the Jordan. This, however, can only be accepted as conjecture, and on the other hand the two names Pochereth hat-Tsebaim are considered by some to have no reference to place, but to signify the "snarer or hunter of roes" (Gesenius, *Thes.* 1102*b*; Bertheau, *Ezra. Handb.* Ezr. ii. 57). [G.]

ZEB'EDEE (זְבֵדֵי or זְבֵדִי: Ζεβεδάϊος). A fisherman of Galilee, the father of the Apostles James the Great and John (Matt. iv. 21), and the husband of Salome (Matt. xxvii. 56; Mark xv. 40). He probably lived either at Bethsaida or in its immediate neighbourhood. It has been inferred from the mention of his "hired servants" (Mark i. 20), and from the acquaintance between the Apostle John and Annas the high-priest (John xviii. 15) that the family of Zebedee were in easy circumstances (comp. John xix. 27), although not above manual labour (Matt. iv. 21). Although the name of Zebedee frequently occurs as a patronymic, for the sake of distinguishing his two sons from others who bore the same names, he appears only once in the Gospel narrative, namely in Matt. iv. 21, 22, Mark i. 19, 20, where he is seen in his boat with his two sons mending their nets. On this occasion he allows his sons to leave him at the bidding of the Saviour, without raising any objection; although it does not appear that he was himself ever of the number of Christ's disciples. His wife, indeed, appears in the catalogue of the pious women who were in constant attendance on the Saviour towards the close of His ministry, who watched Him on the cross, and ministered to Him even in the grave (Matt. xxvii. 55, 56; Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1; comp. Matt. xx. 20, and Luke viii. 3). It is reasonable to infer that Zebedee was dead before this time. It is worthy of notice, and may perhaps be regarded as a minute confirmation of the evangelical narrative, that the name of Zebedee is almost identical in signification with that of John, since it is likely that a father would desire that his own name should be, as it were, continued, although in an altered form. [JOHN THE APOSTLE.] [W. B. J.]

ZEB'INA (זְבִינָא: Ζεβινιάς; Alex. omits: *Zabina*). One of the sons of Nebo, who had taken foreign wives after the return from Babylon (Ezra x. 43).

ZEB'OIM. This word represents in the A. V. two names which in the original are quite distinct.

1. (זְבִיִּים, זְבַיִּים, זְבַאִים, and, in the *Keri*, זְבוֹיִם: \*Ζεβωείμ; Alex. Ζεβωίμ, Ζεβωειμ: *Seboim*). One of the five cities of the "plain" or circle of Jordan. It is mentioned in Gen. x. 19, xiv. 2, 8; Deut. xxix. 23; and Hos. xi. 8, in each of which passages it is either coupled with Admah, or placed next it in the lists. The name of its king, Shemeber, is preserved (Gen. xiv. 2); and it perhaps

appears again, as ZEBAIM, in the lists of the men:ais of the Temple.

No attempt appears to have been made to discover the site of Zeboim, till M. de Saulcy suggested the *Taláu Sebáan*, a name which he, and he alone, reports as attached to extensive ruins on the high ground between the Dead Sea and *Keruk* (*Voyage*, Jan. 22; *Map*, sht. 7). Before however this can be accepted, M. de Saulcy must explain how a place which stood in the plain or circle of the *Jordan*, can have been situated on the highlands at least 50 miles from that river. [See SCODOM and ZOAR.]

In Gen. xiv. 2, 8, the name is given in the A. V. ZEBOIM, a more accurate representative of the form in which it appears in the original both there and in Deut. xxix. 23.

2. THE VALLEY OF ZEBOIM (נַי הַצִּבְעִים: Γαί τήν Σαμείν; the passage is lost in Alex.: *Vallis Seboim*). The name differs from the preceding, not only in having the definite article attached to it, but also in containing the characteristic and stubborn letter *Ain*, which imparts a definite character to the word in pronunciation. It was a ravine or gorge, apparently east of Michmash, mentioned only in 1 Sam. xiii. 18. It is there described with a curious minuteness, which is unfortunately no longer intelligible. The road running from Michmash to the east, is specified as "the road of the border that looketh to the ravine of Zeboim towards the wilderness." The wilderness (*midbar*) is no doubt the district of uncultivated mountain tops and sides which lies between the central district of Benjamin and the Jordan Valley; and here apparently the ravine of Zeboim should be sought. In that very district there is a wild gorge, bearing the name of

*Shuk ed-Dubba'* (شُق الضبع),<sup>b</sup> "ravine of the hyena," the exact equivalent of *Ge hat-tsebo'im*. Up this gorge runs the path by which the writer was conducted from Jericho to *Mukhmas*, in 1858. It does not appear that the name has been noticed by other travellers, but it is worth investigation. [G.]

ZEB'UDAH (זְבִידָה, *Keri* זְבִידָה: 'Ιελδάφ; Alex. *Eιελδάφ*: *Zebida*). Daughter of Pedaiah of Rumah, wife of Josiah and mother of king Jehoiakim (2 K. xxiii. 36). The Peshito-Syriac and Arabic of the London Polyglot read זְבִידָה: the Targum has זְבוּדָה.

ZEB'UL (זְבֹּל: Ζεβούλ: *Zebul*). Chief man (זֶר, A. V. "ruler") of the city of Snecnem at the time of the contest between Abimelech and the native Canaanites. His name occurs Judg. ix. 28, 30, 36, 38, 41. He governed the town as the "officer" (פְּקִיד: ἐπίσκοπος) of Abimelech while the latter was absent, and he took part against the Canaanites by shutting them out of the city when Abimelech was encamped outside it. His conversation with Gaal the Canaanite leader, as they stood in the gate of Shechem watching the approach of the armed bands, gives Zebul a certain individuality amongst the many characters of that time of confusion. [G.]

<sup>c</sup> Even to the double *yod*. This name, on the other hand, is distinct from the ZEBOIM of Benjamin.

<sup>d</sup> See this noticed more at length under MEHUNIM, *SAPRA*, &c.

<sup>e</sup> In Gen. x. 19 only, this appears in Vat. (Mai) *Ζεβωνείμ*.

<sup>b</sup> The writer was accompanied by Mr. Consul E. T. Rogers, well known as one of the best living scholars in the common Arabic, who wrote down the name for him at the moment.

ZEBULONITE (זְבוּלוֹנִי, with the def. article δ Ζαβουλωνεΐτης, Alex. in both verses, δ Ζαβουονιτης: *Zabulonites*), i. e. member of the tribe of Zebulun. Applied only to ELON, the one judge produced by the tribe (Judg. xii. 11, 12). The article being found in the original, the sentence should read, "Elon the Zebulonite." [G.]

ZEBULUN (זְבוּלוֹן, זְבוּלוֹן, and זְבוּלוֹן: Ζαβουλών: *Zabulon*). The tenth of the sons of Jacob, according to the order in which their births are enumerated; the sixth and last of Leah (Gen. xxx. 20, xxxv. 23, xlvi. 14; 1 Chr. ii. 1). His birth is recorded in Gen. xxx. 19, 20, where the origin of the name is as usual ascribed to an exclamation of his mother's—"Now will my husband dwell-with-me (*izbeléni*), for I have borne him six sons!" and she called his name Zebulun."

Of the individual Zebulun nothing is recorded. The list of Gen. xlvi. ascribes to him three sons, founders of the chief families of the tribe (comp. Num. xxvi. 26) at the time of the migration to Egypt. In the Jewish traditions he is named as the first of the five who were presented by Joseph to Pharaoh—Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher being the others (*Targ. Pseudojon.* on Gen. xlvi. 2).

During the journey from Egypt to Palestine the tribe of Zebulun formed one of the first camp, with Judah and Issachar (also sons of Leah), marching under the standard of Judah. Its numbers, at the census of Sinai, were 57,000, surpassed only by Simeon, Dan, and Judah. At that of Shittim they were 60,500, not having diminished, but not having increased nearly so much as might naturally be expected. The head of the tribe at Sinai was Eliab son of Helon (Num. vii. 24); at Shiloh, Elizaphan son of Parnach (Ib. xxxiv. 25). Its representative amongst the spies was Gaddiel son of Sodi (xiii. 10). Besides what may be implied in its appearances in these lists, the tribe is not recorded to have taken part, for evil or good, in any of the events of the wandering or the conquest. Its allotment was the third of the second distribution (Josh. xix. 10). Judah, Joseph, Benjamin, had acquired the south and the centre of the country. To Zebulun fell one of the fairest of the remaining portions. It is perhaps impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, exactly to define its limits; but the statement of Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1, §22) is probably in the main correct, that it reached on the one side to the lake of Genesareth, and on the other to Carmel and the Mediterranean. On the south it was bounded by Issachar, who lay in the great plain or valley of the Kishon; on the north it had Naphtali and Asher. In this district the tribe possessed the outlet (the "going-out," Deut. xxxiii. 18) of the plain of *Akka*; the fisheries of the lake of Galilee; the splendid agricultural capabilities of the great plain of the *Buttauf* (equal in

<sup>c</sup> Of these three forms the first is employed in Genesis, Isaiah, Psalms, and Chronicles, except Gen. xlix. 13, and 1 Chr. xxvii. 19; also occasionally in Judges: the second is found in the rest of the Pentateuch, in Joshua, Judges, Ezekiel, and the above place in Chronicles. The third and more extended form is found in Judg. i. 30 only. The first and second are used indiscriminately: e. gr. Judg. iv. 6 and v. 18 exhibit the first; Judg. iv. 10 and v. 14 the second form.

<sup>d</sup> This play is not preserved in the original of the "Blessing of Jacob," though the language of the A. V. implies it. The word rendered "dwell" in Gen. xlix. 13 is זָבַח, with no relation to the name Zebulun. The LXX.

fertility, and almost equal in extent, to that of Jezreel, and with the immense advantage of not being, as that was, the high road of the Bedouins), and, last not least, it included sites so strongly fortified by nature, that in the later struggles of the nation they proved more impregnable than any in the whole country.<sup>f</sup> The sacred mountain of TABOR, Zebulun appears to have shared with Issachar (Deut. xxxiii. 19); and it and Rimmon were allotted to the Merarite Levites (1 Chr. vi. 77). But these ancient sanctuaries of the tribe were eclipsed by those which arose within it afterwards, when the name of Zebulun was superseded by that of Galilee. Nazareth, Cana, Tiberias, and probably the land of Genesareth itself, were all situated within its limits.

The fact recognized by Josephus that Zebulun extended to the Mediterranean, though not mentioned or implied, as far as we can discern, in the lists of Joshua and Judges, is alluded to in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 13):—

"Zebulun dwells at the shore of the seas,  
Even he at the shore of ships:  
And his highs are upon Zidon"

—a passage which seems to show that at the date at which it was written, the tribe was taking a part in Phoenician commerce. The "way of the sea" (Is. ix. 1), the great road from Damascus to the Mediterranean, traversed a good portion of the territory of Zebulun, and must have brought its people into contact with the merchants and the commodities of Syria, Phoenicia, and Egypt.

Situated so far from the centre of government, Zebulun remains throughout the history, with one exception, in the obscurity which envelopes the whole of the northern tribes. That exception, however, is a remarkable one. The conduct of the tribe during the struggle with Sisera, when they fought with desperate valour side by side with their brethren of Naphtali, was such as to draw down the especial praise of Deborah, who singles them out from all the other tribes (Judg. v. 18):—

"Zebulun is a people that threw away its life even unto death:  
And Naphtali, on the high places of the field."

The same poem contains an expression which seems to imply that, apart from the distinction gained by their conduct in this contest, Zebulun was already in a prominent position among the tribes:—

"Out of Machir came down governors;  
And out of Zebulun those that handle the pen (or the wand) of the scribe;"

referring probably to the officers, who registered and marshalled the warriors of the host (comp. Josh. i. 10). One of these "scribes" may have been ELON, the single judge produced by the tribe, who is recorded as having held office for ten years (Judg. xii. 11, 12).

put a different point on the exclamation of Leah: "My husband will choose me" (*αἰρετεῖ με*). This, however, hardly implies any difference in the original text. Josephus (*Ant.* i. 19, §8) gives only a general explanation: "a pledge of goodwill towards her."

<sup>e</sup> Few of the towns in the catalogue of Josh. xix. 10-16 have been identified. The tribe is omitted in the lists of 1 Chronicles.

<sup>f</sup> Sepphoris, Jotapata, &c.

<sup>g</sup> In the "Testament of Zabulon" (Fabricius, *Pseud-epigr.* V. T. i. 630-45) great stress is laid on his skill in fishing, and he is commemorated as the first to navigate a skiff on the sea.

A similar reputation is alluded to in the mention of the tribe among those who attended the inauguration of David's reign at Hebron. The expressions are again peculiar:—"Of Zebulun such as went forth to war, rangers of battle, with all tools of war, 50,000; who could set the battle in array; they were not of double heart" (1 Chr. xii. 33). The same passage, however, shows that while proficient in the arts of war they did not neglect those of peace, but that on the wooded hills and fertile plains of their district they produced bread, meal, figs, grapes, wine, oil, oxen, and sheep in abundance (ver. 40). The head of the tribe at this time was Ishmaiah ben-Obadiah (1 Chr. xxvii. 19).

We are nowhere directly told that the people of Zebulun were carried off to Assyria. Tiglath-pileser swept away the whole of Naphtali (2 K. xv. 29; Tob. i. 2), and Shalmaneser in the same way took "Samaria" (xvii. 6); but though the deportation of Zebulun and Issachar is not in so many words asserted, there is the statement (xvii. 18) that the whole of the northern tribes were removed; and there is also the well-known allusion of Isaiah to the affliction of Zebulun and Naphtali (ix. 1), which can hardly point to anything but the invasion of Tiglath-pileser. It is satisfactory to reflect that the very latest mention of the Zebulunites is the account of the visit of a large number of them to Jerusalem to the passover of Hezekiah, when, by the enlightened liberality of the king, they were enabled to eat the feast, even though, through long neglect of the provisions of the Law, they were not cleansed in the manner prescribed by the ceremonial law.—In the visions of Ezekiel (xlvi. 26-33) and of St. John (Rev. vii. 8) this tribe finds its due mention. [G.]

**ZEBULUNITES, THE** (הַזְבוּלֹנִי, *i. e.* "the Zebulonite:" Ζαβουλών: *Zabulon*). The members of the tribe of Zebulun (Num. xxvi. 27 only). It would be more literally accurate if spelt ZEBULONITES. [G.]

**ZECHARI'AH** (זְכַרְיָה: Ζαχαρίας: *Zacharias*). 1. The eleventh in order of the twelve minor prophets. Of his personal history we know but little. He is called in his prophecy the son of Berechiah, and the grandson of Iddo, whereas in the Book of Ezra (v. 1, vi. 14) he is said to have been the son of Iddo. Various attempts have been made to reconcile this discrepancy. Cyril of Alexandria (*Pref. Comment. ad Zech.*) supposes that Berechiah was the father of Zechariah, according to the flesh, and that Iddo was his instructor, and might be regarded as his spiritual father. Jerome too, according to some MSS., has in Zech. i. 1, "filium Barachiae, filium Addo," as if he supposed that Berechiah and Iddo were different names of the same person; and the same mistake occurs in the LXX.: τὸν τοῦ Βαραχίου, υἱὸν Ἀδδώ. Gesenius (*Lex. s. v. זכר*) and Rosenmüller (*On Zech. i. 1*) take זכר in the passages in Ezra to mean "grandson," as in Gen. xxix. 5, Laban is termed "the son," *i. e.* "grandson," of Nahor. Others, again, have suggested that in the text of Ezra no mention is made of Berechiah, because he was already dead, or because Iddo was the more distinguished person, and the generally recognized head of the family. Knobel thinks that the name of Berechiah has crept into the present

text of Zechariah from Isaiah viii. 2, where mention is made of a Zechariah "the son of *Jeberchiah*," which is virtually the same name (LXX. Βαραχίου) as Berechiah.\* His theory is that chapters ix.-xi. of our present Book of Zechariah are really the work of the older Zechariah (Is. viii. 2), that a later scribe finding the two books, one bearing the name of Zechariah the son of Iddo, and the other that of Zechariah the son of Berechiah, united them into one, and at the same time combined the titles of the two, and that hence arose the confusion which at present exists. This, however, is hardly a probable hypothesis. It is surely more natural to suppose, as the Prophet himself mentions his father's name, whereas the historical Books of Ezra and Nehemiah mention only Iddo, that Berechiah had died early, and that there was now no intervening link between the grandfather and the grandson. The son, in giving his pedigree, does not omit his father's name: the historian passes it over, as of one who was but little known, or already forgotten. This view is confirmed if we suppose the Iddo here mentioned to have been the Iddo the priest who, in Neh. xii. 4, is said to have returned from Babylon in company with Zerubbabel and Joshua. He is there said to have had a son Zechariah (ver. 16), who was contemporary with Joiakim the son of Joshua; and this falls in with the hypothesis that, owing to some unexplained cause—perhaps the death of his father—Zechariah became the next representative of the family after his grandfather Iddo. Zechariah, according to this view, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel before him, was priest as well as prophet. He seems to have entered upon his office while yet young (זָעַר, Zech. ii. 4; comp. Jer. i. 6), and must have been born in Babylon, whence he returned with the first caravan of exiles under Zerubbabel and Joshua.

It was in the eighth month, in the second year of Darius, that he first publicly discharged his office. In this he acted in concert with Haggai, who must have been considerably his senior, if, as seems not improbable, Haggai had been carried into captivity, and hence had himself been one of those who had seen "the house" of Jehovah "in her first glory" (Hagg. ii. 3). Both prophets had the same great object before them; both directed all their energies to the building of the Second Temple. Haggai seems to have led the way in this work, and then to have left it chiefly in the hands of his younger contemporary. The foundations of the new building had already been laid in the time of Cyrus; but during the reigns of Cambyses and the pseudo-Smerdis the work had been broken off through the jealousies of the Samaritans. When, however, Darius Hystaspis ascended the throne (521), things took a more favourable turn. He seems to have been a large-hearted and gracious prince, and to have been well-disposed towards the Jews. Encouraged by the hopes which his accession held out, the Prophets exerted themselves to the utmost to secure the completion of the Temple.

It is impossible not to see of how great moment, under such circumstances, and for the discharge of the special duty with which he was entrusted, would be the priestly origin of Zechariah.

Too often the Prophet had had to stand forth in direct antagonism to the Priest. In an age when the service of God had stiffened into formalism,

\* As Hezekiah (Is. i. 1, Hos. i. 1) and Jehezekiah (2 K. xvii. 1, 9, 10), Coniah (Jer. xxii. 24, xxxvii. 1 and Je-

coniah (Jer. xxiv. 1, xxvii. 20), Azie'el (1 Chr. xv. 20) and Jaaziel (1 Chr. xv. 18).

and the Priests' lips no longer kept knowledge, the Prophet was the witness for the truth which lay beneath the outward ceremonial, and without which the outward ceremonial was worthless. But the thing to be dreaded now was not superstitious formalism, but cold neglect. There was no fear now lest in a gorgeous temple, amidst the splendours of an imposing ritual and the smoke of sacrifices ever ascending to heaven, the heart and life of religion should be lost. The fear was all the other way, lest even the body, the outward form and service, should be suffered to decay.

The foundations of the Temple had indeed been laid, but that was all (Ezr. v. 16). Discouraged by the opposition which they had encountered at first, the Jewish colony had begun to build, and were not able to finish; and even when the letter came from Darius sanctioning the work, and promising his protection, they showed no hearty disposition to engage in it. At such a time, no more fitting instrument could be found to rouse the people, whose heart had grown cold, than one who united to the authority of the Prophet the zeal and the traditions of a sacerdotal family.

Accordingly, to Zechariah's influence we find the rebuilding of the Temple in a great measure ascribed. "And the elders of the Jews builded," it is said, "and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo" (Ezr. vi. 14). It is remarkable that in this juxtaposition of the two names both are not styled prophets: not "Haggai and Zechariah the prophets," but "Haggai the prophet, and Zechariah the son of Iddo." Is it an improbable conjecture that Zechariah is designated by his father's (or grandfather's) name, rather than by his office, in order to remind us of his priestly character? Be this as it may, we find other indications of the close union which now subsisted between the priests and the prophets. Various events connected with the taking of Jerusalem and the Captivity in Babylon had led to the institution of solemn fast-days; and we find that when a question arose as to the propriety of observing these fast-days, now that the city and the Temple were rebuilt, the question was referred to "the priests which were in the house of Jehovah, and to the prophets,"—a recognition, not only of the joint authority, but of the harmony subsisting between the two bodies, without parallel in Jewish history. The manner, too, in which Joshua the High-Priest is spoken of in this prophecy shows how lively a sympathy Zechariah felt towards him.

Later traditions assume, what is indeed very probable, that Zechariah took personally an active part in providing for the Liturgical service of the Temple. He and Haggai are both said to have composed Psalms with this view. According to the LXX., Pss. cxxxvii. cxlv.—cxlviii.; according to the Peshito, Pss. cxxv. cxxvi.; according to the Vulg., Ps. cxi.;

<sup>b</sup> Hence Pseudepiphanius, speaking of Haggai, says καὶ αὐτὸς ἐψάλλεν ἐκεῖ πρῶτος ἀλληλουῖα (in allusion to the Hallelujah with which some of these Psalms begin) διὸ λέγομεν ἀλληλουῖα ὃ ἐστὶν ὕμνος Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου.

<sup>c</sup> Tr. Megilla, fol. 17, 2. 18, 1; Rashi ad Baba Bathra, fol. 15, 1.

<sup>d</sup> Pseudepiph. de Propht. cap. 21, οὗτος ἦλθεν ἀπὸ γῆς Χαλδαίων ἠδὲ προβεβηκώς καὶ ἐκεῖ ὦν πολλὰ τῷ λαῷ προεφήτευσεν, κτλ. Dorotheus, p. 144: Hic Zacharias e Chaldaea venit cum aetate jam esset provector atque ibi populo multa vaticinatus est prodigialaque probandi gratia

are Psalms of Haggai and Zechariah.<sup>b</sup> The triumphant "Hallelujah," with which many of these Psalms which were first chanted in the Second Temple, and came with an emphasis of meaning from the lips of those who had been restored to their native land. The allusions, moreover, with which these Psalms abound, as well as their place in the Psalter, leave us in no doubt as to the time when they were composed, and lend confirmation to the tradition respecting their authorship.

If the later Jewish accounts<sup>c</sup> may be trusted, Zechariah, as well as Haggai, was a member of the Great Synagogue. The patristic notices of the Prophet are worth nothing. According to these, he exercised his prophetic office in Chaldaea, and wrought many miracles there; returned to Jerusalem at an advanced age, where he discharged the duties of the priesthood, and where he died and was buried by the side of Haggai.<sup>d</sup>

The genuine writings of Zechariah help us but little in our estimation of his character. Some faint traces, however, we may observe in them of his education in Babylon. Less free and independent than he would have been, had his feet trod from childhood the soil,

"Where each old poetic mountain  
Inspiration breathed around,"

he leans avowedly on the authority of the older prophets, and copies their expressions. Jeremiah especially seems to have been his favourite; and hence the Jewish saying, that "the spirit of Jeremiah dwelt in Zechariah." But in what may be called the peculiarities of his prophecy, he approaches more nearly to Ezekiel and Daniel. Like them he delights in visions; like them he uses symbols and allegories, rather than the bold figures and metaphors which lend so much force and beauty to the writings of the earlier prophets; like them he beholds angels ministering before Jehovah, and fulfilling his behests on the earth. He is the only one of the prophets who speaks of Satan. That some of these peculiarities are owing to his Chaldaean education can hardly be doubted. It is at least remarkable that both Ezekiel and Daniel, who must have been influenced by the same associations, should in some of these respects so closely resemble Zechariah, widely as they differ from him in others.

Even in the form of the visions a careful criticism might perhaps discover some traces of the Prophet's early training. Possibly the "valley of myrtles" in the first vision may have been suggested by Chaldaea rather than by Palestine. At any rate it is a curious fact that myrtles are never mentioned in the history of the Jews before the exile. They are found, besides this passage of Zechariah, in the Deutero-Isaiah xli. 19, lv. 13, and in Neh. viii. 15.<sup>e</sup> The forms of trial in the third vision, where Joshua

edidit, et sacerdotio Hierosolymis functus est, etc. Isidorus, cap. 51. Zacharias de regione Chaldaeorum valde senex in terram suam reversus est, in qua et mortuus est ac sepultus juxta Aggaeum quiescit in pace.

<sup>e</sup> In the last passage the people are told to "fetch olive-branches and cypress-branches, and myrtle-branches and palm-branches . . . to make booths" for the celebration of the feast of tabernacles. It is interesting to compare this with the original direction, as given in the wilderness when the only trees mentioned are "palms and willows of the brook." Palestine was rich in the olive and cypress. Is it very improbable that the myrtle may have

the High-Priest is arraigned, seem borrowed from the practice of Persian rather than Jewish courts of law. The filthy garments in which Joshua appears are those which the accused must assume when brought to trial; the white robe put upon him is the caftan or robe of honour which to this day in the East is put upon the minister of state who has been acquitted of the charges laid against him.

The vision of the woman in the Ephah is also Oriental in its character. Ewald refers to a very similar vision in Tod's *Rajasthan*, t. ii. p. 688.

Finally, the chariots issuing from between two mountains of brass must have been suggested, there can scarcely be any doubt, by some Persian symbolism.

Other peculiarities of style must be noticed, when we come to discuss the question of the Integrity of the Book. Generally speaking, Zechariah's style is pure, and remarkably free from Chaldaisms. As is common with writers in the decline of a language, he seems to have striven to imitate the purity of the earlier models; but in orthography, and in the use of some words and phrases, he betrays the influence of a later age. He writes אַת, and דְּיִיד; and employs אֵת (v. 7) in its later use as the indefinite article, and צְנִהָרוֹת with the fem. termination (iv. 12). A full collection of these peculiarities will be found in Köster, *Meletemata in Zech.*, &c.

*Contents of the Prophecy.*—The Book of Zechariah, in its existing form, consists of three principal parts, chaps. i.–viii., chaps. ix.–xi., chaps. xii.–xiv.

I. The first of these divisions is allowed by all critics to be the genuine work of Zechariah the son of Iddo. It consists, first, of a short introduction or preface, in which the prophet announces his commission; then of a series of visions, descriptive of all those hopes and anticipations of which the building of the Temple was the pledge and sure foundation; and finally of a discourse, delivered two years later, in reply to questions respecting the observance of certain established fasts.

1. The short introductory oracle (chap. i. 1-6) is a warning voice from the past. The prophet solemnly reminds the people, by an appeal to the experience of their fathers, that no word of God had ever fallen to the ground, and that therefore, if with sluggish indifference they refused to co-operate in the building of the Temple, they must expect the judgments of God. This warning manifestly rests upon the former warnings of Haggai.

2. In a dream of the night there passed before the eyes of the prophet a series of visions (chap. i. 7-vi. 15) descriptive in their different aspects of events, some of them shortly to come to pass, and others losing themselves in the mist of the future. These visions are obscure, and accordingly the prophet asks their meaning. The interpretation is given, not as to Amos by Jehovah Himself, but by an angel who knows the mind and will of Jehovah, and who intercedes with Him for others, and by whom Jehovah speaks and issues his commands: at one time he is called "the angel who spake with me"

been an importation from Babylon? Esther was also called Hadassah (the myrtle), perhaps her Persian designation (Esth. ii. 7); and the myrtle is said to be a native of Persia.

Ewald understands by מִצְלָה not "a valley" or "bottom," as the A. V. renders, but the heavenly tent or tabernacle (the expression being chosen with reference to

[or "by me"] (i. 9); at another, "the angel of Jehovah" (i. 11, 12, iii. 1-6).

(1.) In the first vision (chap. i. 7-15) the prophet sees, in a valley of myrtles,<sup>1</sup> a rider upon a roan horse, accompanied by others who, having been sent forth to the four quarters of the earth, had returned with the tidings that the whole earth was at rest (with reference to Hagg. ii. 20). Hereupon the angel asks how long this state of things shall last, and is assured that the indifference of the heathen shall cease, and that the Temple shall be built in Jerusalem. This vision seems to have been partly borrowed from Job i. 7, &c.

(2.) The second vision (chap. ii. 1-17, A. V. i. 18-ii. 13) explains *how* the promise of the first is to be fulfilled. The four horns are the symbols of the different heathen kingdoms in the four quarters of the world, which have hitherto combined against Jerusalem. The four carpenters or smiths symbolize their destruction. What follows, ii. 5-9 (A. V. ii. 1-5), betokens the vastly extended area of Jerusalem, owing to the rapid increase of the new population. The old prophets, in foretelling the happiness and glory of the times which should succeed the Captivity in Babylon, had made a great part of that happiness and glory to consist in the gathering together again of the whole dispersed nation in the land given to their fathers. This vision was designed to teach that the expectation thus raised—the return of the dispersed of Israel—should be fulfilled; that Jerusalem should be too large to be compassed about by a wall, but that Jehovah Himself would be to her a wall of fire—a light and defence to the holy city, and destruction to her adversaries. A song of joy, in prospect of so bright a future, closes the scene.

(3.) The next two visions (iii. iv.) are occupied with the Temple, and with the two principal persons on whom the hopes of the returned exiles rested. The permission granted for the rebuilding of the Temple had no doubt stirred afresh the malice and the animosity of the enemies of the Jews. Joshua the High-Priest had been singled out, it would seem, as the especial object of attack, and perhaps formal accusations had already been laid against him before the Persian court.<sup>8</sup> The prophet, in vision, sees him summoned before a higher tribunal, and solemnly acquitted, despite the charges of the Satan or Adversary. This is done with the forms still usual in an Eastern court. The filthy garments in which the accused is expected to stand are taken away, and the caftan or robe of honour is put upon him in token that his innocence has been established. Acquitted at that bar, he need not fear, it is implied, any earthly accuser. He shall be protected, he shall carry on the building of the Temple, he shall so prepare the way for the coming of the Messiah, and upon the foundation-stone laid before him shall the seven eyes of God, the token of His ever-watchful Providence, rest.

(4.) The last vision (iv.) supposes that all opposition to the building of the Temple shall be removed. This sees the completion of the work. It has evidently a peculiarly impressive character; for the

the Mosaic tabernacle), which is the dwelling-place of Jehovah. Instead of "myrtles" he understands by הַרְסִים (with the LXX. ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀρέων τῶν κατασκίων) "mountains," and supposes these to be the "two mountains" mentioned vi. 1, and which are there called "mountains of brass."

<sup>8</sup> So Ewald, *Die Propheten*, ii. 528.

prophet, though his dream still continues, seems to himself to be awakened out of it by the angel who speaks to him. The candlestick (or more properly chandelier) with seven lights (borrowed from the candlestick of the Mosaic Tabernacle, Ex. xxv. 31 ff.) supposes that the Temple is already finished. The seven pipes which supply each lamp answer to the seven eyes of Jehovah in the preceding vision (iii. 9), and this sevenfold supply of oil denotes the presence and operation of the Divine Spirit, through whose aid Zerubbabel will overcome all obstacles, so that as his hands had laid the foundation of the house, his hands should also finish it (iv. 9). The two olive-branches of the vision, belonging to the olive-tree standing by the candlestick, are Zerubbabel himself and Joshua.

The two next visions (v. 1-11) signify that the land, in which the sanctuary has just been erected, shall be purged of all its pollutions.

(5.) First, the curse is recorded against wickedness in *the whole land* (not in *the whole earth*, as A. V.), v. 3; that due solemnity may be given to it, it is inscribed upon a roll, and the roll is represented as flying, in order to denote the speed with which the curse will execute itself.

(6.) Next, the unclean thing, whether in the form of idolatry or any other abomination, shall be utterly removed. Caught and shut up as it were in a cage, like some savage beast, and pressed down with a weight as of lead upon it so that it cannot escape, it shall be carried into that land where all evil things have long made their dwelling (Is. xxxiv. 13), the land of Babylon (Shinar, v. 11), from which Israel had been redeemed.

(7.) And now the night is waning fast, and the morning is about to dawn. Chariots and horses appear, issuing from between two brazen mountains, the horses like those in the first vision; and these receive their several commands and are sent forth to execute the will of Jehovah in the four quarters of the earth. The four chariots are images of the four winds, which, according to Ps. civ. 4, as servants of God, fulfil His behests; and of the one that goes to the north it is particularly said that it shall let the Spirit of Jehovah rest there—is it a spirit of anger against the nations, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, or is it a spirit of hope and desire of return in the hearts of those of the exiles who still lingered in the land of their captivity? Stähelin, Maurer, and others adopt the former view, which seems to be in accordance with the preceding vision: Ewald gives the latter interpretation, and thinks it is supported by what follows.

Thus, then, the cycle of visions is completed. Scene after scene is unrolled till the whole glowing picture is presented to the eye. All enemies crushed; the land re-peopled and Jerusalem girt as with a wall of fire; the Temple rebuilt, more truly splendid than of old, because more abundantly filled with a Divine Presence; the leaders of the people assured in the most signal manner of the Divine protection; all wickedness solemnly sentenced, and the land for ever purged of it;—such is the magnificent panorama of hope which the prophet displays to his countrymen.

And very consolatory must such a prospect have seemed to the weak and disheartened colony in Jerusalem. For the times were dark and troublous. According to recent interpretations of newly-discovered inscriptions, it would appear that Darius I. found it no easy task to hold his vast dominions. Province after province had revolted both in the

east and in the north, whither, according to the prophet (vi. 8), the winds had carried the wrath of God; and if the reading *Mudraja*, i. e. Egypt, is correct (Lassen gives Kurdistan), Egypt must have revolted before the outbreak mentioned in Herod. vii. 1, and have again been reduced to subjection. To such revolt there may possibly be an allusion in the reference to "the land of the south" (vi. 6).

It would seem that Zechariah anticipated as a consequence of these perpetual insurrections, the weakening and overthrow of the Persian monarchy and the setting up of the kingdom of God, for which Judah in faith and obedience was to wait.<sup>b</sup>

Immediately on these visions there follows a symbolical act. Three Israelites had just returned from Babylon, bringing with them rich gifts to Jerusalem, apparently as contributions to the Temple, and had been received in the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah. Thither the Prophet is commanded to go,—whether still in a dream or not, is not very clear,—and to employ the silver and the gold of their offerings for the service of Jehovah. He is to make of them two crowns, and to place these on the head of Joshua the High-Priest,—a sign that in the Messiah who should build the Temple, the kingly and priestly offices should be united. This, however, is expressed somewhat enigmatically, as if king and priest should be perfectly at one, rather than that the same person should be both king and priest. These crowns moreover, were to be a memorial in honour of those by whose liberality they had been made, and should serve at the same time to excite other rich Jews still living in Babylon to the like liberality. Hence their symbolical purpose having been accomplished, they were to be laid up in the Temple.

3. From this time, for a space of nearly two years, the Prophet's voice was silent, or his words have not been recorded. But in the fourth year of King Darius, in the fourth day of the ninth month, there came a deputation of Jews to the Temple, anxious to know whether the fast-days which had been instituted during the seventy years' Captivity were still to be observed. On the one hand, now that the Captivity was at an end, and Jerusalem was rising from her ashes, such set times of mourning seemed quite out of place. On the other hand, there was still much ground for serious uneasiness; for some time after their return they had suffered severely from drought and famine (Hagg. i. 6-11), and who could tell that they would not so suffer again? the hostility of their neighbours had not ceased; they were still regarded with no common jealousy; and large numbers of their brethren had not yet returned from Babylon. It was a question therefore, that seemed to admit of much debate.

It is remarkable, as has been already noticed, that this question should have been addressed to priests and prophets conjointly in the Temple. This close alliance between two classes hitherto so separate, and often so antagonistic, was one of the most hopeful circumstances of the times. Still Zechariah, as chief of the prophets, has the decision of this question. Some of the priests, it is evident (vii. 7), were inclined to the more gloomy view; but not so the Prophet. In language worthy of his position and his office, language which reminds us of one of the most striking passages of his great

<sup>b</sup> Stähelin, *Einleit. in die Kan. Büch.* p. 318

predecessor (Is. lviii. 5-7), he lays down the same principle that God loves mercy rather than fasting, and truth and righteousness rather than sackcloth and a sad countenance. If they had perished, he reminds them it was because their hearts were hard while they fasted; if they would dwell safely, they must abstain from fraud and violence and not from food (vii. 4-14).

Again he foretells, but not now in vision, the glorious times that are near at hand when Jehovah shall dwell in the midst of them, and Jerusalem be called a city of truth. He sees her streets thronged by old and young, her exiles returning, her Temple standing in all its beauty, her land rich in fruitfulness, her people a praise and a blessing in the earth (viii. 1-15). Again, he declares that "truth and peace" (vers. 16, 19) are the bulwarks of national prosperity. And once more reverting to the question which had been raised concerning the observance of the fasts, he announces, in obedience to the command of Jehovah, not only that the fasts are abolished, but that the days of mourning shall henceforth be days of joy, the fasts be counted for festivals. His prophecy concludes with a prediction that Jerusalem shall be the centre of religious worship to all nations of the earth (viii. 16-23).

II. The remainder of the Book consists of two sections of about equal length, ix.-xi. and xii.-xiv., each of which has an inscription. They have the general prophetic tone and character, and in subject they so far harmonize with i.-viii., that the Prophet seeks to comfort Judah in a season of depression with the hope of a brighter future.

1. In the first section he threatens Damascus and the sea-coast of Palestine with misfortune; but declares that Jerusalem shall be protected, for Jehovah himself shall encamp about her (where ix. 8 reminds us of ii. 5); her king shall come to her, he shall speak peace to the heathen, so that all weapons of war shall perish, and his dominion shall be to the ends of the earth. The Jews who are still in captivity shall return to their land; they shall be mightier than Javan (or Greece); and Ephraim and Judah once more united shall vanquish all enemies. The land too shall be fruitful as of old (comp. viii. 12). The Teraphim and the false prophets may indeed have spoken lies, but upon these will the Lord execute judgment, and then He will look with favour upon His people and bring back both Judah and Ephraim from their captivity. The possession of Gilead and Lebanon is again promised, as the special portion of Ephraim; and both Egypt and Assyria shall be broken and humbled.

The prophecy now takes a sudden turn. An enemy is seen approaching from the north, who having forced the narrow passes of Lebanon, the great bulwark of the northern frontier, carries desolation into the country beyond. Hereupon the prophet receives a commission from God to feed his flock, which God Himself will no more feed because of their divisions. The prophet undertakes the office, and makes to himself two staves (naming the one Beauty, and the other Union), in order to tend the flock, and cuts off several evil shepherds whom his soul abhors; but observes at the same time that the flock will not be obedient. Hence he throws up his office; he breaks asunder the one crook in token that the covenant of God with Israel was dissolved. A few of the poor of the flock, acknowledging God's hand herein; and the prophet demanding the wages of his service, receives thirty pieces

of silver, and casts it into the house of Jehovah. At the same time he sees that there is no hope of union between Judah and Israel whom he had trusted to feed as one flock, and therefore cuts in pieces the other crook, in token that the brotherhood between them is dissolved.

2. The Second Section, xii.-xiv., is entitled, "The burden of the word of Jehovah for Israel." But *Israel* is here used of the nation at large, not of Israel as distinct from Judah. Indeed, the prophecy which follows, concerns Judah and Jerusalem. In this the prophet beholds the near approach of troublous times, when Jerusalem should be hard pressed by enemies. But in that day Jehovah shall come to save them: "the house of David be as God, as the angel of Jehovah" (xii. 8), and all the nations which gather themselves against Jerusalem shall be destroyed. At the same time the deliverance shall not be from outward enemies alone. God will pour out upon them a spirit of grace and supplications, so that they shall bewail their sinfulness with a mourning greater than that with which they bewailed the beloved Josiah in the valley of Megiddon. So deep and so true shall be this repentance, so lively the aversion to all evil, that neither idol nor false prophet shall again be seen in the land. If a man shall pretend to prophesy, "his father and his mother that begat him shall thrust him through when he prophesieth," fired by the same righteous indignation as Phinehas was when he slew those who wrought folly in Israel (xii. 1-xiii. 6).

Then follows a short apostrophe to the sword of the enemy to turn against the shepherds of the people; and a further announcement of searching and purifying judgments; which, however, it must be acknowledged, is somewhat abrupt. Ewald's suggestion that the passage xiii. 7-9, is here out of place, and should be transposed to the end of chap. xi. is certainly ingenious, and does not seem improbable.

The prophecy closes with a grand and stirring picture. All nations are gathered together against Jerusalem; and seem already sure of their prey. Half of their cruel work has been accomplished, when Jehovah Himself appears on behalf of His people. At his coming all nature is moved: the Mount of Olives on which His feet rest cleaves asunder; a mighty earthquake heaves the ground, and even the natural succession of day and night is broken. He goes forth to war against the adversaries of His people. He establishes His kingdom over all the earth. Jerusalem is safely inhabited, and rich with the spoils of the nations. All nations that are still left, shall come up to Jerusalem, as the great centre of religious worship, there to worship "the King, Jehovah of hosts," and the city from that day forward shall be a holy city.

Such is, briefly, an outline of the second portion of that book which is commonly known as the Prophecy of Zechariah. It is impossible, even on a cursory view of the two portions of the prophecy, not to feel how different the section xi.-xiv. is from the section i.-viii. The next point, then, for our consideration is this,—Is the book in its present form the work of one and the same prophet, Zechariah the son of Iddo, who lived after the Babylonian exile?

*Integrity.*—Mede was the first to call this in question. The probability that the later chapters from the 9th to the 14th were by some other prophet, seems first to have been suggested to him by



the citation in St. Matthew. He says (Epist. xxxi.), "It may seem the Evangelist would inform us that those latter chapters ascribed to Zachary (namely, 9th, 10th, 11th, &c.), are indeed the prophecies of Jeremy; and that the Jews had not rightly attributed them." Starting from this point, he goes on to give reasons for supposing a different author. "Certainly, if a man weighs the contents of some of them, they should in likelihood be of an elder date than the time of Zachary; namely, before the Captivity: for the subjects of some of them were scarce in being after that time. And the chapter out of which St. Matthew quotes may seem to have somewhat much unsuitable with Zachary's time; as, a prophecy of the destruction of the Temple, then when he was to encourage them to build it. And how doth the sixth verse of that chapter suit with his time? There is no scripture saith they are Zachary's; but there is scripture saith they are Jeremy's, as this of the Evangelist." He then observes that the mere fact of these being found in the same book as the prophecies of Zechariah does not prove that they were his; difference of authorship being allowable in the same way as in the collection of Agur's Proverbs under one title with those of Solomon, and of Psalms by other authors with those of David. Even the absence of a fresh title is, he argues, no evidence against a change of author. "The Jews wrote in rolls or volumes, and the title was but once. If aught were added to the roll, *ob similitudinem argumenti*, or for some other reason, it had a new title, as that of Agur; or perhaps none, but was *ἀνώμωμον*." The utter disregard of anything like chronological order in the prophecies of Jeremiah, where "sometimes all is ended with Zedekiah; then we are brought back to Jehoiakim, then to Zedekiah again"—makes it probable, he thinks, that they were only hastily and loosely put together in those distracted times. Consequently some of them might not have been discovered till after the return from the Captivity, when they were approved by Zechariah, and so came to be incorporated with his prophecies. Mede evidently rests his opinion, partly on the authority of St. Matthew, and partly on the contents of the later chapters, which he considers require a date earlier than the exile. He says again (Epist. lxi.): "That which moveth me more than the rest is in chap. xii., which contains a prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem, and a description of the wickedness of the inhabitants, for which God would give them to the sword, and have no more pity on them. It is expounded of the destruction by Titus; but methinks such a prophecy was nothing seasonable for Zachary's time (when the city yet, for a great part, lay in her ruins, and the Temple had not yet recovered her's), nor agreeable to the scope of Zachary's commission, who, together with his colleague Haggai, was sent to encourage the people lately returned from captivity to build their temple, and to instaurate their commonwealth. Was this a fit time to foretel the destruction of both, while they were but yet a building? and by Zachary, too, who was to encourage them? would not this better befit the desolation by Nebuchadnezzar?"

Archbishop Newcome went further. He insisted on the great dissimilarity of style as well as subject between the earlier and later chapters. And he was the first who advocated the theory which Bunsen calls one of the triumphs of modern criticism, that the last six chapters of Zechariah are

the work of two distinct prophets. His words are, "The eight first chapters appear by the introductory parts to be the prophecies of Zechariah, stand in connexion with each other, are pertinent to the time when they were delivered, are uniform in style and manner, and constitute a regular whole. But the six last chapters are not expressly assigned to Zechariah; are unconnected with those which precede; the three first of them are unsuitable in many parts to the time when Zechariah lived; all of them have a more adorned and poetical turn of composition than the eight first chapters; and they manifestly break the unity of the prophetic book."

"I conclude," he continues, "from internal marks in chaps. ix., x., xi., that these three chapters were written much earlier than the time of Jeremiah, and before the captivity of the tribes. Israel is mentioned chaps. ix. 1, xi. 14. (But that this argument is inconclusive, see Mal. ii. 11.) Ephraim chaps. ix. 10, 13, x. 7; and Assyria, chap. x. 10, 11. . . . They seem to suit Hosea's age and manner. . . . The xiith, xiiith, and xivth chapters form a distinct prophecy, and were written after the death of Josiah; but whether before or after the Captivity, and by what prophets, is uncertain. Though I incline to think that the author lived before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians." In proof of this he refers to xiii. 2, on which he observes that the "prediction that idols and false prophets should cease at the final restoration of the Jews seems to have been uttered when idolatry and groundless pretensions to the spirit of prophecy were common among the Jews, and therefore before the Babylonish Captivity."

A large number of critics have followed Mede and Archbishop Newcome in denying the later date of the last six chapters of the Book. In England, Bishop Kidder, Whiston, Hammond, and more recently Pye Smith, and Davidson; in Germany, Flügel, Eichhorn, Bauer, Bertholdt, Augusti, Forberg, Rosenmüller, Gramberg, Credner, Ewald, Maurer, Knobel, Hitzig, and Bleek, are agreed in maintaining that these later chapters are not the work of Zechariah the son of Iddo.

On the other hand, the later date of these chapters has been maintained among ourselves by Blayney and Henderson, and on the continent by Carpzov, Beckhaus, Jahn, Köster, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil, De Wette (in later editions of his *Einleitung*; in the first three he adopted a different view), and Stähelin.

Those who impugn the later date of these chapters of Zechariah rest their arguments on the change in style and subject after the 8th chapter, but differ much in the application of their criticism. Rosenmüller, for instance (*Schol. in Proph. Min.* vol. iv. 257), argues that chaps. ix.-xiv. are so alike in style, that they must have been written by one author. He alleges in proof his fondness for images taken from pastoral life (ix. 16, x. 2, 3, xi. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, xiii. 7, 8). From the allusion to the earthquake (xiv. 5, comp. Am. i. 1), he thinks the author must have lived in the reign of Uzziah.

Davidson (in Horne's *Introd.* ii. 982) in like manner declares for one author, but supposes him to have been the Zechariah mentioned Is. viii. 2 who lived in the reign of Ahaz.

Eichhorn, on the other hand, whilst also assigning (in his *Einleitung*, iv. 444) the whole of chaps. ix.-xiv. to one writer, is of opinion that they are

the work of a *late* prophet who flourished in the time of Alexander.

Others again, as Bertholdt, Gesenius, Knobel, Maurer, Bunsen, and Ewald, think that chaps. ix.-xi. (to which Ewald adds xiii. 7-9) are a distinct prophecy from chaps. xii.-xiv., and separated from them by a considerable interval of time. These critics conclude from internal evidence, that the former portion was written by a prophet who lived in the reign of Ahaz (Knobel gives ix., x. to the reign of Jotham, and xi. to that of Ahaz), and most of them conjecture that he was the Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah (or Berechiah), mentioned Is. viii. 2.

Ewald, without attempting to identify the prophet with any particular person, contents himself with remarking that he was a subject of the Southern kingdom (as may be inferred from expressions such as that in ix. 7, and from the Messianic hopes which he utters, and in which he resembles his countryman and contemporary Isaiah); and that like Amos and Hosea before him, though a native of Judah, he directs his prophecies against Ephraim.

There is the same general agreement among the last-named critics as to the date of the section xii.-xiv.

They all assign it to a period immediately previous to the Babylonish Captivity, and hence the author must have been contemporary with the prophet Jeremiah. Bunsen identifies him with Urijah the son of Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim (Jer. xxvi. 20-23), who prophesied "in the name of Jehovah" against Judah and Jerusalem.

According to this hypothesis we have the works of three different prophets collected into one book, and passing under one name:—

1. Chapters ix.-xi., the book of Zechariah I., a contemporary of Isaiah, under Ahaz, about 736.

2. Chapters xii.-xiv., author unknown (or perhaps Urijah, a contemporary of Jeremiah), about 607 or 606.

3. Chapters i.-viii., the work of the son (or grandson) of Iddo, Haggai's contemporary, about 520-518.

We have then two distinct theories before us.

The one merely affirms that the six last chapters of our present book are not from the same author as the first eight. The other carries the dismemberment of the book still further, and maintains that the six last chapters are the work of two distinct authors who lived at two distinct periods of Jewish history. The arguments advanced by the supporters of each theory rest on the same grounds. They are drawn partly from the difference in style, and partly from the difference in the nature of the contents, the historical references, &c., in the different sections of the book; but the one sees this difference only in ix.-xiv., as compared with i.-viii.; the other sees it also in xii.-xiv., as compared with ix.-xi. We must accordingly consider,—

1. The difference generally in the style and contents of chapters ix.-xiv., as compared with chapters i.-viii.

2. The differences between xii.-xiv., as compared with ix.-xi.

1. The difference in point of style between the latter and former portions of the prophecy is admitted by all critics. Rosenmüller characterizes that of the first eight chapters as "prosaic, feeble, poor," and that of the remaining six as "poetic, weighty, concise, glowing." But without admitting so sweeping a criticism, and one which the verdict of

abler critics on the former portion has contradicted, there can be no doubt that the general tone and character of the one section is in decided contrast with that of the other. "As he passes from the first half of the Prophet to the second," says Eichhorn, "no reader can fail to perceive how strikingly different are the impressions which are made upon him by the two. The manner of writing in the second portion is far loftier and more mysterious; the images employed grander and more magnificent; the point of view and the horizon are changed. Once the Temple and the ordinances of religion formed the central point from which the Prophet's words radiated, and to which they ever returned; now these have vanished. The favourite modes of expression, hitherto so often repeated, are now as it were forgotten. The chronological notices which before marked the day on which each several prophecy was uttered, now fail us altogether. Could a writer all at once have forgotten so entirely his habits of thought? Could he so completely disguise his innermost feelings? Could the world about him, the mode of expression, the images employed, be so totally different in the case of one and the same writer?" (*Einkl.* iv. 443, §605).

I. Chapters i.-viii. are marked by certain peculiarities of idiom and phraseology which do not occur afterwards. Favourite expressions are—"The word of Jehovah came unto," &c. (i. 7, iv. 8, vi. 9, vii. 1, 4, 8, viii. 1, 18); "Thus saith Jehovah (God) of hosts" (i. 4, 16, 17, ii. 11, viii. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 14, 18, 20, 23); "And I lifted up mine eyes and saw" (i. 18, ii. 1, v. 1, vi. 1): none of these modes of expression are to be met with in chapters ix.-xiv. On the other hand, the phrase "In that day" is entirely confined to the later chapters, in which it occurs frequently. The form of the inscriptions is different. Introductions to the separate oracles, such as those in ix. 1, xii. 1, do not present themselves in the earlier portion. Zechariah, in several instances, states the time at which a particular prophecy was uttered by him (i. 1, 7, vii. 1). He mentions his own name in these passages, and also in vii. 8, and the names of contemporaries in iii. 1, iv. 6, vi. 10, vii. 2: the writer (or writers) of the second portion of the book never does this. It has also been observed that after the first eight chapters we hear nothing of "Satan," or of "the seven eyes of Jehovah;" that there are no more visions; that chap. xi. contains an allegory, not a symbolic action; that here are no riddles which need to be solved, no *angelus interpres* to solve them.

II. Chapters ix.-xi. These chapters, it is alleged, have also their characteristic peculiarities:—

(1.) In point of style, the author resembles Hosea more than any other prophet: such is the verdict both of Knobel and Ewald. He delights to picture Jehovah as the Great Captain of His people. Jehovah comes to Zion, and pitches His camp there to protect her (ix. 8, 9). He blows the trumpet marches against His enemies, makes His people His bow, and shoots His arrows (ix. 13, 14); or He rides on Judah as His war-horse, and goes forth thereon to victory (x. 3, 5). Again, he speaks of the people as a flock, and the leaders of the people as their shepherds (ix. 16, x. 2, 3, xi. 4, ff.). He describes himself also, in his character of prophet, as a shepherd in the last passages, and assumes to himself, in a symbolic action, which however may have been one only of the imagination, all the guise and the gear of a shepherd. In general he delights

in images (ix. 3, 4, 13-17, x. 3, 5, 7, &c.), some of which are striking and forcible.

(2) The notes of time are also peculiar:—

1. It was a time when the pride of Assyria was yet at its height (x. xi.), and when the Jews had already suffered from it. This first took place in the time of Menahem (B.C. 772-761).

2. The Trans-jordanic territory had already been swept by the armies of the invader (x. 10), but a still further desolation threatened it (xi. 1-3). The first may have been the invasion of Pul (1 Chr. v. 26), the second that of Tiglath-Pileser.<sup>1</sup>

3. The kingdoms of Judah and Ephraim are both standing (ix. 10, 13, x. 6), but many Israelites are nevertheless exiles in Egypt and Assyria (ix. 11, x. 6, 8, 10, &c.).

4. The struggle between Judah and Israel is supposed to be already begun (xi. 14). At the same time Damascus is threatened (ix. 1). If so, the reference must be to the alliance formed between Pekah king of Israel and Rezin of Damascus, the consequence of which was the loss of Elath (739).

5. Egypt and Assyria are *both* formidable powers (x. 9, 10, 11). The only other prophets to whom these two nations appear as formidable, *at the same time*, are Hosea (vii. 11, xii. 1, xiv. 3) and his contemporary Isaiah (vii. 17, &c.); and that in prophecies which must have been uttered between 743 and 740. The expectation seems to have been that the Assyrians, in order to attack Egypt, would march by way of Syria, Phoenicia, and Philistia, along the coast (Zech. ix. 1-9), as they did afterwards (Is. xx. 1), and that the kingdom of Israel would suffer chiefly in consequence (Zech. ix. 9-12), and Judah in a smaller degree (ix. 8, 9).

6. The kingdom of Israel is described as "a flock for the slaughter" in chap. xi., over which three shepherds have been set in one month. This corresponds with the season of anarchy and confusion which followed immediately on the murder of Zechariah the son of Jeroboam II. (760). This son reigned only six months, his murderer Shallum but one (2 K. xv. 8-15), being put to death in his turn by Menahem. Meanwhile another rival king may have arisen, Bunsen thinks, in some other part of the country, who may have fallen as the murderer did, before Menahem.

The symbolical action of the breaking of the two shepherds' staves—Favour and Union—points the same way. The breaking of the first showed that God's favour had departed from Israel, that of the second that all hope of union between Judah and Ephraim was at an end.

All these notes of time point in the same direction, and make it probable that the author of chaps. ix.-xi. was a contemporary of Isaiah, and prophesied during the reign of Ahaz.<sup>k</sup>

Chaps. xii.-xiv.—By the majority of those critics who assign these chapters to a third author, that author is supposed to have lived shortly before the Babylonish Captivity. The grounds for separating these three chapters from chapters ix.-xi. are as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> So Knobel supposes. Ewald also refers, xi. 1-3, to the deportation of Tiglath-Pileser, and thinks that x. 10 refers to some earlier deportation, the Assyrians having invaded this portion of the kingdom of Israel in the former half of Pekah's reign of twenty years. To this Bunsen (*Gott in der Gesch.* i. 456) objects that we have no record of any earlier removal of the inhabitants from the land than that of Tiglath-Pileser, which occurred at the close of Pekah's reign, and which in x. 10 is supposed to have taken place

1. This section opens with its own introductory formula, as the preceding one (ix. 1) does. This, however, only shows that the sections are distinct, not that they were written at different times.

2. The object of the two sections is altogether different. The author of the former (ix.-xi.) has both Israel and Judah before him; he often speaks of them together (ix. 13, x. 6, xi. 14, comp. x. 7); he directs his prophecy to the Trans-jordanic territory, and announces the discharge of his office in Israel (xi. 4, ff.). The author of the second section, on the other hand, has only to do with Judah and Jerusalem: he nowhere mentions Israel.

3. The political horizon of the two prophets is different. By the former, mention is made of the Syrians, Phoenicians, Philistines (ix. 1-7), and Greeks, (ix. 13), as well as of the Assyrians and Egyptians, the two last being described as at that time the most powerful. It therefore belongs to the earlier time when these two nations were beginning to struggle for supremacy in Western Asia. By the latter, the Egyptians only are mentioned as a hostile nation: not a word is said of the Assyrians. The author consequently must have lived at a time when Egypt was the chief enemy of Judah.

4. The anticipations of the two Prophets are different. The first trembles only for Ephraim. He predicts the desolation of the Trans-jordanic territory, the carrying away captive of the Israelites, but also the return from Assyria and Egypt (x. 7, 10). But for Judah he has no cause of fear. Jehovah will protect her (ix. 8), and bring back those of her sons who in earlier times had gone into captivity (ix. 11). The second Prophet, on the other hand, making no mention whatever of the northern kingdom, is full of alarm for Judah. He sees hostile nations gathering together against her, and two-thirds of her inhabitants destroyed (xiii. 6); he sees the enemy laying siege to Jerusalem, taking and plundering it, and carrying half of her people captive (xii. 3, xiv. 2, 5). Of any return of the captives nothing is here said.

5. The style of the two Prophets is different. The author of this last section is fond of the prophetic formulae: וְהָיָה, "And it shall come to pass" (xii. 9, xiii. 2, 3, 4, 8, xiv. 6, 8, 13, 16); בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, "in that day" (xii. 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, xiii. 1, 2, 4, xiv. 8, 9, 13, 20, 21); נֹאֵם יְהוָה, "saith Jehovah" (xii. 1, 4, xiii. 2, 7, 8). In the section ix.-xi. the first does not occur at all, the second but once (ix. 16), the third only twice (x. 12, xi. 6). We have moreover in this section certain favourite expressions: "all peoples," "all people of the earth," "all nations round about," "all nations that come up against Jerusalem," "the inhabitants of Jerusalem," "the house of David," "family" for nation, "the families of the earth," "the family of Egypt," &c.

6. There are apparently few notes of time in this section. One is the allusion to the death of Josiah

already.

<sup>k</sup> According to Knobel, ix. and x. were probably delivered in Jotham's reign, and xi. in that of Ahaz, who summoned Tiglath-Pileser to his aid. Maurer thinks that ix. and x. were written between the first (2 K. xv. 29) and second (2 K. xvii. 4-6) Assyrian invasions, chap. x. during the seven years interregnum which followed the death of Pekah, and xi. in the reign of Hoshea.

in "the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon;" another to the earthquake in the days of Uzziah king of Judah. This addition to the name of the king shows, Knobel suggests, that he had been long dead; but the argument, if it is worth anything, would make even more for those who hold a post-exile date. It is certainly remarkable occurring thus in the body of the prophecy, and not in the inscription as in Isaiah i. 1.

In reply to all these arguments, it has been urged by Keil, Städelin, and others, that the difference of style between the two principal divisions of the prophecy is not greater than may reasonably be accounted for by the change of subject. The language in which visions are narrated would, from the nature of the case, be quieter and less animated than that in which prophetic anticipations of future glory are described. They differ as the style of the narrator differs from that of the orator. Thus, for instance, how different is the style of Hosea, chaps. i.-iii., from the style of the same Prophet in chaps. iv.-xiv.; or again, that of Ezekiel vi. vii. from Ezekiel iv.

But besides this, even in what may be termed the more oratorical portions of the first eight chapters, the Prophet is to a great extent occupied with warnings and exhortations of a practical kind (see i. 4-6, vii. 4-14, viii. 9-23); whereas in the subsequent chapters he is rapt into a far distant and glorious future. In the one case, therefore, the language would naturally sink down to the level of prose; in the other, it would rise to an elevation worthy of its exalted subject.

In like manner the notes of time in the former part (i. 1, 7, vii. 1), and the constant reference to the Temple, may be explained on the ground that the Prophet here busies himself with the events of his own time, whereas afterwards his eye is fixed on a far distant future.

On the other hand, where predictions do occur in the first section, there is a general similarity between them and the predictions of the second. The scene, so to speak, is the same; the same visions float before the eyes of the seer. The times of the Messiah are the theme of the predictions in chaps. i.-iv., in ix., x., and in xii.-xiii. 6, whilst the events which are to prepare the way for that time, and especially the sifting of the nation, are dwelt upon in chap. v., in xi., and in xiii. 7-xiv. 2.

(3.) The same peculiar forms of expression occur in the two divisions of the prophecy. Thus, for instance, we find **מְעוֹבֵר וּמְשֻׁב** not only in vii. 14, but also in ix. 8; **הַעֵבִיר**, in the sense of "to remove," in iii. 4, and in xiii. 2—elsewhere it occurs in this unusual sense only in later writings (2 K. xvi. 3; 2 Chr. xv. 8)—"the eye of God," as betokening the Divine Providence, in iii. 9, iv. 10, and in ix. 1, 8.

In both sections the return of the whole nation after the exile is the prevailing image of happiness, and in both it is similarly portrayed. As in ii. 10, the exiles are summoned to return to their native land, because now, according to the principles of righteous recompense, they shall rule over their enemies, so also a similar strain occurs in ix. 12, &c. Both in ii. 10 and in ix. 9 the renewed protection

wherewith God will favour Zion is represented as an entrance into His holy dwelling; in both His people are called on to rejoice, and in both there is a remarkable agreement in the words. In ii. 14, **רְנִי וּשְׂמַחִי בַת צִיּוֹן כִּי הִנְנִי בָא**, and in ix. 9, **גִּילִי מְאֹד בַּת צִיּוֹן הִרְעִי בַת יְרוּשָׁלַם הִנֵּה מַלְכְךָ יָבוֹא לָךְ**.

Again, similar forms of expression occur in ii. 9, 11, and xi. 11; the description of the increase in Jerusalem, xiv. 10, may be compared with ii. 4; and the prediction in viii. 20-23 with that in xiv. 16. The resemblance which has been found in some other passages is too slight to strengthen the argument; and the occurrence of Chaldaisms, such as **צָבָא** (ix. 8), **רֵאמָה** (xiv. 10), **בְּהֵל** (which occurs besides only in Prov. xx. 21), and the phrase **מִלֵּא קִשְׁתָּךְ** (ix. 13), instead of **דִּרְךָ קִשְׁתָּךְ**, really prove nothing as to the age of the later chapters of Zechariah. Indeed, generally, as regards these minute comparisons of different passages to prove an identity of authorship, Maurer's remark holds true: "Sed quae potest vis esse disjectorum quorundam locorum, ubi res judicanda est ex toto?"

Of far more weight, however, than the arguments already advanced is the fact that the writer of these last chapters (ix.-xiv.) shows an acquaintance with the later prophets of the time of the exile. That there are numerous allusions in it to earlier prophets, such as Joel, Amos, Micah, has been shown by Hitzig (*Comment.* p. 354, 2nd ed.), but there are also, it is alleged, allusions to Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the later Isaiah (chaps. xl.-lxvi.). If this can be established, it is evidence that this portion of the book, if not written by Zechariah himself, was at least written after the exile. We find, then, in Zech. ix. 2 an allusion to Ez. xxviii. 3; in ix. 3 to 1 K. x. 27; in ix. 5 to Zeph. ii. 4; in ix. 11 to Is. li. 14; in ix. 12 to Is. xlix. 9 and Is. lxi. 7; in x. 3 to Ez. xxxiv. 17. Zech. xi. is derived from Ez. xxxiv. (comp. esp. xi. 4 with xxxiv. 4), and Zech. xi. 3 from Jer. xii. 5. Zech. xii. 1 alludes to Is. li. 13; xiii. 8, 9, to Ez. v. 12; xiv. 8 to Ez. xlvii. 1-12; xiv. 10, 11, to Jer. xxxi. 38-40; xiv. 16-19 to Is. lxvi. 23 and ix. 12; xiv. 20, 21, to Ez. xliii. 12 and xlv. 9.

This manifest acquaintance on the part of the writer of Zech. ix.-xiv. with so many of the later prophets seemed so convincing to De Wette that, after having in the first three editions of his *Introduction* declared for two authors, he found himself compelled to change his mind, and to admit that the later chapters must belong to the age of Zechariah, and might have been written by Zechariah himself.

Bleek, on the other hand, has done his best to weaken the force of this argument, first by maintaining that in most instances the alleged agreement is only apparent, and next, that where there is a real agreement (as in Zech. ix. 12, xi. 3, xii. 1, xiv. 16), with the passages above cited, Zechariah may be the original from whom Isaiah and Jeremiah borrowed. It must be confessed, however, that it is more probable that one writer should have allusions to many others, than that many others should

the fact that the same forms of expression are to be found in both sections of the Prophecy, but that the second section, like the first, evinces a familiarity with other writings, and especially with later prophets like Ezekiel. See below.

<sup>m</sup> Maurer's reply to this, viz., that the like phrase, **עֵבֶר וְשׁוּב** occurs in Exod. xxxii. 27, and **עֵבֶר וְשׁוּבוּ** in Ezek. xxxv. 7, it must be confessed is of little force, because those who argue for one author build not only on

borrow from one; and this probability approaches certainty in proportion as we multiply the number of quotations or allusions. If there are passages in Zechariah which are manifestly similar to other passages in Zephaniah, in Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Deutero-Isaiah, which is the more probable, that they all borrowed from him, or he from them? In ix. 12 especially, as Stähelin argues, the expression is decidedly one to be looked for after the exile rather than before it, and the passage rests upon Jer. xvi. 18, and has an almost verbal accordance with Is. lxi. 7.

Again, the same critics argue that the *historical references* in the later chapters are perfectly consistent with a post-exile date. This had been already maintained by Eichhorn, although he supposes these chapters to have been written by a *later* prophet than Zechariah. Stähelin puts the case as follows: Even under the Persian rule the political relations of the Jews continued very nearly the same as they were in earlier times. They still were placed between a huge Eastern power on the one side and Egypt on the other, the only difference now being that Egypt as well as Judaea was subject to the Persians. But Egypt was an unwilling vassal, and as in earlier times when threatened by Assyria she had sought for alliances among her neighbours or had endeavoured to turn them to account as a kind of outwork in her own defences, so now she would adopt the same policy in her attempts to cast off the Persian yoke. It would follow as a matter of course that Persia would be on the watch to check such efforts, and would wreak her vengeance on those among her own tributary or dependent provinces which should venture to form an alliance with Egypt. Such of these provinces as lay on the sea-coast must indeed suffer in any case, even if they remained true in their allegiance to the Persians. The armies which were destined for the invasion of Egypt would collect in Syria and Phoenicia, and would march by way of the coast; and, whether they came as friends or as foes, they would probably cause sufficient devastation to justify the prophecy in Zech. ix. 1, &c., delivered against Damascus, Phoenicia, and Philistia. Meanwhile the prophet seeks to calm the minds of his own people by assuring them of God's protection, and of the coming of the Messiah, who at the appointed time shall again unite the two kingdoms of Judah and Ephraim. It is observable moreover that the prophet, throughout his discourses, is anxious not only to tranquillise the minds of his countrymen, but to prevent their engaging in any insurrection against their Persian masters, or forming any alliance with their enemies. In this respect he follows the example of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and, like these two prophets, he foretells the return of Ephraim, the union of Ephraim and Judah, and the final overthrow both of Assyria (x. 11), that is, Persia,<sup>a</sup> and of Egypt, the two countries which had, more than all others, vexed and devastated Israel. That a large portion of the nation was still supposed to be in exile is clear from ix. 11, 12, and hence verse 10 can only be regarded as a reminiscence of Mic. v. 10; and even if x. 9 must be explained of the past (with De Wette, *Eint.* §250, 6, note a), still it appears from Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 2, §5) that the Persians carried away Jews into Egypt, and from

<sup>a</sup> Although the Persians had succeeded to the Assyrians, the land might still be called by its ancient name of Assyria. See *Ezr* vi. 22 and *Ewald, Gesch.* iv. 120.

Syncellus (p. 486, Niebuhr's ed.) that Ochus transported large numbers of Jews from Palestine to the east and north; the earlier custom of thus forcibly removing to a distance those conquered nations who from disaffection or a turbulent spirit were likely to give occasion for alarm, having not only continued among the Persians, but having become even more common than ever (Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 254, 2nd ed.). This well-known policy on the part of their conquerors would be a sufficient ground for the assurance which the prophet gives in x. 9. Even the threats uttered against the false prophets and the shepherds of the people are not inconsistent with the times after the exile. In Neh. v. and vi. we find the nobles and rulers of the people oppressing their brethren, and false prophets active in their opposition to Nehemiah. In like manner "the idols" (עֲצָבִים) in xiii. 1-5 may be the same as the "Teraphim" of x. 2, where they are mentioned in connexion with "the diviners" (הַקּוֹסְמִים). Malachi (iii. 5) speaks of "sorcerers" (מְכַשְׁפִּים), and that such superstition long held its ground among the Jews is evident from Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2, §5. Nor does xiv. 21 of necessity imply either idol-worship or heathen pollution in the Temple. Chapter xi. was spoken by the prophet later than ix. and x. In verse 14 he declares the impossibility of any reunion between Judah and Ephraim, either because the northern territory had already been laid waste, or because the inhabitants of it had shown a disposition to league with Phoenicia in a vain effort to throw off the Persian yoke, which would only involve them in certain destruction. This difficult passage Stähelin admits he cannot solve to his satisfaction, but contends that it may have been designed to teach the new colony that it was not a part of God's purpose to reunite the severed tribes; and in this he sees an argument for the post-exile date of the prophecy, inasmuch as the union of the ten tribes with the two was ever one of the brightest hopes of the prophets who lived before the Captivity.

Having thus shown that there is no reason why the section ix.-xi. should not belong to a time subsequent to the return from Babylon, Stähelin proceeds to argue that the prophecy directed against the nations (ix. 1-7) is really more applicable to the Persian era than to any other. It is only the coast-line which is here threatened; whereas the earlier prophets, whenever they threaten the maritime tribes, unite with them Moab and Ammon, or Edom. Moreover the nations here mentioned are not spoken of as enemies of Judah; for being Persian subjects they would not venture to attack the Jewish colony when under the special protection of that power. Of Ashdod it is said that a foreigner (מִמּוֹר, A. V. "bastard") shall dwell in it. This, too, might naturally have happened in the time of Zechariah. During the exile, Arabs had established themselves in Southern Palestine, and the prophet foresees that they would occupy Ashdod; and accordingly we learn from Neh. xiii. 24, that the dialect of Ashdod was unintelligible to the Jews, and in Neh. iv. 7, the people of Ashdod appear as a distinct tribe united with other Arabians against Judah. The king of Gaza (mentioned Zech. ix. 5) may have been a Persian vassal, as the kings of Tyre and Sidon were, according to Herodot. viii. 67. A king in Gaza would only be in conformity with the

Persian custom (see Herod. iii. 15), although this was no longer the case in the time of Alexander. The mention of the "sons of Javan" (ix. 13; A. V. "Greece") is suitable to the Persian period (which is also the view of Eichhorn), as it was then that the Jews were first brought into any close contact with the Greeks. It was in fact the fierce struggle between Greece and Persia which gave a peculiar meaning to his words when the prophet promised his own people victory over the Greeks, and so reversed the earlier prediction of Joel iv. 6, 7 (A. V. iii. 6, 7). If, however, we are to understand by Javan Arabia, as some maintain, this again equally suits the period supposed, and the prophecy will refer to the Arabians, of whom we have already spoken.

We come now to the section xii.-xiv. The main proposition here is, that however hard Judah and Jerusalem may be pressed by enemies (of Israel there is no further mention), still with God's help they shall be victorious; and the result shall be that Jehovah shall be more truly worshipped both by Jews and Gentiles. That this anticipation of the gathering of hostile armies against Jerusalem was not unnatural in the Persian times may be inferred from what has been said above. Persian hosts were often seen in Judaea. We find an instance of this in Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 7, §1), and Sidon was laid in ashes in consequence of an insurrection against Persia (*Diod.* xvi. 45). On the other hand, how could a prophet in the time immediately preceding the exile—the time to which, on account of xii. 12, most critics refer this section—have uttered predictions such as these? Since the time of Zephaniah all the prophets looked upon the fate of Jerusalem as sealed, whereas here, in direct contradiction to such views, the preservation of the city is announced even in the extremest calamities. Any analogy to the general strain of thought in this section is only to be found in Is. xxix.-xxxiii. Besides, no king is here mentioned, but only "the house of David," which, according to Jewish tradition (*Herzfeld, Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, p. 378, ff.), held a high position after the exile, and accordingly is mentioned (xii. 12, 13) in its different branches (comp. *Movers, Das Phöniz. Alterth.* i. 531), together with the tribe of Levi; the prophet, like the writer of Ps. lxxxix., looking to it with a kind of yearning, which before the exile, whilst there was still a king, would have been inconceivable. Again, the manner in which Egypt is alluded to (xiv. 19) almost of necessity leads us to the Persian times; for then Egypt, in consequence of her perpetual efforts to throw off the Persian yoke, was naturally brought into hostility with the Jews, who were under the protection of Persia. Before the exile this was only the case during the interval between the death of Josiah and the battle of Carchemish.

It would seem then that there is nothing to compel us to place this section xii.-xiv. in the times before the exile; much, on the contrary,

which can only be satisfactorily accounted for on the supposition that it was written during the period of the Persian dominion. Nor must it be forgotten that we have here that fuller development of the Messianic idea which at such a time might be expected, and one which in fact rests upon all the prophets who flourished before the exile.

Such are the grounds, critical and historical, on which Stähelin rests his defence of the later date of the second portion of the prophet Zechariah. We have given his arguments at length as the ablest and most complete, as well as the most recent, on his side of the controversy. Some of them, it must be admitted, are full of weight. And when critics like Eichhorn maintain that of the whole section ix. 1-x. 17, no explanation is possible, unless we derive it from the history of Alexander the Great; and when De Wette, after having adopted the theory of different authors, felt himself obliged to abandon it for reasons already mentioned, and to vindicate the integrity of the book, the grounds for a post-exile date must be very strong. Indeed, it is not easy to say which way the weight of evidence preponderates.

With regard to the quotation in St. Matthew there seems no good reason for setting aside the received reading. Jerome observes, "This passage is not found in Jeremiah. But in Zechariah, who is nearly the last of the twelve prophets, something like it occurs: and though there is no great difference in the meaning, yet both the order and the words are different. I read a short time since, in a Hebrew volume, which a Hebrew of the sect of the Nazarenes presented to me, an apocryphal book of Jeremiah, in which I found the passage word for word.—But still I am rather inclined to think that the quotation is made from Zechariah, in the usual manner of the Evangelists and Apostles, who neglecting the order of the words, only give the general sense of what they cite from the Old Testament."<sup>o</sup>

Eusebius (*Evangel. Demonstr.* lib. x.) is of opinion that the passage thus quoted stood originally in the prophecy of Jeremiah, but was either erased subsequently by the malice of the Jews [a very improbable supposition it need hardly be said]; or that the name of Zechariah was substituted for that of Jeremiah through the carelessness of copyists. Augustine (*de Cons. Evangel.* iii. 30) testifies that the most ancient Greek copies had *Jeremiah*, and thinks that the mistake was originally St. Matthew's, but that this was divinely ordered, and that the Evangelist would not correct the error even when pointed out, in order that we might thus infer that all the Prophets spake by one Spirit, and that what was the work of one was the work of all (*et singula esse omnium, et omnia singulorum.*)<sup>p</sup> Some later writers accounted for the non-appearance of the passage in Jeremiah, by the confusion in the Greek MSS. of his prophecies—a confusion, however, it

are not sources, but only channels of the same Divine truth." But if so, why, it may be asked, do the writers of the Sacred Books ever give their names at all? Why trouble ourselves with the question whether S. Luke wrote the Acts, or whether S. Paul wrote the Ep. to the Hebrews or the Pastoral Epistles? What becomes of the argument, usually deemed so strong, derived from the testimony of the *Four* Evangelists, if, after all, the four are but *one*?

It would not be too much to say that such a theory is as pernicious as that against which it is directed.

<sup>o</sup> *Comment. in Evang. Matth.* cap. xxvii. 9, 10.

<sup>p</sup> This extraordinary method of solving the difficulty has been adopted by Dr. Wordsworth in his note on the passage in S. Matthew. He says: "On the whole there is reason to believe . . . that the prophecy which we read in Zech. (xi. 12, 13) had, in the first instance, been delivered by Jeremiah; and that by referring here not to Zech. where we read it, but to Jer. where we do not read it, the Holy Spirit teaches us not to regard the Prophets as the Authors of their Prophecies," &c. And again: "He intends to teach, that all prophecies proceed from One Spirit, and that those by whom they were uttered

may be remarked, which is not confined to the Greek, but which is found no less in our present Hebrew text. Others again suggest that in the Greek autograph of Matthew, ΖΠΙΟΥ may have been written, and that copyists may have taken this for ΙΠΙΟΥ. But there is no evidence that abbreviations of this kind were in use so early. Epiphanius and some of the Greek Fathers seem to have read ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. And the most ancient copy of the Latin Version of the Gospels omits the name of Jeremiah, and has merely *dictum est per Prophetam*. It has been conjectured that this represents the original Greek reading τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ Προφήτου, and that some early annotator wrote Ἱερεμίου on the margin, whence it crept into the text. The choice lies between this, and a slip of memory on the part of the Evangelist if we admit the integrity of our present Book of Zechariah, unless, indeed, we suppose, with Eichhorn, who follows Jerome, that an Apocryphal Book of Jeremiah is quoted. Theophylact proposes to insert a καὶ, and would read διὰ Ἱερεμίου καὶ τοῦ Προφήτου—ἦγουν Ζαχαρίου. He argues that the quotation is really a fusion of two passages; that concerning the price paid occurring in Zechariah, chap. xi.; and that concerning the field in Jeremiah, chap. xix. But what N. T. writer would have used such a form of expression "by Jeremy and the Prophet"? Such a mode of quotation is without parallel. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the passage as given in S. Matthew does not represent exactly either the Hebrew text of Zechariah, or the version of the LXX. The other passages of the Prophet quoted in the N. T. are ix. 9 (in Matt. xxi. 5; Joh. xii. 15); xii. 10 (in Joh. xix. 37; Rev. i. 7); xiii. 7 (in Matt. xxvi. 31; Mark xiv. 27); but in no instance is the Prophet quoted by name.

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2. (*Ζαχαρίας: Zacharias.*) Son of Meshelemiah, or Shelemiah, a Korhite, and keeper of the north gate of the tabernacle of the congregation (1 Chr. ix. 21) in the arrangement of the porters in the reign of David. In 1 Chr. xxvi. 2, 14, his name appears in the lengthened form זְכַרְיָהוּ, and in the last quoted verse he is described as "one counselling with understanding."

3. (*Ζακχούρ; Alex. Ζαχχούρ.*) One of the sons of Jehiel, the father or founder of Gibeon (1 Chr. ix. 37). In 1 Chr. viii. 31 he is called ZACHEB.

4. (*Ζαχαρίας.*) A Levite in the Temple band as arranged by David, appointed to play "with psalteries on Alamoth" (1 Chr. xv. 20). He was of the second order of Levites (ver. 18), a porter or gatekeeper, and may possibly be the same as Zechariah the son of Meshelemiah. In 1 Chr. xv. 18 his name is written in the longer form, זְכַרְיָהוּ.

5. One of the princes of Judah in the reign of Jehoshaphat who were sent with priests and Levites to teach the people the law of Jehovah (2 Chr. xvii. 7).

6. (*Ἀζαρίας.*) Son of the high-priest Jehoiada, in the reign of Joash king of Judah (2 Chr. xxiv. 20), and therefore the king's cousin. After the death of Jehoiada Zechariah probably succeeded to his office, and in attempting to check the reaction in favour of idolatry which immediately followed, he fell a victim to a conspiracy formed against him by the king, and was stoned with stones in the court of the Temple. The memory of this upright and righteous deed lasted long in Jewish tradition. In the Jerusalem Talmud (*Taanith*, fol. 69, quoted by Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, c. xxxvi.) there is a